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DIARY OF GEORGE SANDY, APPRENTICE W.S.,
1788

INTRODUCTION

IN the Library of the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet there is a small quarto volume 7½ ins. by 6¼ ins. of 172 pages, neatly written and illustrated with pen-and-ink and water-colour sketches—each page now preserved by a cover of the finest silken gauze. It is the manuscript diary or journal of George Sandy, a sixteen-year-old apprentice Writer to the Signet, who wrote and sketched with no other aim than that of recording for his own entertainment and edification items of news of local and personal interest—with no prescience that, a century and a half later, it would be transcribed, printed and published for all who cared to read.

George Sandy seems to have had suspicions that his Diary would be opened by relations or friends, for scattered through the pages are entries written in a secret code (probably of his own devising) of particulars he evidently wished none else to know about. There is one shown on Plate facing p. 44 which, in ordinary letters, reads: 'I intend to call on Mr. Alison to-morrow morning about my Arithmetic and I will see about my Watch and Books.'

Like certain more famous manuscripts George's work has had its vicissitudes, but it escaped destruction, except for its first 50 pages. For a whole century it lay unknown and neglected until, in 1890, it was discovered in a lumber room by Dr. J. G. Wallace-James (1861-1922), physician, connoisseur and antiquary of Haddington. By the courtesy of the Doctor's widow the manuscript—sadly tattered and crumbling—was presented most appropriately to the Society

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of which George Sandy in due course became a member, like several friends of his who are mentioned in the Diary.

George's father, also named George, was Under Keeper of the Signet from 1767 until his death on December 8, 1784. He was survived by his widow, Marion Alison; two daughters, Eleanor and Agnes; and two sons, Gilbert and George. As a pupil at the High School, George must have been one of the future Novelist's 'admiring audience round Luckie Brown's fireside when wintry weather prevented play in the High School Yards.' At the age of thirteen, as was customary in Scotland in those days, he left school and matriculated at the University, where he attended the junior and senior Humanity classes, and was certified by Professor Hill to have prosecuted his studies with more than ordinary attention and success.

At the age of fifteen years and a half George's education was considered finished, but he was not old enough to begin his professional apprenticeship, so he busied himself with the Diary, entering everything he deemed worth noting—(1) Personal items such as his home removal from the Meal Market in the Cowgate to the foot of Carrubber's Close, which he did not like; his testimonial from Professor Hill; and his Indenture, which he copies in its Court-Hand style, adding the names of his Curators, viz. his mother, Mr. Alexander Alison, Extractor of the Signet, and Mr. Walter Scott, W.S., along with the names of other witnesses, among whom are Tom and John Scott, brothers of Walter Scott, junior; (2) items of antiquarian and historic interest; and (3) the Minutes of a Boys' Club, which he styles 'The Society of Independent Friends.' This Society, which George had formed after the manner of the Convivial Clubs of his seniors (except that it did not meet in a tavern), had as its main object the visiting of places of interest in the suburbs on Saturdays and holidays. George modestly called himself 'Secretary and Scribe' and (later) Librarian, though he was actually its president and dictator. It was surely the smallest

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of Societies, for it numbered only three members: George and his two companions, Hugh Watson and James Milligan. He writes his Minutes with punctilious care and is gravely concerned to have his 'Great Seal,' 'Quarter Seal' or 'Privy Seal' attached to everything which he thinks requires one or other of these. Some of these small red seals are still attached to pages of his Diary. There was no entrance fee, but each intrant had to deposit a book, a picture, or a rare coin, which was to be returned to the depositor on 'the dissolution of the Society.' Later George decided to have a Library, an Art Gallery and a Museum, to which he and his two fellow-members contributed. George had 34 volumes, Hugh Watson 5, and James Milligan 7. As the books were in George's home it was reasonable that he should be librarian. Milligan had charge of the pictures and engravings and promised to make a list of these, while George undertook to compile the catalogue of books. George performed his task, but Milligan neglected to do his, which is unfortunate.

George was a strict librarian. He drew up rules which members became bound to observe. There was nothing to complain about in requiring borrowers to enter on the slate kept in the Library the name of the book and the borrower's name, but protest was made by James Milligan against other rules. George, in writing the minutes of the meeting to which he had submitted his 'Draft Rules,' records the protest of his friend, but adds 'James Milligan not to have the benefit of the Library. By Order, George Sandy.' The ban was evidently of short duration, for George's next step was to invite members to lodge every book each one bought, but such books would only be accepted 'if it was thought fit by a majority.'

From the catalogue, which is shown on pp. 21-22, it will be seen that the boys had a fairly representative collection of standard works. *Sully's Memoirs* was one of the many books read by George. It is interesting to observe another, Henry

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Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*, which was long a 'best seller' and has been twice re-edited since George's day, first in 1859 by Charles Kingsley and in more recent years by Ernest Baker. Nevertheless the library did not contain the books most urgently needed by George: namely, Maitland's and Arnot's *Histories of Edinburgh*, Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the Middle Ages*, and Barrow's *Polygraphic Dictionary*. This last was an indispensable repository for Sandy and Milligan as artists with no money. For in that work are recipes for making inks and paints at a trifling cost. George identifies himself with the Society when he writes: 'The Society having considered the ruinous Condition of their Colours and Considering that they have never yet been able to effect their project of the Dye & Considering—But it is not my intention to descend to such particulars, let it suffice to say that we are both in a humour for Drawing especially Geo. Sandy.' Then, with unconscious humour, he proceeds: 'We may indeed say with Gray:

"Chill penury repressed their noble rage
And froze the genial current of the soul."

We therefore think it Expedient to do our best to repair our Colours as soon as possible & Jas. Milligan is to see & get the loan of the Polygraphic Dictionary again.'

By following the directions given therein their paints could be made cheaply. But even then it was hard to come by money sufficient to obtain either paint or ink. Thus situated George one day confided to Milligan: 'I have strong expectations of getting a shilling.' But his sceptical friend interrupts: 'I have an acquaintance, Tom Scott, son of Walter, Wrytter to Ye Signet, who has one.' Milligan seeks his friend, Tom lends his shilling, which in due season is repaid.

George Sandy sketched well and to excellent purpose. The sketches in his Diary are of particular value to the

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historian of Edinburgh. There is first the 'Black Turnpike'—the popular name for the handsomest and oldest tenement of the city—the mansion of George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld and previously Abbot of Holyrood, founder of the Hospital of St. Andrew and St. Thomas at the Watergate and uncle of the 'Admirable Crichton'—the house in which Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley lodged overnight after returning from Dunbar, on the evening following the murder of Rizzio. In June 1788 it was demolished, to the dismay of the citizens. Walter Scott went to take a farewell look at it before its overthrow. So, too, did George Sandy, who took Diary, pen and ink in order that he might have a permanent memorial of the historic mansion.

In Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh* and in *Old and New Edinburgh* are two other sketches of the house, both of which differ in details from Sandy's. Both of these—one an etching by James Skene of Rubislaw—show the Guardhouse in front, an eyesore which had been demolished three years earlier (1785).

George's sketch shows a three-storey building with steep roof, two towers and crenellations, and closed piazzas, while the other sketches have five storeys, no steep roof, no crenellations, while the piazzas are not shown because of the Guardhouse in the foreground.

Fifteenth-century houses were never more than three storeys high, had generally crenellations and, in Edinburgh, open piazzas, the last being a feature of the High Street until about the close of the eighteenth century, when the last of them were built up in order to provide more room for the owners of the adjacent houses or shops. While it is true that eighteenth-century builders were wont to add extra storeys to old houses and in the process to remove the old steep roofs, it is hardly likely that a boy who drew the house *in situ* would put the old type of roof and other features if these were not actually there.

His second contribution to the architectural history of the city is the drawing of the small ruinous chapel of the Barras or Tournament Ground at the south base of the Castle Rock—that is, midway in the lane which until recent years was called Lady Wynd—off King's Stables Road. No sketch of the chapel is found elsewhere. George's sketch shows it shorn of any beauty it may once have possessed. Its mediaeval roof, door and stained-glass windows had long perished and it bears every sign of misery. Nevertheless the sketch is worth having, for the chapel had endured two and a half centuries, having been built by command of James IV in 1508 for daily service by a chaplain who also took the oaths of knights about to fight in the adjacent ground—some in Tournay, some in Trials by Combat. None of the chroniclers seem to have been aware that the chapel so badly abused was really standing in 1788. The Barras now serves as the City Scavenging Garage.

George Sandy's sketch of Princes Street with the Mound, the valley of the Nor' Loch and the lower part of the Well House Tower is important because it shows the streams which, when dammed, formed the loch. It is the only drawing that shows the streams. George was here concerned with the repairs on the culverts below the Mound.

Unique also is his pen-and-ink sketch of the West Bastion of Leith. Few readers of the history of Leith can be aware that that redoubt of the French Garrison of Marie of Guise survived until 1788.

George could not know that by these sketches and written notes he was adding to our knowledge of the Edinburgh of his youth. From dawn to dusk he seems to have been ever on the outlook for something to chronicle. Between his rising at 5.30, 6.30 or 7 (he mentions in every case the hour) and breakfast at 9 he is generally at Leith bathing or up in the Castle or in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. In the Castle and at Holyrood he has always some fresh news to

give. There is the harling of the walls in the Castle; the paving of the Bomb Battery; the changes in the posting of sentries; pebbles and beach stones at the Inner Gate; the visit to the Crown Room, which 'is strongly shut with wooden planks and iron bars.' He does not mention the great oak chest which stands there, the chest in which lie, hidden and unsuspected, the Crown, Sceptre and Sword of State. Not until 1818 will the chest yield its secret. He notes free-stones lying on the Hawkhill—the high area in the Castle on which in 1796 will be built that eyesore of a Barrack resembling a factory and known to all soldiers of pre-war days as 'The Rookery.' But George is in the Castle mainly with a view to accompany the garrison on its march to Bruntsfield Links for drill. He is critical of military drill. The 39th (Dorsetshire) Regt., which marched out on April 24 for their Field Day on a day 'very stormy and the wind higher than it has been all this winter . . . performed but so-so. They fired at first very ill.' The 7th (Royal Fusiliers) who relieve the 39th are better. Their Review is 'the best I have seen for some years. They were, besides, remarkably well clothed.'

The ruined Church of Holyrood is not open to the public except by payment of 3d., but George manages to gain entry without payment. He examines 'the remains of two pillars, one of them repaired with wood; proceeds to the Royal vault and views Darnley's thigh bones. In the vault next to it there were two large wooden coffins. In the one next the door is a body still entire & in the other a skull and some bones. Near this vault is a small monument illegible. At the west end of the Nave is an Arch with "Saxon" ornaments. We had got a glimpse of the beautiful monument of Lord Belhaven when we were called out by one of the workmen. N.B. We discovered the monuments of D. J. Hamilton, Adam Bothwell, Lord Belhaven, George Wiseheart and George Earl of Sutherland.'

George's archaeological excursions were not always suc-

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cessful. He failed, for example, to locate the ruin of St. Ninian's Chapel, which was at the south-eastern base of the Calton Hill. He was hardly to blame for missing it, however, as a dwelling-house had then been built over the remaining vaults. Hugo Arnot describes it in his *History of Edinburgh* as 'the nearest house to the Register Office on the south-east, except the row of houses on the east side of the Theatre.' George was more fortunate in his visit to Craiglockhart, where he saw the ruins of the fortalice: he noted its 'square tower with two arched doorways, one within another and on the left hand of the outermost a winding staircase'—details which were later recorded by Grant in *Old and New Edinburgh* (vol. iii. p. 42). But George Sandy adds the interesting fact that 'the tower part of the building is converted into a dwelling-house.'

Hugh Watson and George spend an occasional evening in the Theatre at Shakespeare Square, which stood on the site of the present General Post Office. The statues of Comedy, Drama and Shakespeare are not yet in position, but George notes that they are to be set up at the portico, Shakespeare in the middle. Actually they were later placed on the pediment of the Theatre. Here also they gain entrance free of payment, by the device of Watson who obtains pass-out checks from men whom he knows. Here, too, George is critical of plays and actors. 'Lady Wallace's play is damn'd.' Another play, *The Honest Yorkshireman*, he dubs 'childish, silly.' He probably sees Mrs. Siddons and Digges, but passes no remarks on the acting of either of these famous people. He does not refer to those gay resorts at Kirkbraehead (site of L.M.S. station) and Comely Green, Abbeyhill, where fireworks and concerts are held in the evenings; nor to the concerts in St. Cecilia's Hall. The New Assembly Rooms in George Street he equally ignores. Unfortunately he is not aware that he lives in the Golden Age of Edinburgh, a city which holds more eminent men of letters and men of science

DIARY OF GEORGE SANDY, APPRENTICE W.S. 9

than any other capital, Paris alone excepted. If he has any interest in the famous men whom he passes daily in the High Street he never refers to them. In that respect he resembles other chroniclers of a past age. Everyday sights are commonplace. He will see such men as Adam Smith, whose book *The Wealth of Nations* has been translated into most European languages, and who, when on a recent visit to London, was the guest of honour of the Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, and other statesmen. 'Pray be seated, gentlemen,' implores Smith of his hosts who had stood at his entry. 'Not till you're seated' is Pitt's answer; 'we are your pupils.' Mr. Smith dwells in Panmure House off the Canon-gate and so frequently passes by George's house. There are the Rev. Dr. Robertson, Principal of the University, author of various notable histories, most famous of which is his *History of Charles V.*; the Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, minister of the High Kirk (St. Giles') and Professor of Rhetoric in the University, whose Sermons are popular in London homes; Professor Dugald Stewart, whose most distinguished pupils—Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Lord Lansdowne and Sir Walter Scott—will in coming days recall with affection their much respected teacher.

George may be tempted to look at Creech's shop for these renowned Edinburgh men, and for John Home, dramatist, friend of the poet Collins and intimate confidant of his distant kinsman, the late David Hume; Adam Ferguson, the ex-Professor of Natural Philosophy, who, when chaplain of the Black Watch at Fontenoy, seized a claymore and rushed upon the enemy at the head of the Regiment; who also was one of Robert Burns's hosts during the poet's sojourn in Edinburgh, and whose name partly lives by reason of a coloured print which led to the only few words spoken by Burns to the boy, Walter Scott; Professor Joseph Black, most renowned perhaps of European chemists; and James Hutton, who has not yet published his *Theory of the Earth*.

Among his own contemporaries he meets Walter Scott and Francis Jeffrey, each of whom has seen Robert Burns on the street.

The lawyer's apprentice has his eyes on the buildings that are about to be demolished and on the clearances that have been made for opening up the new street of the South Bridge. For that the historic wynds of Niddry, Peebles and Merlion have been demolished, except a small part of Niddry's Wynd. Gone is Nicol Uddart's house, the home of the Provost during the reign of James VI. There is still left that other historic house of the Black Turnpike, which is doomed to go in order that Hunter Square and Blair Street—named in honour of Lord Provost Hunter Blair—may be made.

There are two other old tenements which in this year 1788 collapse, facts noted by George, who passes by without remark the vendors at their stalls set on the street, the hawkers who make Babel by their cries of 'Syboes,' 'Fine Gilmerton Sand,' and fifty other things. He has nothing to say of the bent old men and women who queue at the various street wells for the water which they will carry up the steep stairs to their rich clients; nor does he mind the group of caddies or 'Flying Stationers' who stand about St. Giles' awaiting chance employers—men and boys who know everyone by sight and by name. Though he does not refer to any of the shops, he certainly must have looked at the books in the windows of Constable at the head of Craig's Close and at the shop of William Creech. The intruded tenement of Luckenbooths, which blocks most of the street at St. Giles', is already doomed, though newspaper correspondents are indignant to learn that it is to be taken down. George notes 'there is no word of pulling it down.' Actually it survived until 1817, when it and the Tolbooth were cleared away. The Luckenbooths contain several first-class shops. 'Patrick Thomson, Merchant,' was there a few years earlier, and on the opposite side of the street, above the sign of the 'Red

Lion,' is the 'Antique Shop' where George Sandy might gaze on the old articles displayed. He is deeply interested in the old Tolbooth, which looms high and forbidding at the west end of St. Giles', where red-coated, black-gaitered Town Guardsmen loll about or sit on a bench smoking pipes; he notes the 'gallows they are putting up,' and he speculates again and again on the probable date of arrival of its next noted occupant, William Brodie, Deacon of the Wrights, Town Councillor—and Burglar. George never fails to enter the latest news of the fugitive deacon, his capture in Amsterdam and the mission of the King's messenger to bring him home; and he tells an amusing incident—not elsewhere related—of how the deacon, before his flight, had been asked to repair the damage done to the office of Inglis, Horne & Co. at the east side of Parliament Close, and how he had said to the clerks of the firm: 'I can't conceive how the rogues have got in. I hope they'll be taken yet—the rascals—I'll be damned if I would not make a gallows at my own expense to hang three of them at a time.' He tells of Denovan, printer of the *Edinburgh Directory*, who, having bought Brodie's Trade Signboard, had it painted black to hide Brodie's name and was waiting for it to dry before painting his own name on it. Before that was done a wag painted on the board white tears, customary in funereal hatchments, and across the words 'Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.' The Diary ends in August 1788, three months before the execution of the deacon at the Tolbooth. George would certainly not miss being a spectator of Mr. Brodie taking farewell of the world, for he reports having seen from the window of his friend, Hugh Watson, in the High Street, the execution of one Young, who 'they say was very penitent.'

The Lawnmarket and its courts are popular with lawyers, whose clerks may be seen on dark nights copying by candle-light law papers for the Court. George Sandy goes from Mr. Barclay's office in James's Court with papers to Counsel

in the Parliament House; he passes Liberton's, Forrester's and Beth's Wynds—three old wynds which will be swept away before 1808 to make room for the Signet and Advocates' libraries. Proceeding between St. Giles' with its four churches—the Tower of which he notes is being painted—and the Goldsmiths' Hall, he enters the Parliament House by the great door flanked with the statues of Justice and Mercy and crowned with the City's Triple Towered Arms—a door which, from 1640 to 1707 during the Sessions of Parliament, was guarded by the Lord High Constable and his officers, but is now long forgotten.

It is disappointing that George has nothing to say of all this: no mention of the Inner House with the two black frames on either side of the fireplace, one with the Lord's Prayer, the other with the Ten Commandments printed in letters of gold; nothing to tell of any of those Lords of Session who, in the Inner House, sat around the horseshoe-shaped Bench—Braxfield, Glenlee, Gardenstone, Monboddie, Eskgrove, Alva, Eliock, Stonefield, Hailes, Ankerville, Swinton, Henderland, Rockville. We do know the name of one Counsel Mr. Barclay employed—not John Clerk, Maconochie, Dundas, Cullen, Corbet, Wight, Matthew Ross—but Charles Hope, who later became Lord President.

On the festive occasion of the King's Birthday George could not enter the Parliament House—that being reserved for the 1500 citizens who, on the invitation of the Lord Provost, drank the loyal toasts and apparently behaved in uproarious fashion. Outside in the Close, however, George Sandy is present, not to observe the libations, not the patriotic speeches of the magistrates, not the gun-fire of Town Guard or of Castle, not the bells pealing 'Great Caesar' and 'Britons Strike Home,' but the horseplay in Parliament Close—'where as usual there was a most infernal scene of confusion. The number of dead cats and serpents [fireworks] was astonishing. We got some good fun there till 6 o'clock.'

George Sandy having completed his apprenticeship and passed the necessary examinations, was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet on 10th July 1798. His friend, John Patison, son of the Town Clerk of Leith, was admitted on the same day; Hugh Watson had become W.S. ten months earlier. Patison, as an ancestor of Lord Macmillan, is represented in the legislature of to-day.

In 1804 George Sandy, W.S., had an opportunity of indulging his old hobby of arranging a library, proposing rules for its management and compiling a catalogue in the most scientific manner then known. The Library of the W.S. Society in Writers' Court was then in a state of disorder—books in wrong shelves, books on the floor bound and unbound. Appointed Convener of a Committee charged to restore order, he worked for several months, devoting five hours each day until he was able to report that every book was in its proper place, every book overdue had been returned, and all unbound parts bound. The Society was naturally impressed and grateful. Next he tackled the cataloguing with the same fervour and, having completed it, had his manuscript copy printed and bound. The volume, which measures 12 ins. by 9 ins., has 866 pages in which are classified entries and an Index of Authors' names and of subjects. In his anonymous preface Sandy explains the system of his catalogue and its merits, and in the concluding paragraph, 'The Compiler has paid as much attention as he could to the correction of dates and names and to orthographical accuracy; and owing to the care of Mr. Stewart, Printer, there will be found much fewer errors of the press than were to be expected in a work of such extent, composed in so many different languages.'

This signal proof of his abilities and prodigious industry no doubt influenced the directors of the Bank of Scotland in their appointment of Mr. Sandy as secretary to their Bank. For thirty-two years he served the Bank with the same

assiduity and enthusiasm as he had shown in writing his Diary. When, in 1837, he retired, the Directors expressed in their Minutes 'the sense they entertained of the ability and zeal he has displayed in the service of the Bank for the long period of thirty-two years. In consideration of the same and also from a sense of the benefit the Bank may occasionally receive from Mr. Sandy's experience and judgement they reserve the power of calling upon him for such information and advice in the Law Department of the Bank as they may consider necessary.'

Mr. George Sandy had then more leisure to note the changes that were being made in the streets and buildings of the city, where he was a familiar figure. Benjamin Crombie, whose reputation as an artist is still high, has portrayed him with high hat jammed over his ears, small, twinkling, humorous eyes, turn-up nose and long, protruding chin, and cheeks which look unshaven.

George seems never to have liked the 'New Town'; when forced to quit the Old Town he sought a lodging in the southern suburbs, finding one in Park Place—which stood on the site of the McEwan Hall—a street in which was born Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882), Archbishop of Canterbury. George later moved still farther south—to 3 Buccleuch Place (a part which was demolished and rebuilt years ago). There, unmarried and attended by a man and a maid servant, he dwelt for the rest of his life. He was wealthy, and the disposal of his money after his demise seems to have given him much thought, for he made four successive wills or a will and three 'supplementary dispositions.' In 1812 he bequeathed one-third of his estate to the children and grandchildren of his father's half-brother, James Sandy; but in 1831 he decided to revoke that part of his will because 'I have never seen any of them.' The deaths of certain beneficiaries and trustees necessitated the making of the second supplement in 1844 and of the third

in 1853, a few months before his own death, when his estate was declared to amount to £35,446, a considerable sum at any time but especially so in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Sandy must have revelled in making those dispositions, for they allowed him, like Bailie MacWheeble, to indulge in those expressions of the feudal legal system when transferring his property by 'earth and stone,' the use of 'staff and baton' by 'bailies in that part,' and the conveyance of a house in 'free blench with the reddendo of one penny, if asked for'; for expressing all which 66 pages of the Commissariat Book were required.

He disappoints us, however, in failing to mention either his books or his later diaries—if he had any. The only items, apart from heritable property and hard cash specified, are clothes which, with £100, were to pass to his man-servant. Mr. George Sandy, W.S., died on April 8, 1853, the last of his line and the last of his fellow-apprentices of 1788. His mother died in February 1790; his elder brother, Gilbert, on January 22, 1788; and his sisters, Eleanor and Agnes, in the years 1797 and 1799 respectively. Of the friends of his youth mentioned in the Diary all had predeceased him but Charles Cunningham, W.S., Town Clerk of Edinburgh, who survived Sandy by three years. Hugh Watson, W.S., had died in 1834, and John Patison, W.S., in 1843; Thomas Scott, W.S., younger brother of Sir Walter, had died in Canada in 1823 while serving as Paymaster of the 70th Regiment. James Milligan alone is unaccounted for. If James really became a Surgeon, as his friends proposed, it was probably elsewhere than in the Edinburgh College, for his name does not appear in any of its Lists nor in any Directory of the city.

'The Society of Independent Friends'—though 'Dissolved in 1788'—nevertheless survives, as long as the Diary of its 'Secretary, Scribe and Librarian' finds readers.

C. A. MALCOLM.

DIARY

[The Journal lacks pp. 1-50 and part of p. 51, which relates the burglaries by Deacon Brodie—especially the Excise Office—and how one of the deacon's accomplices turned King's Evidence.—Ed.]

By his advice some town officers went to Arthurs Seat where at a place to which they were directed they began to Dig & having done so for some feet, they found a Chest with some hundred keys of all different sizes; among which were some without any work at all, & the use they made of these was this: they took one of these to the door they intended to force open & having previously covered the blank key with smoke by holding it over a Candle they turned it several times [page torn here]: they robbed Inglis & Horner's & very deliberately carried . . . to the Cross & made a Chairman go before them with his lanthorn to [show] them the door. And one Smith, a [leader] of the gang, hired a cellar in the Parliament Close to put their spolia in. It would be endless to recount their rogueries: let it suffice to say, that the whole was detected by the above Evidence, & some of them safely lodged in the Tolbooth. Smith was seized out of a very sound nap on the very morning he was to set off for London in the Maill-Coach: his wife, who, by the bye, was likewise an accomplice, was nabbed just as she was . . . ly stepping into the Box (a p . . . something like that of the Maill-Coach & goes to London). Deacon Brodie, Cabinet Maker . . . was concerned but he [absco]nded. A reward of £200 sterling is upon his head. So much for news.

Monday, 17th March. This day the History of the Devil on Two sticks & the Gentle Shepherd added to the Library. Jas. Milligan got the loan of Pennant's Tour Vol. Ist. This day the Sacrament finished. N.B. At this time Lord Provost Grieve at London about the Bill for improving Leith Harbour.



GEORGE SANDY, W.S.
(circa 1835)

DIARY OF GEORGE SANDY, APPRENTICE W.S. 19

Tuesday, 18. This day Sheriff's Plan for improving Leith Harbour added to the Library. Geo. Sandy having got the loan of Johnston's Tour from Andrew Duncan J. M. proposed making reprisals by keeping it for the book which the said A. Duncan lost of his some years before. We will accordingly try what can be done.

N.B. 10th June 1788. J. M. has since by himself put this in execution, see p. 163. James Milligan in[formed us of] having procured (*i.e.* Bought) a large bottle of CRAMBAMBULI (*i.e.* Whisky) together with a small mahogany dram-cup. Same day a Committee tasted the crambambuli—judged the same very good & ordered the bottle to be sealed with the Great-Seall, & lodged in the Stores of the Society, against the next Journey, whereof the following instrument was taken.

At Edinburgh, the 18th of March of the year 1788. The Society having procured an Excellent bottle of Crambambuli do hereby ordain the Cork of the same to be sealed with the Society's Seall & to be lodged with Jas. Milligan in the Society's Stores agst. the next Journey. GEO. SANDY.

JAS. MILLIGAN.

Sealed & Signed the 19 day of March 1788 years.

GEO. SANDY.

Sederunt, 18th March 1788.

The Society having Considered that they are shortly to begin their respective books; do hereby Determine to go some Journey the first good Saturday or Holiday And the one that appears most likely to them is to go down to Leith & thence Westward to Newhaven & thence along the Coast to Cramond. And if any other be resolved on, it shall be mentioned accordingly.

Sealed 19 March 1788. GEORGE SANDY p. himself.

Wednesday. Geo. Sandy has hopes of receiving £0 : 1 : 0. James Milligan proposes to borrow the same sum from an old acquaintance named Thomas Scott, son of Walter Scot,



writer to ye Signet. Same day George Sandy procured a large square bottle for holding Crambambuli.

INSTRUMENT CONCERNING JOURNIES

The Society having taken into consideration the inconvenience of most of their journies by often not having a bit of bread to eat Do Hereby ordain the members on every Journey to take with them the following articles.

Of bread & crambambuli as much as they . . . This instrument for sundry reasons has not been gone on with.

GEORGE SANDY.

Thursday 20th.

ANECDOTE OF BRODIE

Soon after Messrs. Inglis and Horner was broke up the Carpenter they sent for was no other than Mr. Brodie. He came accordingly and surveyed the door and the whole shop with all the Gravity imaginable exclaiming between whites to the Clerks in the room 'Well I can't conceive how the rogues have got in. I hope they will be taken yet—the rascals—I'll be damn'd if I would not make a gallows at my own expense to hang three of them at a time'—At the time this daring action was perpetrated this honest gentleman was of the Council of Edinburgh & was of the jury of the last Criminal that was executed for housebreaking.

Friday March 21st. We set out from G. Sandy's about ten for Restalrig. N.B. We had each our bottles full of Crambambuli.—The Roads dirty—Arrived at the Abbey where we stopt a while. Went on & arrived at Restalrig. From Restalrig we went to Leith. We went from it to Newhaven where we met H. Watson, John Patison & D. Little. We all walked up to Edinburgh together.

N.B. They told us of an intention they had of going off in a boat tomorrow to Inch Mickery & wanted George Sandy to join but his poverty—I need say no more.

Same day James Milligan informed of Mr. C. promising to get him 'Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae.' This performed.

Saturday 22. James Milligan called upon George Sandy where they set about writing, viz. James Milligan from Pennant, & George Sandy from Maitland. Same day J. Milligan informed that on Thursday Smith's house was roused.

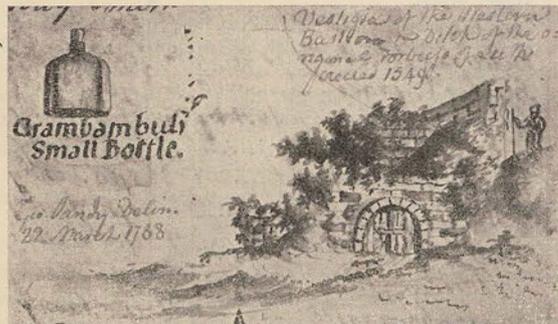


Fig. 1. The West Bastion of Leith

RECORD Continued. Same day George Sandy was employed in packing up his Effects to prepare for flitting. This day an accurate Survey of the library was taken as follows :

LIST OF BOOKS :

	Vols.	Donor.
Smollets history of England	8	George Sandy
Sully's Memoirs	5	"
Arabian Nights	3	"
Voltaire's Select Pieces		"
Boyles Voyages		"
Goldsmith's Roman History		"
Scots' Collection		"
Vicar of Wakefield		"

	Vols.	Donor.
History of Margaret		George Sandy
Smollets travels	2	"
Historical Miscellany		"
Comic Romance	2	"
Vocal Miscellany		"
Devil on (Two) Sticks		"
Swift's Works	6	"
Pope's Homer	2	"
Roderick Random	2	"
Pilgrims Progress		"
Pitscotties History		"
Oriental Tales		"
Tartarian Tales		"
Jonathan Wild		"
Guthrie's Grammar		"
Kennet's Antiquities		"
Johnston's Dictionary	2	"
Cooks Voyage		"
English Voyages	3	"
Plays		"
Tooke's Pantheon		"
Farces		"
Treatise on Arithmetic		"
Lives of Admirals	2	"
Magazine	2	"
Fool of Quality	5	"
Cassandra		J. Milligan
Keyslers travels	3	"
Gulliver		"
Gay's Fables		"
Gentle Shepherd		"
Sheriff's Plan		"
Laurie's battles		Hugh Watson
Savages Emperors		"
Scarron's Works		"
History of Witches		"
Byrons Narrative		"
Robinson Crusoe		Jas. Milligan

STATEMENT

By George Sandy	34 [vols.]
By Jas. Milligan	6
By Hugh Watson	5
	<hr/>
	45

Same day George Sandy took down the small Bookcase which used to hang in his room, packt up some books & other things in it & nailed it close down so that it is ready; The Library is also ready, all but a nail or two in the Corners of it. His people are also making great preparations so that he Expects to flit in a few days.

But amongst all these preparations for fitting, it may be necessary to say something of the house he is going to remove to. It is situated at the foot of Carrubbers Close, in a small Square or Court. It is the door above Mr. Thomas Ruthven, writer, who is known to us by the name of Tammy sometimes. This is a bad Situation but there is no help for it. George Sandy's room is up a small stair. It looks to the East and has a good prospect out of it.

March 22d. Same day George Sandy made a drawing of the College Church.

PROMISSORY NOTE

' Seeing an accurate Survey of the Library has been made I, James Milligan, hereby Promise to Do the same of the Prints and Drawings before the first of April next.'

Signed & Sealed the 24 day of March 1788.

JAS. MILLIGAN.

Monday 24. George Sandy exchanged his saw, Drawing Blad & Pudgy ruler for a Mahogany ruler of J. M.

Same day a bond Concerning the Library made out. J. Milligan has hopes of a shilling.

24 DIARY OF GEORGE SANDY, APPRENTICE W.S.

Tuesday 25. James Milligan bought a shilling version book: Same day he got a coin Edw. 1st from Tom Scott from whom also he borrowed a shilling for his book.

DISPOSITION

I, George Sandy, hereby dispone & give up to you James Milligan all and whole my Parchment Blad and Saw; but the privilege of using the said saw shall still remain to me the said George Sandy.

And I, the said James Milligan, hereby Dispone and give up to you the said George Sandy all and whole my ruler & the Coin given me by Tom Scot: but the privilege of keeping the said Coin shall still remain to you the said J. Milligan as long as our coins shall remain in Common betwixt us.

Sealled with the Great Seall & Signed by us at Edinburgh the 25 day of March Anno Domini 1788. GEO. SANDY.

JAS. MILLIGAN.

Same day George Sandy bought a Shilling version book.

Wednesday 26. George Sandy employed in packing up as he Expects to flit on the 31st, being Monday first. He nailed down the Library, all the books being in but 2 which James Milligan has. They say that Brodie is taken but we don't believe it. This day George Sandy was called up at Hill's; after 12 he went in search of St. Ninian's Chapel but could not find it. Same day the following Deed was recorded as follows:

We, James Milligan, Hugh Watson, and George Sandy hereby promise that none of us shall take from the library more than one book at a time. And we the said James Milligan and Hugh Watson hereby promise none of us to take from the Library any book without telling the Librarian thereof & seeing him Mark down the same in a slate which hangs in the room, and we hereby Empower the said George

DIARY OF GEORGE SANDY, APPRENTICE W.S. 25

Sandy not to give any person two books at a time, All under the penalty to be enjoined by the remanent members. And we consent &c.

Signed by us the 25 day of March A.D. 1788.

GEO. SANDY.
HUGH WATSON.
JAS. MILLIGAN.

Recorded by me Geo. Sandy.

Same day George Sandy procured 5 more magazines.

I, James Milligan, hereby Promise to make an accurate List of the Coins before the 1st of May next under the penalty of forfeiting the same. JAS. MILLIGAN.

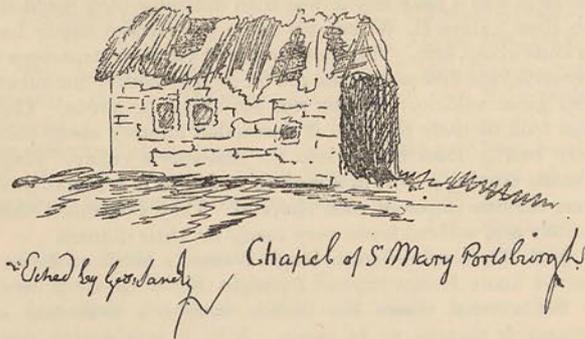


Fig. 2. The Chapel of the Barras, near King's Stables Road

Friday 28. George Sandy carried some things to his new house & afterwards he went to the College where he met with James Milligan & they both went to Portsburgh & Examined the Chapel there: came to G. S.'s house at 12 from whence they went to the house in Carrubbers Close where they remained till 2 o'clock.

Saturday 29. George Sandy called upon Hugh Watson when it was determined after some debate, to make a pleasure Excursion to Arthur's Seat. They accordingly set off & without stopping at the Abbey, proceeded to the Duke's Walk. They now passed first the Well of St. Anthony & began to ascend the mountain on the East side of the Valley between the Seat & Salisbury Craigs. The heath was pretty dry. They continued their Course below the precipice, & at length mounted over the rocks there, so that they were now on the West side of the Valley on the South side of the ruinous Chapel of St. Anthony. They now began to Ascend the steepest place, & at last arrived at the summit. They sat down on the rock there & viewed the Country about them but as it was a hazy day it was with difficulty they could see the Bass. Here H. W. cut his name but George Sandy had no knife about him. They now prepared for their departure & descended the first part of the hill on their tomeens [tummies?] with great velocity, & then run for about 50 yards. They then took to their tomeens & descended another steep place more swiftly than before into St. Anthony's valley. Hugh Watson espying a cleft in a rock ascended to it & found there some curious pieces of rock chrystal. They Continued their journey and arrived home very ready for their dinners.

N.B. They set off from Hugh Watson's house at 12 and arrived home before three. At night H. W. & G. S. went to the auction where the former bought a Collection of voyages & travels, at 14 pence. N.B. it was a very good bargain & thereby hangs a tale. 29 March. N.B. About this time the Greyfriars Cemetery has been shut up for what reasons we don't know.

SEDERUNT of the Society, 27 March 1788.

Recorded as follows:—

At Edinburgh the Twenty Seventh day of March One thousand and seven hundred & Eighty Eight years. The

Society having considered the ruinous Condition of their Colours, & Considering that they have never been yet able to effect their project of the Dye, & Considering—but it is not my intention to descend to such particulars: let it suffice to say, that we are both at present in a humour for drawing especially *George Sandy*. We may indeed say, with Gray:

'Chill penury repressd their noble rage
And froze the genial Current of the soul.'

We therefore think it Expedient to do our best to repair our Colours as soon as possible & James Milligan is to see & get the loan of the Polygraphic Dictionary again. We are therefore to fall to as soon as Geo. Sandy shall have emerged from the Confusion, into which, by flitting, he is thrown.

Recorded by me

GEORGE SANDY.
JAMES MILLIGAN.

The Society farther ordain that all the Experiments, projects, etc. in Drawing, taken from the Polygraphic Dictionary, be Executed by Jas. Milligan, as Chymist; that the other half of the trouble be borne by the said Geo. Sandy, viz. that of Recording every Experiment etc. even of the smallest Consideration very minutely.

GEO. SANDY.
JAS. MILLIGAN.

Sunday 30th. A wet day. Very cloudy—7 at night It blows hard. 8 o'clock a perfect Hurricane.

Statement for March 1788. All things better than at Last Statement.

Monday 31st. George Sandy is to flit today. 9 o'clock, Jas. Milligan called upon him & informed him of his having been in the Chapel Royal. Upon which We resolved to make a bold attempt at 11 o'clock & see & get in. (Half past 9) We set off for G. S.'s house having each a burden of his things (for which G. S. returns thanks to J. M.). We arrived at the house where having deposited our burdens, We examined the Accounts of the Chapel Royal by Maitland and Arnot.

J. M. went next to his breakfast & George Sandy amongst other things copied the names of the monuments in the Chapel Royal from Maitland, viz. James 5, Queen Magdalen, D. Jean Hamilton, Adam Bothwel, Margaret Ross, Lord Belhaven, George Wishart & George Earl of Sutherland. 11 o'clock J. M. called on G. S. & they proceeded down the Canongate & went round the North Side of the Palace, saw the door open & went in. Examined the monuments on that side. On that side there are only the remains of two pillars, one of them repaired with wood. Proceeded to the Royal vault and viewed Darnley's thigh bones. In the vault next to it there were 2 large Wooden Coffins. In the one next the door was a body still entire & in the other a skull & some bones. Near this vault is a small monument illegible. At the West End of the Nave is an Arch with Saxon ornaments. We had just got a glimpse of the beautiful Monument of Lord Belhaven when we were called out by one of the Workmen. N.B. We discovered the monuments of D. J. Hamilton, Adam Bothwel, Lord Belhaven, George Wiseheart, & George Earl of Sutherland.

April 1. George Sandy procured 4 fine large prints, landscapes, & some books.

Wednesday 2. The Society have determined to purchase some small tin dyes for casting colours.

Receipt for making Bistre Lake. Take $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of madder, steep it in $\frac{1}{2}$ Gill of White wine vinegar for an hour then put it in a glazed pot on the fire. After about the half of it is boiled away pour in another $\frac{1}{2}$ Gill of White Wine vinegar put in $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. allum let it boil till one third be boiled in, then take it off and strain it thro' a linen cloth then put it into another clean glazed pot, set it over the fire till it grow a little thick then pour it into the dye. Recorded by me.

GEO. SANDY.

I hereby Certify that the above Experiment was tried by me & that it did very well.

JAS. MILLIGAN.

Thursday 3. The Society have found out a way to make China Ink. It will be recorded shortly.

4th. We hear that Williamson, the Messenger who went in quest of Brodie is returned but has brought no tidings of him.

Saturday. George Sandy & Hugh Watson crackt together all night. Hugh Watson presented me with a ticket to Laurie's Publick. State of Cash—To Purchasing Tin Dyes for Casting Colours. If they be sold at the price of 1 Half-penny G. S. will take 2 & J. M. 4 but if a penny G. S. will take one & J. M. two so that the Total Expense comes to £--3. By George Sandy £--1; Jas. Milligan --2.

7. We hear that a Canal is to be made in the North Loch—We took a Walk by the North Loch & surveyed it: at night George Sandy went to Laurie's Publick where he met H. Watson, &c. &c.

Tuesday 8. At 12 o'clock We took a Walk about 3 miles S.W. from Edr. to Craig Lochart, to view the ruins of a *fortalice* or fortified house there. We observed by the side of the road near a village West from Marchiston Castle a very Curious Sun Dial & near it on the other side of the road in a field two very ancient looking carved pillars about 50 feet asunder. The fortress of Craiglochart consists of a strong square tower with two arched Door ways one within another: on the left hand of the outermost is a wynding staircase: the lower part of the building is converted into a Dwelling house—We hear that a steeple is to be built upon St. Cuthbert's church.

Wednesday 9. The Library abolished. James Milligan got his books & Hugh Watson his.

12. Geo. Sandy made a Drawing copied from one of Alexander Cameron's. This is only mentioned because it is the first done with our own China ink. N.B. It does extraordinarily well.

RECEIT for making China Ink. Heat Glue over the fire in the same way as if preparing it for joining Wood & when

it is perfectly liquid pour it out on a plate & then add lamp-black very well ground. Mix them well together with a mixer or knife & while it is yet liquid pour it into the dye.

GEO. SANDY.

We hear the following report at present concerning Brodie. About seven years ago as I remember, one Reid was murdered in Broughton Park. It seems that when Smith was tried before the Sheriff a few days ago, he Confest that he & Brodie were guilty of the said murder. And that is all my news.

I, George Sandy was down at the Abbey on Friday & learned that the price of seeing the Chapel Royal was THREEPENCE.

Receipt for making purple.—We James Milligan & George Sandy hereby certify that we tried the above receipt and that it did very well. 28 July 1788.

GEO. SANDY.

JAMES MILLIGAN.

I George Sandy hereby Dispone to you James Milligan all & whole my Salmon's Grammar & I the said Jas. Milligan Dispone to you all & Sundry my Robinson Crusoe my Gay my H[istory] of England & Scotland.

To be Extended on Vellum.

Signed by us at Edr. the 15 of April 1788.

[Two seals are affixed.]

GEO. SANDY.

JAS. MILLIGAN.

I James Milligan hereby Dispone to you George Sandy all & sundry my brush & black glass & I the said George Sandy hereby give up to you my brass plate & my share of Johnston's tour.

Signed by us at Edr. the 16 of April 1788.

GEO. SANDY.

JAMES MILLIGAN.

Saturday 19. The Collection abolished. We suppose the Coins will shortly be Divided also. We are informed that as

this year (1788) is the hundredth from the Revolution in 1688 & the 200th from the Defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588 there will be a public Thanksgiving on the 5 of November which was the day on which the Prince of Orange landed & on the same day about a Century before, the Gun-powder plot was Detected. Yesterday the second Humanity Class in the College rose. George Sandy will have to attend Mr. Barclay both forenoon & afternoon. This day (Saturday) Hugh Watson was out from 5 o'clock in the morning to 6 at night fishing but did not Catch anything. James Milligan thinks he will attend Gavin again along with Masterton.

Tuesday 22. We set out for Leith about 12 o'clock. A Stormy day. Went down to the shore & out to the Pier heads & came up again about 2 o'clock. Same day George Sandy got a piece of Glue.

Instrument on the Division of the Books & Prints At Edinburgh the 22 day of April One Thousand seven hundred & Eighty Eight years. Present Mr. James Milligan, George Sandy for himself & for Hugh Watson as to the Books.

We first were at the said George Sandy's where I the said James Milligan did receive all my books & I the said George Sandy did receive & give to Hugh Watson all the books which belonged to the said Hugh Watson And I the said James Milligan hereby Discharge the said George Sandy of keeping my said Books. We then went to the said James Milligan's where I the said George Sandy for myself received all my said Prints & Drawings except a few which I the said James Milligan hereby Bind & oblige myself to Deliver to the said George Sandy & I the said George Sandy hereby Discharge the said James Milligan from keeping my said Prints Drawings & others as well by myself as not by myself—Deducting always & Excepting the foresaid Prints & Drawings & others which the said James Milligan had & still has in his Custody & which the said James Milligan Promises to Deliver to the said George Sandy. The said James Milligan

still keeping the Coins medals & others belonging to us in his possession. We intend shortly to Divide the said Coins medals & others belonging to me the aforesaid James Milligan & to me the said George Sandy.

When this is done a Codicil or addition shall be made, added & adjoined hereto containing a full, true & particular Discharge of keeping the said Coins, medals & others along with the Discharge of the remanent Prints, Drawings & others in the possession of me the said George Sandy & in the Custody of the said James Milligan. And that shall be a sufficient Discharge from me the said George Sandy to the aforesaid James Milligan. AND NOW We both, the aforesaid George Sandy & James Milligan consent to the sealing hereof with our Great Seal & hereby Constitute . . . Our Pro[curato]rs In witness whereof these presents, written in the Records by the said George Sandy are subscribed by us at Edinburgh the fifteenth day of May One Thousand Seven hundred & Eighty Eight years. Sub S. Nostris Datum.

Compr. Delivery of Books and	GEO. SANDY.
Pictures to Each other.	JAS. MILLIGAN.
GEO. SANDY.	
Sealed by me	GEO. SANDY.

Thursday 24th. The 39th Regiment cantoned in Edinburgh Castle had their General Field-day today. I was there, as also was Hugh Watson & James Milligan. The day is very Stormy & the wind is higher than it has been all this winter: They performed but so so. They fired at first very ill.

Friday 25. At night 5 o'clock there came on a terrible Shower of rain which continued with very small intrusions [*sic*] all evening. I came out of Mr. Barclay's about $\frac{1}{2}$ past Six and went up to Hugh Watson's where . . . was. We diverted ourselves with Hugh in the Character of *Петрaxe* for some time till our attention was diverted by a flash of lightning. This was about Eight o'clock. We

sat down & in a short time counted 7 others. We after that went ben to the kitchen where in a little we saw Five more. The Thunder for the first 4 flashes seemed to be at a Distance but afterwards was very loud. I now prepared to depart lest the Storm should become worse. When I was going down the stair I saw Two very great flashes & had hardly got into the Street before there came on the heaviest Shower of Hail that I ever remember. The hailstones were very large & the shower continued or I got home, the lightning flashing all the way like guns firing across the street. After I got home there was some more lightning.

Statement for April 1788. The Library, Collection of Prints &c. Abolished. The rest much on a Par.

Signed and Sealed the 3 of May 1788. GEO. SANDY.

And by me the 16th day of May 1788. JAS. MILLIGAN.

3 May, Saturday. I called on Hugh Watson & we met J. Patison on the South Bridge & we all 3 went down to Leith. We first went to J. P.'s then to Hill's Dock where after some delay we got a boat and sailed up and down till 2 o'clock. I then came up to Edinburgh with Robert Fullerton.

Monday 5. Hugh Watson & John Patison set off this morning at 4 o'clock for George Field.

Wednesday 7. This day a Contract of Agreement was made out & registered as follows: At Edinburgh the 16 day of May 1788 years We, James Milligan and George Sandy having divided our Books, Prints, & Drawings viz. The Books which were kept by the said George Sandy & the Prints etc. kept by the said James Milligan, I, the said James Milligan hereby discharge the said George Sandy of keeping my Books, Pamphlets and others of the same kind which belonged to me the said Jas. Milligan & I the said George Sandy hereby Acquit the said James Milligan of having & keeping my Prints Drawings & Others whatsoever pertaining and belonging to me the

said George Sandy that are in the Custody of the said James Milligan & I likewise Empower the said James Milligan to keep etc. my Coins until his Indenture be made out & signed & I the said J. M. hereby Empower the said George Sandy to keep the Soc.'s Seal until 1st July. We both declare that our other affairs shall go on as well as if our said books etc. had not been divided. In Testy. whereof etc.

(signed) GEORGE SANDY.
JAS. MILLIGAN.

7 May. A rainy Day, Thunder Expected. 6 at night. Cleared up to one of the finest nights that has been this year. Yesterday I procured a neat Seal and a book Entitled Theater of Mortality being copies of monuments in Scotland.

I George Sandy appoint my Seal of which an Impression is annexed my privy seal &c. GEO. SANDY.

Friday 9. When I rose this morning it was raining very hard & it rained very hard & regularly without Interruption all the rest of the day till I went to bed at night.

Saturday 10. A fine morning. I write this a little before ten. I am just going up to the Castle hill in Expectation of the Review—Farewell—3 o'clock, I was at the Review—I marched out with the Soldiers & just as I was Entering the Links I fell in with J. Milligan & Tom Scott. I did not stay long with them, they seeming to have Secrets to tell Each other. The review went on very well & was the best I have seen for some years. They were besides remarkably well clothed. After Cruising sometime & so forth I fell in with Charley Cuningham & Hay & staid some time with them and got a good deal of fun. At last I lost them in a Great Croud. After going about a good while longer, viewing the review etc. which by the bye was tolerably near a Close & growing tired of it I chanced to fall in with Cuningham by himself once more & finding his notions agreed pretty much

with mine We fully & particularly resolved to return home. We accordingly did so.

Tuesday 13. I rose at 6 o'clock and immediately went to Leith. I went on the Sands & went up East a good way & in a small time I bathed. The water was very hot. I went on the Pier & after staying some time I came up about 9 o'clock—This day I observed with Regret that the Black Turnpike is pulling down. Yesterday I surveyed the North Loch. N.B. They were cutting some very broad Drains above the Mound.

Wednesday 14, 6 o'clock morning. I went down to Leith and bathed. The sea was colder than yesterday. I came up about $\frac{1}{2}$ p[ast] 8, 10 o'clock I finished a Letter to send Hugh Watson. 1 o'clock I took it down to the Earlston carrier. This day part of the 7th Regt. of Foot marched into Edinburgh. About two thirds of the 39th marched out Yesterday.

I George Sandy wrote this Record in my own name since Thursday Twenty Fourth April instant. Sub S. Meo Datum.

GEO. SANDY.

Instrument—Whereas they are going to pull down the Land at the North western Corner of Peebles Wynd commonly called the Black Turnpike built Anno Domini One Thousand Four Hundred & Thirty. THEREFORE It has been thought proper that I should make a Drawing of the same, which I accordingly did as it appears above [see over—ED.] on the Fifteenth day of May One thousand Seven hundred & Eighty Eight years the said land having stood 348 years.

GEORGE SANDY.

SEDERUNT of the Society: Present, Mr. James Milligan, Mr. George Sandy. Things to be taken: Blad & Paper; Pencil & Brush & Ch. Ink; Cram^{by} bottle & Glass & Traveling bottle; Of money three halfpence; Whang of bread; Minute book & pen & ink; Perspective Glass. Place: To

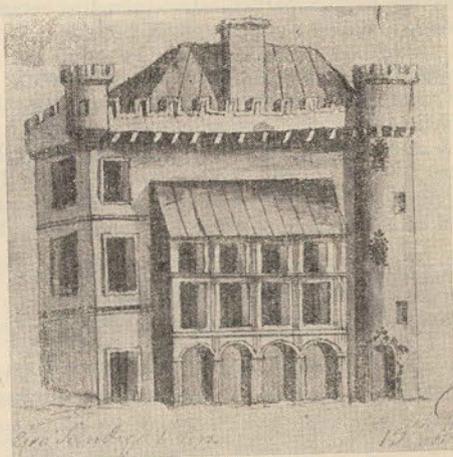


Fig. 3. The Black Turnpike, near Tron Church

the Chapel Royal thence to Leith & thence to Newhaven.
Time: to set off at 6 or before it if we can.

To be at the Ch. Royal	H. M.	7.10
To be at Leith		7.30
To be at Newhaven		9.0
To be at Edinburgh		10.—
To take our breakfasts		10.15
To do any thing that comes in to our heads		3.0
Total	The Devil	

Saturday 17. This day James Milligan called on me at $\frac{1}{2}$ 7 o'clock. Went down to the Abbey & from thence to Restalrig & from thence to Leith. We came up to Edinburgh at 10. After breakfast I went down to Leith alone & bathed. The water was very warm but very rough.

They are speaking at present of conducting the East Road through the Outer Court of Holyrood House, thence through St. Ann's Yards and the Duke's Walk to the Watering Stone, and of forming the rill of Water at St. Anthony's Hill into a Canal. N.B. The spring at the Welhouse is turned down the North Loch.

N.B. Lady Wallace's Play damn'd.

Lord Provost Grieve is returned, the Leith Harbor Bill being passed.

Monday 19. This afternoon about one o'clock I went down to Leith and bathed. Water tolerably warm but rough.

Tuesday 20. This day a quantity of water came down the North Loch & overflowed the Physic Garden.

Wednesday 21. I rose between 5 & 6 & went up to the Castle Hill & went out with the Regt. to the Links & saw them Exercise. They came in about Nine. After breakfast I went to Mr. Hill's & got a certificate as follows:—

Edinburgh, 21st of May 1788.

'That the bearer Mr. George Sandy attended the Humanity Class in the University of Edinburgh Two years and Prosecuted his Studies with more than ordinary attention and success is attested by

(Signed) JOHN HILL, L.H.P.'

Recorded by me

GEORGE SANDY.

Same day I received a Letter from Hugh Watson informing that he is to be in town in Eight days.

22. This day the Commissioner walked—I did not see him—It was the Earl of Leven.

Friday 23. This day I got 3 dutch tyles at the Register Office.

Saturday 24. About 9 o'clock went down & called upon J. Milligan—held a Sederunt.

24 May. Having considered that this day is vacant, and that we may go somewhere—after much Deliberation we agree

to go up the Cowgate, Grassmarket etc., to the Church of St. Cuthberts, to the water of Leith, to Newhaven & to Leith and from thence home. We each of us agree to take our Glasses, China ink, &c.

EXTRACTED BY GEO. SANDY.

At the Dwelling
house of James
Milligan, Cowgate,
10 o'clock morning

We accordingly went up the Cowgate during which time James Milligan informed me that his friends had thought it better for him to be a Surgeon than a writer & as they ought certainly to be the best judges of what Concerns him he is going to study physic. We talking of this & of my affairs as to my Indenture beguiled the way till we arrived at St. Bernard's Well. J. Milligan being very dry stooped to drink at a small stream near Deanhaugh at the north end of Deanhaugh bridge but it had a most Execrable taste. We Examined Deanhaugh as well as we could & arrived without any material accident at Newhaven. Here I met with M. Isabella Watson who informed me that Hugh was to be in town tomorrow which is Sunday 25th. The Dulce was scarce indeed there was none at all—We arrived at Edinburgh about 2 o'clock. Same night—8 o'clock James Milligan promised me a reading of Struts Manners of England & Harrison's British Classics—N.B. the above is very ill written but it is quite Dark.

Sunday 25. This night at ten o'clock Hugh Watson arrived from Georgefield.

Monday 26. I rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5 o'clock & went up to the Castlehill. About 6, the Soldiers marched out to the Links. 8 o'clock I came in from the Links. 10 o'clock Going up to Mr. B.'s I met Hugh Watson who was coming down to Call on me. He told me several adventures of his at Georgefield & par-

ticularly that he had been at Melross. In the Abbey yard of Melross is the following Epitaph:—

'Earthe goeth on ye Earthe glisteryng lyke Golde'
'The Earthe gois to ye Earthe souner than it wolde'
'The Earthe buyldis on ye Earthe Castellis and touris'
'The Earthe saithe unto ye Earthe "all sall bee ouris".'

1 o'clock, We went up to the Castle & Examined it—Viewed the Crown room—It is strongly shut with wooden planks & iron bars.

27. I rose at 6 o'clock & Called upon Hugh Watson. We went down to Leith. Called on J. Patison & washed—Sea warm—Up about 9 o'clock—Was with H. Watson at the Roll Call at night.

Wednesday 28. Rose at 5, read till 6—went up & called on Hugh Watson, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 went down to Leith with him & bathed—The sea colder than yesterday—H. Watson seized a waxcloth Cap which somebody had left on the stones. I was the first that saw it but he took it—Came up about 9. 10, Went to Mr. B.'s. N.B. I copied at Mr. B.'s for the 1st time 3 letters in the Letter book.

Thursday 29. My Birthday. Rose at 7, went & took a walk in the Meadows—The Soldiers not afield today—it being a Holiday Viz. King Charles's Restoration—Castle fired—Cold day—Wind Easterly & very high. North Loch at present a good deal overflowed west from the mound. Same day bought an inkholder £0 0 9.

Some days ago the Charity box at the Workhouse postern was broken open & every thing in it carried off. This is coming low indeed!

Mr. Brodie's goods were Rouped some days ago & among the rest Mr. Denovan, the Printer, purchased the sign board at the head of the Close & painted it black for the purpose of inserting his own name on it. The other morning some wag had delineated on the black ground white tears like

those on the doors of monuments & in the middle of the board these words: 'SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.'

Friday 30. Rose $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6—went out to the meadows—Soldiers not afield—10 o'clock Went to Mr. B.'s—North Loch still overflowed—Black Turnpike pulling down. N.B. Whitsunday is past & I am already 16teen years old & thereby hangs a tale—

I George Sandy wrote this record in my own name since 15 May last.

Sub S. meo datum.

GEORGE SANDY.

Sat. 31. Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6. Went down to the North Loch. Observed about 30 ditchers cutting a Trench from that part of it which lies nearest the S.W. corner of Canal Street to the Drainhead. A Number of new bricks lying on the Edges of the Loch, for what reason I can't tell—Went along the sides of the North up to the Mound—The northern arch of the Ditch dammed up (which causes the overflowing above the mound) & men at work in it—men preparing Lime and Freestone at the mouth of it—Bricks lying there also—Discovered a hole at the foot of the Mound side half way between Princes Street and the Loch—Came up to it and Examined it. It appeared to be a square vault of Freestone with a breach in the Wall at one Corner which was the hole that [I] Discovered it by first—Could not see the bottom—Threw in a stone, it took as much time as I could Count 9 (I counted quick tho' distinctly) to reach water. How deep the water is remains to be discovered—It is just on the point of being hid by the Earth tumbled down the sides of the Mound—Went to Mr. B. and wrote a Factory on stamp paper for the 1st time, Received from Mr. B. 5 shillings for it.

Sunday 1 June. A Dull day. Called on J. Milligan—N.B. He had not got Strutt—Commissioner walked—I did not see him. This the last Sunday of the General Assembly.

Monday 2. Rose at 8 o'clock—10 o'clock Went to Mr. B.'s. Mr. B. out of town at Falkirk—Came home at 2 o'clock.

Tuesday 3. Rose $\frac{1}{4}$ bef. 6. Went at 10 as usual—1 o'clock Came out, went along the Mound & descended to the North Loch—N.B. They were paving the drain with bricks in a Circular manner thus [see illustration below—Ed.]. Working still hard at the foot of the Loch—4. Took Don Quixote to the Binding—7. Called on Hugh Watson who was just returned from Carstairs to which place he set off on Friday last. N.B. No word either of the Lucken booths or Weigh



Fig. 4. The Mound, and Streams feeding the North Loch

house being pulled down or the Greyfriars Cemetery being enlarged.

Wedn. 4. HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY. His Britannic Majesty George the Third, King of G. Brit. France & Ireland, Defr. of the Faith etc. being this day Aged 50 years—Rose at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6.—Sat drawing till 8—Went at 10 to Mr. B.—came out at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12—Called on Hugh Watson, Played with him at the Traveller till 2—Came out of Mr. B.'s at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5 having gone there at 3. Called on Hugh Watson & went with him

to the Parl[iamen]t Close, where as usual there was a most infernal scene of Confusion—the number of Dead Cats & serpents [kind of fireworks—ED.] was astonishing.¹ We got some good fun there till 6 o'clock. Came up to Hugh Watson's again & staid till $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 8 o'clock.

Friday 6. Called for Don Quixote but it was not finished. Went up to the Roll-Call with H. Watson. Hugh Watson went to the French yesterday. N.B. I am in hopes of getting my <horologium soon as Mr. Alison has got it together with some books from Portugal>.²

Sat. 7. Rose at 6. Went down to the Abbey from thence to the Calton Hill & from thence home to my Breakfast—10—Went to Mr. B.—came out at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 11—Called on H. Watson. N.B. H. Watson went down to Newhaven at 1 to dinner—Came home at that time—5 o'clock went to Mr. Alison's to tea—He was not in—After tea diverted myself with looking thro' his perspective Glass—Observed the box with my <horologium & Books>. The former wanted the key and <Minute hand>. The latter were Wilson's Navigation, Brook's Gazetteer, Humphry Clinker & Tom Jones. Came home at 8.

Mond. 9. Rose at 4—At a quarter of Six, called on H. Watson went with him down to Leith, & bathed—Sea, cold—Called on J. Patison, Looked at the pictures of his Arnot's History—Came up about 8 o'clock—Yesterday saw in the Greyfriars Churchyard a monument building on the North Wall of

¹ 'Sing then how on the 4th of June
Our bells screed aff a loyal tune
Our ancient Castle shoots at noon
Wi' flagstaff buskit
Frae which the soger blades come doon
To cock their musket.

'Now round and round the serpents whiz
Wi' hissing wrath & angry bizz
Sometimes they catch a gentle gizz
Alake the day.'

[etc. etc.]

FERGUSON.

² Parts of the Diary which are in cipher are thus indicated.

the New Greyfriars Church To the Memory of John Carmichael Esqre. merch. in Edr. The monument has on it a beautiful releivo of Heriots Hospital, Mr. Carmichael having been one of the Governors of that Hospital—The Black Turnpike is level with the ground.

Tuesday 10. Rose at 6—Called on Hugh Watson & staid with him or Eight At Which hour he went down to the Arithmetic for the first time. He is with Ewing, with whom I Expect every day to Enter. N.B. Yesterday <Mama was over at Mr. Alison, but no word of my watch and books>. Called for Don Quixote & got it.

To Binding Quixote £- 1 -
Looked into the Parliament House—Called on Hugh Watson but he was not well. I came Home about 8 o'clock.

N.B. <I intend to call on Mr. Alison tomorrow morning about my Arithmetic & I will see about my watch & books. I> Fear, I Fear. I shall make Reprisals however if I can.

Wedn. 11. I called on Mr. Alison about my Arithmetic. <No Watch> nor <Books> Whereupon I entered my Protest.

Thurs. 12. Got the loan of the First volume of Strutt from James Milligan. Session sits this day. 12 o'clock called at Hugh Watson's—The Knocker tied up—he was very ill—Called for him again at 7—He was in a high fever. N.B. The E. Gavel of the Northern side of Mill's Square Pulling down—This day Delivered J. Milligan his Excep from Barrow's Polygraphic Dictionary.

Frid. 13. Went to Mr. B.'s at 10—At one, Called on Hugh Watson—He was a good deal better. Came home at 2. The cemerities of the Calton & Canongate are at present much enlarging Especially the Canongate. That of St. Cuthbert was enlarged about a month ago & the Grayfriars churchyard is to be Enlarged presently: all which shows how much the number of Inhabitants is increased of late—It mayn't be improper here to mark the Extent of Edinburgh at present, 13th June 1788 years—Length—from that part of Portsbrugh

of Argyle's square to the Potterrow Port—Whence going South for a few yards then turning East runs to the opening made in the wall for a passage from the South Bridge to Nicolsons Street. From that Opening it runs eastward along the southern side of the Royal Infirmary High School & Surgeons Hall to the Pleasants whence turning South [*sic, l.* north] Passes the Cowgate Port & ascends the hill to the Netherbow—which is the Eastern Boundary of the Royalty. From the Netherbow Port it extends itself northward to the Trinity hospital Port & including the Trinity College Church Orphan & Trinity Hospitals comes to the new Port at the foot of Halkerston's wynd whence crossing the Drainhead & Shakespeare's square to the Register Office, incloses that building & runs on the East side of St. Andrew's square & West side of St. James Square to the North End of N. St. Andrew's Street whence running West along all Queen Street incloses the area marked out for Charlotte Square & descending the Loch Bank crosses the Nordloch by the Low mound & joins the Welhouse tower which Completes the Enclosure.

Saturday 14. Went at 10 as usual. Mr. B. informed me that he had Spoken with Mr. Alison but did not say what the conversation was about. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 Called on Hugh Watson. He was a great deal better being out of his bed.

Monday 16. Went at 10 to Mr. Barclay's. He told me that I am to be Bound this day 14 night. Edinburgh 16 June 1788 years. This day I began to try French (This I gave up a few weeks after).

Tuesday 17. Went to the Review. A very good one. Was with Hugh Watson. Came home with him about $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 1. A very hot day & very dry. Nothing material happened at the review as far as I hear.

Wedn. 18. Called on Hugh Watson 1 k. Came home at 2. I heard that a part of some old walls either belonging to the Black Turnpike or Tron Church had fallen & Killed 2 People



& bruised several others. I hear that I am to be bound on Monday Eight Days. It has been raining at last today.

Thurs. 19. A Rainy day—The Nordloch which was drained of the water some days ago is by this night's rain as bad as ever. Hugh Watson out afishing—I shall hear at night if he has caught anything: tho I suppose not—7 o'clk Not a one!

Frid. 20. I hear the Swedes & Danes have declared war agt the Empress of Russia—'Tis thought Britain will be drawn in to assist her.

Sat. 21. Hugh Watson went out with Dugald Little and one Archibald Dunbar to Dalkieth afishing at 6 in the morning & returned about 8 in the evening without catching one! They saw at Dalkieth at the first Wooden Bridge above the Duke's Stables on the S. Esk the figure of a man hanging neatly made of Leather & stuffed with Straw, painted properly, & dressed in a coat, waistcoat, breeches, shoes & Stockings etc. so that even when very near it was impossible to perceive the deception unless when quite close to it.

Sund. 22. The Summer Solstice—Intolerably hot—I went up to the Roll call with H. Watson & observed that they are begun to harle Edinburgh Castle. They are beginning at the Engineer's office above the Portcullice'd Gateway & Proceeding towards the halfmoon. There are but a few yards of it done as yet they having begun but yesterday. Whether it is all to be harled I don't know.

Mon. 23. A Rainy & Windy day. Called on Hugh Watson at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12.

Tues. 24. Rainy. A volcano has broke out two or three weeks ago in Ireland, & has already done a deal of mischief. France is in a Shocking condition with Civil Broils. The Emperor of Germany is laying seige to Belgrade.

Frid. 27. Receiving the loan of a book from J. M. containing the alphabet etc. of the Characters in which the old Charters are written] I this day began to copy the same.

Saturday 28. Rose at 7 and went to Mr. Barclay's & finished a paper. When I came home at 9 to my breakfast I was persuaded to go out to Dalkieth to see my aunt Waterston which I thought proper to do. Whereupon I packed up my *apparatus itineris* viz.: my pen & ink, Paper, minute book, Blad, pallet, brush & China ink. Thus accoutred I set off about Eleven o'clock marched along the South Bridge up Nicolson's Street to the Cross-causeway. I arrived at Camp-end without anything material happening, but there having a desire to see if I could find the Roman Camp, I went up a little of the Road there but could not discover anything of it—I now resolved to try if I could find my way round the place where the Camp is supposed to ly & so on to Sheriff-hall and for that purpose struck down a small road on the right which seemed to lead thither but after walking above a quarter of mile I found the road end in the midst of a field of Barley at a place where there had been a Coalpit. I was a little chagrined to find I had lost so much time to no purpose & was considering to return when a fellow appeared at a gap in a hedge near the place where I was and demanded what business I had there? to which I paid not the least attention. Wherefore he came thro' the hedge & advanced. As he was a thin weakly like fellow & very little bigger than me, & as I could have easily cleared myself had he asked any questions I stirred not an inch but rather the contrary tho' to tell the truth I was a little uneasy at the thoughts of an approaching combat & wished myself half a mile off at the time, but the gentleman my antagonist was in the same predicament & no sooner saw that I stood and faced him but he (very imprudently as I thought) retreated behind his hedge again. I arrived at Lugton about 1 o'clock. I gave them the first and second volumes of *The Fool of Quality* which I lent them. I then took a walk in the Garden & received from James Waterston some tracts relating to Roslin Couslin Crichton Borthwick etc. with an account of several Camps

in the neighbourhood of Crichton. Mr. Alison <demum> called and wrote my Petition as follows:—

UNTO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE KEEPER AND COMMISSIONERS OF THE SIGNET. THE PETITION OF ANTH^y. BARCLAY, W.S.

HUMBLY SHEWETH That the Petitioner proposes to take as an apprentice for the usual time George Sandy only son of the deceast George Sandy late Substitute Keeper of the Signet (but without any apprentice fee from regard to the memory of his father. N.B. This added by Mr. Barclay). The said George Sandy is past 16 years of age & has had a regular Education at the High School & has attended two Sessions at the University of Edinr, as appears from Certificates herewith produced.

May it therefore please Your Honours to authorize the Petitioner to Enter into an Indenture with the said George Sandy according to the rules of the Society.

ANT^y. BARCLAY.

This to be wrote out fair & lodged with the Clerk before 12 on Monday.

Having given me this Petition he went away—I then took a walk in the Garden etc. before dinner. After dinner read the Encyclopædia etc. & received a promise of Guzman de Alfarache, an old book inclining to Romance. About 6 came away. James Waterston went in a little way with me to shew me the Roman Camp. Accordingly turned up the road that leads to Sheriff-hall and had a full view of two sides of it which are all that remains. Went up and looked at Sheriff hall—staid a while there & came back to the road—Parted with J. Waterston & came in softly along the road without anything remarkable happening till I came to a small village South from Little France when a hackney coach overtook me—I seized the opportunity & got up behind it.—Here, I,

as it were, ran the gauntlet through all the little towns on the road, in each of which I was pestered with their 'Whip behind' however I escaped pretty well till I came to the village at the second milestone—where he drove into the water to give his horses a drink. I now imagined he was going to whip behind in good earnest & so make me dismount in ye middle of the Stream, & the more so when he halted for some minutes to make his horses drink. I was inwardly cursing their thirst when suddenly the Coach set off with such a spring as had like to have shaken me off indeed—I dismounted near the Tolbar & came in about 8 o'clock.

Monday 30. Went to Mr. Barclay's at 10—Wrote out my Petition & carried it over to Mr. Alison—Gave him it—Came back to Mr. Barclay's.

July 1. I did not hear any word of my Petition. Called at Hugh Watson's at night.

Transactions. Granted my order to him—for the Drawing copied by me from Alexander Cameron's and the Sea piece drawn by me from one of Hugh Watson's—which I did not get among the rest of the Pictures from James Milligan. The order was as follows:—

Bill by George Sandy
on
James Milligan.

Edin. 30 June 1788.

Three weeks after date pay to Hugh Watson or order that landskape drawn by me in 1786 copied from Alexander Cameron's together with the drawing of a Dutch vessel drawn by me from one which Hugh Watson got at Lieth.

signed GEORGE SANDY.

To Mr. James Milligan,
Surgeon Cowgate Port of Edinb.

I gave him also a Certificate signed by me that I did not get these pictures when I got the rest from J. Milligan—Follows the certificate.

CERTIFICATE BY GEORGE SANDY

'I, George Sandy, hereby Certify and declare that I did not get the drawing etc. Quæ Attestor.'

Signed GEORGE SANDY.

To Mr. James Milligan.

I got a Receipt from him of his books which I gave him some weeks ago viz. :

Receipt by Hugh Watson.

Received by me Hugh Watson my books which George Sandy had in keeping viz. Scarron's works, Savage's Emperors of Germany, Byrons Narrative, Arts Treasury, History of Witches and Collection of Voyages.

Signed HUGH WATSON.

'To which I added the following Docquet.

'The above Receipt was

'Granted and Signed on the

29th day of June 1788 years

and is holograph.'

signed 'GEORGE SANDY.'

Several other things were done but nothing more of Consequence. I came home about 10 o'clock—As I past the Luckenbooths the Gallows was putting up.

Wed. 2. This day was hanged Peter Young, I saw him from Hugh Watson's Windows. They say he was very Penitent.

Thur. 3. After breakfast called on James Milligan he had not got Strut—He told me that they were harling the Castle on the S. side of the Palace—At 12 called on Hugh Watson he was not at home.

I hear the Brodie is taken at Amsterdam. N.B. This confirmed to me by Mr. Barclay—I am concerned for his friends. 7 at night Called on Hugh Watson—Staid with him

or 9. Came home in the midst of the heaviest Shower of Rain I ever remember.

Frid. 4. Called on Hugh Watson at 12. He was not at home—I suppose down at Leith. Went down to the Parl. House—Came home about 2 o'clock. I hear that Ogilvy's Cutter is gone to fetch Brodie. He was found, it is said, in a Gaming house at Amsterdam.

Saturd. 5. Rose at half an hour past three o'clock. N.B. Hugh Watson and I had agreed yesternight to go out to Prestonpans today in consequence of which there was made

Sederunt 4 July 1788.

There was produced by Hugh Watson as usual a list of all places to which it is customary for us to go—Among the rest Prestonpans appeared for the first time—George Sandy objected—What is there to be seen on the Road? Hugh Watson answered, Seaton Castle. Question—What else? What other inducements? Answer—A Pleasant Road by the Seaside, etc. Works at Preston Pans etc. THEREFORE it is agreed—Question by G. Sandy: What time will we set off at, Answer, At Seven o'clock—Agreed. G. Sandy agreed to take the following things with him viz. : Pen and ink, Minute book, Drawing Blad & Paper, Glass etc.

THEREFORE these particulars were agreed to, In testimony whereof these presents are written & signed by George Sandy, the Fifth day of July one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Eight years. Extracted by
GEORGE SANDY.

Sederunt, second, 5th July 1788.

Some objections were made to Prestonpans so we determined to go down to Leith and bathe in the afternoon—Agreed & so forth.

Therefore these Particulars were agreed to. In testimony whereof George Sandy of the above date subscribes these presents.
GEORGE SANDY.



At 6 o'clock called on Hugh Watson Resolved not to go to Prestonpans Went over with him to the New town at 8— At 4 o'clock went down to Leith and washed—The Sea turned a little and very cold. Came up again at 6. N.B. Mrs. Siddons plays tonight for the first time.

Sund. 6. At night went up to the Roll call with Hugh Watson—Went up to the Castle. Inside of the Argyle Battery harled. The Bomb Battery repairing and new Paving—and the piece of Ground on the right hand of the Inner Gate new covered with Pebbles and beach Stones. A great number of freestones lying in the Hawkhill. N.B. A centinel set at the Portcullice & another at the Square.

I am apprehensive I have lost my Minute book with several Receipts, Bonds, and other writings besides the minutes in the book—I can't conceive what is come of it—There's no help for it. There's a Remedy for every thing but death.

Mond. 7. No word of my Pocket book. I had some thoughts of adopting the one I made use of in September last—I have however made use of my old Pocket Book which I bought in 1784 in the meantime. Went to Mr. Barclay's at 10 o'clock. Came out at 1 and called on Hugh Watson. He was not at home. Came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 1. Received the 3 volume(s) of 'Sully's Memoirs' from Miss Hopes. Laid out the 4th.

Tuesd. 8. Called on Hugh Watson at 12—He was not in. Came home at 1 having called in at the Parit. house in my way down—Called on him again at Seven o'clock and finished the following

TRANSACTIONS

I produced the following Inventory of Articles of mine in the hands of James Milligan.

Inventory of Articles of mine
In the Possession of
JAMES MILLIGAN:

'That drawing of mine copied by me in 1786 from one of

'Alexander Cameron's and which properly belongs to Hugh
'Watson.
'A drawing of a Dutch vessel made by me from one belonging
'to said Hugh Watson.
'Those drawings called the Scotch Army.
'Two drawings made by me some time ago one of a rose and
'the other of a blue Convolvulus both Copied from Sibbald's
'numbers.
'Two Landscapes drawn by me with China ink on Coarse
'paper.
'My small Steel Padlock.
'Two volumes of Magazines.
'A print of a sea fight an old looking one.
'(a little Blank is left here for filling up any more articles
'which I may remember; then the following words')
'These are all the articles that I can Remember at present.'
Signed G. S.

On the back of the above Inventory I added the following
docquet by way of Protest against the said James Milligan
for not delivering the said articles.

Follows the Protest.

PROTEST BY GEORGE SANDY.

AGT. JAMES MILLIGAN.

Edin. 8th July 1788 years.

'I, George Sandy, hereby Certify and Declare that I never
'received any of the articles within mentioned since I agreed
'to divide the Collection of Prints and Drawings with the
'said James Milligan Each keeping what he drew himself.
'And I hereby Protest that I was not present at the division
'thereof and only took the said James Milligan's Word for
'giving me my own altho' I never received the articles within
'mentioned which are all I can Remember tho' there may be
'more which I have not received. THEREFORE above as I

'Protest against the said James Milligan before the said Hugh
'Watson within mentioned.'

(Signed) GEORGE SANDY.

This being signed by me, Hugh Watson added the following
docquet.

ATTESTATION BY HUGH WATSON

'I, Hugh Watson, within mentioned hereby Certify that
'George Sandy, also within mentioned Protested before me
'that he was not present at the division of his Prints and
'drawings and that James Milligan gave him what he pleased,
'and Declared that he did not receive the within articles
'among the rest, and I, the said Hugh Watson also farther
'declare that the said George Sandy gave me an order on
'the said James Milligan for the Two first of the said articles
'and a declaration that he did not receive them.'

(Signed) HUGH WATSON.

This business being ended I gave Hugh Watson the
following receipt.

RECEIPT TO HUGH WATSON

'Received by me, George Sandy, my drawings which Hugh
'Watson had in keeping viz. a drawing of Shap Abbay and one
'of Kilcairn [? Kilchurn] Castle and I the said George Sandy
'also hereby Dispone to the said Hugh Watson that drawing
'in China ink with a green border copied by me from one of
'Alex Cameron's But with this Condition that I draw a Copy
'for myself of the next picture which Hugh Watson receives
'from the said Alexander Cameron and also one for him.'

(Signed) GEO. SANDY.

Wedn. 9 July. I hear that Brodie is at London & that he
is to be brought down here—He is to be lodged in the Castle.

A monumental Obelisk is raising to the memory of Geo.
Buchanan at his native place—Mr. Pitt is coming down here—
a house is taken for him in the Extended Royalty—the Portico
at the Playhouse is advancing very quickly. On each side

there is to be a Statue, one of Tragedy, the other of Comedy
and Shakespeare in the middle. In the middle of the pedi-
ment are to be the town's arms.

Called at Mr. Alison's this morning about my Petition.
It is past. It lies at present at the Signet. Observed a great
number of new freestones lying on the Mound. Called on
Hugh Watson at 12 went with him to call on J. Milligan but
he was not in. Went to Mr. Barclay's at 5 o'clock—at half-
past 5 Mr. Thomson going down to the Signet asked for my
Petition; but, the Sum of One Guinea for the Poor not being
yet paid he did not get it.

I must go over tomorrow to Mr. Alison again to get the
said sum and also to get a note of the names and designations
of my father's Executors to be put in the Indenture.

A Bond by Hugh Watson to me in 1787 was this day
Recorded as follows:

BOND BY HUGH WATSON TO GEORGE SANDY

I, Hugh Watson, bind and oblige myself, my heirs and
successors and Assignees to Deliver up the Second volume of
'Sully's Memoirs' to George Sandy. In witness whereof
written upon stampt paper by George Sandy aforesaid are
subscribed by me at Edinburgh the 23rd day of June 1787.

HUGH WATSON.

On the back is the following docquet:

I, George Sandy, within mentioned hereby Certify and
acknowledge that I have received the Book within mentioned
from Hugh Watson also within mentioned, as witness my
holograph.

Signed GEORGE SANDY.

Edinburgh 28th December 1787.

Certain regulations for the better management of the
Library were made in October 1787 and signed by Hugh
Watson and me which are here Recorded—

'At Edinburgh the 20th day of October 1787 years it is
'contracted, agreed and finally ended between Hugh Watson

'George Sandy and James Milligan Indwellers in Edinburgh that the following articles shall be appointed for the benefit of their library in all time coming. 1st. That the said George Sandy Librarian shall make out a list of the said library and deliver a Copy of the same to the other two members within the Space of 6 days from and after the date of these presents. 2nd. That every member shall Deliver into the library every book which shall belong to himself provided it shall be thought fit by a majority. 3rd. That no member shall presume to detain 2 books at one time nor keep any book above the space of one Week without leave.'

Signed 'GEORGE SANDIE.'
'HUGH WATSON.'

On the back:

James Milligan within designed would not sign this wherefore he is deprived of the benefit of the Library: By order.

Signed GEORGE SANDY.

We protest agst. the said J. Milligan.

Signed H. WATSON.
G. SANDY.

Wed. 9. Same day found my Pocket-book lying in the Passage before our Dining room door, all things safe in it.

A Summons by me to James Milligan on the loss of our Great Seal was presented this day to be Recorded which was done as follows:

Edin. 29 Decr. 1788.

GEORGE, President of the Society to James Milligan, Greeting: Whereas you some weeks ago was in our house when I told you I thought I had lost the Great Seal of the Society but in a few minutes after I found it where I had laid it, namely in ye box with the Travellers—Now, looking for it this day I could not find it. Indeed I always found fault with the careless manner in which it was kept continually Shifting its quarters from one place to another.

Our Will is that ye instantly upon sight hereof compear before us and declare if you remember what we did with the said Seal. That ye help us to look for it, That if it be not found ye consider along with me how to get another. Lastly that ye in noways neglect the same as ye will answer to us hereupon, the which to do we commit to you full powers by these our letters.

And we consent to the Registration of these our Letters written on stampt paper in the Records of the Society— Given under our Privy Seal At Edinburgh the 29th day of Decemr. and of his Majesty's Reign the 28th year 1787.

Ex Deliberatione Præsidis.

(Signed) GEORGE SANDY.

Those words written with Red ink in the Original have a Stroke under them here. The following Words are on the Back:

The above was never executed.

(Signed) GEORGE SANDY.

Thurs. 10. Called on Mr. Alison for a note of my Curators who sign my Indenture. Came along the Mound to Mr. Barclays. Observed people undoing what they did before at the brickwork on the Nordloch. Came out at 1. Called on H. Watson. He was not in. Left a Card for him. Went down to the Parl. House. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2 came home. A few days ago a woman drowned herself in Duddingston Loch. She was in the 7th month of her Pregnancy.

A Disposition by H. Watson and John Patison to one another Recorded as follows:

I, John Patison, hereby Dispone and give up to Hugh Watson all and hail the Wanderer Luggier but the Privilege of Sailing the said Luggier shall still remain to you the said John Patison as long as our Ships shall remain in common between us. And I the said Hugh Watson hereby Dispone and

Give up to John Patison his heirs etc. my snuff box and the Snuff therein contained. In witness whereof these presents written on Stampt [paper] by George Sandy are Subscribed by us at Park Place the 23rd day of June 1787 years.

(Signed) JOHN PATISON.
HUGH WATSON.

Friday 11. Went to Mr. Barclay's at 10—Came out at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 and called on Hugh Watson—He was at the Play on Wednesday Evening—Came home at 2 o'clock—I hear that Brodie is arrived and that he is lodged in the Castle. A thick mist. Went to Mr. B. at 5 o'clock, Came out at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. Called on Hugh Watson. Came home at 8. N.B. Mr. John Watt married in his house to Miss Betsy Adams tonight. This day I wrote out a Receipt to be given to James Milligan on delivering me my Prints etc.

Recorded as follows: Edr. 11th June 1788. Received by me, George Sandy, from Mr. James Milligan the following articles viz.:

Of all which articles this shall be a sufficient Discharge to the said J. Milligan.
GEORGE SANDY.

The blanks to be filled up on receipt of the articles.

Satur. 12. This day my mother set off for Woodend. Called on Hugh Watson at 12. He was out at Newbattle. Went to Mr. Alison's to dinner. <No watch nor books>.

$\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 Went to Mr. Barclays. Nothing for me to do—Came back to Mr. Alison's again. Discovered that I have lost my China ink. Resolve to make Some on Monday.

Sund. 13. Called on H. Watson after forenoon sermon. Still at Newbattle.

Mond. 14. Rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 7.—Made a kind of Dye for making China ink—Came home from Mr. Barclay at 1 and made some China ink.

Tuesd. 15. Went to Mr. Barclay's at 10. Came out at 1. Went again at 3. Came out at 7. N.B. Mr. Thomson called

at the Signet Office for my Petition which tho' Recorded before is here set down with sundry other articles.

The Petition is here recorded: UNTO The Rt. Honble. The Keeper and Commissioners of ye Signet.

THE PETITION OF ANTH^y. BARCLAY, W.S.

HUMBLY SHEWETH: That the Petitioner proposes to take as an Apprentice for the usual time George Sandy, only Son of the deceast Geo. Sandy, late Substitute Keeper of the Signet, without any Apprentice Fee from Regard to the memory of his Father.

The said George Sandy is past 16 years of age and has had a Regular Education at the High school and has attended 2 Sessions at the University of Edinburgh as appears from Certificate herewith Produced.

May it therefore Please Your Honours to authorize the Petitioner to Enter into an Indenture with the said Geo. Sandy according to the Rules of the Society.

(Signed) ANTH^y. BARCLAY.

This takes up one page—on the following is written these words:

'Edinburgh 30th June 1788. 'The Keeper & Commissioners 'having considered this Petition with the Certificate produced, 'authorize the Petitioner to Enter into an Indenture with the 'within mentioned George Sandy for ye Space of 5 years 'from the date of said Indenture without any Apprentice 'Fee and authorize the Clerk to Record said Indenture when 'executed and to Certify its being so Recorded, all in terms 'of the several acts of the Society.'

(Signed) JOHN DAVIDSON.

On the 3d page is written: 'Edinburgh 1st July 1788. 'Ten Pounds paid for Library Fund as per separate Receipt.'

(Signed) W. T.

The Receipt is as follows written on Stamp Paper:

'Edinburgh 1st July 1788. Received by me Treasurer to the Society of Writers to the Signet from George Sandy Ten Pounds Sterling for the Library Fund of said Society on his Entering Apprentice with Mr. Anthony Barclay.'

(Signed) WILLIAM TYTLER.

Wedn. 16. We hear that Brodie is at London. The Magistrates have Entered into a Contract with Mr. Jameson, the Architect, to alter the Tron Church. The same is begun to. My China ink does Extraordinarily well.

Thursday 17. Brodie arrived this day accompanied by Williamson the Messenger.

Friday 18. Went to Mr. B.'s at 10. Called on H. Watson at 12. Came home at 2.

Sat. 19. Called on Hugh Watson at 12. Came home at 3 o'clock to my dinner, K. K.¹ Called on Hugh Watson after dinner—a horrible rainy afternoon—Cleared up a very little about 9—Went over to the Farce again & got in.

This night I got into the Farce at the Playhouse in the following manner. I went with Hugh Watson about 9 o'clock he having a check. He however got another check from Alexander Greig who came out at the end of the Play. Upon which he gave me his old one. He got in but his old one not being a right one I was rejected. In a Short time he came out again having got two Checks. Gave me one & we went both in. The Farce was 'The Honest Yorkshireman.' It was a Childish silly thing. Resolved to go on Saturday night, Hugh Watson having got a check from Mr. John Gray.

Monday 21. This is the Race week. I was not at the race today. It was won by a Colonel Wemys.

Tuesday 22. At 9 o'clock called on J. Milligan—having my glass alone on me. Discovered a knife of mine in his Custody. He gave me ye following Colours—viz.: A Cake

¹ Probably for 'cauld kale'!

of vermilion, one of Redlead & yellow oker, A piece of Sap Green & Prussian Blue together with a piece China Ink. Went with him down to the Race—missed the first heat by Going out to the Black Rocks before they Started—Saw the Second heat—a good one—Two ran—Orange & Blue—Orange won the first heat & also the 2nd who was Mr. Baird of Newbeath's horse. After the Race went up to Newhaven & thence to Edinburgh.

Wednes. 23. This day a Scroll of my Indenture was made out as follows: It is contracted, Agreed and finally Ended between Anthony Barclay, Writer to the Signet of the one part and George Sandy, only lawful son of Mr. Geo. Sandy, Writer in Edinburgh deceast, With the special advice and consent of Mrs. Marion Sandy, his mother, Walter Scott, Writer to the Signet & Alexander Alison, Writer in Edinburgh a quorum of his Curators of the other part That is to say the said George Sandy with consent of his said Curators has become & by these presents becomes an Apprentice & Servt to & with the said Anthony Barclay in his business, Art, and profession of a Writer to the Signet and that for the full term & Space of 5 years, complete, to commence from & the date of this Indenture, during which space, the said G. S. with Consent of his said Curators Binds & Obliges himself to be a faithful & obedient Apprentice and Servt to the said A. B. his Master & that he shall carefully and honestly attend & serve him at all times and on all lawful occasions and shall not absent himself from his said Master's service upon any Pretence whatever without liberty asked & obtained otherwise that he shall serve Two days for each day he shall absent himself immediately after Expiry hereof as also that he shall not reveal any part of his said Master's business or affairs nor do any Act or Deed to his prejudice Nor omit anything incumbent on him to his Master's advantage and the said George Sandy with consent of his sd Curators Binds & obliges himself to indemnify & make payt to his

sd Mr of all loss and damage whatever wh he shall Sustain or incur thro' the fault or negligence of him the said George Sandy his aprt. ffor wh[ich] Causes & of the other Part the sd. Ant. Barclay without any appr. ffee pd. to him in the present case Binds & obliges himself during the course of this Indenture to teach, learn and instruct the said Geo. Sandy his appree in the said business Art & Profession of a Writer to the Signet And Shall conceal no part thereof from him so far as he shall have capacity and be willing to learn & acquire the same And both Parties Oblige themselves to perform their respective parts of the premises hinc inde to each other under the Penalty of £20 stg. to be paid by the Party failling to the Party observing or willing to observe their part hereof over & a[bove] performance.

(Clause of Registration for Execution) Written by G. S. & signed by A. B., G. S., M. S., & A. A. 5th Sept. 1788, before Jas. Waterston residing at Lugton near Dalkeith and W. E. Clerk to Thomas Ruthven. W. E. and W. S. sign at G. Square said day before J. S. and T. S. his Sons.

Jas. Waterston, <i>Witness.</i>	Marion Sandy.	Ant. Barclay.
Wm. Ellis, <i>Witness.</i>	Alex. Alison.	Geo. Sandy.
John Scott, <i>Witness.</i>	Walter Scott.	
Thos. Scott, <i>Witness.</i>		

Thursd. 24. Went over to Mr. Alison's with the above Scroll & left it for him he not being at home.

Friday 25. Proposed going to the Race but something coming in the way, did not go.

Saturd. 26. Went down to the Race at 1 o'clock by myself. Saw Mr. Barclay in the Starting Post.—A very so Race.—Came up at 4, Called on Hugh Watson at 5. Was down at his Dinner & Tea at Mr. Patison's. Came home again and drew a little.

Mond. 28. Went at 10 to Mr. Barclay's. As I was going up to the Castlehill a message of Mr. B.'s I met Jas. Milligan

who told me he had left a letter for me at home. 1 o'clock Came home and received the letter.

SEDERUNT OF THE SOCIETY

Edinburgh 29 July 1788.

Present: Mr. James Milligan. George Sandy, Register.

There was produced by George Sandy the above Letter—It was considered—Methods were then taken for revenging ourselves on Duncan as mentioned in page 51 [see p. 19 above—Ed.]—Andrew Duncan said he was to call yesterday afternoon but did not do so—J. Mill[igan] proposed sending the following letter to him, *i.e.* Andw. Duncan:

SIR,

'When you are so good as to return me the 300 animals which I lent you A. D. 1782 and which you never returned 'Johnston is at your service and not till then.

'Signed J. M.'

This letter was accordingly copied etc. In testimony whereof we have Subscribed this Sederunt written by the said Geo. Sandy, Register, the 29th day of July 1788 years.

Quae praecipio.

JAMES MILLIGAN.
GEO. SANDY.

Same day Came home at 8 ok and Received a Letter from James Milligan in which he lets me know that Andw. Duncan had called on him at 4 o'clock and that J. Milligan had told him that Thomas Scott had the book in question. A. D. Will you call on him as I cant do it on account of our late quarrel—J. M. I cannot—A. D. Will he be in—J. M. he will be at Mr. Johnston's.—A. D. Where does he live—J. M. In the New town I believe etc.

This day I received from James Milligan a piece of China Ink of our own making but mixt with Blue to make it deeper.

GEORGE SANDY.

Expences of our Making Chink (*sic*) & Blake mixt as follows viz. :—We have already some Lamp Black but in case that should not be enough—to Lamp Black 0 0 1; To White wine Vinegar 0 0 1½; We have already some madder but in case that should not be enough—to Madder 0 0 1. Sum 3½.

SECOND SEDERUNT

29th July 1788.

The Society are determined to meet tomorrow in Mr. George Sandy's Chamber and Adjourn all matters to that time and Recommend to Mr. Milligan to be on the Castle Hill before one in order thereto and Ordain Mr. Sandy to add his Docquet hereto, and to all Subsequent Sederunts of the Society—

Et ego vero Georgius Sandy Notarius Societatis Registris et Archivis Clericus et Magni Sigilli Custos per Commissionem Societatis; Minuta manu mea supra fideliter scripta, in hac Pagina Archivorum Societatis. Apud Edinburgum Decore in Vigesimo nono Die Mensis Julii Anno Servitoris [for Servitoris—Ed.] Nostri Millesimo Septingentesimo et Octogesimo Octavo Regnique S. D. N. Georgii Tertii etc. Anno Vigesimo Octavo Subscribo—

Wed. 30. Went to Mr. Barclay at 6. Came out at 1—Met Jas. Milligan. Came home with him.

SEDERUNT, 30 July 1788.

Present Mr. James Milligan. George Sandy, Regr.

The meeting are of opinion That if A. D. calls on J. M. tonight at Mr. C.'s he shall be told 'That J. M. had been looking for it all day and could not find it' &c. Resolve to tell A. D. the Book is lost. The meeting also Resolve to ordain the following articles viz.: When George Sandy goes to Mr. Barclay's tomorrow he shall leave in the Stair window a Letter giving an Account of his proceedings with A. D. in case he calls on him and that the said James Milligan shall

also leave in the said Window an account of his Proceedings with Rich and Pere and ordain both parties to compear on the Castle Hill in usual form. Et Ego vero Georgius Sandy Notarius Societatis Registris et Archivis Clericus, et magni Sigilli custos, per commissionem Societatis:—Minuta haec, manu mea in hac Pagina Archivorum Societatis supra fideliter scripta; Apud Edinburgum Primo die mensis Augusti, anno servitoris nostri millesimo septingentesimo et octogesimo octavo: regnique S: D: N: Georgii Tertii anno vigesimo Octavo, solita signatura subscribi.

Virtuti et Amicis Ejus. Geo. Sandy, R.A.C., M.S.C.

Thurs. 31. Met James Milligan on the Castle Hill—Went with him to his house—got some of my Drawings which he had.

Friday, 1 August. Went to Mr. Barclay's at 10—Came out at one and went to the Castle Hill—J. Milligan not there.—Came home & finished a Rembrandt. Went at 5—Came out at ½ p. 7, Went to the Castle Hill—Walked about a little with H. Watson whom I met there and Came home.

Saturd. 2. Went to Mr. B.'s at 10 Came out at ½ p. 12. Met J. M. on the Castle Hill & came home—Called on Hugh Watson in the afternoon and staid with him till 9 o'clock. N.B. St. Giles's Steeple at present Repairing *i.e.* The Crown of it. But they, it seems, are Painting it. Brodie's Trial is to be put off.

SEDERUNT, 2d August 1788.

Present Mr. Jas. Milligan. George Sandy, Register.

The Members having taken into consideration the Decayed State of the Society Have Resolved to Reinstate the same and for that purpose have drawn up a Code of Laws, which are here Registered. 'THE PRESIDENT: He must be Elected 4 times annually viz. The 1st, 2d or 3d days of January, April July & October with no more Ceremonies than these: 'He is Elected in the house of the Keeper of the Insignia, 'who previous to the Election has the Sword and Staff cross

'on the Table—Having sat down on the Chair which is 'nearest the table he writes these words on Stamp Paper— I—hereby Promise faithfully & honestly to Rule the Society of Independent Friends and to do nothing contrary to the interest of said Society. Given under my hand the — day of — (signed). This is immediately Recorded & put in the Archives of the Society. After which the [sword] is put in his Right hand and the Rod in his left & the Medal over his head with which he goes to the place where the Insignia are kept and deposits the same therein, Locks it, and Delivers the key to the Keeper which finishes it—He has the power of Granting Letters and Precepts under the Privy Seal which he keeps—& also the Power of naming and Rejecting the days of Meeting. **INSIGNIA**: These are the Sword the Staff and the Medal. They are kept by James Milligan. **RECORDS**: These are kept by George Sandy. In the Records every Paper, Charter etc. are kept besides being registered in the Books and Copies thereof are distributed to any member who may want them, but the Originals must Remain in the Record Office. **SEALS**: These are the Great Seal, the Quarter Seal and Privy Seal or Signet. The Two First are kept by George Sandy, the Last by the President. The Great Seal is used to Charters and other Principal Writes; the Quarter Seal to Dispositions, Receipts, Discharges etc. When any [page torn] are used: if the Great Seal or Quarter Seal, George Sandy must write as follows above the seal 'Past under the — Seal at — the — day of — (Signed) G. S.' and the President must End his Precepts with 'Given Under Our Privy Seal etc.' Otherwise all Deeds are void. **STORES**: These Consist of Crambambuli, Colours unmixt, etc. and are kept by James Milligan who is also the Principal preparer of all Experiments in Painting, Colour making etc. These are the Principal Rules which we have agreed on among some others: And we Oblige Ourselves to perform our Several parts of the Premises hinc inde and Consent to the Regn.

hereof in the Archives of the Society & have Subscribed these presents written by the said Geo. Sandy on the 2d day of August 1788.

(Signed) GEORGE SANDY.

JAMES MILLIGAN.

The Society have also made out a Charter of Refoundation which Shall be Recorded when extended.

Et Ego vero Georgius Sandy Notarius Societatis Registris et Archivis Clericus et Magni Sigilli Custos per Commissionem Societatis Minuta Haec Manu mea in hac et Tribus precedentibus Paginis Archivorum Societatis fideliter scripta Apud Edinburgum Sexto die Mensis Augusti Anno Servatoris Nostri Millesimo Septingentesimo et Octogesimo Octavo Regnique S: D: N: Georgii Tertii anno vigesimo Octavo, Signatura Solita subscribi.

From page one hundred and seventy four to page two hundred and five inclusive are all dissolved—in witness whereof I have subscribed these presents written in the records of the Society by myself at Edinburgh the thirteenth day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight years.

GEO. SANDY.

Past under the Quarter Seal at Edinburgh, the thirteenth day of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight years by me George Sandy, keeper thereof as witness my holograph.

Virtuti et Amicis

GEO. SANDY.

THE
INDEPENDENT FRIENDS THEIR
GENERAL RECORD
VOLUME SECOND
Kept By

GEORGE SANDY,
Their Secretary, Writer &
Keeper of Records.

At Edinburgh 7 Feb. 1788.

Considering that we are at present without a Great Seal, and that the want thereof is extremely inconvenient—We hereby Promise each of us to do our best Endeavours to procure a Seal which shall be Deemed Proper for a Great seall: and that before the Term of Whitsunday next being the 15th of May this present year—

Written by George Sandy and Signed & Sealed with the seall appointed to be made use of instead of the Great Seall upon the 7th day of February Anno Dom. 1788.

GEORGE SANDY R.
JAMES MILLIGAN.

At Edinburgh the 8th day of February 1788 years. We hereby Ratify & Confirm the new Coin box as also the Iron box formerly used as one being at present made a box for the Great Seal.

Written by George Sandy.

GEO. SANDY.
JAS. MILLIGAN.

Commission to James Milligan—I, George Sandy Register &c. hereby Commission and Grant to you the said James Milligan always Full power to Execute the offices of Treasurer & Clerk to Drawings Lyon Keeper of Impressions of Coins in all time coming.

Signed & Sealed by me as Keeper of the Great Seal, the 4th day of March—A. Dom. 1788. GEO. SANDY.

I the said J. Milligan promise
to Execute the said offices
faithfully. JAS. MILLIGAN. Registered by me
GEO. SANDY.

Edinr. 1st July 1788. The said offices being dissolved I George Sandy Certify that the said James Milligan Executed

the said offices faithfully & hereby Acquit and Discharge him of the same. GEO. SANDY.

[Ed.—The last page (torn) contains a list of coins, among them being a 'George 2 piece of 1739'; 'An Irish piece of 1760'; 'A French American piece, 1767'; 'A Prussian piece 1773'; 'A French piece 1724'; 'A Spanish piece'; 'A coin of Augustus'; 'A farthing of George 2'; 'James the 5 coin'; 'James the 3 coin.']

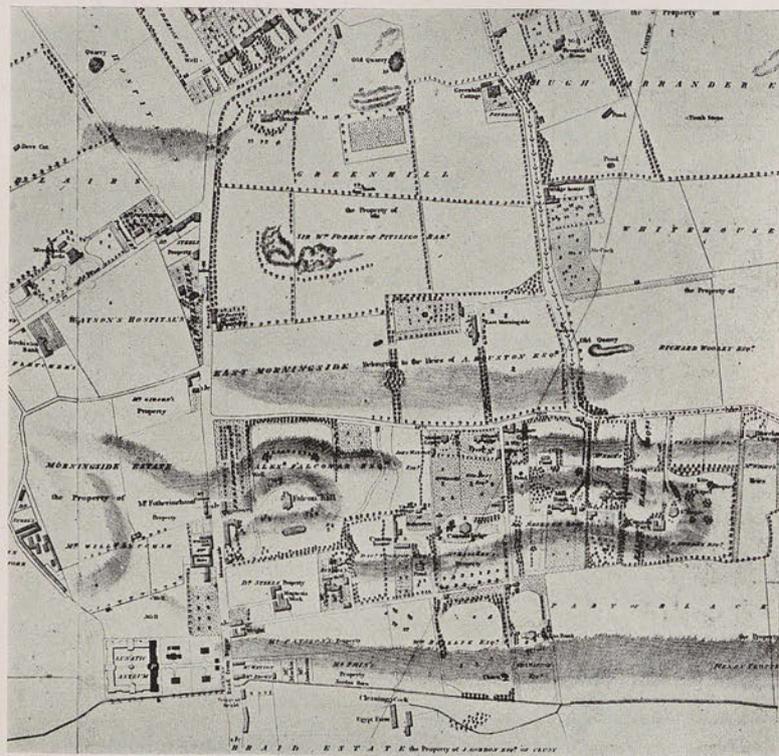
HISTORIC MORNINGSIDE: LANDS, MANSIONS,
AND CELEBRITIES

THE history of this sunward suburb of the city has been well and fully narrated by the late Dr. W. Moir Bryce in his exhaustive treatise 'The Burgh Muir of Edinburgh, from the Records' (*Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. x., 1918).¹ The present study is therefore largely an endeavour to record some notes about the celebrities who have lived in the district or have been connected with it.

The whole area under consideration, embracing the lands of Greenhill, Burghmuirhead, Easter and Wester Morningside, and Canaan, formed the western part of the Burgh Muir, which in its turn had been part of the ancient forest of Drumselch. It is bounded on the west by the lands of Craighlockhart, Myreside, and Merchiston, and on the east by the estates of Bruntsfield, Whitehouse, Grange, and Blackford. The accompanying reproduction, from Kirkwood's Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its Environs (1817), shows the area now dealt with—from Burghmuirhead to the Old Toll at the foot of Morningside Road—and will furnish a comparison with the later development of the district.

Before dealing with the various estates in detail, it may be well to repeat Dr. Moir Bryce's identification of them with the portions of the Wester Burgh Muir feued by the Magistrates in the year 1586 (x. 192-203), departing from their original intention of feuing out the Muir in separate lots each of 3 acres. There were six lots. Lot 1 (14 acres) was absorbed in the sergeantry lands of Bruntsfield, and with it this narrative has no connection. Lot 4, consisting of 26 acres, was feued to Andrew Naper (Napier), merchant, and his wife; it

¹ As frequent reference is made in this article to Dr. Bryce's volume, the citation will be vol. x. followed by the page: (e.g. x. 58).



KIRKWOOD'S MAP, 1817 (MORNINGSIDE AREA)

became the Estate of *West Morningside*. Lot 6 (feued to Andrew Stevinsoun) contained 18 acres, of which 15 made up the Estate of *East Morningside*. Lot 5, consisting of 8 acres and two small pieces of ground feued to Thomas Aitkenheid, merchant, constituted the original portion of *Greenhill*; and to it were afterwards added Lot 2 (3 acres 1 rood) feued to Thomas Paterson, and Lot 3 (3 acres 3 roods) feued to William Rig, with the remaining 3 acres of Lot 6. One of the two small pieces above referred to as part of *Greenhill* became known later, with other subjects lying to the south, as *Burghmuirhead*.

I

Lot 5 (the original lands of *Greenhill*) 'remained in the possession of the Aikenheads until the year 1636, when it was sold by James Aikenhead to John Livingston. . . .'
Dr. Moir Bryce thus dismisses the period of the Aikenhead occupation in a few words, and his footnote references have insufficient clarity. Thomas Aikenhead, the original feuar, was a skinner (glover) in Edinburgh, and occupied the positions of councillor, bailie, and dean of gild in the city. He had at least two sons, Alexander and James. Alexander must have succeeded to the property after his father's death (prior to 1606), and seems to have given to it the name of 'the Laird's hill,' for under that appellation he disposed of it in 1619¹ to David Aikenhead, then dean of gild, thereafter provost of Edinburgh, being either unable or unwilling to retain possession. Meanwhile his brother James had died, leaving a son who is styled 'Mr. James Aikenhead, advocate,' and he was served heir in April 1623² to his grandfather Thomas in the subjects under review, having by this time obtained a disposition thereof from the said David Aikenhead (with ratification by Alexander of all right and title that

¹ Burgh Sas. (Hay), 22 Sep. 1619, 28 Nov. 1621.

² *Ibid.*, 15 Aug. 1623.



David had from him). It is not stated what relationship the provost bore to Thomas Aikenhead's line, but it was at least a friendly one, which did not end with this transaction ; for in later years his granddaughter Anna, the child of his eldest son Mr. Thomas Aikenhead, commissary of Edinburgh, became the wife of Dr. John Livingston of Greenhill, whose father (as narrated in the next paragraph) purchased the estate from the above Mr. James Aikenhead in 1636.

When John Livingston entered into contract with Aikenhead on 2nd July 1636 for the purchase of the estate, he is described as merchant burghess of Edinburgh¹; but at his marriage to Elizabeth Rig in April 1626 he is called 'apothecary,' and he is similarly described in his Testament confirmed 16th October 1649. His wife was a sister of Mr. John Rig, advocate, and may also have been related to William Rig, proprietor of Lot 3 which was afterwards added to Greenhill. Livingston's enjoyment of the property did not however last long, for he died in 1645, one of the numerous victims (it is supposed) of the plague which visited the city in that year.² At least he was buried within the grounds of his own estate, and in the private garden of a villa in Chamberlain Road may still be seen the tombstone³ which his widow, Elizabeth Rig, erected over his grave. The walled enclosure is in the form of an unroofed mausoleum, with doorway and pediment above. Over the entrance are carved the initials J L and E R and the date 1645.⁴

¹ Burgh Sas. (Guthrie), 22 Jul., 6 Aug. 1636.

² It was a virulent epidemic, acutely infectious, complicated with symptoms of a typhus character and pneumonia.

³ Described and illustrated in *Book of the Club*, iii. 198-200.

⁴ There is frequent confusion between this stone and one mentioned by Wilson (*Memorials*, i. 213—1891 ed.) as situated near Warrender Park. While in some respects similar there are differences in the initials and shield. There is little doubt that the Warrender stone commemorates a member of the Rig family. The lands of Baglap, or Rigsland, later incorporated in the Bruntfield estates, belonged in 1645 to Mr. John Rig, advocate, whose wife was a Rig of Carberrie, while he himself was of the Aithernie family. It is not known that Mr. John died in 1645, but Wilson's reading of the stone is very unreliable. In Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh* is an illustration which is an obvious fake, foisted upon an assiduous but unsuspecting author.

Probably it was in his time that the estate became known as Greenhill, as is hinted in a title of the year 1666 (x. 194). The mansion-house was erected after his death, and was a rambling old house of four stories. During the period when window tax was imposed it seems to have had thirty-two

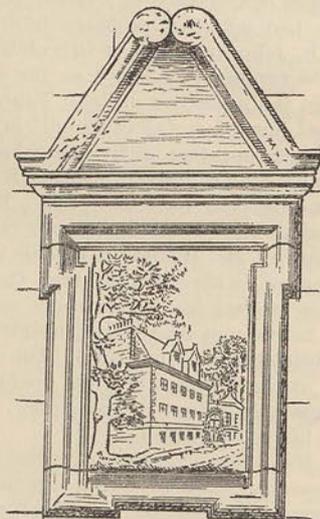


Fig. 5

windows, a few of which were later blocked up. Its appearance at the time of its demolition in 1884 is depicted on the sculptured stone panel (above) designed by Sir G. Washington Browne, P.R.S.A., architect of the residential property built on the extensive site. This panel may be seen at the corner of Bruntfield Gardens, opposite Viewforth.

John's widow, Elizabeth Rig, died about 1677. There

were two sons of the marriage (but see later, p. 76). The elder son, Mr. John Livingston, a doctor of medicine, married (before April 1664) Anna Aikenhead, granddaughter of David Aikenhead the provost (see above, p. 71), while she was a minor. When she came of age, in January 1665, she disposed of her half of the lands of Byreclough, in Berwickshire, which she had inherited probably from her mother, Anna Home.¹ Dr. John was infeft in Greenhill as heir to his father on 19th September 1666,² and at the same time in properties then in the possession of John Tweedie.³ He had however described himself as 'of Greenhill' in earlier documents.⁴ He was perhaps rather ambitious, or had expended a good deal on the building of his new mansion, for he borrowed considerable sums between 1664 and 1668. By 16th April 1669 he had resigned his lands and house of Greenhill in favour of his brother, Mr. William.⁵ In this connection an interesting document exists shewing that the doctor had found difficulty in meeting his commitments, and his brother had to come to his aid and became responsible for his debts. Dr. John then betook himself to Stirling, but was forced by further distress at the instance of some creditors to return to Edinburgh and take refuge in the Abbey, 'to his great charges and the loss of his calling.'⁶

His brother, Mr. William Livingston, writer in Edinburgh, married in November 1664 Margaret Cunningham, eldest daughter of George Cunningham, an Edinburgh merchant. They had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, served heir to her mother who was dead before May 1670.⁷ On 24th October 1662 he obtained from the Magistrates a charter of the lands of 'Ballope' (Baglap) 'now called Rigsland,' and described

¹ Reg. of Deeds (Dal.), 8 Sep. 1670.

² Burgh Sas. (Young).

³ *Book of the Club*, x. 195n.

⁴ Reg. of Deeds (Mack.), 26 June 1669.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 July 1670.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 24 Apr. 1671.

⁷ Reg. of Deeds (Dur.), 27 Aug. 1670.

himself as 'of Rigsland.'¹ On 19th September 1666 he took infeftment in other subjects belonging to Rig. He became proprietor also of Greenhill on 16th April 1669 by charter from the Town, on the resignation of his elder brother as above narrated, and thereafter described himself in several documents as 'of Greenhill.'²

Dr. Moir Bryce states that the Livingstons parted with their lands in 1670 to one John Kennedy, apothecary, burghess of Edinburgh; yet Mr. William Livingston is found subscribing a bond in favour of his brother 'at Greinhill' on 8th April 1671.³ The facts are, however, that Mr. William mortgaged the estate on 29th September 1668 to Kennedy for the sum of £9080 Scots money, with the manor-place lately erected, and the dovecote in the south yard, and fish pond in the park, etc.⁴ So Mr. William had obtained possession of the lands before he got his charter from the Magistrates. Kennedy passed on the mortgage to Adam Garden, by disposition dated 3rd August 1672, and when Garden took infeftment on 23rd August 1673 Mr. William Livingston was dead. Dr. John died in 1675.⁵

The lot of the investigator into these family affairs is by no means easy, and one can never be sure of getting the tale complete; there is always something likely to be missed. Just when everything seems to be settled to one's satisfaction a document turns up which brings into the line of vision persons and facts hitherto unaccounted for. Such is the following item from the records, which reveals four facts none of which appear to have been known to Moir Bryce. It is an Instrument of Sasine dated 23rd August 1658,⁶ narrating that Alexander Livingstoun, second lawful son of the deceased John Livingstoun, merchant, took infeftment on

¹ Burgh Sas. (Thomson), 11 Apr. 1663.

² Reg. of Deeds (Mack.), 28 July 1670.

³ *Ibid.*, 24 Apr. 1671.

⁴ Edin. Sas., 23 Aug. 1673.

⁵ Edin. Testaments, 8 July 1697.

⁶ Burgh Sas. (Wright).

behalf of Elizabeth Rig, his mother, now spouse to Thomas Beg, merchant, and on behalf of Mr. John Livingstoun, her son, of 3 acres, being the north part of 18 acres in the Wester Burgh Muir bounded by a highway of 24 ells broad on the east (Whitehouse Loan), another road on the south (Grange Loan), a highway of 24 ells broad on the west (Morningside Road), and six fixed stones 'between the said part and the common or broad way leading towards the common stane quarrel dykes of the lands of William Rig and Thomas Paterson' on the north, all in terms of a Charter by the Magistrates following upon a disposition thereof to Elizabeth Rig in liferent and Mr. John in fee, by Mr. Andrew Stevenson, minister at Dunbar, reserving the houses, etc., belonging to him lying on the west side of the highway that leads to Braidsburne (*i.e.* his property at Burghmuirhead), which Charter was dated 25th November 1657. Immediately preceding this document is a Sasine to Thomas Beg, elder, merchant burghess of Edinburgh, and Thomas Beg, younger, his son, on disposition by Stevenson of 15 acres, being the remainder of the above 18 acres; and to this Sasine the above Alexander Livingston is a witness.

The new facts are: (1) that Elizabeth Rig, widow of John Livingston, married again; (2) that in consequence of the marriage, when Stevenson disposed of the lands of Easter Morningside he gave 15 acres to Thomas Beg and the remaining 3 acres to Beg's wife and her eldest son by her first marriage (and that was how these 3 acres came to be included in Greenhill estate); (3) that John Livingston, who died in 1645, had another son, *Alexander*, who must have come between Dr. John and his brother William, the writer, and who is not referred to later, and so may have died before 1664; (4) that the Andrew Stevenson who disposed of the lands was not, as Moir Bryce supposed, the son of the original feuar, but the grandson, who resigned his regentship¹ in the

¹ Extracts from Burgh Records of Edinburgh, 25 Dec. 1639.

College of Edinburgh to become minister of Dunbar, and whose birth took place in 1588.¹

Adam Garden (or Gairn) of Greenhill married, in February 1681, Janet Durie, the widow of John Kello, writer in Edinburgh. It was however by a former marriage, in March 1668, to Janet Steill, that he had two sons and a daughter, all of whom seem to have died at a comparatively early age. Andrew and John were witnesses to their sister Janet's marriage contract in 1693 with Thomas Fairholm²; but the year 1707 proved a fateful one, for Adam (the father), John and Janet all passed away in that year, and probably Andrew was also dead, as there is no further mention of him. It happened therefore that the heir to the estate was Adam Fairholm, eldest son of the above marriage.

Thomas Fairholm, husband of Janet Garden, was a merchant in Edinburgh, became a burghess in September 1724 and later a bailie, besides becoming proprietor of Pilton.³ He was the only son of Thomas Fairholm, merchant bailie, and Elizabeth Sydserf.⁴ By his marriage with Janet Garden he had at least three sons and a daughter. Andrew, the second son, died without issue about 1749; Thomas, the third son (a merchant in Edinburgh and made burghess a week after his father), was then served heir to Andrew, along with his sister Janet, wife of Mr. David Scott, minister in Edinburgh.⁵

The eldest son, Adam, was served heir to his grandfather Adam Garden on 19th August 1707, took formal possession of Greenhill in December 1720,⁶ and as late as 1764 took sasine of properties in Liberton's Wynd which had belonged to his grandfather from 1658. In 1733 he was served heir in the

¹ *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, i. 407. See also *East Lothian Biographies* (Haddington, 1941).

² Reg. of Deeds (Mack.), 20 Aug. 1726.

³ See Burgh Sas., 27 Apr. 1764.

⁴ Serv. of Heirs, 8 Nov. 1749.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Burgh Sas. (Home), 31 Decr. 1720.

lands of Lugate, in the parish of Stow, to his uncle John Garden, who had died twenty-six years before. Adam became burghess of Edinburgh in February 1730, by which time he had been twice married: first in January 1720 to Isobel Pringle, daughter of James Pringle of Greenknowe, and, secondly, in July 1729 to her cousin Sophia Pringle, daughter of James Pringle of Torwoodlee.¹ Among the issue of one or other of these marriages were: Thomas Fairholm, merchant, made burghess on 6th April 1757, and George Fairholm, who succeeded to Greenhill after his father's death, which took place at 'Greenhill near Edinburgh' on 2nd September 1771.² George was also served heir to his father in April 1778 in the lands of Nether Lugate. In 1785 he purchased the lands of Greenknowe, in Berwickshire, from James Pringle of Bowland, brother of the above Sophia. He also purchased the lands of St. Johns Chapel, in the parish of Lauder, and other properties near Melrose, which however he made over to his brother William Fairholm, who is thereafter described as William Fairholm of Chapel, and who married in October 1780 Elizabeth Crompton, daughter of the before-mentioned James Pringle of Bowland.

George, now described as of Greenknowe, having by this time parted with Greenhill, died in 'Georges Square, Edinburgh,' in the beginning of the year 1800,³ and was buried in the enclosure at Chamberlain Road, in terms of the privilege reserved to himself and his family when he sold the estate to Thomas Wright in 1790. His brother William died in February 1805,⁴ and was succeeded by his eldest son, Adam Fairholm of Chapel. In *Kay's Portraits* there is a sketch of George, and a note that he and his brother William had long resided in Holland, where they became wealthy bankers, the former also acquiring there an important art collection.

¹ *Records of the Pringles*, pp. 203-5, 222-3.

² Edin. Testaments, 29 Jan. 1774.

³ *Ibid.*, 11 Oct. 1811.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 25 Oct. 1805.

They became extensive shareholders in the Bank of Scotland and other financial concerns.¹

Wright's trustees sold the lands in 1806 to William Forbes, who in the same year succeeded his father, the great Scottish banker,² as 7th Baronet of Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire (cr. 1626). Pitsligo was purchased in 1781, having been forfeited by the Jacobite Lord Forbes.³ It was Sir William who forestalled Walter Scott, then a law student, in the affections of the only child and heiress of Sir John Wishart Belsches (afterwards Stuart), Bart., of Fettercairn and Invermay.⁴ The estate of Fettercairn came thereby into the Forbes family.

The 8th Baronet, Sir John Stuart Forbes (1804-1866) of Pitsligo and Fettercairn, presented in 1838 the site of Morningside Parish Church⁵ at the corner of what then became Church Lane, later, in 1868, Newbattle Terrace.⁶ Thus it comes about that three of the five churches clustered about this ecclesiastical hub of Morningside are built on the lands of Greenhill. On the northern corner of Chamberlain Road, western end, stood the Athenæum, formerly the United Presbyterian Church, built 1863, which body sold it and

¹ The above account of the Fairholms of Greenhill is given in some detail, because there were other contemporary Fairholms in Edinburgh bearing similar Christian names but only distantly, if at all, related.

² Author of *Memoirs of a Banking House* (1803), which later became in 1838 the Union Bank of Scotland. This work he dedicated to his son.

³ Hence Forbes Road and Pitsligo Road. The gateway to Greenhill House stood where Forbes Road is now.

⁴ The story of this early romance is well known, and is given in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*. Forbes had been a widower for sixteen years at the time of the crisis, 1826-7. In gratitude to him for his generous gesture at the settlement, the bank being among the largest creditors, Scott wrote in his Journal that 'Forbes behaved as he had ever done, with the generosity of ancient faith and friendship.'

⁵ To this day a nominal feu-duty is paid by the Parish Church to the estate, now owned by the 21st Baron Clinton (cr. 1299), C. J. Hepburn-Stuart Forbes-Trefusis, G.C.V.O., son of the 20th Baron and Harriet Williamina, daughter of Sir John Stuart Forbes, 8th Bt., of Pitsligo (later Hepburn-Stuart). The Forbes connection with this district is perpetuated in the name of Clinton Road.

⁶ This name is derived through a marriage connection between the Forbes family and that of the Marquess of Lothian.

built on the south corner in the Norman style of architecture in 1881. Shortly before 1884 Greenhill House was purchased from the trustees of Sir John Stuart Forbes by the Rt. Rev. James R. A. Chinnery-Haldane (1842-1906), Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, who afterwards disposed of it to a firm of builders (Beattie's). The profit which the Bishop made by the sale of this property was handed by him to the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The stone used for the building of Bruntfield Crescent and adjoining properties was taken from quarries beside the old house.

II

The lands of East Morningside lay between what is now Churchhill on the north and Newbattle Terrace on the south, the eastern boundary being Whitehouse Loan. As has been indicated, they consisted of 18 acres feued off the Wester Burgh Muir in 1588 to Andrew Stevenson, merchant in Edinburgh, and in the year 1657 his grandson Andrew disposed of 3 acres thereof to the Laird of Greenhill, and sold the remainder to Thomas Beg, merchant. Forty years later Easter Morningside came into the possession of Sir William Menzies of St. Germans. He was succeeded in 1723 by his son Thomas Menzies of Letham and Gledstones, advocate. He sold the subjects in February 1726 to Gavin Baillie, merchant in Edinburgh, who built the present mansion-house shortly thereafter.¹ Later proprietors were successively William Murray, Deputy Receiver of Customs; his daughter Margaret Murray of Pitkeathly²; Alexander McMillan, W.S.,

¹ Burgh Sas. (Watt), 18 Oct. 1727. Gavin Baillie died in Sept. 1734 (E.T. 20 Dec. 1734) and is described as 'of Morningside,' the earliest occurrence of the name yet found. In his testament there is reference to the following chambers in the mansion-house: north room, with bed; drawing room; dining room, and closet off, with bed; south red room, with bed and closet off same; laigh north room, with bed; also larder, kitchen and brewhouse.

² She had a charter from the Magistrates on 6 March 1754, but did not take sasine until 1 April 1786 (E.S. 5 Apr. 1786). She married in 1762 William Mercer of Aldie. Her father became proprietor of the lands of Pitkeathly and was a descendant of the Murrays of Ochertyre.



HENRY RAEBURN AT 17
(Drawing by Deuchar, 1773)



DAVID DEUCHAR AT 30
(Miniature by Raeburn, 1773)



PROF. JAMES GREGORY, M.D.
(Portrait by Raeburn)



SAM BOUGH, R.S.A., 1879
(Etching by Robert Anderson)

who died in July 1770; his cousin Duncan McMillan, W.S.; and, in 1786, Alexander Houstoun. Kirkwood's map shows that East Morningside House stood alone at that date in its extensive demesne stretching from Whitehouse Loan to Morningside Road, a distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile, later divided up into lots of two and three or four acres. Here died in 1829 James Ferrier, W.S., who in the late eighteenth century lived at 25 George Street, and was among the first to welcome Burns to Edinburgh. On more than one occasion the poet spent an evening with him. It was to Ferrier's eldest daughter that Burns addressed the lines enclosing the 'Elegy on Sir J. H. Blair.' His other daughter, Susan Edmonston Ferrier (1782-1854), wrote charmingly of Scottish society of her day. Sir Walter Scott was a colleague of her father in his office as Principal Clerk of Session, and he thereby knew all the leaders of the literary society of Edinburgh at that date. In this environment, and in this hospitable home, Miss Ferrier's first novel *Marriage* was written. It was published at first anonymously in 1818 and Blackwood paid £150 for it. Encouraged by its success Blackwood gave her £1000 for *The Inheritance*, also written here and published anonymously (1824). These, from her clever portraiture of Scottish life, were attributed to Scott, by whom her writings were greatly admired. From 'Morningside House' she wrote (1820),¹ 'We are once more settled here and glad I am to find myself out of the smoke and dirt of the town, which always disagrees with me at this season—the air of this place suits me particularly well.' Among other letters one is dated 'Morningside, 1823.' Lockhart describes the delicacy with which she helped Scott (when visiting Abbotsford in 1831) over the gaps in talk caused by his failing memory. A frequent visitor at East Morningside House was her nephew James Frederick Ferrier (1808-1864), appointed Professor of Civil Law in the

¹ *Susan Edmonston Ferrier, Memoir and Correspondence*, by John A. Doyle (1898).



University of Edinburgh in 1842, and from 1845 till his death Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews—'the last of the metaphysicians' she called him. He married in 1837 his cousin, the eldest daughter of Professor John Wilson, 'Christopher North,' also of this intellectual coterie. James F. Ferrier published in 1856 the works of his father-in-law (and uncle) in five volumes, including the *Noctes Ambrosianae*.

Another notable owner of this house in Clinton Road was John Montgomerie Bell, W.S. (1837-1910), who composed many fine tunes and anthems (among them St. Giles), and was a member of the Committee which prepared the Scottish Church Hymnary. He was the son of A. Montgomerie Bell (1808-1866), Professor of Conveyancing at Edinburgh, whose works on that subject are still standard. The old house, with its original oak panelling intact and surrounded by its two acres of well-kept gardens, retains all its rural charm. An interesting relic which stands beside the dove-cot is the venerable trunk of a willow tree grown from a cutting brought from Napoleon's garden at Longwood, St. Helena.

Closely adjoining, but with its entrance gate on Whitehouse Loan, is Clinton House, where lived the widow of Lieut.-Gen. James Kerr Ross, who served under Wellington. She built the house in her 71st year and lived in it, with all her faculties bright, till her decease in 1909 at 103 years. She remembered Waterloo, and at the age of 91 she wrote a military march for the Diamond Jubilee, 1897, which was accepted by Queen Victoria. When at 102 years of age she bought a new grand piano, she replied to an enquiry, 'I practise a little every day.'

Opposite, on Clinton Road, are two mansions which between them occupy 8 acres of park and garden ground, still unencroached upon, extending to the southern boundary of the old estate at Newbattle Terrace, a remarkable preserve almost in the heart of a city. These lands and those of Clinton House just mentioned are shown on the plan of 1817 (p. 70) as part of East Morningside. The first is Woodcroft,

built about 1860 by Lt.-Col. Sir David Davidson, H.E.I.C.S. (born 1811, at Haddington), of beautiful sandstone quarried within its own grounds. At its elevation of 300 feet it still commands, as he described it, 'a view of Blackford, the Braids and Pentland Hills, stretching one behind the other like the scenery of a stage.'¹ A motto over the doorway was suggested by Jane Welsh Carlyle, *meliora semper cogita* (always think of better things), on account of Col. Davidson's and her own associations with Haddington and taken from an old house there.² The other, 'next door,' is The Elms, where lived George Wilson, M.D., F.R.S.E. (1818-1859), the founder and first director of the Industrial Museum, succeeded by the Royal Scottish Museum in 1861. When he died he had collected 10,350 specimens for 'his dear museum' as he called it. His brother was Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), author of *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*. Both brothers lived at Elm Cottage, as it was called then, each occupying half the house, so named after the magnificent elms on the property. 30 Newbattle Terrace was the home of Mary Carlyle Aitken, wife of Alexander Carlyle, M.A. (1843-1931); she was the companion and amanuensis of her distinguished uncle in his later years. Mr. A. Carlyle left to the National Library of Scotland a valuable gift of manuscripts of the Sage of Chelsea. At Newbattle House, Pitsligo Road, died the Dowager Lady Liston Foulis, eldest daughter of Robert Cadell, partner of Constable, and sole publisher, after 1826, of Scott's works.

III

The dividing line between the estates of Greenhill and Easter Morningside on the east, and properties on the west hereafter to be mentioned, was the road of ancient origin wending its way through the Muir, and known as the 'wester

¹ *Memorials of a Long Life*, by Lt.-Col. D. Davidson (Edin. 1890).

² The motto has been deleted by a later owner.

hiegaith' to distinguish it from what was called the easter road leading to Dalkeith and the Borders. On the west side of this highway are two places to which only passing reference need be made, as they are really outwith the bounds of the present article. The first is Montpelier, which at its original feuing in 1767 to Hugh Buchan, writer in Edinburgh, is simply described as four acres of ground in the south-west-most part of the uppermost great park near to the head of Bruntsfield Links, and was for a long time afterwards known as Wright-houses Park.¹ It is probable that he erected the mansion-house. In 1782 Buchan is described as Chamberlain of the City of Edinburgh, and subscribes a deed at Wright-houses Park.² In 1810 he was succeeded by his son James, physician in H.M. Forces.³ Thereafter the property passed into the hands of Alexander Henderson, banker in Edinburgh, who disposed it in June 1820⁴ to Robert Scott 'now of Montpelier,' the subjects being described as 'part of the lands of Wrights-houses now called Montpelier with the dwelling-house and offices.'⁵ The origin of the new name has not so far been traced.

The second is Merchiston Castle, 'whilom seat of a race second to none in Scotland for rank and talent—the Napiers.' When the illustrious John Napier (1550-1617) was born in the castle his father, Sir Archibald Napier, was not quite sixteen years of age. His eldest son, the ninth Laird, was master of the Scottish Mint for thirty years. He found workable quantities of gold in the Pentlands 'not in vaynes but rather in rocks neere the tops and heights of the mountaynes.' All such gold was minted in the Scottish coinage till the Union in 1707.

¹ Edin. Sas., 11 Nov. 1767.

² *Ibid.*, 27 Sep. 1782.

³ *Ibid.*, 27 Sep. 1810.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27 Mar. 1815, 5 July 1820.

⁵ Robert Scott was son of Rev. Robert Scott, minister at Innerleithen, who was son of Robert Scott of Coldhouse, near Hawick. Robert, of Montpelier, was born in 1791, and his brother Alexander (born two years later) was a friend of Lord Byron. (See *Pasti Eccl. Scot.*)

Between Colinton Road and the Dow Loan (now Albert Terrace) lay the properties known as Burghmuirhead, the full story of which is told in *Book of the Club*, vol. x. pp. 194, 201-2, 207. In amplification of what is there stated about John Mann's feu, it appears that it went by the name of Little Greenhill, and was held in security from 1774 by Mr. John Brown, Secession minister at Haddington, and later by his sons, ministers at Whitburn and Inverkeithing.¹ Dr. Steel's property is shown on Kirkwood's map.

IV

Churchhill was so named when Dr. Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), then Professor of Divinity in the University, built the first house there. He opened Morningside Parish Church in 1838, having been largely instrumental in its promotion, there being till then no place of worship nearer than St. Cuthbert's. He had not long been settled at No. 1 Churchhill when the disturbed relations between Church and State culminated in the Disruption of 1843. He founded later the New College of the Free Church, in which he became Principal and Professor of Divinity. He had resigned his chair at the University, while nearly 500 ministers of the Church of Scotland under his leadership gave up their livings, some of them the richest in the country. A bronze tablet on the house reads: 'In this house Thomas Chalmers died, 31st May 1847.' It was here that he preached for some succeeding Sundays 'planted midway up the staircase to a disjointed congregation, scattered over the different rooms, all of whom could hear but not half of whom could see the clergyman.'² They later formed, with him, the Free Church built near Colinton Road corner in 1843. Orator, philosopher, and statesman, his statue, erected in 1876 at the intersection of George Street

¹ Edin. Sas., 11 Nov. 1789.

² *Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, by William Hanna, D.D.

and Castle Street, was executed by Sir John Steell, from whose chisel is also the classic marble bust of this great Scotsman in the Upper Library of the University of Edinburgh.

Just beyond Churchhill, at 24 Greenhill Gardens, lived the above Sir John Steell, R.S.A. (1804-1891), Sculptor-Royal for Scotland. His most familiar work is the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington in front of the Register House ('the Iron Duke, in bronze by Steell'). 'Marvellously life-like' is said to be his statue of Sir Walter Scott enshrined in the Monument, with the favourite stag-hound Maida at his feet.¹ Another resident of Greenhill Gardens—No. 27—was Henry J. Bell, artist: about a dozen of his Scottish landscapes were hung in the Royal Academy, London, between 1894 and 1899.

Midway between Churchhill and Newbattle Terrace stands the 'Bore Stone,' erected on a pedestal at the north-west corner of the wall of Morningside Parish Church. It is merely mentioned here, as a critical Note by the Editor regarding it follows the present article.²

This section of Morningside Road was long known as Banner Place, with Banner Villa,³ Banner Lodge and Flodden Lodge, names arising from the tradition attached to the stone, brought into prominence by Sir Walter Scott in his poem *Marmion*. Bank House, formerly Morningside Bank (as indicated on O.S. map), with the conservatory at the head of the steep entrance steps—which with the twelve-foot wall to the street (six feet on the garden side) seems to indicate the embankment on which the house stands—was built in 1790. Here Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, until 1942 Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brother The Very Rev. Dr. Marshall B. Lang, author of *The Seven Ages of an East Lothian Parish*,

¹ Other public statues by Steell are those of Queen Victoria crowning the façade of the Royal Scottish Academy; the Albert Memorial, Charlotte Square; and Allan Ramsay.

² See page 108.

³ Here lived till her decease in 1913 a gifted artist, Miss Hannah C. Preston

spent part of their boyhood in the later years of their father's distinguished ministry of Morningside Parish Church, 1868 to 1873, afterwards (1909) The Very Rev. John Marshall Lang, C.V.O., D.D., LL.D., Principal of Aberdeen University. The Archbishop, now Lord Lang of Lambeth, has written, in connection with the recently commemorated Centenary of the Church: 'I have a vivid memory of Morningside Church, as well as of Bank House, whose garden was a great joy to us children.'¹

V

The lands of Wester Morningside stretched along the western side of the King's highway (Morningside Road), from Dow Loan to the Briggs of Braid (p. 104), so named from a little bridge which once existed there over the Jordan Burn. They extended to twenty-six acres, having the lands of Merchiston and Myreside on the west, and embracing the villages of Morningside and Tipperlinn. They were feued in 1586 to Andrew Napier, merchant in Edinburgh, brother of Sir Archibald Napier of Edenbellie, then 'Laird of Merchingstoun.' He took infestment on 7th February 1586-87, but evidently renounced possession after a few months, for on 11th August 1587 the magistrates granted a charter of the same subjects in favour of Alexander Napier, son of Sir Archibald, with remainder to Archibald and William, his brothers.² The subjects thereafter came into possession of John Cant of Morton,³ whose son Ludovick Cant disposed them in 1657 to Thomas Beg, merchant in Edinburgh. For the next 107 years they were owned by William Menzies and

Macgoun, R.S.W. Her representations of child life have exquisite charm; she illustrated Dr. John Brown's classics, *Rab and his Friends* and *Pet Marjorie*.

¹ Quoted by His Grace's permission.

² Burgh Sas. (*Guthrie*), 18 Aug. 1587.

³ He was also laird of St. Giles Grange and his son, Andrew, became laird of Comiston. For further particulars of the family see *Scottish Antiquary*, vii. 78-80; Mrs. Stewart Smith's *The Grange of St. Giles*, pp. 21-25; and *Book of the Club*, x. 15, 16.

successive proprietors of Easter Morningside mentioned on p. 80. In the year 1764 they were acquired by John Orr, tenant in Morningside, surgeon in the 36th Regiment of Foot, and thereafter sold (in 1787) by his son to John Mosman, merchant,¹ whose nephew, Hugh Mosman of Auchtyfardle, in 1789 sold them to Francis Garden of Troup, better known as the benevolent but eccentric Lord Gardenstone (1721-1793), one of the senators of the College of Justice. In January 1795² his nephew, also named Francis Garden, disposed of the house and properties to David Deuchar, seal engraver, whose youngest son William Deuchar succeeded in 1816.

Morningside House, a modest mansion (opposite), the residence of Lord Gardenstone and later of the Deuchar family, stood on the site now occupied by the branch of the Edinburgh Public Library, the garden reaching down to what is now Millar Crescent. His lordship was wont to ride from here to Parliament Square, preceded by his favourite dog and attended by a Highland laddie who ran alongside barefoot and took charge of the horse when his learned master reached his destination.³ In 1762 he bought the estate of Johnstone in Kincardineshire, including the then small village of Laurencekirk, which under his enlightened fostering became a thriving town and his resort during the court vacations.⁴

¹ John Mosman acquired the lands on 7 June 1787 and died 5 Oct. 1787. He had previously purchased the lands of Canaan (*Book of the Club*, x. 183). Burns' Clarinda, Mrs. McLehose, was a visitor to his place of Auchtyfardle, in Lanarkshire, and wrote (20 August 1813) of pleasant walks in the vicinity, which summoned up 'many a tender recollection,' and of much kindness 'such as makes one forget the past.' (W. Forbes Gray in *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 and 9 Aug. 1941).

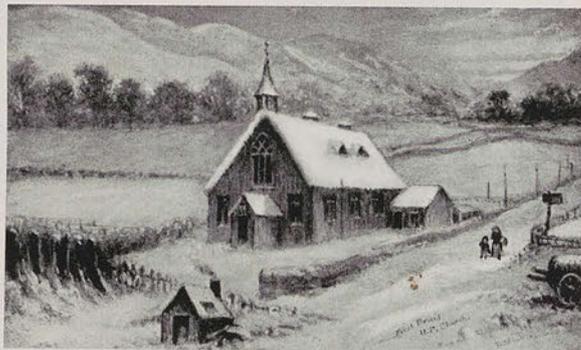
² Edin. Sas., 16 Sep. 1801.

³ *Kay's Portraits* (1878), vol. i. No. 7, where also is to be found the reference to his custom of keeping a live pig in his bedroom to warm his clothes.

⁴ Lord Gardenstone regularly partook of the mineral water of St. Bernard's Well, Stockbridge, and in 1789 he erected over the well the little Doric Temple, with a dome, designed by Nasmyth, after the Sybil's Temple at Tivoli. In 1884 William Nelson, publisher, placed the statue of Hygeia, executed by Steell, beneath the canopy and presented the well and surroundings to the town.



WESTER MORNINGSIDE HOUSE



IRON CHURCH AT JUNCTION OF BRAID ROAD
AND ROAD TO COMISTON (1883)

David Deuchar (1742-1808) was an etcher of distinction. In Williamson's *Directory* of 1790-1792 appears 'D. and A. Deuchar, seal engravers to the Prince of Wales [afterwards George IV] opposite the Cross, South Side,' and another entry is 'James Gilliland, jeweller, Parliament Close.' It was Deuchar's practice to visit his jeweller friend and neighbour, whose apprentice in 1773 was Henry Raeburn (1756-1823). The story of his discovery and encouragement of the genius of the young Heriot's foundationer is well known.¹ A miniature portrait of the engraver made at that time by Raeburn and a similar token of esteem in the form of a pen and wash drawing by Deuchar of the boy of seventeen were acquired in 1931 by the National Gallery of Scotland from representatives of the family.² A great-granddaughter possesses a collection of his original etchings³ and beautiful specimens of his seal engraving and cameos, many in heraldic designs, cut on garnets and other jewel stones. As has been noted, his youngest son succeeded to Morningside House and estate under the unusual terms of David Deuchar's will, whereby they *ascended* from younger sons to elder. John Deuchar (1786-1863) became proprietor on the death of a younger brother George in 1834. He was a lecturer in popular

¹ *Book of the Club*, ix. p. 89.

² Plate, p. 80. Mr. Stanley Cursiter, O.B.E., R.S.A., has written these descriptions: 'Miniature. Head and shoulders, clean shaven, face slightly to the right, but the eyes look straight out, powdered hair with small curls over the ears, grey coat, buff waistcoat, white neck-cloth and frill, light brownish-grey background.' Unsigned, on the back is a label 'David Deuchar, Esq., of Morningside, by Sir Henry Raeburn, being the second portrait done by him during the time he was an apprentice with Mr. Gilland (*sic*) Jeweller, Parliament Square, Edinburgh. Water-colour on ivory 2½ in. by 1¾ in.'

Of the drawing (they are framed together), Mr. Cursiter writes: 'The head is in profile showing a boy in a three-cornered hat, the wig and queue behind, the frilled shirt and jacket of the period. It is curious to turn from the drawing to the late self-portrait and see how Deuchar caught the character of the features we know so well: the full eyebrows, the straight upper and slightly projecting lower lip. Here we have a valuable cross reference establishing the link between Raeburn and Deuchar at the time, as well as a new portrait of the artist.'

³ In 1788 Deuchar published *The Dance of Death* in 46 copperplates from the paintings by Hans Holbein the younger, representing each grade of humanity, from pope to beggar, terrorised by Death.



chemistry both in Edinburgh and Glasgow and the first to lecture to ladies in that subject. Ultimately, what then remained of the property came to his fourth son David Deuchar, F.R.S.E. (1843-1905), who was manager and actuary of the Caledonian Insurance Company. When the old house was pulled down he built, a little way to the rear on what became Morningside Park (formerly Deuchar Street), Harlaw House, which he sold in 1881 to Morningside Church for use as a manse. The old garden and one or two grass parks were feued, all the rest being absorbed by what was known as the Asylum.

The Edinburgh Mental Hospital, now the Royal Edinburgh Hospital for Nervous and Mental Disorders, had by this time acquired, as will be noted later, almost the whole of the lands of Wester Morningside. Till 1881 the high stone boundary wall ran from Morningside House to Maxwell Street, its somewhat forbidding wooden gate standing just opposite Jordan Lane. It is now better realised that here is a little township of about 1500, for the most part paying patients, and that occupational therapy in a sympathetic and friendly atmosphere and beautiful surroundings is one of the chief factors in restoring mental health, while the modern practice of psychotherapy has been pioneered in its component Jordanburn Nerve Hospital and Clinic, the first of its kind in this country. The inception of a mental hospital for Edinburgh in the mind of the elder Andrew Duncan, M.D. (1744-1828),¹ successor to James Gregory (p. 97) in the University Chair of Medicine, is commemorated in a mural monument erected near the entrance porch to the principal hospital, West House. It embodies a bronze bust² of Philippe Pinel (1745-1826), the famous French physician and originator of this enlightened treatment. It was inaugurated on the

¹ He was born at St. Andrews. On May Day morning in 1827, in his 83rd year, he ascended Arthur Seat as had been his custom for thirty years.

² A replica of one in the Academy of Medicine, Paris.

centenary of his death, and of six portrait medallions in bronze one is to Dr. Andrew Duncan, senior. In 1806 a Charter of Incorporation was obtained, and a Government grant of £2000 having been secured (drawn from the forfeited estates fund of the '45), the first building was ready for patients in 1813. On completion of the original scheme in 1840 at a cost of £27,734 it became the Royal Mental Hospital. The original building, known as the East House, not now existing, was erected on four acres of what was the southmost part of the 26-acre estate of Morningside—the distinguishing title of Wester having by this time been dropped. This had been sold by Francis Garden in 1793 and was disposed in 1808 to the Asylum Managers. In 1842 they acquired the farm and village of Myreside (46 acres) and by 1853 the remaining portions of the quaint little village of Tipperlinn, all forming the western portion and boundary of what was the Burgh Muir. In 1877 the historic manor house of Old Craig House,¹ with its 61 acres of beautiful wooded land, passed into the possession of the Managers, with its vaulted kitchen then 375 years old. The walls of the older part are in some places ten feet thick. It is occupied as a sylvan retreat for gentlemen. The lintel of the entrance is inscribed L S C P 1565,² and there is an armorial panel, on the later portion, of 'Sir James Elphinstoun, 1733.' An interesting miscellany, *The Morningside Mirror*, has been issued monthly from the hospital with unflinching regularity for nearly a hundred years, the first number having appeared in 1845, then, as now, in a format of eight octavo pages at a penny, all contributions of articles and poetry having been made from within the institution, where it was printed for fifty years.

A treasured relic in the district is the Old Schoolhouse, on Morningside Road, built in 1823 and since 1895 in the possession of the family of the late Mr. Cowieson, at the

¹ John Hill Burton, historian, lived here 1861 to 1878.

² Laurence Symson and his wife, Catherine Pringle, who built the house.

foot of whose garden it stands. It was the village school-house and sufficed for the local children and others from as far afield as Swanston, Fairmilehead, and Lothianburn (3 miles). The hands of the clock stand permanently at twenty minutes to four, the movement having been transferred, by consent of the school trustees, to the spire of the parish church opposite, where it did duty till worn out and replaced in 1929, a life of 100 years. There is an entry in the church accounts: 'to School Fund for clock, including case, £19, 12s. 5d.' Former pupils in distant parts of the world held the 'wee school' in affectionate remembrance. One became Sir David Yule, Bart. (1858-1928), a merchant prince in Calcutta, who established jute and paper industries there and had large interests in tea estates in Bengal. Another recalled that in 1843, following the Disruption, he was taken away from it and put to the Free Church school (middle building in the illustration). The site and that of the old smiddy are covered by the Branch Public Library (erected 1906). The lane adjoining, where the boys played, and fought, remains as it was then, with its 'but-and-ben' cottages. It led to Springvalley House, which is commemorated on what is now Springvalley Gardens by a sculptured plaque similar to the one of Greenhill House (p. 73). The village doctor was George T. Beilby, M.D., who lived in the house immediately to the south of the old school. His son, born here in 1850, was Sir George T. Beilby, LL.D., F.R.S., a pioneer in physical chemistry and radio-activity.

The village of Tipperlinn was included, as has been indicated (p. 91), in the lands of Wester Morningside. It extended from Dove (Dow) Loan, now Albert Terrace, to the Jordan Burn. Myreside was a humbler location, but Tipperlinn, a cluster of small cottages, had a reputation for sunshine and its share of the 'best people' from Edinburgh among the summer visitors. The houses had an outside stair, or

forestair (such as may still be seen in the Lawnmarket), and were mostly occupied by weavers whose operatives lived in small thatched cottages adjoining and worked hand-loom in their own homes. Linen damask was woven in floral patterns—one large table-cloth, a specimen of the work of these bygone artists of the looms, with the date 1754 woven in, is in the possession of a descendant, resident in Tipperlinn Road, of one of the master weavers. Another popular product of these looms, also a damask, was the homely 'dambrod' pattern in blue and white, or pink and white squares. An important chemical industry was founded here in 1770, that of oil of vitriol or sulphuric acid manufacture, then coming into industrial use, by Dr. Thomas Steel, surgeon. With Thomas Gladstones¹ of Leith he formed a company as Steel, Gladstones and Company. Dr. Steel also feued in 1797 three acres opposite in Canaan (now Steel's Place), where he erected works for the manufacture of magnesia, which was beginning to be required in large quantity in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland as a constituent of Dr. Gregory's Powder (p. 97).² By 1853, as has been stated, the Asylum had acquired the remaining feus from the last of the weavers, Henry and George Murray, but not that of the 'big house,' Viewfield. In the garden the draw-well is still in existence which was the principal water supply of the village. Tipperlinn House, close by, is the residence of the Physician Superintendent of the Hospital. In the garden in front of the house is a curious stone, one foot high, with a semi-circular head and the date 1660.³

¹ Thomas Gladstones was the grandfather of the Victorian Prime Minister, and Dr. Thomas Steel's grandson was Sir James Steel, Bt., Lord Provost of Edinburgh (1900-3), who developed a large part of the area under consideration. The schoolboys in 1840 regarded the chemical factory as the 'black works.' It was later transferred to Glasgow and ultimately absorbed in Imperial Chemical Industries.

² Its use became universal on its admission to the *Pharmacopœia Edinburgensis* of 1839 and its inclusion in the *British Pharmacopœia* of 1885 and since.

³ It is believed to be one of several in Scotland to commemorate the Restoration of the monarchy.

VI

The remaining, and by far the largest, portion of the lands within the Morningside area is that known by the name of Canaan. The history of the acquisition and enlargement of the estate—it eventually enclosed an area of 65 acres—is narrated at length by Dr. Moir Bryce (x. pp. 177-183, and pp. 221-223). He gives some account of the proprietors but little about the residents, and an attempt is now made to supplement his narrative. It may be best to define the area comprised in the land of Canaan, and to answer if possible the question which invariably arises as to how the district came by these Biblical names, so well known. In the *Report of the Common Good of the City of Edinburgh*¹ it is stated: 'The lands of Canaan are bounded on the west by Morningside Road, on the east by the property of Morelands, Blackford Park and Blackford Brae, on the north by Newbattle Terrace and Grange Loan, on the south by the back gardens of houses in Nile Grove.' That represents an area $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile wide by 400 yards deep. Moir Bryce says (x. p. 179): 'That portion of the lands of Braid forming the southern boundary of those of Canaan was known as Little Egypt in the year 1585, and there can be no question that during the Covenanting period it was the means of introducing the name of Canaan. The first time these lands appear under this designation is, so far as known, the year 1661.' Goshen, Hebron, Salem, Eden and Zion Mount are still definite locations and the quiet country atmosphere yet lingers among the leafy avenues and sylvan byways. Nile Grove was named later in continuance of the tradition.

Falcon Hall was perhaps the most imposing of the many large mansions situated within the lands of Canaan. Extending to 18 acres between Newbattle Terrace and Canaan Lane

¹ By Sir Thomas Hunter, Town Clerk, and Mr. Robert Paton, City Chamberlain, 1905.



MILLBANK, CANAAN LANE



FALCON HALL

the boundary wall of the estate to Morningside Road was broken only by the entrance lodge and gates, outstanding in brown and gold, which stood almost opposite the old school. The pillars of the gateway were each surmounted by a falcon finely carved in stone. They remained here till 1894, the house itself remaining among its fine elm trees till 1909 when it was demolished to make way for tenement property and, later, very modern residential flats. The gates were re-erected at a property in Corstorphine and ultimately became the entrance to the Scottish Zoological Park. The mansion was built in 1780 by Lord Provost William Coulter, a stocking weaver in Edinburgh, who became the head of a large hosiery establishment in the High Street, 'a plain, somewhat illiterate person, he was proud alike of the office he held and of his commission as Captain of the Edinburgh Volunteers.' After two years of office as Provost he died in 1810 and was honoured with a public funeral, conducted, as a critic said, 'with a parade and show that was gratefully overdone.'¹ It was Alexander Falconar, of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service, who, about 1815, added the fine façade, calling the house Falcon Hall as a play on his own name, and the heroic statues, one of Nelson, the other of Wellington, on either side of the doorway. He otherwise greatly embellished the house, and its removal was much regretted in the district. Mr. Falconar died in 1847 (a square monument stands in the west division of Greyfriars), and he was succeeded in the ownership of the house and lands by his son-in-law, Henry Craigie, W.S. The estate, with the mansion-house, was purchased in 1889 by the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, for investment and feuing, for £33,000, being £8000 above the upset price, from the trustees of Mrs. Craigie and her four sisters. There was spirited bidding at Dowell's, one gentleman having his eye on the

¹ *The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296-1932*, by Sir Thomas B. Whitson, LL.D., and Miss Marguerite Wood, M.A., Ph.D., 1932.



acquisition of the ground for a racecourse. The southern boundary wall still stands intact on Canaan Lane. The façade and pediment of the house were re-erected at the Edinburgh Geographical Institute, Newington.¹ The villagers of Morningside were always greatly impressed by and long remembered Mr. Falconar's large yellow state carriage, with his five handsome daughters and two footmen, as it rumbled out of the big gates.

One of the most eminent of the residents in Canaan was Professor James Syme (1799-1870), who bought the extensive demesne of Millbank with its gardens, meadows, and glass houses in 1842. Here he lived and here he spent the evening of his days. His greater son-in-law Joseph, Baron Lister (1827-1912), and his successor later in the Professorship,

'Of faultless patience, and unyielding will,
beautiful gentleness and splendid skill,'²

who was married to Miss Agnes Syme in the drawing-room here on 24th April 1856, recorded that Syme loved to repair in the evenings to his country house, 'beautiful Millbank, with its flowers, its matchless orchids and heaths and azaleas and grapes and peaches.'³ Thomas Carlyle was a guest at

¹ Falcon Hall had been the residence for some time previously of the eminent geographer, the late Mr. John G. Bartholomew, LL.D., F.R.G.S., who founded the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in 1884. Each of the twelve pillars illustrated is a monolith of Craigleith stone, and the entrance hall of the building in Duncan Street preserves also the fine gallery and its ornamental bronze balustrade.

² 'The Chief,' *A Book of Verses* by William Ernest Henley, 1888, surgical patient of Lister at the old Edinburgh Royal Infirmary.

³ In the course of early chemical experiments with crude rubber (conducted in the cellar of the druggist's shop in Lothian Street occupied by John Deuchar, afterwards lecturer in chemistry) Syme discovered its solubility in naphtha, distilled from coal tar, on which he contributed a note to *Annals of Philosophy*, 5 March 1818. He did not patent the discovery, which was developed by Macintosh of Glasgow, immortalised in the waterproof garment bearing his name. Mr. Syme, writing from Millbank in 1847, thus expressed his complacency in missing a fortune which the ethics of his profession would have practically precluded his accepting: 'For my own part, I gained little credit and no profit by the discovery, except the confidence which results from struggling with a difficulty, and encouragement in endeavouring to accomplish other objects of utility.'—*Memorials of James Syme*, by Robert Paterson, M.D. (1874).

Millbank when he came north to deliver his address as Lord Rector of the University in 1866, and Charles Dickens in 1869, on the occasion of one of his visits to Edinburgh when he gave readings from his works at the Philosophical Institution, consulted Syme for a lameness in his left foot. The house (built 1804: Plate, p. 94) has now been replaced by a hospital pavilion in which an engraved tablet commemorates the above circumstance of the marriage. This and two other houses, Canaan Park and Canaan House, and their grounds, covering in all an area of 31 acres, now constitute the ideal site of the Astley Ainslie Institution opened in 1923 for convalescent treatment of patients from the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, the two latter mansion-houses having been preserved. Canaan Park was at one time occupied by Charles Hay Forbes, third son of Sir William Forbes, 7th Baronet, and brother of Sir John Stuart Forbes (p. 79).

Perhaps the most famous of the residents in Canaan was the learned James Gregory (1753-1821), Professor of Medicine in the University, the leading consultant in Edinburgh and indeed in Scotland till his death at sixty-eight, to whom belonged Canaan Lodge and its pleasant grounds of five acres, still unspoilt, 'a sufficient distance from Edinburgh to be in the real country.'¹ He purchased the house and grounds from John Paterson, architect, in 1814. 'The Gregorian physic,' wrote Professor Christison, was 'free blood-letting, the cold affusion, tartar emetic and the famous mixture which bears his name.' Born at Aberdeen, his mother was a daughter of the 13th Lord Forbes.² His son, Duncan Farquharson Gregory (1813-1844), a lecturer in mathematics and chemistry at Cambridge, died at Canaan Lodge. He closed the record of this remarkable family, by fourteen

¹ *The Academic Gregories* (Famous Scots Series), by Agnes Grainger Stewart, 1901. See Plate facing p. 80.

² That is why his portrait by Raeburn and his extensive medical library (he was the best Latin scholar of his day) were bequeathed to Fyvie Castle, the library being later presented by Sir Ian Forbes Leith, Bt., to Aberdeen University.

of whose members no fewer than twenty-four University Chairs were held between 1638 and 1844. The house (built 1800) was occupied by John Gregory,¹ advocate, eldest son of Dr. Gregory, and his mother till 1863, and by his sister Georgina until her death (at London) on 25th June 1877. It was rebuilt in 1907, and the last tenant was the late Thomas G. Nasmyth, M.D., of the Scottish Board of Health, who died in 1937. Other notable tenants had been Macdonell of Glengarry, the Earl of Fife, and Sir William Keith Murray of Ochertyre.

Before proceeding to enumerate some of the more distinguished Canaanites in art and letters reference should be made to a remarkable collection of sculptured stones, evidently of some architectural importance, which lay for many years in a yard attached to Bloomsberry House (formerly a laundry) at the corner of Canaan Lane and Grange Loan. They were believed to have been removed to this place many years ago from the grounds of St. Roque, a mansion a little to the east, and a legend grew up around them that they were the remains of the chapel erected by the Town Council on the Burgh Muir between 1501 and 1504 and dedicated to St. Roque (Roche, born at Montpellier 1295), whose intercessions were sought by the many victims of the oft-recurring plague. The properties at that corner, including the yard, have now been practically all acquired by the Astley Ainslie Institution and the interesting monumental relics have been added to the appointments of the gardens there. They are richly carved and decorated with tracery and emblematical figures.² Reference to Dr. Moir Bryce's reproduction of an engraving of 1789 from Grose's *Antiquities*³ shows the old chapel to have

¹ Known in his day for his collection of birds. The location in the garden of his aviary and eagle's cage may be seen in the O.S. Map of 1852. His famous pair of golden eagles were presented by him to the old Zoological Garden at Broughton.

² Illustrated in *Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh*, by John Geddie (*Book of the Club*, iii. 203-5).

³ *Book of the Club*, x. 176.

been of very unpretentious architecture, and the conclusion has been arrived at that they may have come from the fifteenth-century Trinity College Church, taken down in 1848 to make room for the Waverley Station. 'It was acclaimed the finest specimen of mediæval architecture in Edinburgh, Holyrood alone excepted.'¹ The carefully numbered stones lay on the south side of the Calton Hill for a quarter of a century and what remained of them were in 1872 built into a 'reconstruction' at Trinity College-Moray Knox Church, Jeffrey Street, overlooking their original site. There on some of the stones may still be seen the numbers painted on. Although the actual location of the little sanctuary of St. Roche on the Muir is in doubt, it is certain that Canaan Lane was the way to it. It is thus still a *via sacra* to a beneficent ministry of healing.

Literary associations with the district and especially with Canaan are very numerous and of some importance. James Wilson, F.R.S.E. (1795-1856), the naturalist brother of 'Christopher North' (1785-1854), married and settled at Woodville, Canaan Lane, in 1824, devoting himself to scientific and literary pursuits. Besides his *Voyage Round the Coasts of Scotland*, illustrated with drawings by his fellow voyager, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bt., he was the author of *Illustrations of Zoology*, 1826, in nine quarto volumes. He furnished all the articles on natural history for the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, all written here at Woodville. He declined in 1854 the Chair of Natural History in Edinburgh University. His biographer, Rev. James Hamilton, F.L.S., wrote: 'It would be difficult to find a more charming retreat than, in Mr. Wilson's possession, Woodville became. In his domain of two acres, snugly ensconced amidst the groves of Morningside, he caught the whole sunshine of the winter noon, forgetful of biting blasts and easterly fogs.' This was reflected in *Chronicles of a Garden, Its Pets and Its*

¹ *Historic Edinburgh Churches*, by W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E. (1940), p. 49.

Pleasures (London, 1864), written by his niece, Henrietta Wilson, daughter of another brother, Andrew. She took charge of the house after the death of her aunt and lived here till 1863. She greatly resembled her uncle and shared his attachment to plants and animals. A frequent summer tenant was the Rev. Archibald Alison, LL.B. (1757-1839), who had been invited in 1800 by Sir William Forbes and the vestry of the Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate to become Rector there, later at St. Paul's, York Place. He was famous in that philosophical age for his *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*, the effect produced on the imagination by objects of sublimity and beauty, first published in 1790. His wife was the eldest daughter of a near neighbour, Professor James Gregory. Another visitor to the secluded suburb was Thomas Campbell, the poet (1777-1844), author of *Ye Mariners of England* and *Pleasures of Hope*. He was the guest of Mr. Alison. He planted a tree in the garden in August 1837, the reports of whose progress took him back to Woodville, 'so full of feeling and information.' The tree has not survived.¹ In this still delightful pleasance lived Sir James A. Russell, M.D. (1846-1918), former Lord Provost of Edinburgh and a noted educationist. He married a daughter of James Wilson and succeeded to Woodville. At Moreland Cottage, now Morelands, a few yards to the east, lived Charles Maclaren, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. (1782-1866), co-founder in 1817 with William and John Ritchie, and first editor, of *The Scotsman*. He edited for Archibald Constable in 1820 the sixth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A distinguished geologist and President of the Edinburgh Geological Society, he promoted the preservation of a relic of glacial erosion, an ice-dressed rock surface about fifty feet square at Blackford Hill.

Of the artists, Sam Bough, R.S.A. (1822-79: Plate, p. 80), is

¹ Campbell wrote his greatest poem 'The Pleasures of Hope' in Edinburgh at the age of 20. Dr. Gregory took favourable notice of it on its publication, much to the advantage of poor Thomas Campbell.

the most notable as a personality. He lived on the bank of the Jordan Burn, in what was then called Jordan Bank (now Jordan Lane and re-numbered). He bought in 1866 two houses semi-detached, the other being Jordan Bank Villa, from D. R. Hay, who was architect to Queen Victoria for the interior restoration of Holyrood Palace. A great Scottish landscape painter, Bough is remembered by several of the older residents as a real Bohemian, a large-hearted man generous to a fault. 'In contradistinction to the mode adopted by the Puritans he thought to re-christen the place Gomorrah.'¹ By contrast, engravings of six of his paintings were published by Blackie (1873) as 'authentic views of important Bible localities after Van de Velde and earlier artists.' Such was his versatility that he painted an inn sign (still in perfect preservation) for the 'Volunteers' Rest,' as it was then called, which is still familiar in the locality, near the Old Toll. Another subject-painter who resided in Canaan Lane was Robert McGregor, R.S.A. (1848-1922). A studio built for him at what is now No. 76 still stands.

George Meikle Kemp (1795-1844), architect of the Scott Monument, wrote to his brother Thomas, who was a master of works, from 'Bloomsberry Cottage, Canaan, 19th May 1838: I am quite satisfied with the change I have made from Stockbridge to the land of Canaan; we have more accommodation for the same rent, a very pleasant little garden enclosed with a high wall, well stocked with flowers and fruit trees—and *very few taxes*.'² The details of his life and the tragedy of his death at 49 years, when nearing the

¹ *Sam Bough, R.S.A., His Life and Works*, by Sydney Gilpin (1905).

² *George Meikle Kemp*, by his brother-in-law, Thomas Bonmar, F.S.A.Scot. (1892). It is possible to clear up a little confusion which has arisen in regard to his addresses in Canaan. Bloomsberry Cottage is, as in 1838, at the corner of Canaan Lane and Grange Loan. According to the Directory of 1841-42, he had removed to Parkside Street, St. Leonards, overlooking Salisbury Crags, where he loved to sketch. Finally, the entry in that of 1843-44 is 'G. M. Kemp, architect, 1 Jordan Lane,' practically on Morningside Road, this cottage being replaced by residential property about eighty years ago.

zenith of his fame and prosperity, are well known. On a dark night and in a dense fog, 6th March 1844, returning to his home at Morningside from the office, on the bank of the Union Canal, of the contractor for the building of the monument, he was drowned, having missed the crossing at Fountainbridge. He was accorded a public funeral, on 22nd March 1844, from his home at 1 Jordan Bank, and a monument was erected in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard at the public expense.

There may be noted, set in the stone wall opposite the entrance to Woodburn, Canaan Lane—for many years a Sanatorium and now a Nurses' Home of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary—two flat stones of about a foot square, incised with the numerals 5 and 7 respectively. The same may be seen in Whitehouse Loan. These, according to Kirkwood's map of 1817, indicate the straight diagonal line of the first Edinburgh public water supply (1681)—'Course of Main Pipe from Bonaly Ponds and Comiston'—to the reservoir on the Castle Hill.

The old village of Morningside lay between Churchhill and the old Toll-house (p. 103). Having now noted some of the great and less great among those who have lived in the area, it remains to visualise something of the more ordinary residents. Truly it was a 'Sweet Auburn,' and is so described by a gracious and gentle lady who remembers it over eighty years ago: a rural paradise, the home of contentment and serenity. On either side of the main highway were the orchards and gardens of the country mansions, and beyond that the farm lands now laid out in streets and attractive terraces. Fringing other parts were the humble whitewashed cottages overtopped by glorious trees. Within living memory the old folks who had been born and brought up in them were loth to leave them, almost until the roof was taken off by the impatient speculative builders of the rows of tall tenements. Some of these comfortable red-tiled 'but-and-ben' dwellings

still exist, a little way off the beaten track. While between 1790 and 1830 the New Town was evolving on a more or less prescribed basis of town planning, Morningside just grew into an exceptionally dignified residential district. The finely wooded estates were being parcelled out in lots of from five to two acres, many of them, as has been noted, still intact. Others have been entirely superseded by the 'flat' system of building, after the manner of the Old Town, whereby a dozen families may enjoy the amenities of suburban residence in the space formerly occupied by one.

VII

At the grass parterre alongside the octagonal Braid Church stood the old Toll-house. It does not appear on the 1817 map, nor on the first Ordnance Survey map of the district (1852). On 20th January in that year at a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply and Road Trustees for Midlothian a memorial was submitted, signed by 120 families in Morningside, in regard to the levying of tolls for the district at Wrights' Houses, near Tollcross. This had long been felt to be an injustice, restricting improvement and obstructing free intercourse with other parts of the city. It was complained that 'we unfortunates of Morningside cannot even visit a friend in Gilmore Place without incurring this exaction,' while there was a check-bar at Viewforth, 'to catch such as may come by way of Fountainbridge,' and another at Grange Loan. Sir John Stuart Forbes, Bart., of Greenhill, supported the petition on the ground that 'those who went in by omnibus to their business in the city in the morning and returned in the afternoon, had each to pay twopence extra for toll; they had to pay one shilling additional on every railway parcel delivered beyond the toll at Wrights' Houses; their coals were also charged proportionately higher, and so likewise every other article—the parties making the

charge, in allocating the price of the toll, in most cases imposing besides a large margin for their own benefit.'

Sir James Forrest of Comiston, Bart. (1780-1860), noted at the meeting that reference had been made to the length of time the toll-bar at Wrights' Houses had existed; it was said to have been there for fifty or sixty years. 'Be it so,' said Sir James, 'but let it be remembered that there was no Morningside at that time at all.' He was of opinion that if the toll-bars were removed beyond the city it would lead to houses being built at Morningside and other suburban districts for those who were content to occupy flats in the city, and the houses vacated by these parties would suffer from serious diminution in rents. He thought, however, that they should give effect to the memorial from the residents of Morningside; and the toll-bar was soon thereafter erected at the then county boundary at Jordan Burn, where it did duty for thirty years, until the abolition of road tolls throughout Scotland in 1883. Ten years later, at the instance of Sir John Skelton, the toll-house was removed and re-erected as the entrance lodge to his residence, the Hermitage of Braid. On a lintel at the back of the house may still be seen the number '259' which it carried here at the foot of Morningside Road. This door, now built up, was used by the payees, and a wheel in the bay window operated the toll-gate.¹

Our Scottish Jordan,² rising in Craiglockhart Hill, still meanders beside Canaan and, becoming the Pow Burn,³ joins the Braid Burn near Peffermill. To the right of the Briggs a path, now Balcarres Street, led to Plewlands Farm, where the Rev. Robert Morehead, D.D., at one time Dean of

¹ In 1871 a three-horse bus lumbered between Morningside toll and the east end of Princes Street; but it did not pay, although the fare was only 6d., passengers to this remote region were so few. Later the trace-horses for the trams (single track) were 'parked' by the wall, which still stands, opposite the back of Maxwell Street.

² *Scottish Rivers*, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.

³ In 1497 it was known throughout its entire length as the Powburn. (Young's Prot. Book of Canongate, 23 Mar. 1496-7.)

Edinburgh, wrote in 1823 that he was enamoured of the place: 'a most beautiful summer residence near Braid. There is a great deal of poetry scattered about me if I could catch it: the poetry of life is the only poetry worth preserving.' He was a cousin of Lord Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. The farm lands now form a Garden of Rest. There was then no Comiston Road; what is now Cluny Drive was Egypt Avenue, leading to the farm of that name. In 1799 Mrs. Archibald Fletcher, wife of an Edinburgh advocate, was the first to extol the mild and salubrious air of the south side: 'seeming to require change of air, we repaired with our children to a very inexpensive cottage in the Morningside district, to the south of Edinburgh, called Egypt.'

And beyond the toll—its immediate vicinity as in 1883 is pictured in the illustration (Plate, p. 88). On the right of the little iron church erected in the open field where the high buildings at the junction of Braid Road and Comiston Road now stand, the latter is seen in its beginnings. Four years earlier R. L. S. had written in *Edinburgh: Picturesque Notes*:—

'Just beyond the old toll-house at the foot of Morningside Road the chisels are tinkling on a new row of houses. The builders have at length adventured beyond the toll which had held them in respect so long, and proceed to career in these fresh pastures like a herd of colts turned loose.'

There was no house between there and the Hermitage gate but pastures green, waving corn, and sweet-scented hawthorn hedges all the way up the old Braid Road, seen in the distance, to Fairmilehead; the Braid Hills are in the background. The picturesque demesne known for two centuries as the Hermitage of Braid is now the property of the citizens through the munificence of a Morningside resident. The extent of this wonderful amenity, practically within the city, is 45 acres, and the vegetation of the deep and narrow wooded valley is luxurious and beautiful in the extreme, all in an orderly scheme of afforestation, planted in two periods, the newer

at least 150 years ago and the older 200 to 250 years, in elm, plane, oak, beech and lime, some of the trees being 250 feet high, casting a cathedral-like shade which, in places, the sun never penetrates. Ferns and mosses and festoons of ivy clothe the steep banks of the ravine to the top. The Braid Burn sings its way through almost a mile of pleasant paths and under rustic bridges, affording truly Arcadian enchantment. Together with the Braid Hills and the Braidburn Valley, closely adjoining, this southern suburb is well favoured.

Near the entrance gate just mentioned, on the old Braid Road, took place what has long been known as the Braid Road Robbery. It is necessary to make only a passing reference to the story and to correct some erroneous statements that have for long been repeated in accounts of this happening, among them that of the genial Miss Margaret Warrender in her *Walks near Edinburgh*. Even R. L. S. in *Picturesque Notes*, referring to the 'crow-haunted gibbet' and the stones in the centre of the roadway which may still be seen marking the position where it stood (opposite 66 Braid Road), says that 'people of a willing fancy were persuaded, and sought to persuade others, that the stones were never dry. And no wonder, they would add, as the two men who expiated their crime here had only stolen fourpence between them.' From a reference to the report of the trial in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 22nd December 1814, it appears that they had assaulted their victim—David Loch, a Biggar carrier, who was bringing a horse to Edinburgh—almost to extinction, taking, as he himself deponed, 'four one pound notes, twenty shillings in silver, a two-penny loaf of bread, and a spleuchan, or leather tobacco pouch.' The Lord Justice Clerk, the Hon. David Boyle, was determined to put down highway robbery, and apparently considered that the two accused, other offences having been taken into consideration, would, in the famous dictum of Lord Braxfield, quoted by Lockhart, be 'nane the waur o' a hangin'—'not at the ordinary

place (at the Tolbooth) but on the spot where you assaulted David Loch, or as near as possible to that spot, and on 25th January 1815.' It only remains to add that the *Courant* reported that 'we never on any occasion witnessed so great a crowd, who had walked in the snow the three miles from the High Street. The men, both about fifty years of age, spent twenty minutes on the scaffold in their devotions.' It was the last execution in Scotland for highway robbery.

WILLIAM MAIR.

THE BORE STONE

THIS stone is erected on a pedestal at the north-west corner of the boundary wall of Morningside Parish Church. It consists of a slab of coarse red freestone, 4 feet 10 inches in height, 2 feet in breadth, with a thickness of 10½ inches at the top and 7 inches at the bottom. Its

The Bore Stone

In which the Royal Standard was last pitched for the muster of the Scottish Army on the Borough Muir before the Battle of Flodden
1513

It long lay in the adjoining field, was then built into the wall near this spot and finally placed here by Sir John Stuart Forbes of Pittsligo, Bart.
1852

Highest and midmost, was descried
The royal banner, floating wide;
The staff, a pine tree, strong and straight;
Pitched deeply in a massive stone
Which still in memory is shown,
Yet bent beneath the standard's weight.
Marmion.

surfaces are badly weathered, and none of the cup-shaped markings are artificial.¹ On a plate affixed to the pedestal is an Inscription (here reproduced), the first paragraph of which contains four definite statements, for not a single one of which is there a vestige of historical evidence.

The earliest reference I can find to the stone under its present name is on the bottom margin of Knox's *Plan of*

¹ Mr. G. P. H. Watson, of the Ancient Monuments Commission, has kindly furnished this information.

THE BORE STONE

Edinburgh and its Environs, publ. 1822 (being No. 33b in Cowan's and Boog Watson's *List of the Maps of Edinburgh*), where there is the following note: 'Greenhill, Sir Wm. Forbes, Bart.—About a ¼ mile South is the Borestone in which the Royal Standard of K. James IV was placed, when he reviewed the Scottish Army on the Burgh muir, before Marching to Flodden.' The only other reference to it under that name is on the 1852 Inscription. Other authorities attach the same tradition to what they call the Hare Stane, of which the following is the most precise description (1840)¹:

'On this moor . . . in 1513 James IV mustered and reviewed his troops before their disastrous march into England. The Hare Stane, as it is called, sustained the royal standard on that and several previous occasions. It is still to be seen, built into the wall, on the left hand side of the road, about half way between two or three houses on the ridge of the hill, and a church with a lofty spire a short distance down the declivity. The stone is a large unhewn block of hard red sandstone, standing upright. . . .'

Even on the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852 (prepared 1850-51) the name is 'Hare Stone.'

Maitland, in his *History of Edinburgh* published in 1753, is the first to mention a stone in this vicinity by that name. He writes as follows:

'The Baron, as proprietor of the lands of Pennycuik is obliged whenever the King comes into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to receive his Majesty at the Harestone (now erected in the Park Wall, almost opposite to the southeastern corner of the Park-dike, at the end of Tipperlin Lone, near the Borough Moor-head) and standing thereon gave three blasts on a horn';

and on the next page he states that the stone was 'on the eastern side' of the highway. With regard to his remarks about the reddendo or service payable for the fief of Penicuik, it need only be stated here that there is no record evidence to support his assertion. In no charter yet discovered is

¹ *The Edinburgh Tourist and Itinerary*, by John Willox (1840), p. 274.

there any mention of a stone, or indeed any particular place at all for the performance of this service, beyond the condition that it is to be 'upon the common muir of Edinburgh.' This, as Maitland suggests, definitely rules out the 'Buckstane,' which is not in the muir; but if the horn was ever wound, which is doubtful, any part of the extensive acres of the muir would be equally suitable.¹ The chief thing to notice, however, is Maitland's account of the position and posture of the stone.

The next mention of it is in Sir Walter Scott's note to *Marmion* (1808), where he writes: 'The Hare Stane, a high stone, now built into the wall, on the left hand of the high way leading towards Braid.' Stark, in *The Picture of Edinburgh*, 4th edition, 1825, writes that the stone 'may still be seen built into the wall on the left hand of the high road to Borough-moorhead not far from Burntsfield Links.' Willox's description has been already quoted; and the Survey Map of 1852 shows the stone at the same point. Probably, therefore, the Inscription is right (and in this particular alone) when it speaks of the removal of the stone to its present location in 1852; for in that year feus were granted for two houses just to the north of Morningside Church (now Nos. 67 and 69 Morningside Road), and the stone, which had so long stood opposite the end of Albert Terrace, had to be shifted farther down the brae.

Faced with this continuity of evidence, there seems therefore little doubt that the Bore Stone of 1852 and Maitland's Harestone are one and the same. What is puzzling, however, is how the authors of the Inscription, when they say 'It long lay in the adjoining field,' could be so precise about

¹ Since writing the above, I have found in *Clerk of Penicuik's Memoirs* (printed for Scot. Hist. Soc.) a marginal note, written in the first half of the eighteenth century, which (referring to the reddendo) says: '... in the Forrest of Duntreath [sic] between Edin. and Bredburns, near ... stone still remaining called the ... Stone.' The MS. is defective, and the precise name of the stone is lost. But even if it was the Hare Stone, the entry says *near*, not *at or on*.

something which belonged to a period at least a hundred years earlier, if not much longer? Or was this just their improvement on Maitland?

What then was Maitland's Hare Stone? The term itself is not by any means infrequent in the records. For example, the *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (p. 223) refers on a single page to three different stones: the Harystane on the west side of Carnebeg, the Harestane of Douely, and the Harestane which lies at the end of the march of Balbarde—all of them stones determining boundaries. This indeed seems to be the common acceptance of the word (cf. also *New English Dictionary*, s.v. 'Hoarstone'), and there is nothing whatever to support Scott's definition of the 'har' as meaning an army. The 'har' is rather understood in the sense of 'hoary' (greyish, or lichen-covered); and this leads to discussion of a stone in the same locality which existed long before Maitland's time, but to which he makes no reference whatever.

In the printed Minutes of the Town Council of the Burgh of Edinburgh, under date 20th July 1586,¹ when the matter of feuing portions of the Burgh Muir was being discussed, there is mention (1) of 'ane pece land bewest the Standand Stane towards Typperlin betuix the lands of Merchinstoun and the burne,' and (2) 16 acres 'lyand dew eist fra the Standand Stane.' The former 'pece land' corresponds roughly to what became the estate of Wester Morningside, and the latter to the estate of Easter Morningside. There is no indication as to whether the stone stood on the east or west side of the highway; but the road was certainly there, and in all subsequent titles is quoted as the boundary. The road was doubtless unfenced, and the stone (for the feuing discussions) probably a more notable object. In the earliest infeftments of the lands of Wester Morningside the boundaries on the west and north are the two paths, each of six ells in breadth, afterwards known as Tipperlinn Loan and Dow

¹ *Burgh Records Society*, vol. iv. p. 466.

Loan; from 1656 onwards the western boundary is 'the march stane at Tipperlin gait' (that is, road or path), and on the north 'the high market way between Merchiston and Tipperlinn' (that is, Dow Loan). The eastern boundary is *always* the highway (viz. Morningside Road) variously described. So far as can be discovered, the 'standand stane' is never again mentioned in any record, and so was not employed as a boundary or 'march' stone. Was it then the Hare Stone of Maitland's time?

For this assumption there is no inherent impossibility. It is well to take into account, however, one or two points. First, Maitland (as has been already noted) makes no reference to it. Secondly, he gives no indication of the size or appearance of the Hare Stone in his day; but if the latter (now the Bore Stone) is accepted as identical with the Standand Stane, then only about three feet of it would show above ground, and this would not be a very conspicuous object on a stretch of undulating moorland. Thirdly, Maitland speaks of the owner of Penicuik as 'standing on' the stone to blow his horn.¹ When he says the stone was 'now erected in the park wall,' Maitland may have thought of it as originally recumbent; for a slab only 10½ inches wide at the top would be rather a shaky perch! On the other hand, when he says 'erected' does he mean simply 'built in'? According to a document unearthed by Moir Bryce (*Book of the Club*, vol. x. p. 206), the Town Council when riding the marches in the year 1701 found themselves held up by a dyke which blocked the south end of Tipperlinn Loan, and were informed 'that the old march stones were removed and built in the new dyke.' So it would be no wonder if Maitland should find a 'march stone' built into another wall. The whole district was, as a matter of fact, littered with march stones (no doubt of all shapes and sizes),

¹ The Editor of *Clerk's Memoirs* goes one better, and speaks of the proprietor sitting on the stone (which, by the way, he wrongly identifies as the Buckstone) to blow the horn.

and the title deeds of the various properties are full of references to 'infixd stones,' specified as boundaries, from two to half a dozen at a time.

It was a far cry from 1586 to Maitland's day, and anything might happen to a stone in the interval. The old standing stone might quite easily have been transported to some adjacent site for use as a march stone, or have been built into a march dyke, or have been broken up altogether. If, however, Maitland's Hare Stone is in very truth the Standand Stane of 1586, this takes one much nearer to the date of Flodden. It is therefore appropriate to point out that the 'Standand Stane' was never a 'Standard Stane.'

THE TRADITION OF THE STANDARD

For a long period of years, and in innumerable books, the chief tradition connected with the Bore Stone or Hare Stone is that it held the royal standard at the muster for Flodden in 1513. Moir Bryce in his article on the 'Flodden Wall' (*Book of the Club*, vol. ii. p. 61) adopted the traditional story that 'the royal standard was unfurled on the Hare-stane—now erected on the west outer wall of Morningside Parish Church.' But in his later treatise on 'The Burgh Muir' (*ibid.*, x. p. 79) he wrote: 'We may therefore conclude that the royal standard of King James IV was not flown on this occasion on the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh.' This was in consequence of his having investigated the records, where in the Lord High Treasurers' Accounts for the year 1513 he discovered entries relative to expenses of making banners and standards, including items for cloth to make the King's banner and the King's standard, with fringes and cases; 4s. 'for the making of thaim in haist,' and 10s. 'to ane man to byde on the standartis to bring thaim with him in haist that nycht that the kingis grace departit furth of Edinburgh.' The import of this discovery he discusses on pp. 78-81, showing that the King had to leave the

town before the flags were ready, and he sums all up in these words: 'The prosaic entries in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts . . . remorselessly dissipate the romantic tradition . . . attached to the stone.'

But when, one may ask, did the tradition become attached to the stone? The latter's vicissitudes have been traced, actually or hypothetically, through more than two and a half centuries, and there is never any suggestion about its association with a standard until Scott wrote his poem *Marmion*, published for the first time in 1808. Now it is significant that Stark in his first edition of *The Picture of Edinburgh* (publ. 1806) has no allusion to the stone or standard, but merely says: 'In the Borough Moor the gallant James IV reviewed his brave army . . . before he marched to the fatal field of Flodden.' But in all subsequent editions his narrative proceeds to the effect that 'The Hare Stone, from which the standard of James IV was displayed at the muster of his army before he marched to the battle of Flowden, may still be seen. . . . This remnant of antiquity has acquired additional interest since the publication of *Marmion* by Sir Walter Scott, Baronet'—and then he quotes part of the poem.

In his note to *Marmion* Scott writes that 'the royal standard is *traditionally*¹ said to have been displayed from the Hare Stane.' So the tradition was in the making in his time, or he used the word at random. For it is to be remembered that the poet made no pretence of reciting a truthful tale. In one of his letters he says: 'I am just now finishing my romantic poem of *Marmion* a tale of war and wonder with notes like Noah's ark an ample receptacle for every thing that savours of romantic lore.'² In another letter he writes: 'It does not give any historical account of the unfortunate Battle of Flodden, being in truth merely a poetical romance terminated by that memorable event, I have not felt myself called

¹ *Italics mine.*

² *Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (ed. Grierson), i. 393.

upon to make any minute researches into the circumstances of the defeat.'¹ Again he declares to Robert Surtees, who supplied much traditional and fanciful material for him: 'I have made some progress in a legendary poem . . . I have occasion for an Abbess of Whitby, and also for a Nunnery at Lindisfarne. There were nuns in both places . . . but I suspect I am bringing them down too late by several centuries; this, however, I shall not greatly mind. . . .'² With material handled in this haphazard fashion, it is not unlikely that the word 'traditionally' might have but slight significance. On the other hand, there was at this time a good deal being said about *another* stone and its association with a standard and the muster of an army; and whatever impressions were in the mind of Scott himself or any of his informants, they tended to be strengthened by what had been written in connection with the Bore Stone on the field of Bannockburn.

Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire* appeared in 1777, and he wrote: 'Upon the summit of . . . Brock's Brae is a stone sunk in the earth, with a round hole, about four inches in diameter and the same in depth, in which according to tradition Robert's standard was fixed. . . . This stone is well known in the neighbourhood by the name of the "Bored Stone" . . . ' Then followed the *Old Statistical Account* (1795) with this: 'On Brocks-brae the Bore-stone, from a hole in its center, is said to have supported Bruce's standard.' The *New Statistical Account* (1845) attaches the standard tradition to another stone in the neighbourhood of Sauchie in relation to the battle of Sauchieburn fought in 1488: 'A stone is still pointed out, not far from the modern house of Sauchie, in which it is said that the standard was fixed . . . the field is little more than a mile from the Bored Stone. . . . ' One cannot help suspecting that the 'standard' tradition had its genesis in the story about the Bannockburn stone, cultivated by Nimmo and his suc-

¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 3.

² *Ibid.*, i. 356.

cessors, and that association of ideas led to the term 'Bore Stone' being applied to the Hare Stone at Burghmuirhead. The same tradition has travelled in other directions. For example, in the parish of Culross, in Fife, is what is known as the Bordie Standard Stone, 'a flat natural outcrop of rock with two oblong cavities, 13 inches apart, cut on its surface. . . . The cavities are popularly said to have been formed as supports for standards used at a battle fought in the immediate neighbourhood.'¹

That is, at any rate, one theory to account for the standard tradition in relation to the Morningside stone. It may of course be contended by others that the tradition had arisen simply as a logical consequence of the King's supposed presence at the muster of his army. If that were the interpretation, however, it is rather amusing to find reference to a rival site in the following words of Miss Warrender (*Walks near Edinburgh*, 1890, p. 15): 'The newly built houses which now closely surround Bruntisfield have swept away two curious landmarks of the past. One was the mound of earth on which James IV stood to review his army, preparatory to the expedition which ended so disastrously at Flodden.' Grant also refers to this mound by the name of 'King James's knowe.'²

Even if, however, everything that is alleged about the Bannockburn stone is true, there is no justification for calling the Morningside stone by the same name. It has no cavity in which a standard could be set; in that sense at least it is not a bore stone.

WHAT IS A BORE STONE?

Two meanings are recognised by etymologists. The first is, a stone which has a hole in it, penetrating to a certain depth or right through. The second is a stone marking a boundary.

With regard to the first, Dr. Grant's *Scottish National Dictionary*, s.v. 'Bore-stane' (with alternative spelling, Boar

¹ *Report on Ancient Monuments* (Fife, etc.), No. 164.

² *Old and New Edinburgh*, iii. 29.

Stone), quotes in support merely the traditional stories attached to the Bannockburn and Morningside stones. Sir William Craigie, in his *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, s.v. 'Borit' (Bored, pierced with a hole: alternatives, Bord, Boird), quotes a passage relating to lands marched and bounded by 'ane borit stane at the over and north part of the said dyk, and ane bank descendand down from the said dyk to ane carne of standand stanis at the south . . .' (dated 1558).¹

None of these instances furnish much evidence for the meaning No. 1. As has been already pointed out, the Bannockburn stone has a hole in it, from which Nimmo apparently surmised that the proper spelling should be Bored Stone; but another stone, which on the same reasoning should have been similarly described, is not called Bore Stone at all, but goes by the name of Bordie Standard Stone—while yet another stone in the same neighbourhood, always known as the Bore Stone (Culross), has no association with the standard tradition, and has few traces, if any, of a hole.

Coming now to the second meaning, a stone marking a boundary, Dr. Grant gives two references, one to the Culross stone above mentioned, and one to the Bore Stone in the Pentland Hills. Regarding the latter, Robert Cochrane in his *Pentland Walks* (p. 96) says: 'The Bore Stone is the extreme north point in the boundary line of Peeblesshire, and the north-west limit of Penicuik estate.' Another lover of these haunts, Mr. Will Grant, writes in his *Call of the Pentlands* as follows: 'The Boar Stane is the name given to the outcrop of rock . . . and this name, like that of Deerhoperig adjoining, and the Wolf Craigs . . . points to the time when the wild boar, wolf, brown bear, and reindeer roamed the Pentland Hills. . . .' With regard to the Culross stone, I quote more fully from Beveridge's *Culross and Tulliallan*:

'The old moor of Culross, the termination of which and of the ancient burgh territory is marked by the celebrated "Bore" or boundary

¹ *Family of Rose of Kilravock* (Old Spalding Club), p. 225.

stone—a shapeless lump of sandstone. . . . In the days when the Culross marches formed an annual pageant, it used to be a favourite jest with the people of Kincardine to cover the Bore-stone with leeks, in anticipation of the arrival of the Culross magnates . . . (vol. ii. p. 322).

'Head Court of the Burgh of Culross, holden at the Boar Stone, 18th May 1730. . . . The head court roll being called, such as were present gave suit and presence. . . . The Borestone is a stone on the very limit of the burgh moor at its western extremity. . . . The word "borestone" denotes the "boundary stone," and is still used in this sense in the New Forest in Hampshire, where it is called a "bower-stone" . . . (ibid., pp. 100-1).

Grant's *Dictionary* adds the following note :

'Baillie Macdonald of Culross has made, 1935, a very careful examination of this stone and thinks he has found distinct traces of a bore in the cleft of the stone, but he has never heard of its being used for the reception of a flag either at the Burgh meetings or the Burgh Ridings.'

This signification of the term is borne out by Craigie's *Dictionary*, s.v. 'Bord,' used in the sense of (1) a ridge or rim of a hill; (2) the brim of a vessel; (3) an edging or border on a garment, hat, etc. For the first sense he cites twelve lines concerning marches, from *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. xxvii, note, of which two run thus :

'All kynd of monthis . . . hes mercheis thre,
Heidrowm, watter, and monthis bord. . . .'

That is to say, 'bord' has the meaning of ridge or watershed, otherwise simply 'border.' For further confirmation, the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. 'Border-stone,' cites from *Poems by Mrs. Browning*, ii. 18: 'The grey border-stone that is wist to dilate and assume a wild shape in the mist'; and gives the meaning, 'a stone marking a boundary,' deriving the word from Teutonic 'bord'=side. Compare French 'bord,' and words such as 'seaboard.'¹

¹ The late Rev. Thomas Miller assured the present writer that he had seen in seventeenth-century Church records repeated reference to the Borestone, and he refers to a plan of 1767 on which it is named 'The Borstone' (see his pamphlet, *The Site of the Battle of Bannockburn*, 1933).

There is thus certainly more evidence for the view that a bore stone, like a hare stone, was (at any rate in historic times) a boundary stone. To justify the appellation in respect of the Morningside stone, it would be necessary to prove that it had been a boundary stone; but of this there is no evidence.

Now one more question, by way of further exposure of the whole fallacy :

DID THE SCOTS ARMY MUSTER ON THE BURGH MUIR
BEFORE FLODDEN ?

It is almost 430 years since Flodden Field, and nearly every Scottish historian from that day to this has, in varying phrase, recounted the tale of how James IV issued a proclamation for the whole array of the kingdom to meet him on the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh. None of the modern writers condescend to give a reference to the sources of their information; one has to go back to Pinkerton, who quotes as his authorities Lindsay and Drummond. Drummond was the celebrated Poet of Hawthornden, who wrote his *History of Scotland* about the middle of the seventeenth century. Lindsay was the writer popularly known as Pitscottie, being one Robert Lindsay who became tenant-farmer of that property in Fifeshire. He wrote his *History* during the later years of Mary's reign, though it was not published till 1728.

Now Pitscottie gives a picturesque and circumstantial account of all that befel King James IV and his people in the fatal year of 1513. He tells all about the King's ghostly visitant at Linlithgow to dissuade him from his venture; about the supernatural summons issued at the market cross of Edinburgh boding ill to any who fared forth to the fatal field; and all sorts of rumour concerning the King's amours and rash decisions. It is what he says about the muster that concerns the present argument: I quote from the version of

Pitscottie's *Cronicles of Scotland* edited for the Scottish Text Society :

(I. 257) 'The king heirand of his' (Sir Andrew Wood's) 'wnprosperous journey, seand that France wald get no support of him for the tyme, maid ane procliamatioun haistalie throw all the realme of Scotland batht eist, wast, south, north, allis weill in his illis as in the ferme land that all maner of men betuix sextie and sextene yeiris, that they sould be redy within xx dayis to pase witht him witht xl dayis wictuall and so meit at the borrow mure of Edinburgh and thair to pase fordwart quhair hie pleissit. His procliamatiounis was haistalie obeyit contrair the counsall of Scotlandis will, bot everie man luffit his prince so weill that they wald on nowayis dissobey him bot everie man gart mak his provitioun haistallie conforme to the charge of the procliamatioun. At this tyme the king come to Lythtgow . . .' (then the vision).

(I. 259) 'All thir warningis and wncouth merwellis nor no goode consall might stope the king at this present frome his waine purpois and wickit interpryse bot he haistit him fast to Edinburgh and thair to mak his provisioun and furnishing in haveing fourtht of his airme aganis the day appoyntit that they sould meit on the borrow mure of Edinburgh; that is to say sewin cannonis that he tuik fourtht of the castell of Edinburgh, quhilk was callit the sewin sisteris, cassin be Robert Borthik the maister gounar witht wther small artaillye, bullat, powder and all maner of order as the maister gounar could devyse. In this meane tyme they war takin fourtht the artaillye, and the king being in the Abbay for the tyme, thair was a cry hard at the mareat crose of Edinburgh at the heure of midnight proclamand . . .' (Pluto's summons).

(I. 262) 'The king went in to the place quhair the mustaris war resawit, that is to say, in the borrow mure besyde Edinburgh, quhair they essembelit, the king and all his lordis barrouns and burgessis all frie halderis and fenceabill men, and all maner of men betuix sextie and sextene alsweil spretuall as temporall batht brugh and land allis weill the out yillis as ferme land quhilk haistalie come, the number of Ie M fightand men together witht the carage men and arteillyerie quhilk was to the number of xxx schott of greit artaillye and xxx feild peaceis witht all thair ordinaris of poulder and bullat; and passit syne fordwart to the Ersk tower and campit thair.'

Consider now what the records reveal. It is a strange and incomprehensible thing that even reputable historians sometimes accept second-hand information rather than take the pains to delve in original record sources. In any event, it is a definite fact that not a single historian has seen fit to report that in a certain unexceptionable State record there is specific mention of a place of rendezvous for the 'array' of loyal Scots, and that place is not the burgh muir of Edinburgh—it is *Ellem*, which lies in the southern fold of the Lammermuirs, practically within sight of the English border and the field of Flodden. In the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, in the same volume from which Dr. Moir Bryce quoted the items about the royal standard, there occur the following entries (year 1513):

July 24: 'Item the samyn day to Gilbert Rutherford messenger to pas with our soverane letters in Fiffe Angus for the congregatioun of our soverane lordis legis at Ellem, xx s.

'Item the said day to David Lowry to pas in to Bute Ergile and uther divers shirefdomes with our said soverane lordis letters for the mater foresaid, xxvij s.

'Item till ane uther officiare to pas in the West and southland with the said letters, xx^{ti} s.'

It is therefore a competition between Pitscottie and the Treasurer's Accounts. I submit the facts, and leave them to speak for themselves. But there are some considerations worthy of notice.

In the first place, Pitscottie was an annalist rather than a historian, and seems to have depended largely on hearsay evidence. Sheriff Mackay, who edited him for the Scottish Text Society, remarks that for the period prior to 1542 his work is 'a collection or compilation . . . nor are we even certain whether he may not refer to oral and traditional communications and not to written documents'; thus making 'many errors . . . the result . . . of accepting hearsay informa-

tion without independent inquiry' (p. clxvi). Later he adds: 'Probably the modern historians have acted most safely who do not accept his authority unless when it is confirmed by some other source' (p. clix).

Secondly, he is in error on material points such as the size of the muster, the movements and composition of the artillery, the route taken by the army, and the King's own movements. Most writers who have critically discussed the campaign revise Pitscottie's estimate, some going so far as to cut it down to a quarter. There were no 'seven sisters' among the artillery, and the total number of cannon or field pieces was seventeen; they all left the Castle on 17th and 18th August, the procedure being that men drew them down the High Street to the Nether Bow during the afternoon, a party watched them overnight, and in the morning large draughts of oxen conveyed them by way of Dalkeith towards England, accompanied by waggoners, gunners, wrights and other craftsmen in large numbers. Incidents occurred on the journey: 'Item, for ane ox bocht at Dalkeith for (*i.e.* to replace) ane ox that a cannon ran oure and brak his nek, xxxii s.' The men got money to defray their charges during the journey, and in addition 'eight days' wages in England.' There is not much sign here of a muster, of artillery at any rate, on the Burgh Muir. The King departed from Edinburgh on the night of the 18th with the standards to follow. And what a jumble Pitscottie's redactors make of the first night's bivouac of the army after the alleged muster: one manuscript has 'the Ersk tower,' the 1778 edition has 'Esk,' the 1814 edition has 'the East Toun'—all quite unintelligible.

Thirdly, Pitscottie wrote at least fifty years after the event; but as a boy he may have seen or heard of a muster on the Burgh Muir, for on 5th May 1544 (when he was in his teens) there *was* a muster there. During the same decade there were proclamations for quite a number of musters, for which the rendezvous were Dundee, St. Andrews, Dumfries,

Stirling, etc. A muster was ordered for 5th July 1514 'upon Rosling mure,' and the same rallying point was fixed for 28th July 1545. There were musters in 1499 at Ayton, 1497 at Lauder and Melrose, 1496 at Lauder and at *Ellem Kirk*. This disposes of the theory that most of the Scottish musters were on the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh; it also gives the lie to the 'last' word on the first line of the Inscription.

The editor of the printed volume of Lord High Treasurers' Accounts in which all this record evidence occurs, while unable to escape the mention of Ellem as the place of meeting, rather naïvely (in his preface p. xxxvii) adds the words: 'a rendezvous which was subsequently altered to the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh.' With the record before him, he yet could not abandon the 'follow-my-leader' policy. Consider the dates. The messengers were sent out with the proclamation on 24th July. Twenty days' notice was usually given, which if counted from the date of the proclamation would mean that the day of muster was 13th August. But distant points would not have notification until some days had elapsed, with corresponding shortening of the period for travel. For example, there is an entry in the Aberdeen Town Council Records of date 2nd August appointing certain persons to assess the town for furnishing twenty spears, three riding men and three carriage horses 'to pas with our sovereign lord in his weres in England, for the space of xl dais efter thair cuming to his grace'; and the money, which was not begun to be collected till the 7th, was thereafter distributed to the levy. The Aberdeen contingent therefore did not set out until well on in the month. On the other hand, the King left Edinburgh on the 18th and the last consignment of artillery on the morning of the 19th. Every authority agrees that the army *crossed the Tweed* on the 22nd of August. If a change of rendezvous had been made, the difficulties of getting the 'host' this length would be greatly increased, and units would have to be intercepted all over the country in order

to notify the change of plan. There is no evidence at all that this was done; and I contend that, in any case, there would not be time.

Col. FitzWilliam Elliot in his book *The Battle of Flodden* (1911), while accepting in substance the traditional story, thinks there may have been only a partial muster at Edinburgh. He writes, after quoting Pitcottie (p. 7):

'These details have been accepted by modern historians more literally than I am inclined to do, for I cannot believe that the whole Scottish army concentrated at Edinburgh. I am not for a moment questioning the accuracy of the statement that when Marmion rode over Blackford Hill a

"thousand pavilions, white as snow,
spread all the Borough-moor below,"

nor am I doubting the genuineness of the Borestone, now to be seen at Morningside. Large Scottish forces were no doubt collected here, but not the army as a whole. The Borderers, whose presence on the frontier must have been urgently required, were surely not brought to Edinburgh in order to march back to the Borders; neither would the men of Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway have been so, whether James intended to strike at the east or west frontier. No details, so far as I know, exist of the concentration of the army previous to the Flodden campaign. . . .'

Details, however, as has been shown, *do* exist, viz. that the muster was to be at Ellem; and Elliot does not suggest where the other detachments were to rally! If, on the other hand, we accept the record, all is clear.

As regards a partial muster on the Burgh Muir, there might be room to suppose that perhaps the burgesses paraded there before marching off for the field. Even of this, however, there is practically no evidence, although 'weapons-haws' were often directed to be held at various parts of the Burgh Muir from time to time. There is nothing, at any rate, in the Burgh Records even to lead one to infer that the citizens went off in a body. On 25th August orders were issued that 'all maner

of personis pas to our soverane Lordis army under the panys contenit in the proclamatioun maid thairupon of befoir'; and even as late as the 5th of September it was ordained that 'all nyctbouris of this toun fensabill personis that thaisicylyke pas in their best aray bodin for weir till our said Soverane Lordis army, and present thame to the provest of this toun' (who, of course, had gone previously to the muster). However, this point is not laboured, and makes no difference to the present argument.

So the professed purpose for which the Stone was commended in the Inscription is defeated by the defeat of the Tradition. If there was no Muster, then there was no Standard. If no standard, then there is nothing of special note to be recorded about the stone. To all appearance it is not even a Bore-stone. At best, it is just An Old Stone.¹ Should the Inscription then remain? There are plenty of old stones around Edinburgh, more massive and with probably more history attached to them, as yet unsung by poet or honoured with a plaque. *Vivat veritas.*

HENRY M. PATON.

¹ From its dimensions, it could quite well have been the cover of a stone cist, conveyed perhaps by a farmer to the corner of his field, to be out of the way of the plough. I am indebted to an archaeologist friend for this suggestion.

ALL THE STATELIE BUILDINGS OF . . .
THOMAS ROBERTSON¹

A Building Speculator of the Seventeenth Century

A MODEST entry in the Burgess Roll of one Thomas Robertson, maltman, burgess by right of his wife, Helen, daughter of the late James Elliot, maltman, in 1649 gives no hint of the part that man was to play in the adornment—the Town Council and his epitaph's word—of the city, nor of the calamitous fate which befell both his work and his family. His story, compiled from the Council Minutes, the Register of Discharges for his debts and other odd sources, is curious enough to be worth recording.

The entry noted above shows that he did not come of an established burgess family and nothing of his descent can be traced from the records. The trade of maltman or brewer, in Edinburgh at least, was not exclusive of, and frequently ran concurrently with, that of merchant. It was so in Robertson's case. In 1659, rather a long time after his entering as burgess, he became a gildbrother, probably taking to merchandise at the same time. In 1668 he began his career in connection with the government of the Town as one of the masters of Trinity Hospital. He was not, however, a member of the Town Council. At Michaelmas, a year later, he was elected a merchant councillor and in 1670 became Old Treasurer. This appointment implied, as was the case, that the former Treasurer had been re-elected for a second year of office. In the following year he was elected Treasurer and held that office till Michaelmas 1673. At the election of that year he joined a minority of the Council in opposing the re-election for the twelfth successive year of Sir Andrew Ramsay as Lord Provost. In his zeal for the removal of Ramsay

¹ From a bundle of unbound manuscript in the City's Miscellaneous Papers.

he overstepped the bounds of prudence. He attempted to bribe one of the deacons to vote against Ramsay, offering to restore to him a bond due to the Town for a considerable sum as reward for his help. The man was an ill-chosen instrument, became frightened and confessed. Robertson denied the charge brought against him in Council by the Lord Provost, but the denial obviously was *pro forma*. The offence was grave enough, since the bond was part of the Common Good, or Town revenue, and the Lord Provost made profit from the deacon's confession to attempt to exclude Robertson from sitting and voting at the election. He was not successful. The members of Privy Council deputed to supervise the election declared the fault so grave as to be worthy of prosecution, but that, until a case had been brought, Robertson could not be excluded. The records do not refer to the matter again and, indeed, it is probable that no further action was taken. Bribery was common enough, even in the Town Council, and a prosecution might have had undesirable consequences. Besides, in the eyes of his time, Thomas Robertson's chief fault was that he had picked his man badly and been found out. And, as a further consideration, the agitation against Sir Andrew proved strong enough to procure his resignation before the year was out.

In spite of the pronouncement of the Lords of Privy Council, Robertson absented himself from the further stages of the election, probably annoyed at the accusation and at the lack of support attending his attempt. The new Treasurer was sent to him to enquire the reason for his absence and to warn him to vacate his tenancy of the Society and to complete the building of the Mealmarket by Martinmas next. This warning as to two of his schemes, to be dealt with later, obviously was Ramsay's retaliation for his opposition. The list of offices on the Council for the year seems never to have been completed, probably for the reason that Robertson should have been Old Treasurer and, in terms of the Lords'

pronouncement, was not excluded. Still, it is probable that he did not take up office, neither was he on the Council after the long-delayed election of 1674, which took place only in August 1675, about a month before the regular day.

Not till 1681 was Robertson on the Council again. Then he was elected second bailie and presumably held office as old bailie in the following year. In 1684 he served as first bailie, and again may have been on the Council for one more year, after which he held no further office for the short time till his death in 1686.¹

Of his private life practically nothing is known. His first marriage, to Helen Elliot, is recorded in the Edinburgh Marriage Register on 6th October 1648, some months before he entered burgh by her right. His name is given as 'Robesone,' and, by some slip, he is described as a baker instead of a maltman. The marriage apparently was childless and cannot have lasted long. Probably Helen Elliot died in childbirth. In July 1651 Robertson married again. His new wife was Marion Cleghorn, who was mentioned with him in 1671 in one of his business ventures. That is all which is known about her, but the mention in that connection suggests that she was interested in his affairs, as frequently happened with Edinburgh wives. By her he had four sons: Thomas, Henry, John and George. He died on 21st September 1686 and was buried in Greyfriars' churchyard. Over his grave was placed a pompous inscription recording his claim to fame in words which suggest an unbroken career of success: 'He was inferior to none in prudence, integrity and dexterity in management of business; he was the hope and life of the poor, the support of tradesmen, the adorer, if not the builder of the city, the delight of the citizens and the desire of the whole nation.' Here is no hint of the bribery episode; of an absurd tradition which attributed the destruction of his property to his having burned a copy of the Covenant in

¹ The Council Records for this period are not available.

1661—he was not even on the Council at that date, far less a bailie; of his financial dealings which brought his family to bankruptcy. So far it is as true as most epitaphs in that his ventures must have brought much money to the pockets of the confraternity of Mary's Chapel, and that one of his buildings, the Exchange, certainly was planned on an elaborate scale. But the fire of 1700 wiped out most of his building ventures and his name has been forgotten, save for a few obscure references.

As has been suggested already, Thomas Robertson's activities were not confined to the occupations of a brewer and a merchant or even to his work on the Town Council. What makes him interesting is that he seems to have had a passion for building, more particularly for risky enterprises in which the element of speculation was dominant.

This is seen in two out of three of the Town enterprises which he farmed for various periods, while the other, the tack of the Town's imposition on ale, beer and malt, was a purely financial speculation. Of this little is known save that in 1662 he took on a tack for twenty months of the imposition on ale and beer, engaging to pay £2560 scots a month to the collector, with a penalty of £266, 13s. 4d. for each month's failure. Later in the same year he also took on the collection of the imposition on malt till 1664, for £2333, 6s. 8d. a month. Unfortunately there is no means of calculating the exact yield of the impositions, but it is certain that the promised sums left a handsome margin of profit to the tacksman. Had it been otherwise, there never would have been a stream of applicants for the unpleasant job of extorting from brewers, innkeepers and ale-sellers, not to mention the inhabitants, this tax on one of the necessities of life. For it must be remembered that, in that as well as earlier centuries, not water, but ale and beer were 'drink.'

Starting a year earlier, Robertson had taken a tack of the Society, the Town's brewery, projected in 1596 to provide the

Town with good liquor and set afoot in 1598. The tack was to last for eleven years. In consideration that the place was in considerable disrepair, the tack duty for the first three years was only £800, but for the remaining years £1000. Indeed, so bad was its condition that Robertson was allowed some of the Town's store of timber for the work. Little mention was made of his tenancy save the recording of a complaint of his that the windmill lacked sufficient water. This Robertson attributed to the drainage schemes at the Borough Loch, carried on by the tacksman of that loch, John Straiton. As usual, a committee of the Council was appointed to investigate the complaint, although no report ever was issued.

It was not till 1677, at the expiry of his tack, that Robertson's building activities were noted. The incoming tacksman, Magnus Prince, complained that the place was not in proper repair. Probably all was not as it should have been, but Prince doubtless was moved to complain because Robertson was allowed to retain for thirteen years certain houses and other buildings erected by him. The Council found in Prince's favour, and threatened that, should Robertson neglect to do the repairs, they would appoint some one to do it at his expense. A year later the Council, as often happened, seemed to go back on their engagement about Robertson's houses, ordering him to deliver them all to Magnus Prince. Possibly their action is explained in part by the statement that the repairs, not yet done, but required, would have absorbed more than £1666, 13s. 4d., the year's tack duty. Robertson defended himself on the ground that, having built to a considerable value, when not obliged to do so, he should have some allowance, and suggested that the sum required for repair should be deducted from what should have been due to him for building. It was a neat suggestion, the more so that the building seems to have been done by him without authorisation of the Council. They, however, were not fooled.

Robertson had to yield, renounce all claims against the Town, put Prince into possession and pay £1000. Probably he was content enough, though Prince came off badly, for Robertson had not paid up a year later.

Some men might have been discouraged at the outcome of this encounter, but not Thomas Robertson. His next venture, in common with five others, was the tack of the eleven common mills at Water of Leith. This he took in 1679, shortly after the expiry of his tack of the Society. It was not his first transaction with the mills. In 1674, when the road to the mills had been damaged by quarrymen, Robertson proposed to the Council to divert it, making room for the new line of roadway by taking down some houses between the quarry and the bridge, to level the road and pave it to a breadth of eighteen feet and to rebuild two of the houses removed. For this work he asked £1000 scots. The Council accepted the offer. Two years later he was at it again. The dams needed repair. He would repair them in stone and lime for £500 or even 400 merks (£266, 13s. 4d.) and ask no more, should it cost him more than double. The Council agreed to discuss the offer and, for reasons known only to themselves and Robertson, gave him the contract for £1000. Again in 1677 he offered and accomplished the repair of the lower dam for £3000, which was paid.

The tack of the mills included stipulations for building, probably one of the reasons which led Robertson to take over the job. For the eleven mills and the horse mill at the Society he and his partners were to pay £5733, 6s. 8d. a year. As in the case of his other tacks there is no way of computing what he stood to gain himself, but since all grain, for bread or malt, had to be ground at one or other of these mills, the multures and other dues must have been considerable, and probably he hoped to profit over the building to be done. In that, however, he was optimistic. The Council had a way, not at all obvious, of getting the better of a bargain. Robertson

engaged to build a house for the use of the Town and their tacksmen costing £2666, 13s. 4d. Should he and his partners renounce the tack at the end of the first five years—the tack, though it was not stated, probably was for ten years—the Council were bound to refund half of the price of the house. Robertson did not hurry: nine months later he invited the Lord Provost and others of the Council to select a site. The work proved costly, for later the Council agreed to allow £400 a year from the tack duty for expenses over and above the estimated price. Whether they fulfilled the promise is not stated.

These public activities followed and accompanied more extensive private ones. It was in 1657 that Thomas Robertson's propensity for acquiring and rebuilding property first shows. He, as yet only a maltman, had acquired a burnt land in the Cowgate and appealed to the Council for a valuation. This house, elsewhere called a brewery, was situated in the close, called variously Robertson's, Bailie Robertson's, Dickson's or Melrose Close, on the south side of the street. He was tardy in applying for a valuation, since he had bought it in 1652 from John Denholm, merchant. Probably the troubles of the English occupation had retarded his plans; possibly the English had been responsible for its dilapidation. Incidentally, the name of the close obviously derives from himself. The property figures later among his available assets, and his son, John, succeeded him in the ownership.

The Council appointed a committee to value the land, composed of a bailie, the dean of gild, John Milne and John Scott, the Town's mason and wright respectively. These examined the place and reported that the walls of the foreland, made of stone, clay and 'small rubbish,' must be taken down before rebuilding, and that the sum of £800 paid by Robertson was the value and 'more rather than lesse.' This tendency to extravagance, so early recorded in his career, was to have the inevitable result.

For some years after this Thomas Robertson had his hands full with other matters. In 1671 begins his real career as a speculative builder. Then he and his wife, Marion Cleghorn, acquired from the Town the waste ground, formerly called the Nether Kirkyard and now the Mealmarket, with the house on it lately occupied by John Thomson, gardener, and another little house to the east with the stone wall to the north. The Mealmarket had been opened in 1602, a wooden erection, otherwise known as the Halls. The mention of John Thomson's house recalls a plan of the Council for the beautifying of the waste ground between the Parliament House and the Mealmarket wall. The words 'lately occupied' seem to prove that it had failed. In 1662 Thomson had agreed to make a garden on that ground, with vegetables and fruit, excluding such coarse kinds as kale and cabbage, but including herbs and flowers, berry bushes, plum and cherry trees. It was to be a place of broad and narrow walks with hedges in carefully defined places. For his labours he had his house rent free for four years and after that time at a rent of £20. But how poor John Thomson was to make his profit from this pleasance was never stated, and no mention of it is to be found after that year even in the transactions with Robertson. It is likely that the ground was found to be more valuable for building purposes, since it is apparent that some of Robertson's new tenements occupied the easter part fronting on the Kirkheugh. Also the passage from Parliament Close to the Mealmarket, frequently mentioned as a boundary in Robertson's discharges, but known more generally as the Parliament Stairs, must have encroached on the wester side.

In the agreement with the Town Council Thomas Robertson became bound to rebuild the Mealmarket and thereafter to keep the Town free of all expense of upkeep and repair. Oddly enough no term of years for this was inserted in the document. He also was bound to build houses on the waste ground for the 'adornment' of the Town and to make 'a

handsome and convenient court or close for the use of the said mealmarket.' The feu-duty was to be £6, 13s. 4d. a year, and all his buildings were to be free of taxation for nineteen years. The Town Council only seven years later managed to evade this last concession. The Convention of Estates had ordered a general tax for the King's purposes. A committee of Council met to discuss the incidence of this tax in relation to the newly built lands of the Town, among which were Robertson's, and decided that, since the tax was a national, not a burghal one, such buildings could not be exempt.

So Thomas set to work. There is no record of his progress save the act referred to above, demanding the completion of the market by Martinmas 1673. Though the demand obviously was inspired by annoyance at his attitude towards the re-election of the Lord Provost, there was also a real need for the place. It was for the convenience of the inhabitants and the benefit of the Common Good that the market should be ready soon. But Robertson was engaged not only upon that building but upon his new houses beside it, and it must have been reasonable enough in his own eyes that he should not neglect work, by which he could profit, for the Mealmarket, unremunerative to him personally. That he also had other difficulties is shown by a protest which he made in Council in 1674. In the name of the heritors of Edinburgh he protested against the exorbitant prices charged by slaters, glaziers, coopers, plumbers and others of the subsidiary crafts of Mary's Chapel. He asked that they should work for daily wages like other tradesmen. This protest probably was wholly justified, but it came in the middle of a dispute between these crafts and the wrights and masons, original crafts of Mary's Chapel, in which the former were fighting for equal rights of representation on the Council with the latter. The slaters seem to have allowed Robertson's complaint to pass unchallenged, proof enough that it was justified, but seized the

chance to protest that masons and wrights should work for fixed daily wages: 6s. 8d. a day for masons and 5s. a day for wrights. Evidently the whole craft had been trying to profit too much by the new buildings in various parts of the Town.

The market was finished in October 1673 and by 1675 Thomas Robertson's private buildings were either complete or habitable. Of the appearance of the Mealmarket and of the exact position of the houses in regard to it, no information is accessible, for all reliable maps are subsequent to the great fire which changed the aspect of the neighbourhood.

The discharges to Robertson's creditors give some idea of the size of the houses. There were two buildings called the foreland of the Mealmarket and the backland of the same, on the north side of the Cowgate. The foreland had, for access to the various houses, three turnpike stairs, differentiated as the wester, middle and easter turnpikes. From each turnpike were reached two houses on each floor of the tenement, described as the easter and wester houses. No more than three storeys and garrets above the lower or laich houses are mentioned in the discharges. It is not certain whether it is safe to conclude that the tenement was no higher, but it seems probable that this was the case. Thus there would be eight houses to each section of the building, two on each street level and six reached by each turnpike. As the 'laich' houses were small, there may have been more than two to each section, but this cannot be proved. The backland or back tenement had an easter and a wester turnpike, but in the discharges only a house on the first storey is mentioned. Since only three of the whole tenement were offered for sale, the descriptions do not allow any conjecture as to its height and general lay-out.

The proof that the tenement was habitable and the Mealmarket again in use is found in a complaint about the market lodged by the inhabitants. It reveals an extraordinary state of affairs in the Town, indicating a shortage of housing for the very poor, possibly due to recent fires which had destroyed

their dwellings. Thomas Robertson's new occupants stated that 'indigent, poor and seeklie persons' slept every night in the Mealmarket and that in the daytime meal and corn were sold in the same place, 'which,' they complained, 'may occasion great seekness' among purchasers. It was an odd protest to come from so insanitary a generation, but the Council took it seriously and ordered the bailies and dean of gild to prevent the practice. The efforts of these officials were unavailing. Later the Council ordered Thomas Robertson himself to have the market cleared and to keep it free of beggars. Should he fail in this, they threatened to take over the keys and open and close the market as they should think fit.

In 1674, the year of his complaint against the crafts of Mary's Chapel, Thomas Robertson undertook his greatest venture. On 24th July an agreement was made between the Town Council and him, by which he undertook to build an Exchange on the waste ground south of the Parliament Close and east of the Parliament House. What exactly induced the Town Council to adopt the scheme is not known. It is probable that increased association with England and the frequenting of London on national and burghal business had made people conscious of backwardness in comparison with that city. In any case the Privy Council was interested and took a hand in the subsequent proceedings, to the delay and doubtless to the distraction of all other parties.

From an act of Council three months later it appears that Robertson had already started private building on that side of the close, namely, the tenement described as the foreland on the south side of the Parliament Close. The Council had inspected the building and found that by its height the windows of the Privy Council Chambers might be darkened. Robertson was ordered to give an undertaking that, should the Privy Council object, he would take down the upper storeys at his own expense.

The commencement of the Exchange lagged, complicated by the usual intervention. Late in 1676 an idea of the magnitude of the scheme is given by the introduction of Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, H.M. Surveyor-General in Scotland and architect to the new Holyroodhouse. His plans delayed matters still further. It was only in April 1680 that Thomas Robertson undertook to build the Exchange from the plans of Sir William. The agreement with the Town as usual contains so many conditions as to make it strange that any profit to the builder could be left. The Exchange on completion was to become the property of the Town. The bounds are set out elaborately, showing that Robertson had property to the south, probably the Mealmarket lands and tenements on the west side of the Kirkheugh. The agreement reserved to the Town free access to the low room under the Parliament House and to the waste ground lying between the east corner of that place and the dyke at the west for a garden. The building was to be complete by June 1681. It must be that it had at least been started earlier. For once the Council seem to have been conscious that they were driving a hard bargain. They recorded on the same day as the contract that 'Thomas Robertson will be at extraordinary expens in ornamenting and bewtifieing of the said exchange in regard of the carved work that is to be upon the entrie, laying of the walks therof with black and whyt marbell and extraordinary work upon the pillars and severall other pairts of the samyn, which tends only to the bewtifieing of the said exchange which they conceave to be both hard and unjust that the same should be upon the said Thomas Robertson his own proper chaarges. . . .' Therefore they bound themselves to repay him for these extras, according to a valuation made by two impartial persons.¹

Even this contract did not settle matters. The Privy

¹ As the Council records for this period are not available, there is no evidence whether the payment was made. Probably not.

Council and Lords of Session intervened with a list of alterations: 'the pillars upon the foir work thereof must be filled up with ston work of aisler and the foir building highted and a galrie maid therein in the entrie wherof they judged would be fitt to be throw the Exchequer hous and that the same should be covered with lead.' This was almost too much for Robertson to bear, for, after going into the cost of the alterations, they were found to add £400 sterling to the price. The Privy Council offered a gratuity of £150 sterling towards this, but even then seem to have required a room for the Lords of the Treasury, while the Council discussed with Robertson the cession to them of the upper storeys of the building. It is a marvel that it ever was finished.

Yet finished it was, and, in spite of claims by the Town Council, Thomas Robertson managed to retain in his own hands the possession of several shops which formed part of the building. Without a plan, it is impossible to say what place they occupied. Only in one case is there any indication. Shop No. 9 is described as ninth southward from the common door of the Exchange. This suggests a passage through the building lined with shops. It could not have been long enough to contain all the shops. Robertson's discharges show that he owned twenty-two shops of which the highest numbered was 46. Therefore there cannot have been less than that number, and possibly more. Those which he had not retained probably had been sold by him outright. They must have brought him a substantial sum, for his own were rented variously at £36, £40, £42 and £48 scots a year, and were sold at anything from ten to sixteen years' purchase.

Thomas Robertson's tenement in the Parliament Close, which he had started before the Exchange, was a building of at least four storeys above the close level and of some beneath that level, fronting the space between them and the Meal-market. Above the four storeys were garrets and there also were cellars available. Access was obtained to the various

houses by a 'scale' stair—a straight stair with landings, newer and probably judged more suitable than a turnpike, which usually was external to the building.

This became the fashionable quarter and should have proved a favourable speculation, for rents were high. At the time of the great fire the Lord President and other judges of the Court of Session lived there and, from Robertson's discharges, it appears that the houses were sought after by the greatest Edinburgh merchants. It also had shops on the close level, and its situation near the Parliament House and other Government offices made it a place where various officials, living elsewhere, had 'chambers.'

Here it may be noted, as a curious fact, that Edinburgh people of that date were not keen on exercise and considered the distances in their city quite long enough. To modern eyes the distance from one point to another of the old town—which naturally did not include the Canongate—is hardly worth mentioning, but in 1678 a plan put forward by the College of Justice for a separate church for themselves was opposed by the ministers. They gave as reason that the trouble and fatigue of visiting their parishioners scattered all over the Town would be too great. It is small wonder that people, whose occupations drew them to that quarter, congregated in Thomas Robertson's new fore tenement.

As in the case of the Exchange shops, not all the houses remained in Robertson's possession. Enough still were his to give some idea of the size of the tenement, of the different houses and of their cost. Two sets of chambers were sold by Robertson's heirs, both of two fire rooms: one tenanted by the principal Clerks of Session, the other by Sir Patrick Aikenhead, Commissary General, rented at £160 and £150 respectively. The first was bought by John Hamilton of Bardanoch, Bailie of Holyroodhouse, for £2280, the other by Gavin Hamilton, writer, for £2253, 9s. 6d.

The most desirable houses fronted on the Parliament

Close. One of these was the house of eight fire rooms on the fourth storey of the scale stair, garret and two cellars, rented at £255, 6s. 8d., formerly occupied by Sir George Campbell of Cessnock and at that time by Samuel McLellan, later a Lord Provost. It was bought by Mr. David Crawford, Secretary to the Duchess of Hamilton, for £3351, 5s. Another, of six fire rooms on the third storey, one dark room without a fireplace, and two cellars, was occupied by the widow of Commissary Wishart, who at one time had combined that office with a professorship in the College. The rent was £110, and it was bought by Robert Sandilands, merchant, for £1210. At the east end of the tenement above the shops and on the second storey was another house of eight fire rooms with garret and cellar, described as being above the house of Charles Row, W.S., and below that of Robert Blackwood, another future Provost. It was rented at £400 by Mr. David Scrymgeour of Gartmore and bought by him for £7700. At the west end of the same tenement on the third storey above the shops George Home, then Lord Provost, rented a house of five fire rooms and three garrets for £266, 13s. 4d. It was bought by that future Lord Provost and member of Parliament for the city, George Warrender, who paid £4240.

It is regrettable that no information is given about the tenants of the shops. Yet, as goldsmiths, booksellers and instrument-makers tended to inhabit the Parliament Close, it is probable that some secured the new shops. One of them may have been the coffee-house of James Rew, which was closed by order of the Privy Council in 1677 upon suspicion of his disaffection to the Government.

Whether the houses below street level were entered by the tenement stair or had separate access from outside is not indicated. Since some of Robertson's lands are described as on the west side of the Kirkheugh, it is possible that there was a stair from that passage. Only four of these belonged to Robertson to be sold with his other property, so that there

is no means of gauging the height of the building. Indeed, judging by the information given in the discharges, it is hard to think that the lands built by Robertson were so high, at least at the time of building, as was reported later. Yet Forbes of Culloden states that some were ten and fourteen storeys high. Such being the case, it is curious that Thomas Robertson kept in his possession no houses higher than seven storeys.

Among the houses described as below the close, one on the second storey down was bought by Charles Jackson, which was rented at £133, 6s. 8d. He also bought a smaller one, described as being on the west side of the first 'plate' of the stairs from the Parliament Close to the Mealmarket. This was rented at £66, 13s. 4d., and the couple cost him £2350, less than the sum paid for one house on the actual close. Another house of three fire rooms on the same landing, and two cellars, was bought by Dr. Adam Freer on behalf of Frances Brown, widow of James Vert, Keeper of the Exchequer, for £1152. It was rented by the widow of John Adamson, Keeper of the Parliament House, for £72. The last house noted in this part of the tenement was large, seven fire rooms on the first storey below the Parliament Close, and a cellar, rented by James Belsches, merchant, for £180. This was bought by Janet Williamson, widow of David Cairns, writer, for £3008. This price was based on sixteen years' purchase and is a proof that there was much competition for the house. Bidding at the roup of Robertson's property was keen and prices rose by eighths of a year, but, while eight years' purchase was the smallest sum to be bidden for any one house—and that a one-roomed garret—sixteen years' purchase was more than most people were prepared to pay.

Robertson's property did not end with these tenements. There were others on the east side of the Kirkheugh. There was a large one, described as the 'high back tenement,' which rose to seven storeys—at least so far as the evidence of the

discharges goes. It also had a scale stair, and houses are described as to north and south of that stair. They never were so large as the best in the Parliament Close tenement, but commanded good prices.

In the north half of the first storey was a house of four fire rooms, bought by John Osburn, merchant, for £552, and occupied by Michael Bailly, writer. Above it, on the south half of the third storey, reached by the scale stair, a house of four fire rooms and a cellar, occupied by Francis Brodie, merchant, at a rent of £100, was bought by the same John Osburn. Still higher, at the same side of the fourth storey, was the house of Robert Kyle, writer, composed of five fire rooms and a cellar, rented at £180. It is described further as being on the second storey below the entry from the Parliament Close by a long passage leading to the scale stair from the Kirkheugh. A plan would elucidate this better than the description. It was bought for £1296 by Captain Edward Burd, younger, the son of the man who, a few years before, had opened a naval store in Leith and kept it open in spite of the hostility of the Edinburgh merchants.

In the south half of the sixth storey was a house of four fire rooms and a cellar rented by Patrick Johnston, later a Lord Provost, for £156, bought by Mr. Patrick Crichton, writer. At the same time he acquired a garret, rented by John Stark for £12, and paid for the two £2221, 10s. The seventh and last storey, described also as the second storey above the passage already noted, contained two houses both bought by Mr. Thomas Skene, each rented at £150. Each had four fire rooms and a cellar and were occupied by Charles Mitchell, writer, and Robert Currie, merchant, respectively. He also bought a garret, rented by Samuel McLellan for £18, and paid for the whole £4044.

There were other houses sold in that tenement, but the deeds do not record on what storey they were placed. One, rented at £144 and sold for £1818 to Dr. Robert Forbes, was

occupied by Lady Ninewells. Another, at one time occupied by Andrew Law, goldsmith, then by Mr. James McKenzie, Clerk to the Session, was rented at £120 and sold for £1440. The accommodation was not stated. Another on the north side of the building, rented at £144, fetched £1800.

There seems to have been another tenement of Thomas Robertson's on the same side of the Kirkheugh, described as lying in St. Ninian's Close. The name is a common misreading of St. Monan's. It was not offered for sale, and is mentioned merely as the security for a debt of £2666, 13s. 4d. to one Marion Masson.

The foreland and backland of the Mealmarket have already been described. Seventeen houses out of a possible twenty-four of the former were offered for sale, and of these nine are exactly identified. The position of the others may be guessed at from the rents, for, as was the case with other Edinburgh 'lands,' the desirability of the dwelling rose with its distance from the street. They were humbler places than the houses on the Parliament Close and Kirkheugh, with a maximum of four fire rooms, and commanded lower rents. Still, they boasted most respectable occupants and purchasers.

The houses on the street level had only one or two fire rooms and all but one were rented at £40 a year. The most easterly, bounded on the east by the Kirkheugh, for some reason fetched £60 a year. Houses on the first floor above the Cowgate were rented for £44 to £56. Those on the second storey of three and four fire rooms had rents of £56, £60, £66, and one of five fire rooms fetched £72 a year. From this it appears that the houses were not of uniform size—possibly the corner houses were the larger. On the third storey, above which were only garrets, so far as can be ascertained, rents were £74 and £80.

The occupants were varied: Katherine Hamilton, Lady Harviestoun, had a low house, and another, presumably on the top storey of the wester turnpike. John Richardson,

described as merchant and servant to the General Post Office, had a house on the second storey of the same stair. Mr. Matthew Selkirk, minister at Crichton, bought two houses, one rented at £50 and another at £56, probably, though it is not stated, on the first and second storeys. The other houses were bought by writers, merchants and craftsmen.

It is impossible to state the size of the tenement called the back land of the Mealmarket, for only three houses definitely are located in that building. By the wording of some discharges, it may have formed part of one of Robertson's properties on the west side of the Kirkheugh, but, in the absence of maps or plans, this cannot be settled. The houses in this land were larger and more costly than those in the foreland. The largest, containing seven fire rooms and a cellar, was shared by two people and was bought by Jean Campbell, widow of William Law, goldsmith, for £3351, being thirteen and one-eighth years' purchase of a rent of £255, 6s. 8d. William Law had been deacon of his craft in 1675-7, was a noted man for his work, particularly on Communion cups, many of which are extant, and was the father of the famous John Law of Lauriston and purchaser of that estate. John Vallance, bookseller, bought a house of five fire rooms and a cellar, rented at £90, for which he paid £1282, 10s. Evidently book-selling was a trade which paid even then. The house was occupied by Mr. William Livingston, clerk to the Kirk Sessions. The last of the houses mentioned, of which no indication of size is given, save that it had a garret and therefore must have been on the top storey, was bought by Agnes Campbell, widow of Andrew Anderson, H.M. Printer. That doughty lady, who took over and ran her husband's printing presses, housed in the Town's College, and who waged successful war against all rival establishments, paid £2880 for the house. This, rented at £90, was on the easter turnpike of the tenement, which shows that the building must have run east and west and had at least two stairs.

The last Town property mentioned seems to have been in the ground bought by Thomas Robertson in 1652, his first speculation. It is described as the tenement on the south side of the Cowgate, opposite the waste ground called the Leather market. Only one house of three fire rooms was for sale there. It was rented at £76 and fetched £1149, a fair sum for a place of its size.

The final property put up for sale was the estate of Lochbank, known also as Bearford's Parks, bought by Robert Hepburn of Beirford for £6716, 13s. 4d. It had been sold by James Hepburn of Beirford in 1661 to Alexander Wright, maltman in Leith. He disposed of nineteen and a half acres of the land to Thomas Noble, merchant, and William Charteris, W.S. These men in 1674 sold the land to Thomas Robertson. It was not a large property and what he wanted with it was never recorded. Did he pine for a tag to his name like so many other Scots? Did his wife want to be Lady Lochbank instead of plain Marion Cleghorn or Robertson? Or had Robertson some deep-laid plan for exploiting the future site of Princes Street? He had died before the charter of James VII and II granting extended powers of building to the citizens, which, although it is insufficiently recognised, foreshadowed the eighteenth-century extension of the city. Had it not been so, it would be tempting to believe that the man with the mania for building had realised the possibilities of the charter and had designs for the land across the North Loch. Whatever his reason, he died before anything was done, and his son, Thomas, was forced to sell the estate in November 1699.

It is a long list of properties and, even apart from the Exchange, must have involved a very considerable outlay. There is no means of computing all he spent, unless it is assumed that the sums due to his creditors represent the total cost. Given time, the rents of the houses retained by him might have sufficed for repayment with careful management,

for land and house property were the most obvious and safest form of investment when the only other alternative for quick wealth was foreign trade. That, in Thomas Robertson's day, still merited the sixteenth-century name of the 'Wild Adventures,' for wars and privateers, French, Algerian and others, made voyages a matter of risk, quite apart from difficulties caused by the jealous monopoly of English merchants. Still, the crash did not come in his time, and, whatever his realisation of the money difficulties, he could look around at a quarter of the Town 'adorned' by his clean, new, spacious tenements.

Eight years after Robertson's death in 1686, his family had to face the situation, which was far from pretty. There were unpaid debts amounting to nearly £75,000 scots, apart from mounting interest.

His four sons were by then established in the Town. The eldest, Thomas, of Lochbank, was a merchant, but had entered burgh and gildbrother only in 1693, a date which suggests that he took to merchandise only when forced to do so by money troubles. He was married to Elizabeth Hepburn, possibly a relation of the Beirford family. Mr. Henry, the second son, was an advocate, had been made burgh and gildbrother gratis on the same date as his elder brother, but by an earlier act of Council. The third son, John, a merchant, had entered burgh and gildbrother on 26th October 1687, about a year after his father's death and by his right. Thus John, at the date of his entering, must have been in his early twenties, the only faint indication available of the ages of the children. He served as second bailie in 1691-2 and as dean of gild from 1695-7, but does not appear as holding office after that date. The youngest son, George, is not noted as having trade or profession.

It was a bad time for anyone in financial difficulties. The Revolution and the Jacobite resistance in the north, King William's wars and the consequent heavy taxation, the general

neglect of Scottish affairs and a succession of poor seasons, had lain heavy on the country. If this had not been enough, the failure of the Darien Company was veritably the last straw. Thomas Robertson, younger, had £4800 scots invested in that company, and its loss surely hastened the family's disaster. Indeed, it probably was the failure of the company which compelled Robertson's creditors to require repayment of the money due them.

The Burgh Court Register, from which most of the preceding information has been obtained, has nearly 400 pages of the Discharges on the Robertson estate, all registered on the same day, an unbound volume of closely written manuscript. There were fifty-three creditors involved, and the sum, as already stated, about £75,000 scots. This, however, is only the amount of the original debts. In the final settlement there fell to be added arrears of interest and expenses. These are not in any way tabulated, and to sort them out so as to find the exact method upon which payment to each creditor was made would end in being wearisome to the reader even if the present writer could render them correctly—which is doubtful.

Apparently Thomas Robertson in his day was trusted by his contemporaries desiring a safe investment for large and small sums of money, evidence enough that his building enterprises were necessary and the scale of his operations not so risky as it appears to a modern reader. The list of his creditors includes several judges, advocates and writers, merchants, tradesmen, ministers and their widows. Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall had lent £4533, 6s. 8d.; Hew Stevenson of Montgrenan, advocate, £4388, 6s. 8d.; John, Lord Carmichael, £4000. These were the largest sums, but Mr. George Mackenzie, nephew of Sir George Mackenzie, King's Advocate, had risked nearly £3000; Mr. Robert Lauder, Clerk of Exchequer, was due £3000. John Hamilton of Bardanoch, Bailie of the Abbey, had lent £1666, and George

Warrender, merchant, future Lord Provost and M.P., had acquired the debt to Archibald Primrose of Dalmeny of £3686, 13s. 4d. David Crawford, described variously as Keeper of the Signet and Secretary to the Duchess of Hamilton, had lent £2400, while two other Lords of Session, Sir William Anstruther of that ilk and Sir John Hamilton of Halcraig, were creditors for £1000 each. The ministers or their widows, for whom repayment was claimed for debts of £1000, were Mr. John Alexander, the widow of Mr. George Leslie, minister at Holyroodhouse, Dr. William Gairdyne, lately of Edinburgh, Mr. Archibald Lundie at Saltoun, Mr. Mungo Watson at Gladsmuir, and the widow of Mr. Andrew Kinneair, late of Edinburgh. The Trinity Hospital and Cramond Kirk Session also were creditors for fair amounts.

Among the names of the merchant creditors appear none of the notable names of Edinburgh, although they had been content enough to rent the new houses and were willing to acquire either those they lived in or others. It is a curious point. Possibly they knew too much and mistrusted Thomas Robertson's schemes. Equally possibly they were jealous of his enterprise and apparent success and preferred not to help him. Even the tradesmen purchasers were not from the ruling crafts of the Town.

These debts had been contracted at various dates throughout Robertson's life and, in one case at least, by his eldest son, and that in connection with the Darien business. When it came to the settlement all the discharges give the same preliminaries. They bear that Thomas Robertson, merchant (the younger), burgess of Edinburgh, by his bonds of varying dates obliged himself, his heirs, etc., to repay the money borrowed; that he with consent of Mr. Henry Robertson, advocate, John Robertson, late dean of gild, and George Robertson, his brothers german, and of Elizabeth Hepburn, his wife, by disposition dated 2nd, 4th and 9th April 1698, had sold to Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, one of the

Senators of the College of Justice, Robert Blackwood, merchant and late bailie of Edinburgh, Mr. John Fairholm, advocate, George Warrender, merchant and present bailie, and Mr. David Serymgeour of Gartmore, with others named in the disposition, for themselves and as trustees for the creditors, all the lands of the said Thomas Robertson. It does not seem to have mattered that some of the trustees named were themselves creditors on the estate, nor that some, too, were purchasers of parts of the property involved.

The discharges go on to narrate how each creditor was repaid his principal, interest and expenses. The method may have been usual, but it appears intolerably complicated. The separate properties were roused, but the purchase price was not paid direct to the trustees for accumulation into a central fund from which payment should be made to the different creditors. Instead, the purchasers paid the money direct to the creditors. The result was that for payment of large debts two, three or more purchasers paid a part or the whole of their price to a creditor. In the case where a creditor was also a purchaser, he received a deduction from the price he had offered amounting to what was due to him and might be required to pay part of the balance to a fellow creditor. It must have involved an immense amount of calculation, supervision and work.

Examples may make the process clearer. In every case the figures given are those of the discharges unchecked. Mr. David Crawford was a creditor for £2400. He bought a house in the foreland of the Parliament Close for about £5316, received a deduction of £3147 from the price in full of his debt with interest and expenses, and from the balance of £2169 due by him made up to the widow of Andrew Armour, merchant in Glasgow, the remains of her debt of £1000. Two other persons had contributed towards payment of that debt.

In the case of John, Lord Carmichael, creditor for £4000, repayment followed the same course. Charles Jackson,

merchant, who had bought two houses for £2350, paid the whole sum to Lord Carmichael. John Richardson of the Post Office, who had bought a house in the foreland of the Mealmarket for £882, 15s., paid that over. John Osburn, whose house had cost £552, paid £332, 9s. 6d., and George Warrender, purchaser of a property for £4300, upon which he had been allowed £4192, 14s. 2d. for the debt to which he was assignee, paid £167, 19s. 6d. These payments were contained in one discharge. A second discharge gives the completion of the payment. Mr. Matthew Selkirk, minister at Crichton, had bought two houses for £1272, out of which he paid £638, 17s. 4d. A further sum of £92, 19s. 2d. was exacted from two of the foregoing purchasers for arrears of interest, so that the complete payment to Lord Carmichael amounted approximately to £4669, 0s. 6d.

Repayments to the other creditors proceeded on the same lines, but the total amount of debts and interest was never tabulated and the detail is not of sufficient interest to be worth the working out. It can be calculated roughly that Robertson's property realised about £105,493, of which the greater part must have been absorbed in payments to the creditors. For what properties and at what times the original debts were incurred is not stated precisely, for some of the bonds were mere renewals of former ones. That is a pity. It would have been interesting to know which of Thomas Robertson's ventures was the least remunerative. Judging by previous contracts of other persons with the Town Council, it seems probable that he lost most money over the Exchange and the Mealmarket, for the Council had a way of driving bargains which left only the narrowest margin of profit—if that—to the other party. In any case, the times were not propitious for a speculative builder such as Robertson, and it is not surprising that his career ended in a family bankruptcy. Given more fortunate times and Robertson might have ended as a millionaire, for it is evident that his buildings

were an improvement on anything the Town had known and were much sought after.

There is more than a touch of irony in the date of the registration of the discharges in the Burgh Court Book. The day, 26th November 1700, was about nine months after almost the whole buildings in question had been wiped out in the great fire of February. Thus far the Robertson family and their creditors were for the most part fortunate, but the purchasers of the different houses must have felt very sore. It is rather extraordinary that these new houses, built at a time when the inhabitants had reason to fear the danger of fire, should have proved so inflammable. Repeated fires during the latter part of the century had caused the Town Council to lay down street regulations designed to prevent the 'sudden accident' of fire, forbidding timber fronts, thatched roofs and such. So far these were in vain.

There may have been some resentment at this unsatisfactory situation to feed the common thought that the destructive fire was a judgment. For what, opinions differed. The tradition that the fire started in the dwelling of the man who burned the Covenant has been noted already. Others, even the Town Council, attributed the event to the iniquities of the city, Sabbath breaking, drunkenness and the like, which declarations can be read in other places. But for Thomas Robertson's buildings and ambitions, of which no trace remains, the best epitaph is found in a Minute of the Council bearing date 7th February 1700, which lamented 'the dreadful fire that upon Saturday's night last . . . brock out in the north east corner of the Meal mercat and consumed to ashes all the said mercat, all the statelie buildings of the deceast Baillie Thomas Robertson on both sydes of the Kirkheugh, the Exchange and the whole Parliament Closs except the Treasury House. . . .'

MARGUERITE WOOD.

been accustomed to communal living for centuries. Few were prepared to forsake the crowded 'lands' of the Old Town, despite their disadvantages, and to go into the country, there to form the nucleus of a suburb. Better a dwelling in a narrow wynd of the Old Town than 'a lodge in the wilderness.'

How deeply rooted was the aversion to living apart from one's neighbours is shown by the fact that the promoters of the South Bridge did not envisage an extension beyond Nicolson Street. When, in 1785, an Act of Parliament was obtained 'for opening an easy and commodious Communication from the High Street of Edinburgh to the Country southward,' all that was contemplated was convenient access to 'the Squares, Streets, and Buildings on the South Side.' The extreme limit of the area was defined in the Act as a point sixty feet eastward 'from the centre of Lady Nicolson's Pillar,'¹ which stood opposite Surgeons' Hall. This circumscribed outlook widely prevailed. Robert Chambers, treating of the South Side in *Walks in Edinburgh*, gets no farther than St. Patrick Square, though he vaguely refers to 'numerous streets and villas' having arisen south of the University.² If this were Chambers's nearest approach to a description of the residential suburb of Newington, he was doing scant justice to a district that had already taken permanent form. The chief streets of Newington with their rows of substantially built but rather sombre-looking villas were, at the time at which Chambers wrote, an actuality. Not only so, but they were linked with the Old Town by rows of houses which were nearly continuous as far as the southern boundary of the lands of Newington. Some portions were feued before the end of the eighteenth century, and in the year of Waterloo a writer in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*³ announced the

¹ An account of this monument will be found in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, new ed. 1816, p. 251.

² R. Chambers, *Walks in Edinburgh*, 1825, p. 249.

³ 12 August 1815.



making of a new road 'leading in a straight line from Nicolson Street to connect with the great south road to Moffat.'

While Newington appears to have been the original name of the lands, they are frequently described in the property registers under the generic title of Belleville, a name also applied to the mansion of Clockmiln (or Clockmill) that stood close to the Palace of Holyroodhouse. How the alternative name arose has not been ascertained, but it has fallen into desuetude, and the only reminder of Belleville in the Newington district is the large and imposing mansion on the north side of Blacket Avenue which goes by that name.

II

The lands of Newington comprise a rectangular area rather more than half a mile in length. The ground slopes gently to the south and commands an entrancing view of the uplands about Liberton, which must have been even finer before this long-descending stretch of crop-growing land was covered by serried rows of villas with prim gardens and abounding foliage. The northern boundary of the lands of Newington is contiguous with those of St. Leonards, the dividing line being Preston Street, which more than a century ago was known as the Gibbet Loan. East and West Mayfield (formerly Mayfield Loan or Cant's Loan)¹ marks the southern extremity. On the east Newington is bounded by the west side of Dalkeith Road; on the west the east side of Causewayside alone is within the Newington boundary.

Kirkwood's Plan of Edinburgh (1817)² affords a valuable survey of Newington when the earlier feus were being taken up. The spacious central thoroughfare, which in its passage through Newington is known to-day partly as Newington Road and partly as Minto Street, was then being formed. In Kirkwood's Plan it is simply designated 'the New Road,'

¹ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. x. p. 56.

² See Plate facing p. 152.

presumably to differentiate it from the two ancient roads on the east and west, the former leading to Dalkeith and the latter (Causewayside) to Liberton and farther afield. In Minto Street the earliest houses erected were those at the north-east corner. Three are shown below Blacket Avenue but none as yet on the west side. The lodge in Minto Street at the entrance to the avenue leading to Newington House is still unbuilt. Well-wooded grounds enclose the mansion, which is bounded by Blacket Avenue on the north, by Mayfield Loan on the south, by Dalkeith Road on the east, and by Minto Street on the west. A thin line of trees runs through the centre of the policies from north to south. To the left of Newington House, facing north, is a thick plantation, and on the right the flower and kitchen garden, together with estate offices which are represented as hardly less in size than the main block of buildings. A thick border of foliage screens the property on the east.

Equally instructive is Kirkwood's Plan as regards the layout of the remaining portions of the lands of Newington. The south side of Preston Street is for the most part built over. At the top, adjoining St. Cuthbert's Burying Ground, is a large area extending southwards to Salisbury Road and marked 'Handyside's Property.' Barring the way south is the Gibbet Toll, close to which is a well. Below Salisbury Road, and next to Arthur Lodge, is a house that belonged to Francis Nalder, merchant, who on 11th January 1812 was seised 'in a lot of ground with house on the west side of Dalkeith Road.' Then, at the south-east end of Mayfield Loan, four blocks of buildings comprise Rosebank, a name, it may be noted in passing, also borne by the lands now covered by Broughton Place and Forth Street.

The west side of Newington presented a different aspect. Instead of the rustic appearance of the eastern boundary we find a closely-built area. The whole of Causewayside, from Preston Street to Mayfield, was covered with moderately large

houses whose gardens, before the formation of 'the New Road,' extended in some instances to Dalkeith Road. James Grant, who might well be writing from personal knowledge, states that the Causewayside contained 'many old and massive mansions (the residences of wealthy citizens) that stood back from the roadway, within double gates and avenues of trees.'¹ These must have been in striking contrast to the rather drab appearance of that thoroughfare to-day. The southern portion of Causewayside, from Duncan Street to Mayfield, included a number of small properties which, according to Kirkwood's Plan, were owned by Mrs. Glen, Mrs. Mitchell, Mr. Cleghorn, and Mr. Auld. Five houses are shown on the east side of Upper Gray Street, and beyond these a projected 'Meuse Lane.' The greater part of the west side north of Duncan Street is unbuilt, but below that thoroughfare the ground seems to be wholly feued. James Goodfellow² mentions that to preserve the amenity of Minto Street both Salisbury Place and Duncan Street had barrier-gates which were closed at sunset. Bickerings between the boys within and without these gates were, it appears, frequent, the Minto Street boys regarding those who lived in Causewayside as 'keelies,' while the latter retaliated by dubbing their opponents 'New Road Puppies.'

III

Dr. Moir Bryce has recounted the history of the lands of Newington with such scholarly precision³ that the writer can

¹ *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 50.

² Goodfellow was for forty years a missionary in Newington. In 1906 he published a tiny volume entitled *The Print of His Shoe*, containing his experiences in the district nearly a hundred years ago. Goodfellow furnishes details regarding several interesting mansions that have long since disappeared. The writer is indebted to Goodfellow's book, which is enhanced by a series of illustrations, showing, among others, Causewayside in 1850, Grange Toll, Broad stairs House, and the Old Toll-Bar, Powburn. See Plates facing pp. 160, 184.

³ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. x. pp. 211-16.

do little more than paraphrase his statement. It is proposed, however, to add some particulars omitted by Dr. Moir Bryce, possibly because the scale of his narrative did not permit their inclusion.

The story begins as far back as the reign of James VI. On 9th August 1586 the Magistrates, with the Provost, William Little of Over Liberton, assembled on the Easter Muir¹ for 'rowping and setting of the waist pairt thairof.' It was decided that the lands to be feued should be divided into sections, and with that object the Magistrates fixed the width of the four roads in the district. The Dalkeith road was to be twenty-four ells wide, the Liberton road (Causewayside) eighteen. In addition to the easter and wester roads there were to be 'twa shorter passages ledand eist and west . . . the ane passage at the north besyde the laird of Lugtoun's lands' and the other at the south end, 'besyde the heid of the awld pairts of the said mure.' Both these cross-roads were to be nine ells wide. The land situated between the 'hie commoun gait' and the cross-roads is described in the Record as the 'body of the Muir.'

The original lands of Newington were broken up into six lots. These ran from north to south, and each consisted of eight acres and a half. The first and third sections were disposed of to William Stewart, Clerk Depute of Edinburgh, the yearly duty being 14 bolls 3 firlots and 2 pecks bear. Stewart also obtained the two gushets of the Easter Muir, containing four acres. The fourth lot was acquired by John Huchesoun, merchant, the annual duty being 17 bolls meal. The purchaser of the fifth and sixth sections was Alexander Slowman, a rich merchant burghess of Edinburgh, whose family at a later stage acquired all the lots with the exception of the second, which was feued to John Robertson, merchant, the annual duty being 18 bolls 1 peck. Robertson's portion of the Easter Muir ultimately passed into the hands of the

¹ *Burgh Records, 1573-89*, p. 470.

Johnstons of Westerhall, who owned considerable property in the Sciennes. Besides the yearly duty, the feuars of the six lots had each to pay entry money amounting to 50 merks per acre.

Margaret, grand-daughter of Alexander Slowman, married Robert Ker of Broomlands, and was infeft in five of the six lots by charter, dated 28th November 1628. These she sold in 1636 to Nicholas Uddert, a bailie of Edinburgh in the reign of Charles I. Uddert apparently got into financial difficulties, and his creditors disposed of his Newington property by charter, dated 27th June 1649, to Alexander Eleis (or Ellis), who, formerly of Mortonhall, now designated himself as of Newington. Eleis's daughter, Isobel, became the second wife of John Lauder, who, in an Act of Parliament, is styled 'John Lauder of Newington, merchant burges of Edinburgh.'¹ Eleis became financially indebted to his son-in-law, and on 16th February 1653 a charter was granted to Lauder and his wife whereby Eleis conveyed his lands of Newington as security. In 1713 their grandson, Dr. William Lauder, became the owner of the five sections, his father, Sir John Lauder (Lord Fountainhall), having resigned them in accordance with a marriage contract between Dr. William Lauder and Rachel Winram. From Dr. Lauder the five lots ultimately passed into the possession of John Henderson of Leistoun, whose grandson (bearing the same name) succeeded to them by charter, dated 28th February 1733, and was known as John Henderson of Newington. In the following year Henderson acquired the lot owned by the Johnstons of Westerhall, and thus became proprietor of the whole lands of Newington.

On 28th December 1751 Newington found a new proprietor

¹ The father of Sir John Lauder (Lord Fountainhall); he was third Bailie in 1657 and 1661, and was proposed in 1672 for the Provostship in opposition to Sir Andrew Ramsay. He amassed a huge fortune, had influential friends, and was thrice married.

in Patrick Crichton, saddler. His son, Alexander,¹ became financially embarrassed and in 1772 attempted to sell the lands of Newington, as may be learned from an announcement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 23rd November.

'To be sold, the lands of Newington, both property and superiorities . . . consisting of the property lands of about fifty Scots acres and the feus of about ten acres. The yearly free rent, including the feu duty, after deducting all public burdens, is £157-10/-. The lands hold feu of the city of Edinburgh for yearly payment of £157-11-5—£8-10/- on the entry of an heir and £17 sterling for the entry of singular successors.'

The sale, however, did not take effect. Alexander Crichton doubtless was acting not only for himself but on behalf of his brother William, an alderman in London, with whom he was jointly infeft in the lands in 1770. In 1784 he succeeded to his brother's share. On a subsequent date he borrowed £5000 on security of the property, and at calling up of the bonds in 1793 a new bondholder was found in the treasurer of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.² At the same time a further sum of £4000 was advanced to Crichton by Alexander Wood, surgeon in Edinburgh, who thereby acquired an interest in Newington. Wood obtained a charter from the Magistrates on 27th November 1799.³

Meanwhile Crichton's estate had been sequestrated, and

¹ Alexander Crichton was a coachmaker in Canongate, where a close was named after him. In 1794 he and his partner Feild removed their business to Greenside. Crichton's son, Patrick, was Colonel of the Edinburgh Volunteers, and as such figures in Kay's *Original Portraits*. Patrick learned coachmaking, entered into partnership with his father, and was City Treasurer, 1795-96. His brother, Alexander, was Physician to the Czar Alexander of Russia, who knighted him.

² This organisation was erected into a body-corporate by Queen Anne, with powers to receive subscriptions, and to hold lands, etc., not exceeding the yearly value of £2000. The money was to be spent in propagating Christian knowledge and in erecting and maintaining schools. Eventually the Society enlarged its plan by instructing children in trades and manufactures. For this purpose they applied for and obtained a charter from George II. (Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, new ed. 1816, p. 328.)

³ The superiority of Newington was granted by the Magistrates to James Cheape of Straththyrum by disposition recorded 27th July 1816.

Wood came to an arrangement with Benjamin Bell of Hunt-hill, surgeon in Edinburgh, whereby he sold the lands to Bell under burden of the bond for £5000 held by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (1803). Wood's proprietorship then terminated, so far as the estate of Newington was concerned, Bell and his family becoming the principal heritors, as will be noted presently. Wood's interest in Crichton's affairs may have been due to the fact that the coachmaker's second son, Alexander, was an apprentice surgeon with him. Patrick, again, had for his second wife Agnes Wood, possibly a relative of the surgeon.

IV

He who would essay the task of writing the history of Newington must rely almost wholly on the Register of Sasines, the information to be culled from historical literature being slight and often misleading. At least one printed source has proved useful, namely, the files of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. These have yielded numerous advertisements relating to properties, from which one learns their exact position, probable date, accommodation and appurtenances, and occasionally the name of the owner or tenant.

The earliest feus were given off about the middle of the eighteenth century, but with the exception of one or two houses at Mayfield, Echobank, and Powburn, practically the whole area remained open country till the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Before dealing with the feuing operations generally, reference may be made to Alexander Wood, the surgeon, who, although only a subordinate figure in the history of the lands of Newington (his transactions, as has been shown, were purely financial), was a familiar and highly popular personage in the medical and social life of old Edinburgh. Grandson of Jasper Wood of Wariston, Midlothian, he was born in 1725.



BROADSTAIRS HOUSE



JEWS' CLOSE, CAUSEWAYSIDE

His professional advancement was rapid. As a surgical consultant Wood had, perhaps, no equal unless it was he who became the chief property owner in Newington—Benjamin Bell. When Scott's parents were distressed because of the lameness of their son Walter, it was Wood to whom they went for advice. This surgeon's lovable, disinterested character, concern for the poor, and a philanthropy which was on a par with his professional renown, caused him to be greatly liked. Edinburgh did not contain a more attractive personality. It is of Wood that the oft-repeated story is told of how one night, during a riot, the Edinburgh mob, bent on victimising the then Lord Provost, Sir James Stirling, mistook Wood for the chief magistrate and were about to throw him over the North Bridge. But the famous surgeon and philanthropist saved himself by exclaiming: 'I'm lang Sandy Wood; tak me to a lamp and ye'll see.'¹ Even Byron had heard of the benevolently-minded Edinburgh surgeon, and immortalised him in a couplet:

'Oh! for an hour of him who knew no feud,
The octogenarian chief, the kind old Sandy Wood!'²

And when Wood died in 1807 and was borne to the grave in Restalrig Churchyard, Sir Alexander Boswell, son of Dr. Johnson's biographer, composed this surgeon's epitaph:

'But cold the heart that feels no genial glow,
Pond'ring on him whose ashes sleep below.'³

Curiously enough, the two men who are indissolubly connected with the feuing of Newington were also surgeons, and, let it be added, as eminent in the profession as Wood—Benjamin Bell and his son George. Indeed, it is not too much to say that both did more for the development of this suburb, especially George Bell, than any other proprietor. That

¹ John Kay, *Original Portraits*, new ed. 1877, vol. i. p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³ Sir Alexander Boswell, *Poetical Works*, 1871, p. 219.



Newington became a residential district with self-contained houses of a superior type, each with its garden, was due largely to the foresight and business capacity of these two men.

Benjamin Bell (1749-1806)¹ was descended from landed proprietors in Dumfriesshire. They owned the estate of Blacket, in the parish of Middlebie; hence the origin of the Newington names of Blacket Place and Middleby Street. It was a Bell of Blacket that caused the tragic death of Helen o' Kirkconnel Lea. Benjamin Bell attended the Edinburgh Medical School, where John Gregory, Joseph Black, and the Monros found him an unusually apt pupil. For twenty-nine years Bell was Surgeon to the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. In Lord Cockburn's youth he was 'the leading operator in Edinburgh and in Scotland; a little, intelligent, agreeable, well-conditioned gentleman.'² About 1775 he met with a serious accident, which caused him to relinquish his practice temporarily and engage in farming at Liberton. Here he was attended professionally by Alexander Wood. Bell made a fortune as a surgeon, and, being like his grand-uncle, William Paterson (the founder of the Bank of England), a shrewd man of business, he invested his money in projects that turned out very profitable. Bell bought the estate of Hunthill in the Border country, but his chief proprietary interests were in Newington. He was the great-grandfather of Dr. Joseph Bell, the prototype of Conan Doyle's 'Sherlock Holmes.' Bell, who declined a baronetcy, died in Newington House on 8th April 1806.

On 29th August 1805 Bell obtained a charter from the Magistrates of the whole estate of Newington, which included 'All and whole that part or portion of the arable lands of the Common Muir of Edinburgh,' consisting of eight and a half acres, together with the lands of Lousielaw. The area is mainly represented by the grounds of Newington House. This austere-

¹ See *Life, Character, and Writings of Benjamin Bell*, by his grandson, Benjamin Bell (1868), from which many interesting particulars may be gleaned.
² *Journal, 1831-1854*, vol. ii. p. 202.

looking mansion, hidden by a high wall and thick plantations, appears to have been designed by Benjamin Bell, likewise the stables and offices. He also seems to have undertaken the lay-out of the estate generally. But as he died in 1806 he could not have long enjoyed his mansion, which, it may well be, was not wholly complete at his decease.

The next occupant of Newington House was Sir George Steuart of Grandtully, whose grandfather, the third baronet, married as his second wife Lady Jane Douglas, who figured so prominently in the great Scottish litigation of the eighteenth century known as the 'Douglas Cause.' On 14th July 1807, in terms of a feu-contract between Sir George Steuart and Bell's son George, the former was seised in Newington House, along with the offices, also the gardens and ground adjoining, extending to sixteen and a half acres. In the following year Sir George acquired other six acres and twenty-five falls next the ground already disposed, likewise a strip sixteen feet wide and one hundred and eighty feet long for an avenue leading to Newington House from the west, at the entrance to which a porter's lodge was to be erected. This strip was bounded on the south and east by the ground already possessed by Sir George, on the north by a wall separating it from the other lands of Newington, and on the west 'by the ground laid out for a public road' (i.e. Minto Street). George Bell's feu-contract was granted under burden of the payment of £5171.

The conditions are interesting. After seven years from Whitsunday 1808, or as soon as the whole grounds of Newington belonging to George Bell had been sold or feued by him, Sir George was at liberty to dispose of the ground acquired by him for building purposes, conditionally that nothing was done that would spoil the amenity; otherwise the subjects were to revert to Bell. Sir George was not to permit the erection of a distillery or 'manufactory of soot or blood.' Breweries, tanneries, lime or brick kilns were also forbidden,

likewise the construction of a steam engine or the setting up of any industry which could be reckoned a nuisance by neighbouring proprietors. A further stipulation was that no dunghill or other article of manure was to be collected for sale on the property except for the improvement of the lands. Finally, the porters' lodges were not to be more than one storey, a condition faithfully observed as regards those in Dalkeith Road but departed from in the case of the one in Minto Street, which is two storeys. The additional storey, however, may be of later date. Being private property the gates at both ends of Blacket Avenue were locked at night. These have now been removed, likewise the gates at each end of Mayfield Terrace.

In 1822 Sir George acquired more ground, but his death shortly after brought to an end his family's connection with Newington.¹ The property passed to James and Charles Nairne,² who were seised on 20th June 1826 'in a portion of the lands of Newington, now called Belleville, consisting of the mansion house of Newington called Newington House and two acres of ground around the same with stable and garden house thereon under burden of £1040 and £1080' on feu-contract between them and George Bell, surgeon. At a later date Newington House became the property of the British Linen Company Bank, and in 1852 it was purchased along with the grounds by Duncan McLaren, one of the best known Edinburgh citizens of the Victorian era. McLaren, who was head of a large drapery establishment in the High Street,

¹ Lady Stewart was the eldest daughter of John Drummond of Logie-almond, representative of the Hon. Sir John Drummond, younger brother of the fourth Earl of Perth.

² James Nairne of Claremount was the second son of the Rev. James Nairne of Claremount, D.D. Born in 1782, he married the eldest daughter of Dr. John Hill of Brownhills, Fife, Professor of Humanity in Edinburgh University. A member of the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet, he held the office of Fiscal from 1824 to 1844. James Nairne died in 1847. His younger brother Charles, also a W.S., lived till 1837. James Nairne, W.S., eldest son of the latter, was Secretary to the North British Railway Company from 1852 till his death in 1866.

facing St. Giles' Church, was a man of great public spirit. Entering the Town Council in 1834, he became City Treasurer, in which capacity he took a leading part in rescuing the city from what was virtually a state of bankruptcy. McLaren was Lord Provost in 1851-54, and eventually was one of Edinburgh's representatives in Parliament. But his best work was done locally. He originated the idea for the erection of an Industrial Museum, secured (mainly by his own efforts) the Meadows as a public park, was largely responsible for the Heriot Free Schools, and as a Newingtonian was foremost in obtaining a drainage scheme for that suburb. Newington House, in which McLaren resided till his death in 1886, was associated with all his important public labours. He was the brother-in-law of John Bright, having married as his third wife a sister of the Victorian statesman. The Bright connection is perpetuated in Bright's Crescent. In Newington House was born Sir Charles Benjamin McLaren, M.P.

V

There were two mansions bearing the name of Newington House. The older, sometimes referred to in the sasines as West Newington House and at other times as Old Newington House, was demolished about seventy years ago. This structure must not be confused with a house which still exists and which for long bore the name of West Newington House. It is now No. 10 Newington Road, and is built on to a row of rather ornate-looking villas lining the west side of that thoroughfare. This house was occupied by William Nelson, the publisher, and named by him West Newington House, doubtless with a view of continuing the name of the eighteenth-century mansion, which he must well have remembered.¹ The building was then entirely isolated, the tenement at the south-

¹ Messrs. Nelson's printing works were then in Buccleuch Street, occupying a site between Gifford Park and Buccleuch Terrace. They were destroyed by fire in 1878.

east corner of West Preston Street not being erected till some years later, while the row of villas of which it now forms a part was later still. Behind was a park entered by a gateway on the west side of Newington Road. It originally formed the grounds attached to the older West Newington House, which stood back slightly from Causewayside, and occupied part of Stewart's Close, now gone. The tenement at No. 91 Causewayside is built over it. Goodfellow, who was familiar with this mansion, refers to its handsome entrance gates flanked with 'massive pillars.'¹ In front was 'a number of fine trees,' and adjoining the short avenue leading to the entrance to the house was a path with a hedge on each side which led to the 'New Road.' The mansion, which in Goodfellow's time still bore traces of aristocratic grandeur, had 'a front stair with an ornamental copestone,' while the interior contained 'tiled fireplaces and carved mantelpieces.'

In a feuing plan of the lands of Newington, engraved in 1795 by Bell and Reid,² the site of West Newington House is marked 'Major Cochran's Feu.' The Register of Sasines shows that on 28th September 1819 Major George Germaine Cochrane, residing at Fort William, Isabella Cochrane, wife of Captain Donald Cameron, tacksman of Strone, and Frances Cochrane, widow of Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald of Morar, were seised in the 'Mansion House of Newington with the avenue, coach entry, flower garden,' also the 'east area behind the house . . . the water reservoir thereto belonging, and one acre, three roods, and thirty falls of the North Inclosure of the lands of Newington.' A Charter of Novodamus was granted by George Bell, surgeon, on 27th March 1818. The Cochranes seem to have been owners for a very brief period.

¹ *The Print of His Shoe*, p. 34.

² This plan is here reproduced and faces p. 192. It is stated to have been engraved by 'Bell and Reid,' but probably 'by' should be read as 'for.' At any rate, Benjamin Bell (and his son George) and James Reid of the Scottish Exchequer were large proprietors, and it is not unlikely that the plan was published with the object of helping their feuing operations.

When we next hear of West Newington House it is in the hands of trustees of 'the late James Reid, first Clerk in the Auditor's Office' in the Scottish Court of Exchequer,¹ who acquired the whole of the ground on the south side of Preston Street extending from Causewayside to St. Cuthbert's Burying Ground. On 3rd September 1819 Reid's trustees disposed to Thomas Blackwood, silk mercer,² 'three parcels of ground of the lands of Newington' with the houses and other buildings occupying the site. The principal part of the purchase related to West Newington House. In the sasine the piece of ground containing it is described as being 'presently possessed by the said Thomas Blackwood himself' and bounded on the east by 'the great new road leading from St. Patrick's Square' to Liberton, on the south by property formerly belonging to the late James Hay, jun., W.S., and at that time to Captain Thomas Cochrane of the Invalids, on the west partly by ground acquired by James Reid and partly by a street, thirty feet wide, 'to be opened from the Gibbet Loan' (Preston Street) southward, and on the north partly by the Gibbet Loan and partly by a 'middenstead and house.' One condition was that any houses that Blackwood might erect along the new road leading southwards from St. Patrick Square were not to exceed two principal storeys with a sunk (or half-sunk) storey except the north-east corner house, which might consist of three storeys with a half-sunk storey. Blackwood seems to have erected a portion of the houses on the east side of Newington Road,

¹ Reid was one of the trustees on the estate of Robert Kay of Wester Duddingston. Kay, who was an architect, was a distant relative of John Kay the caricaturist. He made a fortune in connection with the erection of the South Bridge and from property in Hunter Square. On his retirement he feued ground from Louis Cauvin (also a trustee) at Wester Duddingston, whereon he built a house and laid out a garden. His fortune was mostly bequeathed to charity.

² In the Edinburgh Directory for 1813-14 Blackwood is described as 'haberdasher' and as residing at West Newington. His firm then carried on business in North Bridge but afterwards removed to George Street, where, as 'J. and T. Blackwood,' it existed till so recently as 1897. Blackwood Crescent takes its name from this silk mercer.

which from East Newington Place to Salisbury Road were originally known as Arniston Place.¹ His feu-charter also permitted him to erect houses along the south side of the Gibbet Loan, or within thirty feet thereof provided they did not exceed three storeys.²

In 1817 Blackwood attempted to sell the mansion. From an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (17th Feb.), headed 'West Newington House,' interesting particulars of its size and surroundings are to be gleaned.

'To be sold, the house, offices, garden, and ground at Newington, within fifteen minutes' walk of the High Street . . . presently possessed by Mr. Thomas Blackwood. The house contains ten rooms, all neatly and substantially finished and in excellent repair, and the offices are extensive and complete. The ground comprehends a Scotch acre, and is partly occupied as a garden, well stocked with fruit trees and bushes, and the remainder is tastefully laid out, and there is liberty of walking over the Grange fields adjoining. The premises have a front of 300 feet to the street [Causewayside] and extend 180 feet backward, so that a considerable part of the ground may be feued for building, or for another villa, after leaving a large garden adjoining the present house.'

Blackwood does not seem to have been able to dispose of the property. At all events, the *Edinburgh Directory* of 1825-26 indicates that he was still living in West Newington House.

VI

Reference has been made to Major Cochrane's feu as shown on the feuing Plan of 1795. On this ground, as we have seen, stood West Newington House, one of a group of

¹ The row of houses show to this day that the condition was complied with.

² Within living memory the south side of West Preston Street had a row of cottages with long narrow gardens in front. The one nearest Blackwood Crescent was called Jessamine Cottage. From Blackwood Crescent to Newington Road and extending to West Newington Place was a high wall enclosing the park belonging to Blackwood's mansion.

large and even pretentious mansions with large gardens which until well into the nineteenth century occupied the east side of Causewayside. In several instances, as already mentioned, the ground attached to these buildings extended as far as Dalkeith Road but was halved by the construction of Newington Road and Minto Street.

One or two of the other feuars whose names appear on the Plan of 1795 are deserving of notice. At the south-west corner of Preston Street¹ was a brewery which, towards the end of the eighteenth century, was owned by Patrick Scott, who gave up brewing and became a lieutenant in the East India Company's service. Apparently at this juncture Scott tried to dispose of his Causewayside property, as we learn from an announcement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (1st Feb. 1794).

'To be let or sold, that brewery and excellent malting at Newington . . . with the brewery utensils belonging thereto, presently possessed by Mr. Clunie. The whole premises belonging to Mr. Scott at Newington, consisting of the said brewery, a park of about three acres (through which the intended continuation of Nicolson Street runs, and for making of which an Act of Parliament has been already obtained).'

A garden and some small houses were included in the offer. In 1813 the whole of this property was acquired by James Reid, already mentioned. Besides the 'brewery, malstrie,

¹ The first blocks of houses in Causewayside, beginning at West Preston Street, were formerly known as North Newington Place and those adjoining as Canning Place.

² The writer's attention has been drawn to an advertisement which appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* for 8th April 1731, and which makes clear that the connection of the brewing trade with Causewayside was of long standing. Anyhow, at or near the spot where Scott had his establishment stood the brewery of Thomas Anderson, which in the above-mentioned year was offered for sale. The announcement is as follows: 'By the creditors of Thos Anderson, late Brewer in Newington, . . . a complete Brewery with Well, Copper Coolers, Tuns, Vat, and hail other Brewing looms with kiln and coble, Malt Loft, Barns, Stable, and Dwelling houses, Yards, and other conveniences, together with a grass park containing at least 2 acres enclosed with a stone dyke—all lying in the West Kirk parish and South Side of Edinburgh, opposite to the Sheens.'

granary, draw-wells, stables, garden,' formerly belonging to Patrick Scott, Reid was seised in a number of dwellings in Causewayside. Alongside the brewery was the feu of Thomas Hart, surgeon, who, together with his wife, Cecilia Ferguson, granted on 10th March 1783 a bond over the property to the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. Another feuar noted in the Plan of 1795 is William Mitchell, teacher of languages. He acquired his feu in 1783. Mitchell had three sons who in 1799 had disposed to them 'half an acre of land and houses thereon' in Causewayside. Two of the sons were connected with the stage, one being attached to a theatre in Doncaster and the other to a similar establishment in Boston, Lincolnshire.

Between Salisbury Place and Duncan Street, and facing the Grange estate, there stood till the seventies of last century a large mansion with well-marked features in the Scottish tradition. Much erroneous history clings to it. The building, massive and picturesque, with an open court in front and a spacious garden behind, was popularly known as Broadstairs House,¹ a designation which is not met with in the sasines (Plate, p. 160). How it came by this name is probably explained by the fact that the entrance was approached by a broad flight of steps. Apparently the real name was Wormwoodhall. William Bell, W.S., was infest in the 'north half of that great house built upon the east side of the highway leading from Edinburgh to Liberton commonly

¹ Broadstairs House (to give the building its popular name) was demolished in 1880. Probably the last drawing of it appears in Macgibbon and Ross's *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 468, where it is described as 'an example of a suburban mansion late in the seventeenth century. The lofty gables common in the early part of the century are still retained, but the crow-steps are wanting, while the perfectly symmetrical arrangement of the parts and the details of the entrance doorway show the tendency towards the Renaissance.' In Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 50, Broadstairs House is said to have been 'built by the doctor of James IV or V, and remained in the possession of the family till the end of last [eighteenth] century.' This is a very ineffective statement; no authority is given, and the physician's name is not even mentioned. Grant reproduces a woodcut of this famous Causewayside mansion from a painting by G. M. Aikman.

called Wormwoodhall' on a disposition by Janet Watkins, daughter of the late Philip Watkins, writer in Edinburgh, dated 27th January 1808. Janet Watkins had been infest in the foresaid subjects in terms of disposition by Benjamin Bell, dated at Newington House, 3rd July 1805.

The drafting of the sasine is, it must be confessed, rather ambiguous, for it might mean either that only half of the mansion was called Wormwoodhall,¹ as is sometimes supposed, or, what is much more likely, that the whole building bore that name. When Goodfellow² knew Wormwoodhall it had become slum property, being mostly let in single rooms. None the less, the mansion with its handsome fireplaces and finely wrought mantelpieces exhibited traces of having looked on better days.

Another rather important house in this part of Causewayside was Cherryhall. Situated nearly opposite the Grange Toll, the house, consisting of two storeys, was built by James Howieson, mason in Newington, who in 1794 was seised in half an acre of the extensive garden behind. Four years later Howieson tried to sell Cherryhall along with the half-acre, recommending the property as an 'excellent summer retreat for any person whose business calls his attention to the city, being but a few minutes' walk from the Cross [!] and lighted with lamps all the way.' The lands of Cherryhall with houses thereon come into the sasines as early as 1753. They are described as 'lying on the east side of the common way leading from Edinburgh to Liberton, and bounded on the north by the wall and yard which belonged to the deceased Joseph Booch, painter in Edinburgh, on the west by the hedge planted by the deceased William Murray, and on the south by Cant's Loan.'

In 1781 Cherryhall with 'pieces of ground at Grange Gate

¹ The same description occurs in a sasine of 25th November 1740.

² *The Print of His Shoe*, pp. 41-2. Goodfellow refers to an 'accredited tradition' that Broadstairs House 'was originally the domicile of Queen Mary's physician,' which is going one better than Grant.

Loan¹ became the property of Mary Hamilton of Belhaven, wife of William Nisbet of Dirleton.² Again, in 1793, the Incorporation of Hammermen of Canongate were infeft in part of the garden of Cherryhall with the houses thereon in security of £400 on a bond by Alexander Mitchell, baker, Canongate. Other proprietors successively owning these subjects were William Hay of Crawfordstoun, W.S., James Rutherford of Ashintully, W.S., and Alexander Wood, the surgeon. On 1st May 1800 the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge were seised in the lands of Cherryhall and its buildings in security of £5000 on bond by Wood. It is of interest to add that a group of houses at Cherryhall went by the name of Cumberland Place, presumably named after the owner, Cumberland Moffat, druggist, whose sasine is dated 11th July 1789.

To end our description of Causewayside properties, it may be mentioned that one was owned by John Fairbairn,³ bookseller, one of the publishers of the Plan of Edinburgh from a survey by James Knox (1821). Fairbairn was seised on 17th July 1809 in a house and garden on disposition by Margaret Yair, widow of George Barclay of Middleton, one of the ministers of Haddington parish. Nor ought the fact to go unrecorded that the widow of Sir Alexander Boswell

¹ Called also Grange Gateside. An advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* (February 1729) refers to 'a tenement of land (belonging to the deceased James Arbuckle, merchant in Edinburgh, at Grange Gateside, on the south side of Baillie Dickson's Land), consisting of 14 fire-rooms with coal cellar, garden, and summer house. . . . Rent £150 Scots.'

² Nisbet married Mary, the heiress of Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland, Dechmont, Saltecoat, and Barncleuch, heiress of entail to James, fifth Lord Belhaven, and owner of Biel and Pressmennan. William Nisbet, who was Grand-Master of the Freemasons of Scotland, was the chief patron of John Kay, the caricaturist, welcoming him to his country house, and, indeed, 'grew so fond of him' that 'he had him almost constantly with him by night and by day.' Nisbet was Kay's friend to the last, for he settled on him an annuity of £20. See the biographical sketch of Kay prefixed to vol. i. of *Original Portraits*.

³ Archibald Constable, who had business dealings with Fairbairn, describes him as 'a most careful, respectable, and worthy man.' His trade was chiefly confined to reprints of ordinary publications, and he had much intercourse with American booksellers. (See *Archibald Constable and His Literary Correspondents*, vol. i. pp. 17-18.)

of Auchinleck, Bart.,¹ son of Dr. Johnson's biographer, along with her sisters became on 25th April 1826 owners of a house in this neighbourhood; but it is improbable that either Lady Boswell or her sisters ever lived there.

VII

At the outset allusion was made to the limited vision of the civic authorities in regard to the city's expansion southwards, how even after the South Bridge had been completed the prevailing notion visualised nothing more formidable than a small, compact suburb lying within a few minutes' walk of the University. Had the great Lord Provost Drummond been still alive and his counsel available, a more enlightened policy would in all likelihood have been pursued. As it was, the eighteenth century was nearing its end before anything was done towards continuing the line of communication from Nicolson Street in the direction of Liberton. Not till 1794 was an Act of Parliament passed for linking up the lands of Newington by a spacious central road midway between the two ancient highways, the one leading to Dalkeith and the other to Liberton by Causewayside.

In the following year was published the Plan of the Lands of Newington, already referred to, where the proposed roadway is marked 'Intended new Road,' and is accompanied with the following explanation: 'It was at one time intended to have carried the great south Road in the direction from St. Patrick's Square to Mayfield Loan. And in the view of this the Gentleman who made the present survey divided the Lands into the respective Lots delineated on the Plan, each of which would be sufficient for a House, Garden and small

¹ In 1799 Sir Alexander Boswell married Grizel, daughter of Thomas Cuming and grand-daughter of William Cuming. The latter with his son, Thomas, carried on an extensive and profitable business as a private banker in the Royal Exchange. The elder Cuming appears in Kay's *Original Portraits*. He is said to have been eccentric and penurious. He was the representative of the ancient family of Earnside.

Park.' The Act sanctioning the extension scheme evidently had not been obtained when this survey was made. Yet such communication was obviously necessary if a southern suburb containing residences with rustic surroundings was to be brought into being. In other words, the problem resolved itself into bringing the projected suburb reasonably near to the heart of the city, so that the business man could attend to his affairs in the Old Town or the New and at the same time enjoy the delights of country life.

From 1805, when Benjamin Bell obtained his charter from the Magistrates, building operations proceeded apace. Articles and conditions for the feuing by public roup were signed by Bell at Newington House on 24th February 1806, relative to a feuing plan thereto annexed. The subjects were to be exposed for sale at the Royal Exchange on 19th March, in four lots. David Handyside, baker in Edinburgh, purchased Lot 1, which embraced 'all the ground to the north of the road marked in the plan A B.'¹ Then on 7th May William Bell, writer in Edinburgh, was empowered by his brothers, George, Robert, and Joseph, to superintend the feuing of the lands and parks, both at Newington and Hunthill.

Round about the year of Waterloo the general aspect of the Newington district was undergoing rapid change. Finely situated villas, each with its garden plot in front and at the back, dotted the uplands between Salisbury Road and Mayfield Loan, and by 1820 the suburb was a reality. In Kirkwood's Map of Edinburgh the 'Intended new Road' of the feuing Plan of 1795 has become Minto Street. How this thoroughfare came by its name it is difficult to say. A natural assumption would be that the Elliots of Minto owned property in Newington, but no evidence supporting this view has been found. It is very noticeable, however, that about this time several streets in Newington bore the names of noted families or of their estates, e.g. Arniston Place and

¹ Salisbury Road. See Plan facing p. 176.

Duncan Street, and it is not unlikely that Minto Street commemorates Sir Gilbert Elliot, third baronet of Minto (1722-77), who was deeply interested in the preservation of the beauty of Edinburgh, and in 1752 published a famous pamphlet entitled *Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*. Be that as it may, the greatest vigilance has to be exercised where street nomenclature is concerned, for it not seldom happens that a thoroughfare receives its name in circumstances that are purely adventitious.

In 1810 two houses 'on the new street at Belleville, on the road leading from St. Patrick's Square,' each containing 'three public rooms, five bedrooms . . . with garden ground before and behind,' were offered for sale. Then in 1814 John Waugh, bookseller,¹ had disposed to him a piece of ground 'fronting the New Great Road' on which he erected the topmost houses on the east side of Minto Street as well as those at the south-west corner of Salisbury Road. Waugh's ground measured 100 feet in front and 180 feet from west to east. The rather consequential house, No. 3 Minto Street, was the residence of Sir James Spittal of Justice Hall,² who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1833 to 1837. The

¹ He was a partner in the bookselling firm of Waugh & Innes, Hunter Square. In 1824 the firm published *Views of the Principal Buildings in Edinburgh*. Waugh was a member of the Town Council, and in the absence of Sir John Marjoribanks of Lees, Bart., the Lord Provost (who was then in London), he, as acting Chief Magistrate, read to a crowd assembled in the High Street a letter from the civic chief which contained the first distinct intelligence that had reached Edinburgh of the victory of Waterloo (*Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xiv. p. 166). Bailie Waugh inaugurated a fund 'for the widows and children of those brave men who had fallen in the late Glorious Battle' [Waterloo], to which the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh contributed twenty guineas (*ibid.*, vol. xvii. p. 122).

² Sir James Spittal was the first Lord Provost of Edinburgh to be raised to the office by the free votes of the citizens. He was the chief partner in the firm of James Spittal & Son, silk mercers, 84 South Bridge, a business now incorporated in the establishment known as J. & R. Allan Ltd. Professor Aytoun, in seconding Spittal's nomination for the Provostship, characterised him as 'a person of gentlemanly manners, great suavity of temper, and as such highly qualified to keep down all squabbling and disorder at a public board.' Spittal was knighted during his term of office, and when he retired his portrait was painted by Watson-Gordon. It now adorns the Council Chamber. Sir James died in 1842. Spittal Street is named after him.

Provost's lamps, on each side of the entrance, remained for many years. Spittal had as a near neighbour the Rev. Dr. Henry Grey,¹ the maternal grandfather of the late Augustine Birrell, the essayist and Parliamentarian. One of the first feuars on the west side of Minto Street was Henry David, second son of John Francis Erskine, who in 1824 was restored by Act of Parliament to the Earldom of Mar as 'grandson and lineal representative' of the Earl who was attainted for his Jacobitism, and whose case was mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in a document, drafted in 1822, entitled 'Hints Respecting an Application for a Reversal of the Attainers in 1715 and 1745.' Other residents in Minto Street in those early days were the widow of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss,² Agnes Whyt of Bainfield, Josiah Livingstone,³ and Dr. David Scott,⁴ minister of Corstorphine from 1814 to 1833.

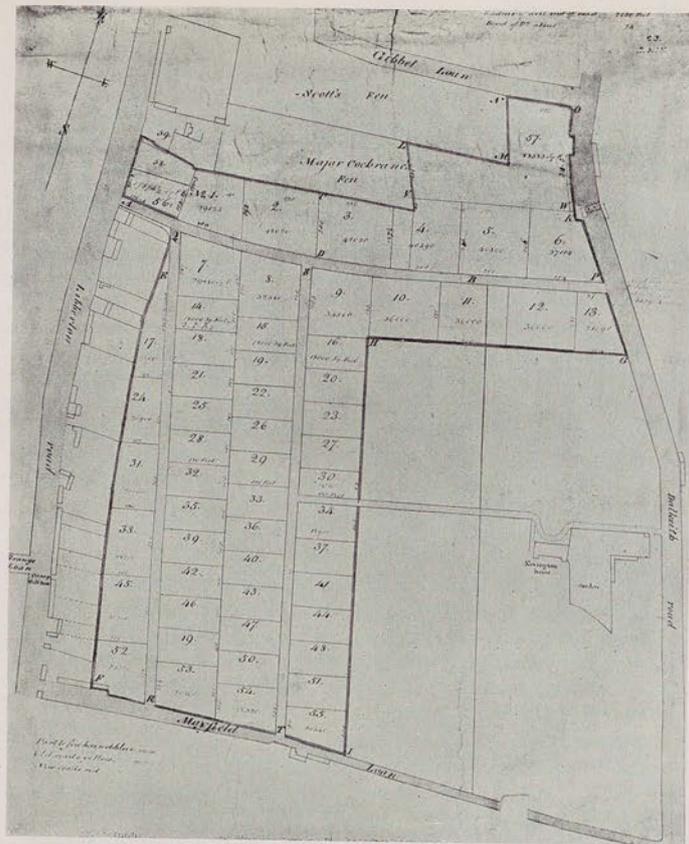
Most of the houses in Minto Street were erected in Walter

¹ One of the most noted of Disruption divines. He succeeded Chalmers as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. In 1813 Dr. Grey became minister of St. Cuthbert's Chapel of Ease (now Buccleuch Parish Church), in 1821 of the New North Church, and, after the Disruption, of St. Mary's Free Church. A public testimonial to him was converted into a foundation for the 'Grey Scholarships' in New College, Edinburgh. Dr. Grey died in 1859.

² Janet, Lady Colquhoun, was a daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart. She took a deep interest in religious and philanthropic schemes, and was the authoress of *Thoughts on the Religious Profession* (1823), *The World's Religion* (1839), and other works. It was not until the death of her husband in 1836 that she allowed her name to appear on the title-pages of her books. Lady Colquhoun 'came out' at the Disruption and was an ardent member of the Free Church of Scotland.

³ He was a partner in the firm of Livingstone & Weir, wholesale provision merchants, and was the ancestor of that Josiah Livingstone known to readers of local history as the author of *Our Street: Memories of Buccleuch Place*. The latter was one of three well-known Edinburgh business men (the others being Balie Mossman of the Princes Street firm of jewellers, and Archibald Craig, a wholesale cloth merchant in the South Bridge and afterwards in Chambers Street) who founded the old Literary Institute in South Clerk Street, which for many years was very popular for lectures and concerts.

⁴ His congregation complained of his residing in Edinburgh and only paying a weekly visit to Corstorphine to conduct the Sunday services. What made matters worse was that Scott added to his stipend by letting the manse. This state of matters became intolerable and was only relieved when the Professorship of Hebrew at St. Andrews came Scott's way, which he gladly accepted. Scott's doctorate was one of Medicine, not of Divinity.



PLAN OF LANDS OF NEWINGTON—OFFERED FOR SALE, 1806

(See p. 174)

The within is the plan of ALL and WHOLE those parts and portions of the Lands of Newington belonging to me Benjamin Bell of Hunthill, Surgeon in Edinburgh, which are described more particularly in the articles of Roup thereof of the same date with these presents to be bounded on this plan with a blue outline & which Lands are to be set up to public roup in terms of the said Articles of roup on Wednesday the nineteenth day of March next. IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have subscribed these presents (written by William Bell, Writer in Edinburgh) as relative to the said Articles of roup AT NEWINGTON HOUSE near Edinburgh the Twenty fourth day of February eighteen hundred and six years before these witnesses Robert Bell Esquire Advocate and the said William Bell.

(Signed) ROBERT BELL, Witness.

(Signed) WILLIAM BELL, Witness.

(Signed) BENJN. BELL.

NEWINGTON HOUSE, 7 June 1806.—The plan referred to in my disposition of yesterday's date.

(Signed) DAVID WHYTE.

EDINBURGH, 7th July 1806.—The plan referred to in my Disposition dated ninth June 1806.

(Signed) JOHN BLACKWOOD.

Scott's day, likewise those in the cross streets. When Sir George Steuart of Grandtully resided at Newington House nearly all the ground north of his property as far as Salisbury Road was unbuilt upon, but by 1825 some feus had been given off and Blacket Place was in course of formation. The plans were prepared by James Gillespie-Graham,¹ a noted architect. As an inducement prospective residents were assured that not only the amenity but the seclusion of Blacket Place would be preserved. 'For the benefit of the Feuars it has been resolved to keep up the present approaches and porters' lodges in Minto Street and the Dalkeith Road, which will secure to the several lots within the gates all the privacy and convenience of country residences, and will render them more desirable than any yet offered to the public. Advantageous terms will be given to Builders in respect of the period of entry, advances of money, if required, and other points.' So ran an announcement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (10th Oct. 1825). The gates which shut in Blacket Place at nightfall have long since disappeared, but the stone pillars to which they were attached still remain. Their ornamentation, with its suggestion of the Gothic, tends to confirm the belief that they were the handiwork of Gillespie-Graham. The lands covered by Blacket Place were also recommended on the ground that they had 'the best access and drainage and are supplied with water from the public pipes.' Furthermore, they were 'within the bounds of police, and are well watched and lighted.'

Near the southern boundary of Newington, in a thoroughfare then known as Ross Street but now recognised as Mayfield Terrace, houses were also in course of erection. On 4th December 1827 David Tod, Hamilton Place, Newington, was seised 'in a portion of the lands of Newington, now called

¹ He erected (with A. W. Pugin) the Victoria Hall on the Castlehill with its majestic spire. Gillespie-Graham is credited with having introduced pure Gothic into Scotland.



Belleville, on the north side of Ross Street and west side of Blacket Place.' And two years later there was advertised to be sold or let 'a very substantial house in Ross Street, Belleville, opposite the lodge to Priestfield. . . . Any quantity of ground that may be desired can be given.'

Salisbury Road, Arniston Place, Gray Street, Duncan Street, and Middleby Street were erected before 1830. Salisbury Road is described in a sasine granted to John Wigham¹ as 'the new cross road leading from Grange to Gibbet Toll.' The rather elegant row of houses known as Arniston Place (now part of Newington Road) was built in the opening years of last century. Robert Kirkwood,² the celebrated engraver, acquired a house there in 1811. Another contemporary resident was James Walker, incumbent of St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel, Roxburgh Place, and afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus. In Gray Street feus were taken up somewhat slowly. It attracted certain aristocratic families. In 1815 three daughters of Major-General Mark Napier³ became possessed of a house on the west side, as did also William Trotter of Ballindean,⁴ in 1824. Here, too, resided Francis McBean, Inspector of Gaelic Schools for the Highlands and Islands, and Mrs. Paterson, proprietrix of the Harrow Inn in Candlemaker Row, from

¹ A linen draper in the South Side. He was one of the weavers of a famous Edinburgh shawl. Wigham belonged to a Quaker family.

² Kirkwood's large Plan of Edinburgh was published in 1817 at 19 Parliament Square. The late Mr. William Cowan described it as 'one of the most useful and authoritative maps of Edinburgh.' Kirkwood also issued a 'Plan and Elevation of the New Town,' which is 'a remarkable specimen of the engraver's work.' (*Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xii. p. 212.) Kirkwood, it should be added, published an engraved facsimile of Gordon of Rothiemay's 'Plan of Edinburgh' (1647).

³ Descended from the Napiers of Merchiston, he was a son of the fifth Lord Napier and the grandfather of Sheriff Mark Napier, the biographer of Montrose and John Graham of Claverhouse.

⁴ He was Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1825-27. Trotter, who belonged to a Perthshire family, was head of a cabinetmaking firm in Princes Street. The finest specimen of his craftsmanship is the Spanish mahogany pulpit in St. George's Parish Church, Charlotte Square (Trotter was one of the first office-bearers), which is said to be unique. He also designed the pulpit of St. Stephen's Parish Church. As Lord Provost, Trotter laid the foundation stones of George IV Bridge and the King's Bridge at Johnston Terrace.

which most of the Border carriers started on their rounds. Mrs. Paterson died in 1841, and above her grave in Preston Street there is a stone which tells that she bequeathed £500 to the parish of Newington and a large part of her substance to the charitable institutions of Edinburgh. In 1810 Robert Walker, Lieut.-Colonel of the 9th Veteran Battalion, and Sarah Holland, his wife, were seised in fee and liferent respectively in a house and offices in Duncan Street. One of the early feuars in Middleby Street was Thomas Miller, glover. The houses on the south side of this thoroughfare are singular in respect that they consist of only one flat with sunk area, while their balustraded roofs give them a quaint appearance.

Mayfield Loan¹ (or Cant's Loan), extending from Dalkeith Road to Causewayside and marking the limits of Newington on the south, was, down to a period almost within living memory, a solitary road with a pastoral outlook. Sloping away to the south were Mayfield Parks (of which more presently) and, farther afield, the Craigmillar estate. In all this extensive area there were few signs of habitation, the most obtrusive being the hamlets of Echobank and Powburn. In the late years of the eighteenth century the lands of Mayfield formed part of the sequestrated estate of Alexander Crichton, the Canongate coachmaker. Under his ownership they comprised 'about fifteen acres divided into four enclosures with a stream of water running through two of them.' On the property stood 'a house of eight rooms and a kitchen' with 'a barn, a byre, stable, and some other buildings,' also a garden and a pump well. When the lands of Mayfield were offered for sale in 1801 this house was advertised as being well suited 'for a villa or any manufactory where water without a fall is necessary, and holds feu for payment of five shillings and one penny.'

Two small manor houses existed on the line of Mayfield

¹ The row of houses in West Mayfield extending from Minto Street to Lower Gray Street was formerly known as Hamilton Place.

Loan, while the south-west corner of what is now East Mayfield was occupied by Mayfield Inn. It was slightly below the level of the roadway and was entered through an ivy-covered porch. The other manor house on the north side of the Loan may have been the one of which Joseph Hume,¹ the famous economist and Parliamentarian, was proprietor at a later date. Anyhow, on 19th August 1818 a bond and disposition was granted in Hume's favour by Francis Allan, upholsterer, in security for £350.

VIII

Coming now to the eastern portion of the lands of Newington, there is an interesting story to unfold. First of all, there is the burying ground at the top of East Preston Street. Formerly a large field, it was purchased by the Kirk Session of St. Cuthbert's and was opened for interments on 4th December 1820. An announcement in the Press furnishes the relevant information, not forgetting an assurance to prospective purchasers of ground that every precaution had been taken against the ghoulish depredations of the 'Resurrectionists':

'This ground in point of situation and easy access is excellently adapted for the purpose intended. It is well enclosed with high walls affording a great extent of wall where purchases may be made.

'Sober and steady Watchmen upon whose fidelity entire reliance may be placed will attend every night from the evening to the morning twilight, properly armed, for the protection of the ground. Application for purchases or interments may be made to Mr. John Malcolm, the Recorder, opposite the Chapel of Ease [Buccleuch Street].

¹ Hume was a member of the College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, but forsook medicine for politics. At the time of the transaction he was in Parliament as representative for the Border Burghs. In 1837 he was made an honorary burgess of Edinburgh in acknowledgment of his public services, one of which was the obtaining of a site in the Old Calton Burying Ground for the erection of the monument to the 'Political Martyrs of 1794.' Hume laid the foundation stone of this memorial in 1844. (Cockburn's *Journal, 1831-1854*, vol. i. p. 132; vol. ii. p. 94.)

'The Kirk Session hereby give notice that the Churchyard at the Chapel of Ease will be shut up from the 4th Dec: next to all but those who have purchased ground in it for such a length of time as the Session shall judge proper.'

The rural aspect of this neighbourhood continued well into last century. Oxford Street is built on the site of Oxford Park, which was much resorted to by gipsies. In it was held the annual games of Munro's School, a seminary that occupied Claret Hall, on the west side of Causewayside, and afterwards No. 18 Minto Street. West of the burying ground, and now covered by South Oxford Street, was another well-known Newington school—Robertson's Academy. The headmaster was Mr. Wason, and the scholars met in a building which, with its Gothic windows and belfry, was more like a church than a school.¹ The opening of the Merchant Company's schools proclaimed the doom of Robertson's Academy. Newington at the time of which we write seems to have had more than its share of these private educational establishments.

At the south-west entrance to King's Park was the Gibbet Toll-house, and close to it a few cottages, which have now given place to the Parkside works of Messrs. Nelson. In the vicinity was a thoroughfare the very name of which has been forgotten. An advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (15th July 1809) serves as a reminder:

'To be sold, within eight minutes' walk of the Tron Church on *Scarborough Road*,² near the Gibbet Toll, a house consisting of dining and drawing rooms, four bedrooms, light closets, three servants' apartments, cellars, etc. About a quarter of an acre of ground is at present attached to the house. . . . It is understood that the toll and police houses are shortly to be removed to the southward.'

Between Salisbury Road and Blacket Place stands a large rambling house with architectural features distinctly classic, and hemmed in by a high wall. The late W. G. Blaikie-Murdoch, in a newspaper article, credited Thomas Hamilton,

¹ *Through Memory's Window*: Edinburgh, 1860-1927 (MS.), by D. A. Small.

² Can it be that Scarborough Road is a misprint for Salisbury Road?

the architect of the High School, with having built this mansion, which, he observed, would have gained a 'wide renown' had it not been secreted in a garden.

In close proximity to the lands of Newington was the hamlet of Rosehall, frequently called the Gushet. Situated on the east side of Dalkeith Road and extending from Salisbury Green (formerly the jointure house of the Dick-Cunyngham family) to Priestfield Road, Rosehall formed a triangle. It consisted of a number of cottages, and at its northern extremity one or two plain but commodious villas, which are still to the fore. In Goodfellow's time there were eighteen families living in this 'quiet hamlet' who could look out on a noble expanse of country with 'the picturesque red-tiled cottages of Powburn in the foreground.' The inhabitants were 'mostly simple in their habits, refined in manners, and some of them with literary and scientific tastes.'¹

Kirkwood's Plan shows one of the Rosehall properties as belonging to John Graham, jeweller, and another to Alexander Glen, W.S. In 1807 the latter acquired 'part of that portion of arable land lying between the two roads sometime leading from Edinburgh to Dalkeith and Peppermill (*sic*)² and a small piece of ground at the back of Sir Alexander Dick's stable at Marchhall.'

The feus of Graham and Glen were given off by John Biggar,³ builder, who on 30th April 1807 was granted a Charter of Resignation by the Magistrates disposing to him 'that portion of arable land with the houses and others thereon commonly called the Gushet or Rosehall, sometime belonging to Alexander Wright, Deputy Comptroller of Excise, bounded by the old road from Edinburgh to Peffermill on the east, by the Dalkeith Road on the west, by arable land

¹ *The Print of His Shoe*, pp. 91-2.

² The old highway to Peffermill was abolished more than a century ago and the present roadway from Cameron Toll substituted.

³ See the writer's notes on John Biggar's family in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xx. App., pp. 32-5.

belonging to the heirs of Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield and Marchhall on the south, and by the old parting of the roads from Edinburgh to Dalkeith and Peppermill (*sic*) on the north.'

On Biggar's death in 1811 'Rosehall or Marchhall' was advertised for sale. The extent of the ground was 334 feet from north to south and 168 feet from east to west. The property was commended as a 'fine expanse' and 'admirably suited for building, being in the vicinity of the new buildings at Newington. From the resort of merchants and others to that neighbourhood, and from the consequent demand for houses, it is an object well worth the attention of any person wishing to lay out his money that way. Indeed a more advantageous situation for building is seldom to be met with.'

The story of Rosehall, or as much as can be told here, may be rounded off by recalling that Jane Anne, Countess Purgstall of Hainfeld, Germany, became proprietrix in 1827 of 'parts of the garden called Rosehall or the Gushet with the houses and offices thereon' in security of £1000 on bond by John Graham, jeweller, who, as mentioned above, was an early feuar. The Countess Purgstall was the second sister of George Cranstoun, a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Corehouse. He was the author of a clever *jeu d'esprit* entitled *The Diamond Beetle Case*, in which he caricatured the manner and pronunciation of several of the Court of Session judges in delivering their opinions. The Countess of Purgstall, as well as her brother, was a friend of Sir Walter Scott, with whom she often corresponded.

Not much is known of the hamlet of Rosebank which stood at the south-east corner of Mayfield Loan. In the eighteenth century it belonged to John Home,¹ coachmaker, whose

¹ It was Home who obtained the feu on the south side of Princes Street and corner of North Bridge which led to so much litigation. See *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. i. pp. 142-49.

acquisitions in the southern part of Edinburgh will be dealt with later on. In 1772 a house at Rosebank was advertised to be let. Attached to it was a stable for four horses, wash houses and other offices, and a garden. It was said to be 'pleasantly situated' on the 'west side of the road leading to Dalkeith, a little farther out than the first milestone.'

IX

The estate of Prestonfield, or Priestfield (to call it by its older name), is out of bounds, yet so close to Newington that it has come to be identified with that suburb. This circumstance, together with the historical importance of the demesne, both territorially and as the abode of families that have left their mark on the national story, fully justify some account of Prestonfield.

As far back as the fourteenth century King Robert II conveyed the lands of Priestfield 'to our dearest first-born,' John, Earl of Carrick, Steward of Scotland, who, as Robert III, granted a charter of these lands as well as those of Grange of St. Giles in favour of Andrew Wardlaw.¹ Then in 1510 Priestfield was bestowed by James IV on Walter Chepman and Agnes Cockburn, his wife. Chepman, who along with Andrew Myllar introduced printing into Scotland, held the estate of the Crown 'on delivery of a pair of gloves on St. Giles' Day,' afterwards commuted to five shillings sterling. By Chepman the estate was sublet to Henry Cant of Over or Upper Liberton,² who in 1523 disposed it for cash to Thomas Hamilton and his wife, Margaret Cant. Hamilton died about 1537, and was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas, who was killed at the battle of Pinkie. He in turn was succeeded by another Thomas, the father of the first Earl of

¹ *Great Seal*, new ed. i. App., ii. No. 1887.

² He gave his name to a close in the High Street, afterwards known as Roxburgh's Close.



GRANGE TOLL, CAUSEWAYSIDE, IN 1850



OLD TOLL-BAR, POWBURN

Haddington. In 1572 this personage was outlawed by the King's party. Priestfield was then bestowed upon Andrew Murray, younger of Arngask,¹ but in 1597 was restored to the Hamiltons, Robert Newlands, the superior, granting a charter to Thomas Hamilton in liferent, and to his son, Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairn, in fee, to be held blench of the granter. Later on the Hamilton family held directly from the Crown. When Thomas the third died about 1612 his son, the first Earl of Haddington, received various charters. In 1657 Priestfield passed to Anna Hamilton, niece of the first Earl, who married James Murray, eldest son of Sir James Murray of Skirling, Bart. By this time, however, the estate was so burdened with debt that it was sold, first to Sir Robert Murray of Cameron,² and then in 1677 to Sir James Dick, when the name was changed to Prestonfield.

Dick was Provost of Edinburgh in 1679-81 and represented the city in the Scots Parliament of 1681-82. He was eminently prosperous as a trader, though certain municipal enterprises with which he was connected were not above suspicion. Dick was intimate with the Catholic Duke of York, and as Provost presided at a banquet in the Parliament House in honour of the Duke and Duchess and the Princess Anne. The Popish heir-apparent was of course unpopular in the city of John Knox, and Dick paid the penalty of attempting to serve two masters. A quaint entry in Fountainhall's *Diary*, dated 11th January 1680-81, tells the probable nature of the Provost's chastisement: 'The mansion of Priestfield besyde Edinburgh, belonging to Sir James Dick, Provost of Edinburgh, was in this evening about 7 or 8 o'clock, brunt,

¹ On 12th February 1567-68 the Regent Moray granted a warrant appointing Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask to be Principal Keeper of the King's Park of Holyroodhouse (*Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 408).

² He was Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1660-62, and was knighted at his election. In 1656 he acquired the ground on which Panmure House in the Canongate is built, but after litigation had to part with it. In 1670 Murray bought Cameron, the jointure appendage of the Priestfield estate, and later (as we have seen) Priestfield itself. He was a member of the Scottish Privy Council from 1669 to 1672.



whither by casual accident and negligence or designed by malice, could not well be determined. Some jaloused the schoolboyes at the college, because he [Dick] had imprisoned some of them for their frolique of burning the Pope.'

Fountainhall's conjecture appears to have had substance in it, youths from the College of Edinburgh having been seen near Prestonfield on the night of the fire 'with unlighted links in their hands and one with a lantern.' This escapade led to the temporary closing of the College and the banishment of the offending students. After ten days' exile, however, they were allowed to return provided their parents became answerable for their good behaviour.

Practically nothing is known of the original manor house of Priestfield, the home of the ancestors of the Earls of Haddington. Built in tumultuous times, probably it was a plain tower of the normal type, not unlike the abode of the Dicks of Grange before it underwent reconstruction at the hands of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder. But whatever its design, the present mansion was erected in 1687 on its site. It was built by Sir William Bruce of Kinross, the most widely employed Scottish architect of his time, and the expense was borne by the Scottish Treasury, no doubt at the instigation of James VII, who could hardly have forgotten that the old house had been burnt because of the owner's loyalty to him when, as Duke of York, he resided at Holyroodhouse.

At Sir James Dick's death in 1728 Prestonfield became the property of his only surviving child, Janet. She married Sir William Cunyngham of Caprington, Bart., whose sons assumed the additional name of Dick. William, the second surviving son, was laird of Prestonfield during the 'Forty-Five and is said to have entertained Prince Charles Edward. Certainly the Dicks were Jacobites, and it is a well-authenticated fact that the Highland Army passed through the policies on its way to Holyroodhouse. Furthermore, the baronet's lady sent the Prince £100, and it was on the recommendation of Alex-

ander Dick, the third baronet, that Andrew Lumisden was appointed Private Secretary to Charles Edward.

Sir Alexander Dick, who succeeded in 1746, was a delightful personality, and had numerous contacts with the medical, literary, and social life of Edinburgh. He was President of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, for seven years in succession, and had his portrait hung in the College as 'a mark of distinction never previously bestowed.' One of the first to appreciate the medicinal value of rhubarb, he energetically cultivated the plant at Prestonfield. 'Bring with you the rhubarb which Sir Alexander Dick so tenderly offers me,' wrote Dr. Samuel Johnson to Boswell in 1784. Dick is also worthily remembered for the great improvements he effected on his estate. Prestonfield was the first in Midlothian to exhibit the new ideas regarding skilful and orderly planting. One of Sir Alexander's creations was a Dutch garden which unfortunately disappeared when the circular stables were erected more than a century ago. Cockburn, who remembered it, speaks of it as being 'admirably kept.' Besides 'the inevitable bowling-green . . . it had several long, smooth lanes of turf . . . ; parterres and lawns interspersed; fountains, carved stone seats, dials, statues, and trimmed evergreen hedges.'¹ And overshadowing the whole scene were those magnificent yew trees, some of which were of Dick's planting.

The literary associations of Prestonfield are plentiful; indeed a volume might be written about them. They centre almost exclusively in Sir Alexander Dick, who kept open house for many of the celebrities (especially those of Scottish origin) of his time. Much correspondence passed between him and Allan Ramsay, some of which is printed in *Curiosities of a Scots Charla Chest*, edited by the Hon. Mrs. Atholl Forbes. This work is a mine of information concerning Prestonfield in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The author of

¹ *Memorials of His Time*, new ed. 1874, p. 15.

the *Gentle Shepherd* presented Sir Alexander with two quarto volumes of his works accompanied by verses in the poet's handwriting.¹

But perhaps this laird's chief crony was James Boswell, who at one time seriously thought of writing Dick's biography.² There were droll interviews, and Sir Alexander prepared notes relating to his career which he handed to Boswell to 'animadvert upon.' But the biography was never written, for, Samuel Johnson dying in 1784, Boswell became immersed in those labours the successful completion of which were to rank him as the greatest of English biographers. When Johnson was in Edinburgh in 1773 he enjoyed the hospitality of Prestonfield. Boswell was also of the party.

Another literary personage who was frequently a guest at Prestonfield was Lady Anne Lindsay (afterwards Lady Anne Barnard),³ authoress of 'Auld Robin Gray.' Lady Anne stayed at the manor house under the shadow of Arthur's Seat for long periods, being the companion of Miss Jessie Dick, daughter of Sir Alexander.

X

Besides Prestonfield a historical survey of Newington may reasonably include several important properties, as well as hamlets, which, although not forming part of the lands that go by that name, are at any rate outlying and usually associated with the southern suburb of Edinburgh. Beyond Rosehall and Rosebank there were in olden times no houses on the line of the lower portion of Dalkeith Road until one came to Grayfield Toll close to which stood the village of Echobank, part of which was demolished in 1886 at the expiry of a ninety-nine years' lease, and the remainder in 1901. Some of the cottages fronted Dalkeith Road, nearly opposite

¹ *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest*, p. 168.

² C. B. Tinker (ed.), *Letters of James Boswell*, 1924, vol. ii. p. 280.

³ *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest*, p. 321.

the eastern entrance to Newington Cemetery, while others, situated at right angles, bordered one of the old roads to Peffermill. Goodfellow,¹ who often visited Echobank, says that it was the abode of sixty-eight working-class families, which suggests a fair-sized village. Close by was Cellar Bank, which contained a school, and just below the avenue leading to Cameron House was Greig's Hall. The origin of the name and what it implied has not been discovered. In Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh* there is a woodcut showing Echobank in the last stages of decay. Two cottages of one storey with diminutive attic windows peeping out of thatched roofs are seen, and between them a forestair leading to the upper dwellings. The whole group of buildings is very dilapidated.

Immediately to the south of the lands of Newington lay those of Newlands or Mayfield. In 1735 these lands were possessed by Walter Porterfield, surgeon apothecary and burgher of Edinburgh. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the owner was John Loch of Rachan.² In 1802 he disposed of the property to Agnes Home, wife of James Cleghorn, M.D., Dublin, and Margaret Alexander Home, wife of Isaac Weld,³ also of Dublin. These ladies were the daughters

¹ *The Print of His Shoe*, p. 93.

² Loch was among the early tenants or owners of the houses at the Calton Hill (*Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xix. p. 112).

³ Weld, who ultimately became joint proprietor (with Dr. Cleghorn) of Mayfield Parks, and is shown as such in Kirkwood's Plan (1817), married Margaret Alexander Home in Edinburgh in 1802, but left no issue. He came of a distinguished Irish family. His great-grandfather, Dr. Nathaniel Weld, was the intimate friend of Sir Isaac Newton, while his half-brother, Charles Richard Weld, was the historian of the Royal Society. This laird of Mayfield was himself distinguished. In 1795 he made a journey of exploration through Canada and the United States, where he met George Washington. Weld published an account of his travels, which ran into several editions and was translated into French and German. His *Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney* (1812) further sustained his reputation as a topographer. Weld navigated the Lakes of Killarney in a boat which he made of compressed brown paper. Again, in 1815, he sailed in a small steamboat from Dunleary to London, a remarkable feat at that time. Weld was honorary secretary of the Royal Dublin Society. Late in life he travelled in Italy, spending much time in Rome, where he became intimate with Canova. He died in 1856 near Bray. Though joint-proprietor of the Mayfield estate, Weld does not appear to have passed much time in Edinburgh.

of John Home, senior partner in the coachmaking firm of Home, Cleghorn, & Wilson, 3 Princes Street. In 1805 they added to their Mayfield property the lands of Powburn which had also belonged to their father. They were therefore very considerable proprietors in the south side of Edinburgh.

In 1816 Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart.,¹ acquired the superiority of *inter alia* the lands of Mayfield. They afterwards passed into the hands of Agnes Cleghorn or Moore, Mary Cleghorn or Harden, and Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Learmonth of Dean.² These proprietors in 1863 disposed of Mayfield, Rosebank, and Powburn to Duncan McLaren of Newington House for £16,000. Soon after, this ex-Lord Provost of Edinburgh began feuing these properties. At McLaren's death the lands of Mayfield were almost wholly built over. Until the early 'seventies the lower portion of Mayfield Gardens was a country road bounded by low stone walls beyond which stretched farming land as far as Mayfield Toll, which was close to the upper entrance to Lady Road. At the other end of that thoroughfare was Cameron Toll and the little hamlet of Sharpdale.

In the old days a bridge with a low parapet spanned the Powburn. As building operations progressed, the valley of the stream was gradually filled up with town refuse. Some of the houses in Mayfield Gardens, likewise the lodge at the Royal Blind Asylum, have their foundations in travelled earth.

¹ Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1815-17, and again in 1821-23. Arbuthnot's first period of office 'covered a time of great unemployment and destitution in the city' (*Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296-1932*, p. 100), and he busied himself with relief works. He presided at the civic banquet in the Parliament House in honour of George IV when His Majesty created him a baronet. Arbuthnot was a close friend of Sir Walter Scott, encouraging him in his darkest hours. Both were deeply interested in the antiquities of the British drama. Politics was another bond. In his *Journal*, under date 9 March 1829, Scott writes: 'After breakfast I went to Sir William Arbuthnot's, and met there a select party of Tories, to decide whether we should act with the Whigs by owning their petition in favour of the Catholics.'

² Son of John Learmonth of Dean, the last Lord Provost of Edinburgh to hold office under the old regime. The Dean Bridge was built largely at the expense of Lord Provost Learmonth.

Powburn was separated from Causewayside on the east by an orchard which covered all the ground between Mayfield Loan and the Suburban Railway, and near the Mayfield Road entrance to Newington Station the old road to Liberton declined steeply towards the valley of the Powburn. In the hollow stood the toll-house (Plate, p. 184).

Powburn, when the Home family owned it, was a favourite summer resort for town dwellers despite the proximity of Reid's tannery where a large number of workers was employed. A contemporary advertisement mentions Powburn House as 'pleasantly situated a little from the Grange-Gate Toll-bar' and equipped with a 'coachhouse and four-stalled stable,' also 'a small garden and other offices.'

XI

Newington throughout the by no means inconsiderable chapter of its history has been closely identified with the merchant class. Only to a limited extent has it attracted the professions, the members of which have chosen to dwell either north or west of Princes Street. Newington has been and still is pre-eminently the habitation of the prosperous business man. It has had relatively few noted residents, by which is meant those who have made distinctive reputations in literature, science, and art, or in any of the public services. Still, it may be claimed for this suburb that it has housed a few personages who, if they made no great stir in the world, have been well and honourably known in Scotland and beyond it.

In 1811 William Blackwood, the founder of the publishing firm of that name, was seised, in terms of a feu disposition by George Bell, dated 9th June 1806, 'in a lot of ground of the lands of Newington.' His house was at 2 Salisbury Road. Here he resided from about 1805 to 1830, which was the shining period of his career inasmuch as it witnessed the

founding of his famous magazine and the publication of a number of books that brought him widespread fame. The 'nimble, active-looking' man with 'complexion very sanguineous' of *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* was fond of the tranquillity and seclusion of his Newington home with its superb views of Arthur's Seat and the heights of Liberton.

According to a statement by Mrs. Oliphant, the historian of the publishing house of Blackwood, the house in Salisbury Road was not the first in Newington to be occupied by William Blackwood. When, in 1805, he married Janet Steuart of Carfin, he brought his bride on her wedding day in a postchaise to 'her own house,' which was 'an ordinary one in an Edinburgh street on the South-side; but within a year the young couple removed to a house of their own in one of the leafy roads of Newington, with a wide view from the windows over the fair surrounding country, a pleasant garden, and those large rooms and airy passages which are the charm of Edinburgh houses. This dwelling, their first possession . . . was large enough to receive and contain a numerous family of boys and girls.' And Mrs. Oliphant adds: 'The pleasantness of that home is proved with a very tender pathos by the many pilgrimages made to it still [1895] by the last survivor, Miss Isabella Blackwood.' There can hardly be any doubt that Mrs. Oliphant's description refers to the house in Salisbury Road.

By coincidence it was another denizen of Newington who brought Blackwood his first publishing success. This was Dr. Thomas McCrie who, on 18th November 1811, gave to the world his epoch-making *Life of John Knox*, which Jeffrey, writing in the *Edinburgh Review*, pronounced 'by far the best piece of history which has appeared since the commencement of our critical career.' Henceforth the fame of McCrie's *Knox* was on every tongue. Edition followed edition which, having regard to the subject and the then state of the reading market, was a fine performance. Moreover, there were

French, German, and Dutch translations. Minister of a Seceder congregation, first in Potterrow then in Davie Street, McCrie was one of the ablest ecclesiastical controversialists of his time and a voluminous writer on Scottish Church history.¹ It was he who defended the Covenanters against Scott's strictures in *Old Mortality*. In a series of articles in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, McCrie spoke of the novelist's view as 'false and distorted,' and attacked with indignant warmth 'the historical foundations' of the tale. Scott, when he first heard of McCrie's criticisms, determined not to read them, but 'found the impression they were producing so strong, that he soon changed his purpose, and finally devoted a very large part of his article for the *Quarterly Review* to an elaborate defence of his own picture of the Covenanters.' McCrie originally resided in Nicolson Street, but in 1822 became the occupant of a house in Salisbury Place, where he seems to have lived till his death in 1835.

Opposite Blackwood's house in Salisbury Road stood till comparatively recent times a large square mansion surrounded by a spacious garden, the site of which is now covered by the tenement at the corner of Dalkeith Road. This was the last Edinburgh home of Dr. Thomas Guthrie, the distinguished Free Church divine whose statue is in West Princes Street Gardens. In his *Autobiography* Guthrie, remarking on his economy as regards rent, says he paid only £40 a year for his house in Lauriston Lane, 'a rent which rose to no more than £42 before I stepped from being a tenant of that low-rented, old-fashioned, plain abode to become owner and

¹ Recording his death, Cockburn speaks of him as by far the most eminent literary figure among the 'Scotch Seceders,' and quotes a sentence by Hallam, the historian, that he was 'a most powerful writer, before whom there are few living controversialists that would not tremble.' Cockburn depicts McCrie as 'a tall, thin, apostolic-looking person, not known in society, into which he never went; very modest, very primitive, absorbed in his books and his congregation, and, except when there was likely to be a concession to Catholics, never interfering in any public matter.' (*Journal, 1831-1854*, vol. i. pp. 100-1.)



occupant of 1 Salisbury Road.' Guthrie then goes on to expatiate on the delights of his Newington home, 'whence I have a view of Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crag, and a remarkable crystallised trap rock called Samson's Ribs, of Duddingston Loch, with its wooded banks, swans, and picturesque church; and of the sea beyond breaking on the shores of Aberlady Bay—a scene of the most beautiful description spread out before me in its glory of a fine summer morning without lifting my head from the pillow.'

Still another noted resident in Salisbury Road was Adam Longmore of the Scottish Exchequer, the grandfather of John Alexander Longmore of Deanhaugh, W.S. At his death in 1875 the latter left the residue of his estate to help to found in Edinburgh a hospital for incurables. Considerable discretion was given to the executors in the disposal of the funds, and when the Edinburgh Association for the Relief of Incurables resolved to extend their work, Longmore's trustees decided to join forces with the Association and devote £10,000 to the erection and equipment of a hospital, on condition that the institution was called the Longmore Hospital. By the demolition in Salisbury Place of a row of houses with gardens in front, also a boys' school known as Wilson's Academy, an excellent site was obtained. The Longmore Hospital, which with its grounds occupies nearly the whole of the north side, was opened in 1875. It is rather curious that in Salisbury Road, almost opposite where Adam Longmore resided, there is now being completed a lofty square building for the nurses of the Longmore Hospital.

The only other celebrity who resided in Newington during the first half of the nineteenth century was Dr. Robert Knox, the anatomist, who has the unenviable distinction of being remembered only by his connection with the Burke and Hare murders. Henry Lonsdale, who wrote a competent and revealing biography of the anatomist, says: 'Knox's acknowledged residence was 4 Newington Place; there (after his

wife's death in 1841) his sister, Mary Knox, performed the part of hostess. He gave dinners and evening parties in excellent style, and with good musical accompaniments. . . . Everybody was made happy at Knox's fireside. . . . Knox at home was Knox triumphant. . . . There was little need of the Falernian cup for prandial pleasantries if Knox fell upon a suitable theme for the display of his powers.' Altogether an engaging picture and in marked contrast to the sombre, one might say terrifying, impressions which the name of Dr. Robert Knox connotes for many readers of Edinburgh history. So far from being the sinister and morose figure linked in the popular imagination with deeds of appalling wickedness, Knox was, especially during the earlier portion of his career, a rather attractive personality, a noted social success, and in leisure hours a devotee of the arts of painting and music.

Professionally Knox was a brilliant lecturer. Almost from the outset of his career in 1826 he was in the front rank as an exponent of his subject. Promising students found him an example and an inspiration. At one time his classes were daily attended by more than five hundred young men. A powerful advocate of practical dissection of the human body, Knox, unfortunately for himself, proved the best customer of the 'Resurrectionists,' from whom alone bodies for dissection could be procured. He gave good prices, and Burke and Hare saw to it that he was kept well supplied. In this way he was thought to be encouraging the murderers in their horrid work, and he was mobbed and burnt in effigy. Cockburn, who was one of the counsel at the trial of the West Port murderers, writes: 'All our anatomists incurred a most unjust, and a very alarming, though not an unnatural odium; Dr. Knox in particular, against whom not only the anger of the populace, but the condemnation of more intelligent persons, was specially directed. But tried in reference to the invariable, and the necessary practice of the profession,

our anatomists were spotlessly correct, and Knox the most correct of them all.'¹

Scott took a different view. In his *Journal*, under date 14th January 1829, Sir Walter mentions having instructed Mr. Robison to summon a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (of which Scott was then President), Dr. Knox having proposed 'to read an essay on some dissections.' Then Scott adds: 'A bold proposal truly from one who has had so lately the boldness of trading so deep in human flesh! I will oppose his reading in the present circumstances if I should stand alone.'

In the end Knox was forced to vindicate himself, and was eventually acquitted by an influential committee who reported that they had seen no evidence that he knew that murder was committed in procuring any of the subjects brought to his classroom, though he acted incautiously in receiving bodies without inquiring whence they came. But the popular delusion died hard, and Knox was caricatured in lithographic prints entitled 'Wretch's Illustrations of Shakespeare,' in one of which the Devil is represented with a pair of shears in his hand about to crop 'a nox-i-ous plant.' In another the Edinburgh anatomist figures as Richard III looking for Tyrrel, whom he finds in the murderer Burke. The latter in his confession absolved Knox from all blame.

It is a tribute to Knox's magnetic qualities that his students were wholeheartedly in his favour, testifying their belief that he was in nowise to blame by presenting him with a gold vase. At a later period in his life repeated but unsuccessful efforts to obtain a professorship made Knox cynical and querulous, and his popularity declined. For the remaining twenty years this gifted teacher lived in London, subsisting as best he could by his pen and as an itinerant lecturer—a melancholy ending to a career that had begun with high hopes. Knox died in 1862.

¹ *Memorials of His Time*, new ed. 1874, p. 396.

In concluding this historical survey of Newington, a district which, so far as feuing operations are concerned, has a record extending back more than a century and a half, it may be well to stress the fact that the narrative has been built up almost exclusively from documentary sources. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise, for the printed material about Newington is negligible and not specially informative. The most important auxiliary has not been books but the files of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, whose advertisements of Newington properties in the market have yielded much useful information. No claim is put forward that the subject has been treated exhaustively. Much still remains obscure; but at least the main lines of development have been traced. If this article assists in opening up a fresh field of research as regards old Edinburgh, the writer will be amply rewarded for what has been a somewhat arduous piece of work.

W. FORBES GRAY.

LANDS OF ST. LEONARDS: SOUTHERN SECTION¹

[Abbreviation:—E.S.—Register of Sasines for Shire of Edinburgh
(H.M. Register House).]

IN a previous article the history of the lands of St. Leonards has been outlined in general, and parts of these lands lying towards the north have been described in detail. There remain to be described the following portions, into which the lands naturally divide: (1) a section lying between Drummond Street and Crosscauseway; (2) the area between Crosscauseway and Preston Street; (3) the portion between St. Leonard's Lane and the Prestonfield estate, with some additional pieces. Finally, some notes are given about Spittalfield or Gallowgreen.

I

This segment stretched from the Flodden Wall on the north to Crosscauseway on the south, and was bounded by Potterrow on the west and on the east by a road called the Backrow.² The northern boundary is now represented by College Street and Drummond Street, while the Backrow resolved itself later into Roxburgh Place and Richmond Place. The other two highways still retain their original names. Whatever the line taken by the original cross causeway connecting the Bristo-Liberton road with the Pleasance-Dalkeith road, by the middle of the sixteenth

¹ The late Mr. John Smith prepared an account of these lands, which unfortunately is so full of errors that it is practically worthless. Hence the intrusion of some perhaps rather boring detail in the present article.

² The whole of this area was eventually intersected by what is now Nicolson Street. The various stages of development of the new thoroughfare, blocked first at the north end and afterwards at the south end by Lady Nicolson's houses, are dealt with in an article on Easter and Wester Crofts of Bristo in the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxii, pp. 82-84. Certain properties which more rightly belong to the story of the lands of St. Leonards are also described in that article, and therefore are not further discussed.

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century the present line of the Crosscauseway was well established. As for the Backrow (called in 1716 'the Backrow of the Easter Croft of Bristo'¹), running from the Town Wall to the Crackling-house, the name is used as early as 1653. Mr. F. C. Mears expresses the opinion² that this is the surviving portion of the original road from the south towards Leith, taking the line approximately of High School Wynd, Blackfriars' Wynd and Morrison's Close to the Calton Hollow; and that the road leading by the Pleasance was a later diversion.

The whole of the northern fringe of this area of land, and the western fringe along Potterrow to a point opposite Dalrymple House, with a small part along the Backrow, formed an outlying portion of the lands of Easter Portsburgh.³ The boundary line is marked on Kirkwood's Map, 1817. This would be about a fifth; the remaining four-fifths belonged to St. Leonards.

At or near the north-west corner, in the early part of the eighteenth century, was a bowling-green, while the ground stretching eastward and facing the Flodden Wall belonged to a family of Wood (in 1653 James Wood, merchant in Edinburgh, and in 1713 Rev. John Wood, his son,⁴ who in that year⁵ sold out to Nicolson). It was on this property that there stood the house of Dame Elizabeth Trotter, Lady Nicolson. A small property to the south of Wood's land belonged from 1653 to Richard Howison, afterwards minister of Inveresk,⁶ whose heirs sold out to Nicolson in 1724.⁷ Later in the century part of this property, evidently for a

¹ The name 'Easter Croft of Bristo' appears as early as 1607.

² 'Edinburgh Number' of *Scot. Geogr. Magazine* (1919), pp. 307, 308.

³ *Book of the Club*, xxii, p. 80.

⁴ Not traceable in *Scott's Fasti*.

⁵ E.S., 16 July 1713.

⁶ He graduated M.A., Edinburgh, in 1653, became minister of Alva in 1660, and was among the outed clergy in 1662. In 1691 he was minister of Cockpen, and was translated to Inveresk in 1694.

⁷ E.S., 25 Sep. 1741.

time referred to as Bristo Green,¹ became known as Dr. Monro's Park,² and just to the south of the park was erected the Riding School, at the end of the year 1763, which being sold in 1828 to the Royal College of Surgeons gave place to the present Surgeons' Hall. The following advertisement from *Caledonian Mercury*, 2nd August 1788, gives some idea of the position at that date:—

'TO BE SOLD, Dr. Monro's Park on the east side of Nicolson Street situated between the Riding School and the Town Wall, in whole or in lots. This park contains 49,212 square feet or somewhat less than a Scotch acre. The west front measures 168 feet, the east front 158 feet, the north front 289 feet, the south side measures 316 feet.

If the whole is purchased he may follow any plan he pleases, but if it is sold in lots the houses are to be built in it according to a plan fronting three ways, to wit, westward in Nicolson Street, northward to the road on the outside of the Town Wall, which is to be widened to forty feet, and eastward to the Backrow road, which is also to be widened forty feet. Near the middle of the back or south part of the Park there will be a large stableyard with coach houses and stables, to which there will be an entry by an arch in the middle of the houses fronting the north.'

Building thereafter commenced all over this ground and the Backrow was duly widened,³ and by 1795 is described as 'Backrow Street now Richmond Place.' Earlier than this, however, there had been buildings on the west side of Backrow, for in 1716 George Dalgleish, lorimer, had disposition⁴ of a 'large house sometime ruinous now rebuilt lately consisting of two stories and two garrets, in all six fire rooms, with two laigh houses at the south end thereof consisting of three fire rooms,' lying in the Backrow of the Easter Croft of Bristo, of old possessed by Margaret Logan, widow in the

¹ E.S., 28 May 1728 and 29 June 1734.

² *Book of the Club*, xx. p. 118.

³ An Agreement of 30 Aug. 1788 is recorded, between Dr. Alex. Monro and David Erskine, W.S., relative to the 'straightening and widening a road called Backrow between Dr. Monro's Park and Dearenough.'

⁴ E.S., 15 Mar. 1716.

Backrow (who must have lived at least a hundred years previously). This would be in the vicinity of Lady Glenorchy's South Church.

Turning now to the St. Leonards' part of the section under review, it has been found that it consisted mainly of four feus extending respectively (north to south) to 3 acres, 2½ acres, 1¾ acres, and 4 acres 16 falls. It was stated in the previous article on St. Leonards that John Byres of Coates had a financial interest in certain portions of St. Leonards consequent upon the bankruptcy of the Crichtons.¹ Probably on account of marriage relationship Rev. James Reid, minister of the West Kirk, became possessed of some of the properties, including the first three feus above mentioned. In 1657 he had a charter² from Mr. Robert Byres, advocate, of three-tenths of the sunny half of St. Leonards, and between then and 1661 he took sasine of the aforesaid acres, while the adjacent ground on the north and west, abutting on Drummond Street and Potterrow, was feued by William Reid, gardener and maltman. Rev. James was son of John Reid, merchant in Edinburgh, and officiated at St. Cuthbert's from 1630 till his death in June 1664,³ coincident with the death of his only son, William. He married Agnes, daughter of Robert Smyth, merchant in Edinburgh, and probably sister of Sir John Smyth of Grothill, Provost. She was the widow of John Byres of Coates. The minister's brother, William Reid, baker (bailie) of Edinburgh, who married in 1666 Isobel Hodges, evidently got possession of some of the acres, and dying in 1675 left a son, Mr. James Reid, who in 1692 took sasine of the three feus above mentioned. These acres all came eventually into the possession of Sir James Nicolson.

Meanwhile there was the fourth feu, which rejoiced in the

¹ *Book of the Club*, xxiii. p. 134.

² E.S., 7 Dec. 1657.

³ A few months earlier he had been ejected for not conforming to episcopacy (Sime's *History of the West Kirk*).

somewhat uncouth name of Lowsielaw. It is now represented roughly by the area from Gibb's Entry and Simon Square to the corner of Pleasance and Crosscauseway. How this name originated is not known, but perhaps it may be related to the term 'lossie,' in which case 'Lossielaw' would be a piece of high ground bearing a sparse crop. Jamieson quotes the expression 'unco lossie' as employed in the West to describe cornland that has empty or sparsely sown patches. That there was a kind of knoll at this point seems to be shown on the contoured diagram in Mr. Mears's article above referred to. There was apparently more than one 'Lowsielaw' in or near Edinburgh. For example, a part of the lands of Newington comprising $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres was known by the name, when John Lauder took infeftment therein on 24th September 1669; it is also referred to in 1713. Beyond Powburn a short street now bears the name of Lussielaw Road. Good's *Liberton*, however, is certainly wrong in attaching the name to any place south of Powburn.

On 29th April 1571 a skirmish took place between soldiers from the Castle and some of the Regent's party 'at a part of the Burrowmure callit the Powburne,' but the former were driven back 'to the port of the toun callit the Kirk of Feyld. The futemen pressit to stop the retrait of the tua captens; bot dyvers of thayme war hurt, althocht that thay debaittit valiantlie at a part of the borrow mure callit the Lowsie Law.'¹ It is just possible that the place of that name nearest to the Kirk of Field port (namely, the piece of land under review) may be the one intended, though not truly within the bounds of the Muir.

Apart from references to it in boundary descriptions, such as 'the common way coming from Pleasance by the Lwsielaw to the Croscauseys' (1661), the property registers show that the 4 acres 16 falls of the lands of St. Leonards lying 'in the shott of land called the Lousielaw' were among the subjects

¹ *Historie of King James the Sext* (Bann. Club), p. 74.

disponed by James Crichton of St. Leonards to Mr. John Stewart of Kettilstoune on 27th January 1665.¹ They were evidently tenanted by George Penman, merchant in Edinburgh, who made them over in 1666 to Robert Penman, writer there,² and he got a charter of apprising from the Governors of Heriot's Hospital on 6th August 1669 under condition that the subjects might be redeemed by Adam Penman.³ So several members of the Penman family seem to have been involved. In 1692 Bethia Penman took infeftment as heir of Robert, and immediately thereafter made disposition in favour of James Davidson, writer in Edinburgh.⁴ The lands then passed through various hands, until they became the property of Sir James Nicolson in 1723, being always referred to in documents as 'formerly Penman's Land.'⁵

After Sir James Nicolson and his lady came into possession of the whole of the above properties fresh feuing took place, only a few instances of which need be mentioned. Andrew Moffat, gardener at St. Leonards,⁶ became feuar of part of Penman's Land and adjacent subjects and built a house called Turniphall. He subfeued a small portion to David Thomson, vintner, who built a house called Elleisfield.⁷ Another of the new feuars was Gilbert Mackie, wright, and his feu became known in subsequent years as Mackiesfield. To the south-east of his feu lay a piece of ground disponed to William Bell, smith, and not to be outdone by his neighbours on either side he dubbed his house Bellsfield.

Specifications for a house which was to be built in 1764 at the north-east corner of East Crosscauseway, on Moffat's feu, are enumerated in a building contract⁸ between Samuel

¹ E.S., 1 Feb. 1665. ² E.S., 4 May 1667. ³ E.S., 21 Aug. 1669.

⁴ E.S., 3 Nov. and 15 Dec. 1692. ⁵ E.S., 3 Jan. 1723.

⁶ E.S., 10 Feb. 1730. He seems to have been a restless individual. He is found first gardening at St. Leonards, 1730, in Wester Portsburgh in 1735, then at Turniphall 'lying near the Cracklinghouse' in 1736, thereafter at Moultries-hill in 1752, and at Midwayhouse in 1754.

⁷ E.S., 27 Mar. 1735.

⁸ *Session Papers in Signet Library*, vol. 93, no. 14.

Stevenson, merchant in Edinburgh, and Patrick Begbie, wright in Crosscauseway, and extend by themselves to over 2500 words. The house was to be 42 feet long, 30 feet broad within walls, side-walls $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, gables 3 feet thick, first floor to be a laigh house with door to the Crosscauseway, with kitchen $12 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ feet, back room $11 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, cellar 8×7 feet. Three storeys above the ground floor were each to have a kitchen 14×12 , with stance for a bed 'to be closed in with a two-leaved door,' a room next the kitchen $12 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$, with stance for bed, a dining-room $17 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$, room off the dining-room $12 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ with stance for bed, and closet-room off lobby 14×17 , with stance for bed. Height of storeys 9 feet between floor and ceiling; windows $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ feet 'day-light,' glazed with Newcastle crown glass; flooring of red wood, Gottenburg dales. Garret-storey of three rooms, the middle $17 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$, the ends 12×18 with comb-ceiling for 6 feet; height $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 feet. Stone turnpike to be 8 feet in diameter 'within the shell,' steps 3 feet 9 inches long and 7 inches deep. Stable with three stalls to be 15×13 feet inside the walls, and distant 10 feet from west side-wall of house. The roof was to be covered with blue Aisdale slate. Between doors to rooms, presses, closets and beds, the number of doors was legion. The house was to be let to tenants. In a further paper it is stated that the third storey was let to 'the Ladies of Grange'; and that a sign advertising Anderson's pills hung between the first and second storeys (at the turnpike window).

The precise situation of Elleisfield is not known, but it was somewhere on the north side of East Crosscauseway. Bellsfield (sometimes called Bellfield) lay to the west, and would be between Gibb's Entry and the back of Nicolson Street Church. Part of this ground was sold in 1819¹ to the trustees of the First Associate Antiburgher Congregation of Edinburgh, probably in connection with the building of the present church, which was opened on 19th March

¹ E.S., 12 Aug. 1819.

1820.¹ There was a stone quarry on the Bellsfield feu, leased from time to time to masons. In 1734² it was let for seven years for the sum of £10 sterling yearly, 'to be worked by (the mason) himself with one quarryman and two barrowmen, and to begin at the point where James Middleton left off, and to work north and east and keep the rubbish on the south thereof, and lay three feet of the best earth on the top of the rubbish.' Hence the name Quarry Close. Somewhere between Elleisfield and Bellsfield stood a house belonging to Richard Dowdswell, secretary to the Commissioners of Excise.³

Mackiesfield was the largest of the three feus, and immediately adjoined Bellsfield on the west, occupying all the corner from West Crosscauseway up to the house acquired by Lord Kilkerran at the west end of West Nicolson Street (see *Book of the Club*, xxii. p. 88). Applicants for building sites soon appeared, among whom were Rev. James Mackenzie, whose feu was next to Kilkerran's; John Beveridge, wright, who built a house contiguous to Bell's; and Thomas Simpson, tailor, who contracted⁴ with a builder to erect 'a sufficient house' of seven and a half yards in length 'and of the same breadth of that part of the house already built and of the dimensions following, to witt, the ston walls to be built with clay, the cheeks of the windows and doors with lime, as also the cheeks of the two vents, and to plaister the vents in the inside from top to bottom with lime, and there are to be two windows large and three in the upper story and one small

¹ Gibb's Entry derives its name from the famous Antiburgher minister, Adam Gib, for whom the original Nicolson Street Church was built. Gib's manse was the block immediately on the south side of the Entry. The manse was advertised for sale in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for January 7, 1792. It is described as belonging 'to the late Mr. Adam Gib, No. 169, on the east side of Nicolson Street,' and is stated to contain 'on the first floor parlour and kitchen, with pantry and wine cellars.' There were three upper flats, in one of which were the dining and drawing rooms. Behind the house was a piece of ground and in front 'a flower plot' (now the pavement), which, we are told, might easily be converted into 'a large and elegant shop, that may have windows looking both to Nicolson Street and to entry to Simon Square.' The upset price for this property was £420.

² Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 2 Oct. 1734.

³ See *Book of the Club*, xx. p. 49.

⁴ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 19 Dec. 1734.

one in the stair head, and to harle the wall of the said house outside and inside with lime, as also to put a sufficient roof on the said house with tile and skailie as the other part of the said house is done already, as also to divide the said house as follows to witt the laigh story in two rooms with a sawn dale partition and two doors the one bound and the other unbound and the windows to have one pair outside shutters in the fore window and one pair inside shutters in the back window, and to cary up a timber stair to the upper story after the best forme he can, and to divide the upper story in two rooms with sawen dale partitions and two bound doors and three pair of inside window shutters, and also to lath and plaister the roof and walls of the upper story, as also to furnish cases for the windows with wanscot soles, with a door to the trance, with two hearth stones the one high and the other laigh, and to lay the jests and floor of the said house as sufficiently as he can.' The contract was dated 10th April 1733, and the work was to be done before 1st July. The cost was £25 sterling down, and £10 further on completion!

The 'great stone tenement' on Bellsfield and some unfeued portions of Mackiesfield and Bellsfield were exposed for sale in March 1744, but there were no bidders till February 1745, when Mr. John Nicolson, session clerk at St. Ninians, secured the property for £230 sterling.¹

II

No part of the lands of St. Leonards has undergone greater transformation than that section which lies between Cross-causeway² on the north and Preston Street on the south.

¹ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 12 May 1746.

² Mr. Mears, in his articles already mentioned and accompanying diagram, speaks of a possibly earlier line of road connecting Bristo Street with Dalkeith Road; but during the period dealt with in this article there is evidence only of the later cross way, which still retains its old name, and which Mears suggests was constructed early in the sixteenth century. In a sasine of 1661 it is described as 'the Crocecalsey between the said two calseys' (viz. Buccleuch Street and St. Leonard's Street).

Originally there were only four feus, extending in all to 25 acres, and divided between two proprietors, Gairns and Byres. Only a wedge or gusset belonging to the Town prevented these feus from stretching right across from Buccleuch Street on the west to St. Leonard's Street on the east. This area was all Heriot's Hospital land.

The northern portion, consisting of two feus of seven and seven and a quarter acres respectively, was disposed in 1659 by James Crichton of St. Leonards to Mr. James and John Garden or Gairns, sons of the deceased John Gairns, dyer in Edinburgh.¹ John, the second son, survived his brother, and in 1692 got charter from Heriot's Hospital.² Probably before this he had begun to build a mansion-house towards the south-west corner of the seven-acre feu, and immediately to the south thereof a brewery with house attached. There were some buildings already on the site, for an entry in the Town Council minutes for 1688 states that John Gairns, who lately acquired from the Town the right to the 'houses called Gairneshall,' was successful in his appeal against having militia quartered on him. Farther to the north a house had been erected, before 1681, by Thomas Grinton, meal-maker. Garden in 1693 disposed the 14½ acres to his creditor, Robert Paterson, commissary clerk of Peebles,³ with the exception of the mansion-house and yard, maltkiln, etc., built by him and presently possessed by Mr. James Bertram, brewer. Bertram sold the mansion and brewery in 1697 to Alexander Biggar, who now described himself 'of Gairdinshall.'⁴ From a deed over 100 years later the information is furnished that the house called Gairnshall was a 'great stone tenement of land or stone lodging . . . partly built by John Garden . . . and thereafter repaired and hightned by Alexander Biggar of Gairnshall and James Biggar his eldest son.'⁵ Alexander died in March 1704, apparently at

¹ E.S., 1 April 1661.

³ E.S., 19 Aug. 1693.

² E.S., 10 June 1692.

⁴ E.S., 4 Jan. 1698.

⁵ E.S., 30 Dec. 1801.

the early age of 41, and was buried in St. Cuthbert's churchyard. His widow, Jean Livingston, 'Lady Whitehouse,'¹ disposed the whole 14½ acres in 1713 to her third son, Robert Biggar, subject to payment of certain annuities.² Robert in turn disposed them in 1717 to Anna Biggar, his sister, and Walter Scott 'of Bonnywater,' brewer at Gairnshall, her husband.³ In 1737 she, as his widow, had a charter from Heriot's Hospital of the above property, including also the brewery, which had a frontage of 30 ells and a depth of 14 ells.⁴

When sites were being considered by the members of the Board of Manufactures for housing the French weavers who came over from Picardy,⁵ a proposal was submitted by Walter Scott of Gairdenshall 'for selling his part of about seven acres of ground lying to the eastward of Hope Park and only

¹ In 1707 she became proprietrix of Whitehouse, near Bruntfield (*Book of the Club*, x. p. 48).

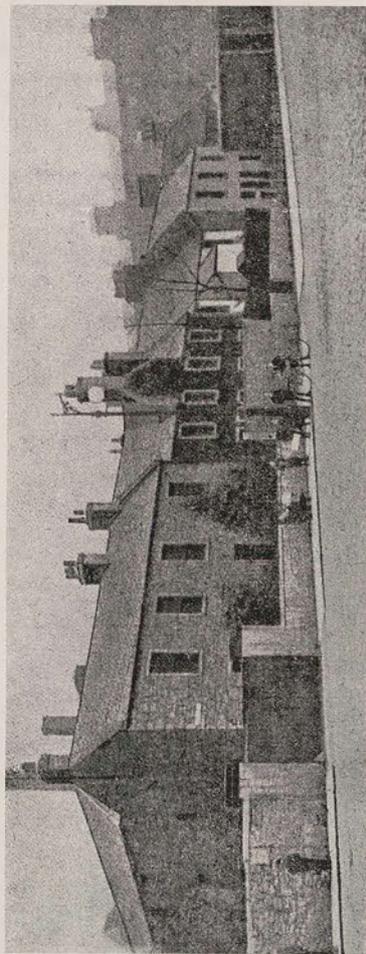
² E.S., 30 Sep. 1715. For further particulars regarding the Biggar family, see *Book of the Club*, xx. App. pp. 33-35.

³ E.S., 29 Apr. 1717. This is an interesting family. There were at least four generations, all called Walter, lairds of a property on the Water of Bonny, in the parish of Falkirk (otherwise described as the Cowden Quarter of Seabegs). The will of Walter Scott at the Water of Bonny is recorded in 1663 (Stirling Testaments). His successor was a glazier in Edinburgh, and acquired property in Milne's Square, opposite the Tron, and in Dickson's and Hart's Closes, etc. In 1707 he executed a Deed of Mortification in favour of the minister, heritors and kirk-session of Falkirk, leaving £1000 Scots to form a fund for support of 'an honest schoolmaster' to teach gratis ten or twelve poor children, as he considered 'that there are many poor people living in the parish of Falkirk near to and about my house of Boniewater whose children are generally ignorant of letters and lost for want of education by reason of the poverty of their parents or other relations,' and that this condition 'is in great measure the cause not only of their low condition in the world but also of many lewd and vicious practices in their lives.' The revenue was to come from his houses in Edinburgh, but in 1737 his son's widow disburdened these properties and paid down the principal sum (Reg. of Deeds, Dalrymple, 24 June 1715; Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 30 Mar. 1737).

His son, Walter, succeeded in 1715, and married Anna Biggar. He died between April 1736 and March 1737, leaving issue Walter, who married Katherine McFarlane, and other six sons and three daughters, all of whom were provided for by their father (see six deeds recorded in Edin. Sher. Ct. Books, 18 June 1736).

⁴ E.S., 3 May 1737.

⁵ An article dealing with the history of this scheme is being prepared by Dr. Mason, of Queensferry, for inclusion in the next volume.



HOUSES AT SUMMERHALL
(Site of Royal Dick Veterinary College)

divided from it by the Causway,' but it was 'laid aside because of the highness of the price demanded' (*Minutes of the Board*, 3rd Feb. 1730.—Reg. House). However, John and Walter Biggar soon afterwards established their linen and flax factory in the Sciennes, known as the Scots Versailles.

Meanwhile the seven acres feu had been divided into the area called Goosedub, or Yardhall, and a section to the east thereof called Cabbagehall¹ consisting of five acres and a bit. The 'Dub,' as it was sometimes called, lay in the angle made by Crosscauseway with Buccleuch Street, and from it flowed a runnel or stank eastward along the south side of Cabbagehall Garden 'towards Hamilton's Folly and St. Leonards.' Cabbagehall was acquired by David Stevenson, formerly gardener at Dalhousie, in October 1708²; and off the eastern end of this ground 2½ acres were sold by Stevenson a fortnight later to Alexander Hamilton, merchant in Edinburgh, and Margaret Binning, his spouse,³ the boundary being from Crosscauseway on the north to the stank conveying water from the Goosedub on the south, a hedge dividing the property from Stevenson's garden. Hamilton called this property Newgrange,⁴ and in June 1709 borrowed money from William Nisbet of Dirleton and another, granting in security the lands themselves and also 'the great tenement of land, brewery and other houses, presently built or to be built by the said Alexander Hamilton upon the ground of

¹ In contrast with '-field,' as in Mackiesfield and the rest, more favoured on the northern side of the Town, there now began to arise a whole forest of 'halls' in this southern suburb, each petty proprietor outvying his neighbour in the choice of some attractive or absurd label. The adoption of the name Cabbagehall probably suggested Turniphall to a rival market gardener; fruit took the place of vegetables in Orangehall, while owners perpetuated their names or celebrated the salubrity of the countryside in such names as Gairnshall, Huntershall, and Summerhall.

² E.S., 2 Nov. 1708.

³ E.S., 4 Dec. 1708.

⁴ It is this portion of the Cabbagehall estate which is described in the 1795 Plan as 'Mr. Cleugh's Property.' He was a bondholder of the Leslies from 1792 to 1805 [E.S., 21 Oct. 1805]. A well in East Crosscauseway near the brewery bears his initials and the date 1797.



the said acres.¹ Thus came into being what was to be known for generations afterwards as Hamilton's Folly, so called (according to Grant) 'from the name of the proprietor, who was deemed unwise in those days to build a house so far from the city, and on the way that led to the gibbet.' It seems far-fetched, for houses were rising all along Buccleuch Street to a much greater distance from the town. It is more likely to have derived from the fact that Hamilton became bankrupt over it, for in 1718 the property was secured² by William Walker, writer in Edinburgh, as highest bidder, and sold by him in 1721 to James Leslie, whose son, John Leslie of New-grange, took sasine on 6th February 1744. Certainly the 'great tenement' never wanted tenants.³

Meanwhile David Stevenson had built his 'Cabbagehall' somewhere in his garden ground, and enjoyed the amenities of suburban life, until advancing years compelled him to hand over the reins of government to his daughter Elizabeth. In 1734, 'in respect' (he says) 'of my own and my present wife's infirmity through old age,' the daughter gets the rents and profits of the ground and houses thereon, and undertakes to maintain and aliment her father and stepmother 'in bed, board and everything else appertaining to their rank and station'!⁴ At the time of this transaction Elizabeth was a widow, and the new arrangement may have been made for mutual benefit. There had been a brother David, but beyond mention of him in the feu-contract with Hamilton⁵ there is nothing more known about him. Only a few months, however, elapsed before Elizabeth changed her estate once more. Her first husband, Mr. James Home, schoolmaster in Edinburgh, died in September 1733⁶; and in May 1735 she married

¹ E.S., 13 and 18 Oct. 1709.

² E.S., 20 Feb. 1744.

³ It is named as one of the stages in the Tariff Bill of 1771 for sedan chairs [*Book of the Club*, ix. p. 210].

⁴ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 8 Oct. 1734.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14 Nov. 1710.

⁶ Edin. Testaments, 27 June 1734.

Mr. James Robertson, a minister.¹ It is from inventories given up at their demise (for Robertson died in December 1741) that some particulars are gleaned regarding the house at Cabbagehall. Neither of the husbands was specially provident. Just before his death Home had to make over to his creditors the household plenishing 'either within their dwelling house in Wardistoun's Closs in Edinburgh or within their other dwelling house at Cabbagehall.' Mention is made of the 'distillery at Cabbagehall,' and a list of brewing utensils is given. In the Cabbagehall house, 'west room,' were sundry articles, including 'a pair of baggamon tables.' In the 'dwelling house and school in Wariestoun's Closs wherein Mr. Home died' were 'an old aurora mounted bed with curtains, the feather bed and other furniture thereof being removed after his death to their *country house*' (a quaint epithet in the light of the present day, when the house was only five minutes' walk from the Tron). In the 'school house' were 'six furms or seats,' also 150 copies or thereby of a book entitled '*The Edinburgh Method of Teaching English* sett forth by the defunct and Robert Godskirk, wryting master in Edinburgh,' and valued at 6s. scots per copy.

When her second husband died,² Elizabeth fell heir to his estate, including the rents of his 'meeting house.' Among the effects were the seats in the meeting house, 'made of old wood'; about 21 quires of paper and 20 paper books 'all very much spoilt and winded being many years lying by and not taken care of and for little purpose except for putting up suggars or the like'; also 'ane old hatt fitt only for nailing trees.' According to the inventories in both cases, all the stuff was either very old, or torn and ragged—valuators' methods have not greatly changed!

¹ Reg. of Edin. Marriages. His name does not appear in lists of ministers, but in witnessing a deed in 1736 he is designated minister of the Gospel at the Colledgehall (evidently a mistake for Cabbagehall, where he seems to have pursued some sort of unsuccessful mission).

² Edin. Testaments, 25 Aug. 1742.

The situation of the house has been the subject of some enquiry, and it has been thought that it might be identified with an old building which presently stands between Cowan's Close (off East Crosscauseway) and the tenements on the east side of St. Patrick Square, and which is used as a brewer's store. On Armstrong's plan of 1774 a building is depicted as occupying this position. It is doubtful, however, if the present structure represents Cabbagehall—certainly there are no external features to mark it as having been erected so far back as the early part of the eighteenth century. It may incorporate some of the ruins of the old house.¹

Stevenson's feu, commonly known as Cabbagehall Garden, passed eventually into the hands of McGill and Cowan, and was sold to William Archibald, slater at Goosedub, about 1781-86, for the purpose of building the tenements now surrounding St. Patrick Square, the earliest of which are on the east side.

From the examination of a succession of titles the relative position of some of the houses fronting Buccleuch Street may now be more clearly defined. Beginning at the north, there was first the Goosedub itself, and then among others a house belonging to Thomas Grinton (was this Yardhall?), which he sold before 1709 to John Gibson, eldest son of John Gibson, writer in Edinburgh.² Then came the house with the 'pend,' built, however, much later than the others to north and south. It was not until 17th April 1778 that a feu-contract³ was entered into between the then proprietors of the ground, McGill and Cowan, and one Jonathan Fullwood, 'merchant at the Chapel of Ease,' whereby they disposed to him a piece of ground with a frontage of 53 feet 2 inches, bounded on

¹ It is, however, definitely not the house in East Crosscauseway which the late Mr. John Smith labelled Cabbagehall in his MS. Notes (*Edinburgh Public Library*—Edinburgh Room), and which he mentions as having a date 1701. This house (demolished 1931) was situated on the Newgrange feu.

² E.S., 7 Sep. 1709.

³ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 24 Apr. 1778.

the east by Cabbagehall and on the south by a tenement belonging to John Gibson; upon condition that before Martinmas he was to 'build and erect a tenement of stone and lime at least four stories high in front of the said area and of the breadth of forty feet at least, and in the centre of the said area shall causeway a road fifteen feet broad to the wall of Cabbagehall Garden on the east, and raise an arch from the top to the said road twelve feet high and fifteen feet broad . . . and shall keep the syver running thro' the back part of the said area clear and redd so that the other fewars on the north may have free access thro' the same for their water, and shall bear and pay one-twelfth part of the expense for keeping the main drain clear and redd which carries the water from Goosedubb and Yeardhall eastward to Hamilton's Folly and St. Leonards.' The house was accordingly built, for before 1797 bonds were held over Edward Mitchell's 'fourth and fifth or attic storey above the shops of that large stone tenement of land built by Jonathan Fullwood.'¹ In some part of this old dwelling, now condemned as unfit for habitation, James Grant, the historical novelist (author of *Old and New Edinburgh*), first saw the light of day.²

On the south side of the 'pend' house, and wedged between it and a high tenement, there still stands a little house of

¹ E.S., 31 Mar. 1797. Mr. Forbes Gray contributes the following note:—'Fullwood's tenement above Buccleuch Pend is the sole surviving building in Edinburgh in which Burns is believed to have lodged. The writer of the notice of William Nicol (1744 ?-97) in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography* says: "Burns was Nicol's guest from 7 to 25 Aug. 1787 in the house over Buccleuch Pend." Lockhart in his *Life of Burns* refers to the poet as lodging in Nicol's house "in the Buccleuch road," but says nothing about Buccleuch Pend. In the *Directory* of 1786-88 there is this entry: "William Nichol, schoolmaster, Crosscauseway." Now such an address does not rule out the statement that Nicol lived in a house above Buccleuch Pend, since addresses in the early directories were often entered vaguely . . . nor ought the circumstance to be lost sight of that Burns and Nicol are said to have frequented a tavern kept by one Lucky Pringle in the basement of Fullwood's tenement. The underground premises were on the north side of the pend, and were lighted by two small windows, half of which are still seen below the level of the street, while in the archway is a doorway which conceivably led to Lucky Pringle's tavern.'

² Born 1822, died 1887. He was related, on the mother's side, to Sir Walter Scott.

antiquated appearance with a turnpike stair at the back. Built into the wall facing east (but evidently not in its original position) there is a stone with a shield carved upon it bearing the initials J G : C P and the date 1687. This clearly identifies the house as the 'tenement belonging to John Gibson' which formed the southern boundary of the 'pend' house. The house does not bear, however, the characteristics of a seventeenth-century building, and is likely to have been erected in the early part of the eighteenth century. This fact is not incompatible



Fig. 6

with the date on the shield, for Gibson acquired possession of the Goosedub and Yardhall property about the year 1687, and further instances will be cited of the practice of inscribing the date of acquisition of a site on a building erected years later. John Gibson, writer, was married in 1678 to Christian Porteous.¹ He died in October 1712, and his son John succeeded,² and may have been the builder of the house, which by the way may have been that known as Yardhall, for the Goosedub property came thus far south.

To the south of this lay Gairnshall, already mentioned,

¹ Edin. Marriage Register.

² Edin. Testaments, 12 Feb. 1713.

described in one deed as bounded on the north by the 'houses and others belonging to John Gibson, writer in Edinburgh.' The brewery, lying immediately to the south of the mansion, was disposed in 1758 by Robert Biggar, brother of Anna Biggar, and her other trustees,¹ to one James Cleghorn, whose children afterwards inherited,² and whose son William, merchant in London, made over the brewery in 1798 to John Don, manufacturer in Glasgow,³ with 'dwelling house, malt loft, malt barns, brewhouse, storehouse and pertinents, at present unpossessed and unemployed,' with use of the wells. The boundaries given are the large tenement called Gairnshall and little garden at the back thereof on the north, the large garden on the east, the gardens possessed by one Duffus and one Rankin on the south, and the King's highway leading from Edinburgh to Liberton Kirk on the west.

Mention of the 'large garden' brings to notice another proprietor whose name has been preserved in the vicinity. With the exception of the Gairnshall brewery and a small piece of ground shortly to be mentioned, the 7½-acre feu was disposed by Anna Biggar in 1751 to one Thomas Gifford, 'smith and farrier' in Edinburgh, and became known as Gifford's Park.⁴ His son William, similarly described, granted small feus to several persons, and disposed the superiority⁵ in 1772 to John Hope, physician in Edinburgh,⁶ after which

¹ E.S., 30 Dec. 1801.

² The Cleghorns were an interesting family. One of their number, Robert, was a farmer at Stenhouse, and an intimate friend of Burns, whose address in March 1788 is given as 'care of Miss Cleghorn, opposite Archers' Hall, Edinburgh.' Cleghorn married the widow of James Allen, W.S., of Redford, Colinton. Her son, John Allen, M.D., became a foremost figure in the social life of Holland House, Kensington. Byron, to whom he showed Burns's letters to his step-father, said Allen was 'the best informed and one of the ablest men' that he knew, while Lord Macaulay found him 'a man of vast information and great conversational powers.'

³ E.S., 11 Mar. 1799.

⁴ E.S., 30 Mar. 1751.

⁵ E.S., 12 Dec. 1772.

⁶ John Hope (1725-86), grad. M.D. Glasgow 1750, was Professor of Botany at Edinburgh (1761) and founded the new Botanic Garden in Leith Walk (see *Book of the Club*, xxiii. pp. 54-56). He was nephew of Sir Thomas Hope of Rankellor (of Hope Park fame). Curiously enough Rankellor Street is on the ground which belonged to Dr. Hope and not on Sir Thomas Hope's property.

the property became known for a time as Hope's Park (see Plan 1795). At his death the governors of Heriot's Hospital conveyed the superiority to Lieut. John Hope, the Doctor's eldest son, who as Captain John Hope of the 18th Regiment of Foot took infeftment¹ on 5th September 1800. Probably on account of the proximity of the more famous Hope Park, laid out by Sir Thomas Hope of Rankeillor, the Gifford association returned to the site, and has remained to this day in the short street called Gifford Park. It would seem as if this had been the entrance to the park or garden ground in the early days. When the small feus were given off, about 1780, reference is made to one of them having a frontage of 49 feet east to west 'along the new road,' this being the street above mentioned.

Just south of this street, and still within the bounds of the $7\frac{1}{2}$ -acre feu, there was a small area which went by the name of Spring Garden. One Richard Fraser, Burgess of Edinburgh, calling himself 'of Spring Garden,' took a feu in 1707 from Hugh Paterson of this half-acre of ground, and built a house, which he disposed in the following year to William Habkine, beltmaker in Edinburgh.² Seven years later Habkine borrowed money from Alexander Horsburgh of that ilk on the security of the property, and later raised other sums.³ Horsburgh foreclosed, and in 1756 his successor John Horsburgh got charter⁴ from Heriot's Hospital of the said half-acre, along whose western frontage (to Buccleuch Street) some 'houses and tenements' had by this time been built,⁵ while it was bounded on the north and east by the grass park belonging to Thomas Gifford and divided therefrom by a hedge. The southern boundary was a 'little park' belonging to George Lindsay, depute town clerk of Edinburgh, from which it was divided by a low stone dyke.

¹ E.S., 6 Sep. 1800.

² Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 9 Nov. 1726.

³ *Ibid.*, July 1732 (warrant only).

⁴ E.S., 9 July 1756.

⁵ Two of these houses were only recently demolished, when the improvements were made at Gifford Park.



OLD HOUSE AT ST. LEONARDS COAL DEPOT

Part of this property (referred to as Springfield in the titles) came into possession of Thomas Nelson, bookseller and publisher, Castlehill, Edinburgh, in the years 1845 and 1846, along with a portion of ground between it and the 'entry to Hope Park Chapel of Ease from Hope Park End'¹; and in 1851 he and his sons, William and Thomas,² took further title as the firm of Thomas Nelson and Sons.³ Here, in 1846, they erected their printing office and carried on business till the premises were destroyed by fire in 1878.⁴ In the following year new premises were built at Parkside, and opened on 16th July 1880.

This completes the history of the Gairns or Garden section of the Four Feus, and mention of George Lindsay's 'little park' leads to the discussion of what may be called the Byres section, consisting of a feu of 3½ acres and one of 7¼ acres.

In 1659 James Crichton of St. Leonards entered into contract⁵ for selling to Alexander Byres, son of the deceased John Byres of Coates, 7¼ acres of the lands of St. Leonards lying between the calsey going from the Potterrow by Sciennes to Liberton on the west, the loan or way going from the foresaid calsey 'be Mountheulie to the Borrowmure' on the south, the lands of the said Burgh Muir belonging to the burgh of Edinburgh and presently possessed by Alexander Skirving on the east (that is, the Gallowgreen); also 3½ acres of St. Leonards similarly bounded but lying to the north of the above 7¼ acres, the liferent of this smaller part being assigned to Rev. James Reid, minister of the West Kirk, and his wife Agnes Smyth. This agreement was ratified in 1683 by the Governors of Heriot's Hospital,⁶ and in 1704 they confirmed the possession in favour of Anna Byres, the daughter and heir

¹ E.S., 28 Mar. 1845 and 10 Aug. 1846.

² William, born 1816, died 1887 (married, 1851, Catharine Inglis); Thomas, born 1822, died 1892 (married, 1868, Jessie Kemp).

³ E.S., 7 July 1851.

⁴ The loss was estimated at little short of £100,000. See Sir D. Wilson's *Memoir of William Nelson* (1889).

⁵ E.S., 6 June 1660.

⁶ E.S. 12 July 1683.



of the said Alexander.¹ In 1703 she had become the wife of Alexander Reid, second son of Mr. James Reid of Northbrae. In 1717 Alexander Montgomery of Asloss, who held bonds over the property, granted discharge² in favour of Anna Byres and Ninian Anderson, merchant burghess of Edinburgh, by that time her husband, and on 23rd October of that year they jointly resigned in the hands of Heriot's Hospital as superiors.³ Nothing further seems to have happened till the superiority was transferred in 1737 by the foresaid Governors to the Good Town.⁴ Thereupon the City exposed this area on 8th February 1738 to public roup, and the highest offerer was John Robertson, burghess of Edinburgh. He got more and more into arrear, however, with his feu duties, and eventually made an arrangement with George Lindsay, depute town clerk of Edinburgh, who took over the feu on 21st September 1747.⁵ A note in the Town Council Minutes⁶ states that he found the lands in very bad condition, lying open to the south, without water, and entrance to it in winter almost inaccessible. He spent much in building, repairing and dunging, and in 1755 requested from the Town a proper charter.

Alexander Tytler, writer in Edinburgh, had in 1735 acquired right from Scott of Bonnywater to a portion of ground fronting Buccleuch Street which was divided from Summerhall by a 'cart road.'⁷ Reservation was made of

¹ E.S., 22 Sep. 1704.

² E.S., 26 Oct. and 30 Dec. 1717.

³ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 28 Sep. 1750.

⁴ In *Minutes of Town Council* (notes kindly furnished by Miss Wood) reference is made to Act of 26 Jan. 1737 for feuing Heriotseroft or Lochflatt, 'to prevent anyone building a village on the said crofts and to provide a site for George Watson's Hospital and the Royal Infirmary'; and also to Agreement, 19 Aug. 1737, for the sale by Heriot's Hospital to the Town of part of the lands of St. Leonards, which in a sasine of 1756 are described as bounded on west by hedge of McClellan's property, on east by lands belonging to James Spittal, on south by the loan from the gibbet to Newington, and on north by a stone dyke enclosing the lands of Mr. Scott (that is, Walter Scott of Bonnywater).

⁵ Edin. Burgh Deeds, 23 Sep. 1757.

⁶ Kindly furnished by Mr. Boog Watson.

⁷ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 4 Jan. 1744.

three houses already built on the property, the largest belonging to Rev. Alexander McKenzie, and probably called Orangehall—at least there is reference in a later title to a dwelling-house formerly called Orangehall and other two small houses as part of the 'tenements commonly called Orangehall' which must by that time have come to occupy the site.¹

George Lindsay² made his will on 31st January 1770 in his dwelling-house lying at the east end of Hope Park; and the Byres acres, with the portion of ground above mentioned, came into possession of his heirs. They were, Agnes Lindsay, his sister, now widow of John Preston of Gorton, and William Hislop, who was the son of John Hislop, merchant in Dalkeith, who had married Eupham Lindsay, another sister of George Lindsay. They got charters in 1793.³ Thereafter (1801) Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield and Lutton procured an interest in part of the property⁴; two or three generations of the Hislop family retained their interest in other parts.⁵ It is rather strange that it should be the Preston connection only which is commemorated in the district, in Lutton Place and in Preston Street, the new name for the Gibbet Loan.⁶

The mention of Summerhall brings one to this little corner of 1½ acres scooped out of the 7¼-acres feu belonging to the Byres family. The first feuar was Robert McClellan, gardener at Burrowloch, who got disposition from Anna Byres in 1704.⁷ By the middle of the following year he had erected a dwelling-house, calling himself gardener at Summerhall, and had begun to give off portions of the ground to tenants.⁸ After his second marriage, in 1733, he went into

¹ E.S., 26 July 1832.

² Born 1708, he was eldest son of Rev. David Lindsay (Cockpen) who inherited Plewlands, near Queensferry, by his marriage with Eupham Wilson. He became depute, then principal town clerk of Edinburgh. He married Christian Tytler. His sister Agnes became (in 1753) the second wife of John Preston of Gorton, whose son William (by first wife) died unmarried in 1812, and brought the Gorton line to an end.

³ E.S., 15 Oct. 1793 and 7 Apr. 1794.

⁴ E.S., 26 June 1832.

⁵ E.S., 21 Apr. 1704.

⁶ E.S., 29 June 1842.

⁷ See p. 222.

⁸ E.S., 15 Nov. 1705.

liquidation, and had to make over the property to trustees,¹ one of whom was Mr. Thomas Hope of Rankeillor, advocate. One of the tenants had built a stone house of two storeys and garrets, and in 1742 McClellan (who still had hopes of redeeming his losses) stipulated for the stanchioning of the windows facing his garden, and for the first refusal if the house was resold. There was a brewery on the lands, which McClellan disposed of in 1736, and after it had passed through various hands it went up in flames about the '45.²

On 21st March 1745 the stone house above referred to, with its garden, lying immediately to the south of McClellan's house, was disposed to Adam Smith, Inspector-General of H.M. Customs in North Britain, first cousin of his namesake the Economist.³ His occupation lasted only three years, when he sold out to George Lindsay, the town clerk.⁴ Four years later Lindsay found another tenant in the person of Francis Marshall, clerk of H.M. Customs in Edinburgh.⁵

In 1767 the house and estate of Summerhall came into the hands of Robert Hall, merchant in Edinburgh,⁶ whose brother and heir, Alexander Hall, merchant in Fisherrow, sold the subjects in 1782 to Francis Macnab, described as gardener at Summerhall, but later as spirit-dealer and merchant.⁷ Macnab got into financial difficulties after the beginning of the century, and disposed his property in 1820 to trustees for his creditors.⁸ They granted title for a considerable number of years, but the further developments are not here traced. Summerhall House remained until 1937, while the neighbouring hamlet, at least the northern portion of it, disappeared

¹ E.S., 27 June 1734.

² E.S., 31 July 1747.

³ The late Professor Scott in his *Life of Adam Smith* (p. 134) states that while Smith was still a minor, another Adam Smith had (1738) been added to the number of his curators. This Adam had been a clerk in the Customs, and by 1740 had been appointed collector at Kirkcaldy and inspector-general of the Out ports. He was admitted Burgess of Aberdeen in 1742, but had retired and purchased a house in Edinburgh before 1752.

⁴ E.S., 20 Sep. 1748.

⁵ E.S., 11 July 1755.

⁶ E.S., 29 Nov. 1779.

⁷ E.S., 11 June 1784.

⁸ E.S., 11 Sep. 1820.

within the memory of the older members of the Club, its site being taken by the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College about 1912-13. (See Plate facing p. 208.)

The whole of the property hitherto described in this article was eventually bisected by the 'New Road,' which after the break-through at Nicolson's Park continued its way along Nicolson Street, Clerk Street and South Clerk Street to Newington Road and Minto Street, as projected in the 1795 Plan, and completed a few years later.

III

Having now reached the extreme south-west corner of the lands of St. Leonards, one turns eastward along the 'cross-gate leading . . . by Mounthuly to the easter high causay or road to and from Edinburgh'—otherwise described as Mounthooly or Gibbet Loan, and now known as West and East Preston Street. To the left, near the eastern end, ground now covered by Oxford Street and the public school, etc., forms a lengthy and narrowing wedge, as shown in the 1795 Plan. As this piece of land never formed part of the lands of St. Leonards, its story is deferred till the remaining portion of St. Leonards has been discussed.

All the properties now to be mentioned lie to the east of St. Leonard's Street and Dalkeith Road, and extend from a point opposite Crosscauseway on the north to the boundary wall of Prestonfield on the south. The King's Park forms the eastern boundary, and until after 1780 the only passage from the west was a lane of ancient origin once called St. Leonard's Loaning, and now St. Leonard's Lane, with a variety of appellations in between. When certain rearrangements of the feus were made towards the end of the eighteenth century an additional access was provided farther to the south, by what is now called Park Road, for long known simply as the

New Road—but never called Gibbet Loan, as it is most erroneously designated on the Ordnance Survey Map of 1854 (5 feet to a mile) and other maps.

The first property to be noted lay just north of St. Leonard's Lane, and its first title-deed is of interest chiefly for the description of its boundaries. It consisted of 2½ acres, and was disposed by James Crichton of St. Leonards to a widow and her daughter in 1659.¹ The boundaries were 'the common way leading from the Pleasance to the Burghmuir on the west, the cross way which leads from the said street to the Park of Holyroodhouse where is the well called the Well of St. Anne on the south, the way to the foot of the Greinbraes of St. Leonards and the park dyke of Holyroodhouse on the east, and the pitstones dividing the said lands from other lands of St. Leonards on the north.' Later the Montgomeries obtained possession, and the ground was utilised as a market garden, a house being built thereon about 1700.² Following Montgomery came William Mein, merchant, his widow and children, till about the end of the eighteenth century. There was considerable building during the period of the Mein occupation. St. Paul's Church and the present St. Leonard's School stand on part of this ground.

To the north-east lies St. Leonard's Hill, a distinct property by itself, on which the Hospital stood whose story is given in detail in *Book of the Club*, vol. xxiii. pp. 111-128. The 'vestiges' of the ancient foundation are referred to in deeds from 1653 onwards; and the site is now covered by James Clark School. Conjoined with St. Leonard's Hill were the properties of Dishflat and Ironside (*op. cit.*, p. 145); and the whole of these came into the hands of William Smellie in

¹ E.S., 18 Mar. 1662.

² E.S., 18 June 1702. In 1743 John Sinclair of Quendale, Shetland, whose mother was a Montgomery, got a fourth-part share. In 1778 there was one William Sinclair, brewer, St. Leonard's Hill, who may be the person referred to by Grant (i. p. 384) as related to George Combe, the philosopher (Edin. Sas., 26 Feb. 1781).

1715. Later he subdivided the Hill, and the first disposition refers incidentally to the 'style or common entry to the King's Park.' Then in December 1738 a disposition¹ to Mr. William Clifton, Solicitor of Excise, reserves 'six yards next to the King's Park dyke for a cartroad from the gate of the park opening upon the southeast end of the hill to the north-west end of the hill for the use of the town of Edinburgh for carrying from the King's park their causeway stones.' Is this the reason of the bend southwards of the lane at its eastern end?

Clifton's son, William, vicar of Embleton in Northumberland, got disposition of these properties from his father in July 1739,² and in 1782 (the year of his death) he sold the subjects to Thomas Bridges, 'sergeant-major paymaster and acting adjutant of H.M. Artificer Company in the garrison of Gibraltar, and now residing in Edinburgh.'³ To this proprietor it would seem we owe the building known as Gibraltar House (not to be confused with Gibraltar Villas of later date, which stood on the site of James Clark School). The subjects were later acquired by a builder from Newcastle, Thomas Russell Creigh; and passed thereafter to others.

It will be remembered that attached to the Hospital there were two crofts, laboured by the six bedemen, each having his allotted piece of ground (*Book of the Club*, xxiii. pp. 116, 121).⁴ These crofts were situated on the south side of the hospital and extended to 4 acres. The lane already referred to, leading to the Park, formed the northern boundary. In the foundation charter of 1493 the crofts were called respectively Le Terraris Croft and Le Hermitis Croft. *Le* is

¹ E.S., 18 Jan. 1739.

² E.S., 3 Aug. 1739.

³ E.S., 19 Aug. and 19 Sep. 1782.

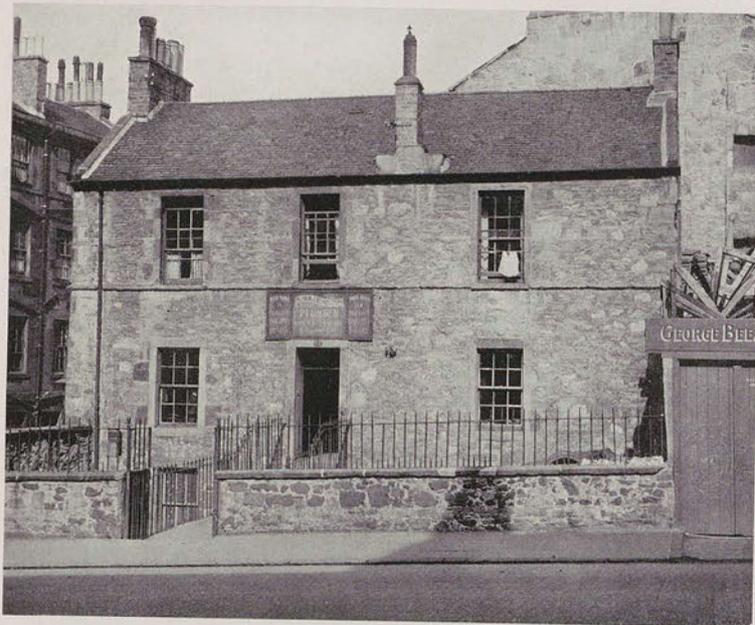
⁴ The names of the earliest bedemen to be installed have now been found. The *Protocol Book of James Young* (now being issued for the Scot. Record Society) has an entry dated 3 Sept. 1494 narrating infetment given by Abbot Bellenden to John Nudry, Thomas Blak, Robert Murray, John Burne, Thomas Rannald, and Thomas Huchonson, 'aged and poor men in the almshouse of St. Leonards' chapel,' of the two crofts, etc.

equivalent to *the* and is very common in old documents. Few names have undergone such contortions: from 'Hermitts and Termetts' in 1679 to 'St. Hermitts' in 1693, 'Hermans and St. Hermans' in 1694, to later variations such as 'Hermitts St. Hermits.' Many conjectures have been offered as to the origin of the names, none of them convincing, and the matter is best left alone. One thing can be stated: there was a functionary called *terrarius* or *terrari* attached to Holyrood (and other abbeys)—a bailiff or manager of the farmlands belonging to the monks—and hermits were never far to seek. On the eve of the Reformation the bedemen were induced to grant a lease of the crofts, and by the end of the century they had been feued to James Robesoun in the Dean, whose son William succeeded in 1625.¹ The revenue, £4, 10s. scots money, had been appropriated for maintenance of the old bedemen while the hospital was in use; and in 1641 the teinds were gifted by the Crown to the burgh of Edinburgh for support of the University.² In the Holyrood Register the subjects are entered in 1578 as the 'aikers called Beidmannis Croft of Sanctleonardis gait'; thus describing them as a unit. If there was originally a distinction between the two crofts, there was none afterwards, except that reference is repeatedly made to 'the northmost yard' of Hermits and Termits, and the 'southmost yard' of the same. Possession passed from the Robesons to the Reids, beginning with David Reid, gardener in Grange, in 1690. Then houses began to multiply, until by 1734 there was practically a village.³ In that year the widow of the last Reid proprietor made over to Mr. William Clifton, Solicitor of Excise, and Mrs. Mary Clifton, his spouse, 'the southmost

¹ E.S., 23 Feb. 1625.

² *Reg. of Great Seal*, ix. No. 999.

³ In *Caledonian Mercury* for 18 Nov. 1780 there was advertised to be sold 'that large garden, being near two acres, and dwelling house possessed by Robert Haddon, gardener, consisting of four apartments, called Hermit Saint Tormits, with eleven other dwelling houses thereto lying on the east side and bounded by the great road leading from Edinburgh to Dalkeith.'



PARKSIDE HOUSE

yard of Hermits and Termits, and two acres of ground adjacent thereto now possessed by the said Mr. William Clifton, and two southmost houses of the row of houses called Hermits and Termits'; and also gave them a bond over the northmost yard and house in the middle thereof.¹

Much discussion has taken place regarding the old house at the entrance to St. Leonard's Coal Depot—it has even been identified with the 'Castle o' Clouts.' The late Mr. John Smith had his views about it, and tried without success to interpret the meaning of the date and 'crest' and initials on the plaque affixed to the house. The present writer, reviewing all the available evidence, suggests that this may either be (1) the survivor of the 'two southmost houses' above mentioned, or (2) a house erected by the new proprietor. As we have seen, Mr. William Clifton got possession in 1734, the date on the plaque; the 'crest' is definitely and exclusively that of the Clifton (Nottinghamshire) family: 'Out of a ducal coronet gules a demi-peacock per pale argent and sable, the wings expanded, counterchanged.' True, the ducal coronet has been too much for the sculptor, who replaced it with that of a simple baron; but otherwise all is correctly represented. Beneath the crest is the letter C and on either side of the date the letters W and M. The C stands for Clifton; W for William; M for Mary his wife (who according to English fashion would be known only by her married surname). If the second alternative is correct, the dwelling was erected within a couple of years, for in November 1736 articles of roup² were drawn up for sale of the houses called Hermits and Termits 'lying on the southeast of Hamilton's Folly . . . excepting the house belonging to Mr. Clifton, collector of excise.' This suggestion seems all the more likely in view of what is stated in the Disposition itself,³ which supplies a defect in the Sasine by describing the two southmost

¹ E.S., 20 and 28 Nov. 1734.

² Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 14 Aug. 1750.

³ *Ibid.*, 27 Dec. 1737.



houses as 'the one sometime possessed by . . . William Elliot [gardener] now demolished and cast down by the said Mr. William Clifton, and the other [possessed] by James Smith.' Expert opinion suggests that the plaque is coeval with the house and not a later addition. (See Plate, p. 216.)

In the first Window Tax accounts (1748) the houses in 'Hermitfield' are dealt with, and Mr. William Clifton is taxed for eleven windows. Other persons rated were Edward Wyvill (who had married Clifton's daughter) and James Burnet, gardener. The house in question seems to be designated in some of the tax rolls as 'St. Leonards' or 'St. Lenox.'

Out of the northmost yard Dr. Andrew Duncan, Professor of the Theory of Physic in the University, got a feu in 1802¹ and used a house there as an annexe to his dispensary, calling it 'Hanc Sanitas.' In the same year Jane Cleugh, widow of Thomas Bridges and now wife of John Gibson, stocking manufacturer in Sciennes, was infest in the southmost yard, etc.² They retained possession until 1828, when the Railway Company acquired ownership.

The southern boundary line of Hermits and Termits ran obliquely between St. Leonard's Hill and the eastern corner of Parkside Street; and all the St. Leonards land south of this to the Prestonfield march was designated Parkside. It comprised a tract of about 18½ acres and another tract of about 8 acres to the south of that. When some rearrangement was made about 1784 most of the former became what is known as the First Park (of Parkside) and the latter (somewhat augmented) as the Second Park, the new road to the King's Park forming the division between them.

A more restricted area, however, which was originally part of the 18½ acres and forms no part of the Two Parks, came to be familiarly known as Parkside, and has a history of its own, chiefly on account of the collection of houses erected

¹ E.S., 3 Jan. 1803.

² E.S., 24 Apr. 1802.

on this smaller property. As it is of special interest, some account of it may be appropriate at this point. Going back to Crichton's time, he entered into contract in 1659¹ with Sir John Carstairs of Kilconquhar for the sale of the 18½ acres, which Carstairs in his turn sold in 1669 to Adam Garden, the proprietor of Greenhill.² His son Andrew disposed the lands in 1702 in favour of James Brown, chirurgion apothecary in Edinburgh, who got charter from Heriot's Hospital in 1707.³ Dying about the end of 1716, his widow obtained the liferent of the property and his son William Brown the fee⁴; but they disposed of most part of the 18½ acres in the following year and of the remainder in 1720. It is this remainder that is now described; coupled with the observation that James Brown, in the time of his occupancy, built at least two dwelling-houses on the strip of ground fronting St. Leonard's Street which largely made up this piece of Parkside.

On 3rd April 1720 James, Isobel and Jean Seton, children of the late Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden,⁵ got infeftment⁶ (on disposition from William Brown and his mother) of subjects described as follows: 'a piece of waste ground on the east side of the highway leading to the town of Dalkeith near the gibbet and upon the west side of the lands of St. Leonards . . . consisting of 180 ells south to north and 13 ells

¹ E.S., 23 Apr. 1662.

² E.S., 14 Feb. 1679.

³ E.S., 26 Jan. 1708.

⁴ E.S., 20 and 22 Mar. 1717.

⁵ Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden died on 29 May 1719. Knighted by Charles II in 1664, he was appointed a Lord of Session, but retired at the Revolution and became a collector of books. By his wife, Margaret Lauder, he had five sons and five daughters. James, the fourth son, was a merchant at Dantzic. Isobel and Jean, the youngest daughters, died unmarried; but their elder sisters, Margaret and Anne, married respectively Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall and William Dick of Grange.

⁶ During the occupation of Edinburgh by Prince Charles Edward he paid a visit to the daughters of Sir Alexander Seton at the Grange House. . . . Upon the steps of the entrance he was received by the ladies with a glass containing a bottle of Madeira. The Prince, having drunk to his fair entertainers, saluted them on the cheek in the fashion of that period, and taking the white rose from his bonnet presented it to Miss Seton. Both the flower and the glass were preserved. . . . (George Seton's *Family of Seton*, vol. i. pp. 474-77.)

⁶ E.S., 4 May 1720.

broad in the middle and two feet in breadth at the north and three feet in breadth on the south. . . . Also that piece of ground at the west side of the house and lands of the said deceased James Brown enclosed by a stone wall beginning from the great stone which lies at the north end of the said piece of land upon the top of the bank belonging to George Reid, gardener, running straight southward 21 feet west of the side of the well of the said house and 36 feet from the east side of the highway opposite to the said house near the gibbet commonly called Griershall. . . . Also houses built thereon, with gardens and parks to the east thereof, all built and enclosed by the said James Brown . . . all commonly called the lands of Parksyde.' The house 'commonly called Griershall' does not appear in further titles, and speculation as to its identity is futile. Meanwhile fuller descriptions can be given of the two houses built by James Brown. They lay within the portion of St. Leonard's Street extending from what is now Henry Street southwards to St. Leonard's Church opposite the top of Lutton Place. One of them is referred to as 'that great stone house consisting of three stories and garrets,' and the other as 'a lesser stone house consisting of three stories near to the other great house,' with a 'little close or area between the said two houses.' There is reference also to the 'grass park and avenue lying north from the said great house and gardens . . . enclosed by a stone wall on all sides.'

Which of the two houses the Setons occupied is not known. Only one remains, namely, that at the south-west corner of Henry Street (Plate, p. 224). This must have been the 'lesser house' of three storeys; the bottom storey is now below street level. At a later date it became known as Parkside House and, according to Mr. John Smith, is not without some decorative features internally. The principal entrance can still be seen at the back, in what was originally an angle (now built up). The same feature can be seen at

Castle o' Clouts, and doubtless appertained also to the 'great house' now demolished. Probably the extensive prospect of Arthur Seat and the King's Park, with the intervening 'grass parks and avenues' now covered by the Coal Depot, would be sufficient justification for this preference of an eastern frontage; and the gardens were also on that side. The street level was much lower than at present, a fact that must be taken into account when computing the number of storeys of the various dwellings as recorded in the titles.

Apart from the Setons, Parkside House had for tenant at least two other members of the aristocracy. The following advertisement appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 22nd January 1763 :—

'To be Let for one or more years, and entered to at Whitsunday next, a large convenient dwelling house called Parkside, lying at the south end of the Pleasance on the east side of the road leading to Dalkeith, lately possessed by the Countess of Wigton, consisting of nine fire rooms and a kitchen with other conveniences'—also grass enclosure of an acre of ground and the large garden with fruit trees.

There were two persons who at this time could be described as 'Countess of Wigton.' (1) Euphame, daughter of George Lockhart of Carnwath, third wife of John, sixth Earl of Wigton. She survived him, and married Peter MacElligot, major-general in the service of Empress Maria Theresa, and died at Bath on 24th November 1762. (2) Ann, daughter of William Hamilton of Killyleagh, co. Down, who married Charles Ross Fleming, claimant to the title of Earl of Wigton. She died on 18th December 1769. Probably the former is the person alluded to in the advertisement. The other occupant of Parkside House was 'Lady Reay.' In this case also only a single mention in a Window-tax Roll prevents confusion between two candidates for the title. An advertisement in *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 29th January 1772, again offers a let of Parkside House 'presently possessed by Lady Reay.' She was Elizabeth Fairley, who in 1760 became the second

wife of George, fifth Lord Reay. She died in November 1800 and was buried in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood. Tax Rolls show that she retained possession of the house till at least 1787.

Adjoining Parkside House on the south (with the little close or area between) stood the 'great stone house'—on the site now occupied by a builder's yard. For tenant in the middle of the eighteenth century it seems to have had Lady Nasmyth; a deed of 1755 refers to the house as lately possessed by her. She was Barbara, daughter of Andrew Pringle of Clifton, who became the third wife of Sir James Nasmyth of Posso and Dawyck. He died in 1720 and she in 1768. The building was probably taken down about one hundred years ago to make way for the present tenement adjoining Castle o' Clouts.

To the south of the 'great house' there was garden ground as far as the present lane beside St. Leonard's Church with a gardener's cottage in the corner. The space was eventually made use of by the next proprietor of Parkside. This was William Hunter, tailor burghess of Edinburgh, who with his wife Jean Thomson purchased from the Setons in January 1724 the 'great stone house,' the 'lesser stone house' and all the other subjects above enumerated. He did not take infeftment until 1733,¹ but by this time (and probably soon after his occupation of the property) he had built a large house on the vacant ground, just at the corner of the lane. When in 1736 he made over the property for behoof of his wife and three younger children, Thomas, Robert and Agnes, there is added to all the above 'another great stone tenement of land lately built by myself on part of the said gardens and ground,' elsewhere described as situated 'on the south end and southwest corner of the grounds called Parkside.'² After his death about the year 1750 (his other son, William, a ship-master at Leith, being executor) an arrangement³ had to be

¹ E.S., 12 Oct. 1733.

² Edin. Burgh Deeds, 17 Jan. 1750.

³ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 15 May 1755.

come to with the managers of the newly founded British Linen Company (in respect of debts owing by Robert Hunter, above mentioned, who for a time had been a merchant at King's Lynn in Norfolk) whereby this 'great stone tenement' was divided up between Thomas and Agnes, the remaining children. Thomas was to get 'the ground storey and first storey' and half of the garret storey; Agnes the 'third and fourth' storeys and half garret storey. This reveals the height of the house, four storeys and garret (for ground and first must mean first and second)—and this identifies the house with that now called the 'Castle o' Clouts' (see Plate, p. 232). A further proof is the date 1724 above the lintel of the main entrance (at the back, as in the case of Parkside House), being the date of Hunter's acquisition of the site. The name 'Castle o' Clouts' is almost coeval with the erection of the house, for as far back as 1738 there is reference to the death of one James Morison of Mazendine, 'residenter at Castle of Cloutts *alias* Parkside.'¹ The house, Grant says, having been built 'by a wealthy tailor,' was thus named 'in the spirit of that talent which the Scots have of conferring absurd *sobriquets*.' There is reason, however, to believe that in the hands of its owner it bore the more dignified appellation of Huntershall.

There is reference to the house in 1837, when Margaret Monro, spirit-dealer, took sasine of the 'south half of the under house or story, back houses with a weaver's shop,' and 'third story below the fourth or uppermost story,' and garrets, 'being parts of the great stone tenement of land,' etc.² It is interesting to note that only by this consistent differentiation of the two houses as 'great stone house' and 'great stone tenement' can the title-deeds be properly understood and the ownership traced throughout.

There is no need to do more than mention the later proprietors of Parkside, or parts of it, such as Andrew Simpson, merchant, and George Innes, inspector-general of stamp

¹ Edin. Testaments, 9 Dec. 1741.

² E.S., 29 May 1837.

duties for Scotland, his son Alexander, and then Thomas Bell of Nether Horsburgh, and Lieut.-Col. James McBean, of the 78th Regiment of Foot, who took infetment in 1822.

So much for the lesser Parkside. Returning to the larger area of that name, it has been already indicated that it consisted of a tract of 18½ acres and smaller tracts of varying proportions to the south thereof. These smaller pieces belonged in the latter part of the seventeenth century to the son and grandson of Capt. David Seton, and passed through the hands of Sir William Menzies of Gladstones and Walter Porterfield of Mayfield *alias* Humble into possession of Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Cockpen (1713).¹ When Lindsay disposed of them in 1732 they amounted to 10 acres and became the possession of Marion Rennie, widow of Thomas Scott, brewer in Pleasance.² Meanwhile the 18½ acres (with the exception of the Parkside houses and gardens) had been sold in 1717 by William Brown and his mother to the above-mentioned Thomas Scott,³ and passed to his two sons, Thomas and Alexander, in succession.⁴ Alexander Scott, merchant, baillie of Edinburgh, married in February 1754 Elizabeth Doig, daughter of David Doig of Cookston, provost of Montrose⁵; and in 1786 Alexander's sister-in-law, Miss Magdalen Doig, had disposition⁶ from his trustees (with his consent) of the above 18½ acres as formerly bounded, and the 10 acres that had belonged to Lindsay, 'which subjects above conveyed are by the late alterations now reduced into Two Parks or enclosures' bounded (1) by the wall of the King's Park on the east, the highway to Dalkeith on the west, a stone wall leading from the Gibbet toll-bar along the side of the new road to the King's Park on the south, and the properties of Hunter, Innes and Clifton on the north; (2) the wall of the King's Park on the east, the highway aforesaid on the west,

¹ E.S., 30 Nov. 1713. See footnote 2 on p. 219.

² E.S., 11 May 1733.

⁴ Edin. Sher. Ct. Deeds, 5 Feb. 1739.

⁵ Edin. Marriage Register.

³ E.S., 20 Mar. 1717.

⁶ E.S., 31 Aug. 1786.



CASTLE O' CLOUTS

the lands of Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield on the south, and the wall from the Gibbet toll-bar along the other side of the said new road, and the feu lately granted to Charles Aitchison, on the north.

Upon the First Park were eventually erected Parkside Brewery and Parkside Works, while the remainder of the 18½ acres and parts of the lands of Hermits and Termits and St. Leonard's Hill were purchased¹ by the Edinburgh and Dalkeith Railway Company in 1828 as the operating ground for the Edinburgh terminus of their railway to 'Portobello, Musselburgh and Dalkeith.' The history and vicissitudes of the 'Innocent' Railway are elsewhere described.² The depot was opened for coal traffic in 1831, and from 1834 passengers were also carried.

On the 10-acre portion forming the Second Park, and in the south-west corner thereof, Alexander Scott erected a dwelling-house some time between 1770 and 1780.³ Subsequent titles show that this was the house afterwards known as Salisbury Green. When William Nelson purchased the property in 1860⁴ from the previous owner, Miss Agnes Keith Stark of Hall Teasses, there was made over to him (1) the dwelling-house built by the deceased Alexander Scott,

¹ E.S., 31 July, 19 Nov. and 15 Dec. 1828.

² See R. Chambers's *Essays Familiar and Humorous*. A well-informed and illustrated account of the railway also appeared in the issue of the *Weekly Scotsman* for 4 July 1931. Josiah Livingston, in *Our Street* (1893), gives the following description: 'When the carriages arrived at the foot [of the tunnel] they had each a horse attached to it and set off, having a boy beside the driver, whose duty it was to run before and sort the several points. Horses and men took it leisurely, stopping at any place to take up or set down a passenger, and when they met a car coming in the opposite direction they would stop in order that the drivers might have a crack.'

A rival line, as regards immunity from accident, was situated in South California and closed recently after thirty-three years (*Edin. Evg. Dispatch*, 2 Feb. 1940).

³ In *Edin. Evg. Courant*, 26 Jan. 1784, is advertised: 'To be sold, two grass parks or enclosures of the lands of St. Leonards, consisting of 27 acres or thereby. . . . Also a genteel commodious house of three floors lately built on the south-west of one of said parks. . . . Subjects will be set up at £3600.'

⁴ E.S., 18 Aug. 1860.



merchant, Edinburgh, above mentioned, with entry from Marchhall; (2) two roods of St. Leonards belonging to Miss Magdalen Doig; (3) one rood 36 poles being part of Marchhall Park, bounded on one side by the ground feued to Thomas Nelson, and on all other sides by 'the lands of Salisbury Green first and second above described.' By 1867 William Nelson had made considerable additions to the old house.¹ Then in 1871 his brother Thomas, who had been living in Abden House, got a feu charter² from George Sydney Scott, of London, of the Two Parks or enclosures 'commonly known as Parkside' with the exception of the feu of Salisbury Green and the feu of Messrs. J. and T. Usher. Upon this property he built the massive house which at first bore the name Arthurley and thereafter St. Leonards, and which now, along with its neighbour Salisbury Green, is the subject of a University extension scheme to become operative after the war.

This completes the survey of the Lands of St. Leonards. There remains Spittalfield or Gallowgreen, the wedge of ground on the west side of St. Leonard's Street, opposite Parkside, which has always belonged to the Town.

IV

In some respects this is one of the most interesting sections of the whole area with which this article has had to deal. It takes one back to almost prehistoric times. An inspection of the sketch-plan of the Burgh Muir prefacing vol. x. of the *Book of the Club* shows that the line of the Burgh Muir, after following a more or less straight course along the southern margin of the Burgh Loch and up the Gibbet Loan, deviated strangely at a point half-way up that thoroughfare and projected as it were a finger in the direction of the City,

¹ E.S., 20 Aug. 1867. See also Wilson's *Memoir of William Nelson*, p. 122.

² E.S., 11 Jan. 1871.

thereby forming a wedge or gusset with its apex at the north. Now this apex seems to have coincided with the point at which St. Leonard's Loaning branched off eastward from the main highway. Moreover, at this very point there stood at one time a cross, to which Maitland¹ refers thus :—

'At the head of the said St. Leonard's Lane is the base of a cross, with a cavity in the upper part, wherein the shaft was fixed. This cross is said to have been erected in commemoration of one Umfraville, a person of distinction, said to have been killed on the spot where the said cross stood.'

Then further on he says :—

'The Common or Borough Moor begins at the southwest corner (near the base of a cross) of St. Leonard's Loning in the Pleasants; running thence along the side of the dyke on the east side of the highway, with a southeast course, passeth the gate of Priestfield house. . . .'

Wilson² adds :—

'The shaft of the cross had long disappeared, having probably been destroyed at the Reformation; but the base, a large block of whinstone measuring fully five feet square, with a hollow socket for the shaft, was only removed in 1810.'

Forrest³ writes :—

'Near the east end of the Chapel ground was found the base of a cross, with a cavity cut into it for the shaft of a cross. . . . It measured three feet each way from the centre. . . . Dr. D. Wilson, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh*, states that it was demolished about 1810; and, being of whinstone, was used as road metal. It remained, however, till the spring of the year 1855, when finally it was broken up and built into the garden wall.'

There seems to be a discrepancy somewhere. Wilson, however, does not say that the base was *demolished*, but only says *removed*; and as Forrest states that the base was in 1855

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, pp. 176, 177.

² *Memorials*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

³ *History and Antiquities of St. Leonards*, p. 28.

near the *east* end of the Chapel ground, is it possible that it had some association with the stone with a wheel-cross carved on both sides 'found near the door of the Chapel' which Forrest illustrates on p. 26 of his book and on the frontispiece sketch-plan? He there portrays also the base referred to, and the two articles seem (if his scale measurement is right) to fit well together; according to Forrest they were both of red sandstone. Perhaps then we have both cross *and* base in 1855; and the question naturally arises, Was their original position at the Chapel, and had the base after becoming detached been transported to the road junction, where possibly it had no right to be? The question cannot now be answered, but it is an interesting theory.

Perhaps when one is thus theorising there is room for another suggestion. There is almost a hint of it in Mr. Mears's article on 'Primitive Edinburgh,'¹ where he says: 'The older maps suggest that there was . . . a diagonal track joining the Selkirk Road to the Sea Road, but all traces of this have disappeared'—he is referring to the Buccleuch Street to Liberton road and the St. Leonards to Dalkeith road respectively. The word 'gusset' has been applied by the present writer to the Gallowgreen wedge. Now there was a piece of ground definitely known as the Easter Gusset² situated at Marchhall or Rosehall and formed by the convergence of the Dalkeith Road and the early but now obsolete road that led by Priestfield towards Peffermill. Is it not plausible to surmise that in like manner the Gallowgreen gusset is the survival of a time when such a road as Mr. Mears hints at converged upon the Dalkeith Road at this point (the place where the base of the cross stood)? This would fully explain also why the Burgh Muir ran its finger towards the north in this curious fashion.

¹ 'Edinburgh Number' of *Scot. Geogr. Mag.* (1919), p. 308.

² *Book of the Club*, x. pp. 215, 216 (the sketch of the Burgh Muir does not tally with the letterpress).

At the southern extremity of this wedge of land, at the corner of Mounthooly Loan, stood the Town's gibbet from the year 1586 till about 1675, when the place of execution was removed to the north side of the Town. Its history is related in vol. x. of the *Book of the Club*, pp. 83-95. Consequent upon its location here Mounthooly Loan became known as Gibbet Loan, and the wedge of land took the name of Gallowgreen. The origin of the name Mounthooly is fraught with mystery, like most of the ancient nomenclature. Statements by various authors contribute nothing by way of clarification. There were other places of similar name, including one in the New Town. Some kind of hamlet known as Mounthooly existed around the gibbet, and ten cottars are mentioned in a Hearth Tax Roll of 1691.

The Gallowgreen extended to 5 acres 26 falls, and after being used by Edinburgh University students as a playground in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was eventually leased in 1668 to Thomas Sandilands, deacon of the wrights, who put it under cultivation, and thereafter it was farmed by George Heriot in Heriotsbarns. In 1699¹ John Davie in Pleasance got a charter from the magistrates of 'that piece of arable land of the easter burgh muir near the cross² on the north side thereof commonly called the Gallowgreen'; and in August 1709 he disposed the subjects to David Grant, merchant, who three years later sold them to Mr. Andrew Ramsay, advocate.³ During Grant's and Ramsay's occupation the ground was called Greenbank. In May 1714 Ramsay disposed the property to Alexander Montgomery of Asloss⁴ and Penelope Montgomery, his daughter; and the latter, in 1727, granted a feu thereof in

¹ E.S., 13 July 1699.

² Mistake for 'gibbet.'

³ E.S., 27 Nov. 1712.

⁴ E.S., 13 Mar. 1716. He was third son of George M. of Broomlands and had four daughters. The eldest married a Somerville, who succeeded to the property. Penelope, the third, married Sir David Cunningham of Corshill (*Paterson's Ayrshire Families*).

favour of James Spittal, tanner in Edinburgh.¹ He at once began to build, and in 1731 (styling himself James Spittal of Spittalfield) granted bond in security over the subjects, sasine being taken 'at the Bighouse and Tanwork built thereupon.'² The bondholder, Alexander Chalmers, accountant of excise, obtained decree of sale against Spittal in 1748, and made over the lands three years later to James Irving, surgeon in Edinburgh,³ who thereafter called himself of Spittalfield.⁴ Dr. John Hope got a part of the lands in 1779,⁵ while Margaret Irvine and her husband, George Farquhar, writer, retained the rest, including the 'mansion house.'

HENRY M. PATON.

¹ E.S., 18 Oct. 1729. ² E.S., 15 Apr. 1731. ³ E.S., 27 Feb. 1753.

⁴ He gave a lease in 1750 to John Kellie, tanner at Linlithgow, of the 'dwelling house, tanwork and shop at Spittalfield'; and in a later deed the subjects are further described as the 'upper storey of that land lately built at Spittalfield by the said James Irving, and north half of the park lying between the Gibbet Loan and the garden of Spittalfield.'

⁵ E.S., 29 Jan. 1783.

CARDINAL BEATON'S PALACE:
BLACKFRIARS' WYND

THERE is but a fragment of the old city of Edinburgh left to this generation. During the last hundred years—from 1836—more than fifty mansions have been swept away and many civic buildings of great interest removed. Indeed, whole thoroughfares have been cleared away. Closes and wynds which formed the herring-bone structure of the old-world city have been wiped off the map. Among these we have specially to lament the passing of the West Bow, Advocates' Close and Blackfriars' Wynd. The West Bow was probably the most wonderful thoroughfare in Europe, and its memories recall the more than thrilling history of Edinburgh and Scotland. From the earliest time this zigzag route, climbing up the steep ascent to the castle and the town, emerged from a bridle path and became at length the state entrance to the capital. In this strange roadway we had a record in stone and timber of every phase of architectural development in the town: great stone gables, lofty and ponderous chimney stacks, stone arcades to support the superstructure, galleries of oak and overhanging chambers of the utmost picturesqueness. And, moreover, here also we had its story of regal pageants and feudal brawls, alternating with processions of criminals, and sometimes of saints, to execution in the Grassmarket.

In Advocates' Close, which was cleared out in comparatively recent times, we had the most characteristic instance of a town close, steep in its descent, with tall lands on either hand, richly carved doorways, and these extraordinary overhanging timber structures, almost meeting each other across the narrow close. All this material showing the life of our forebears in early days is lost to us for ever.

Similarly Blackfriars' Wynd, formerly known as the Preaching Friars' Vennel, entered from the High Street by a wide archway underneath Lady Lovat's land. It received its name because it led to the Dominican Monastery, which was founded by Alexander II in 1230, and its church and cloistral buildings erected on the south slope just beyond the Cowgate. The land gifted to the Blackfriars embraced the site of the Vennel, and naturally along its border houses for eminent ecclesiastics were built, while we also learn that many noble families built their town houses in the Wynd.

The Cowgate (more properly Cowgait)—later a place of reproach—was in those early days a fashionable suburb of the city, and many sumptuous houses were built on both sides of the sylvan avenue which led down to Holyrood. On its south side, about a stone's throw from Blackfriars' Wynd, was the palace of the Bishop of Dunkeld. We are able to identify the mansion of the Earl of Morton near the top of the Wynd, while the Earl of Orkney had his palace at the foot, opposite the palace of Cardinal Beaton, which stood at the south-east angle of the Wynd and the Cowgate.

Before the demolition in 1867, when the 'Improvement' Trust formed a new thoroughfare from the High Street to the Cowgate, they first swept away the east side of the old Wynd. According to old records, the houses removed exhibited excellent features of Scottish design in outside stairs, sculptured lintels, gables and dormers, timber galleries and chambers in oak—a galaxy of interesting details. These were cleared out and lost to us for ever.

Beside the Lovat house, through which the entry to the Wynd passed, there were many more houses adorned with Bible mottoes and ancient dates in quaint lettering. One had the words 'In the Lord is al my hope' and bore the date 1564. Another large tenement which had a vaulted basement contained a great apartment which was used as the Cameronian Meeting House. Yet another with a richly

carved lintel and dated 1619 was used after the Reformation as a Roman Catholic Chapel.

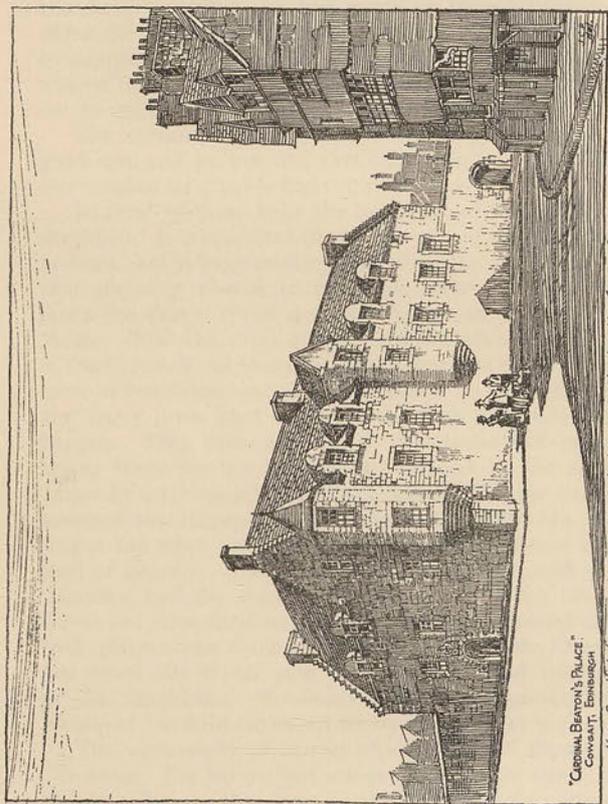
On the west side the upper storey of one land was utilised as the Chapel of St. Andrew the Apostle until 1813. Here worshipped no less a personage than the brother of the unfortunate King Louis XVI. The doorway of this house had the words 'Miserere Mei Deus' carved in sixteenth-century lettering with a shield belonging to some forgotten family. Adjoining this house was one with the motto 'The Feeir of the Lord is the beginning of al wisdom.'

At the foot of the Wynd on the south-west corner—probably on the site of the Earl of Orkney's mansion—was the Episcopal chapel of 1722, which was in use for exactly one hundred years, and within its walls it is reported that Dr. Johnson worshipped when he visited Edinburgh.

The Earls of Orkney were an important family. Earl William was Chancellor of Scotland in 1455 and in his palace at the foot of the Wynd held semi-regal state. We have no record of the house itself, but are informed that its interior walls were covered with costly embroidered hangings. He was not only Earl of Orkney, but held the titles of Lord of Roslin, Duke of Oldenburg and others; Lord Dirleton was his master of household, Lord Borthwick his cupbearer, and Lord Fleming his carver. We are further informed that his lady, Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Touraine, was waited upon by seventy-five gentlewomen, of whom several were daughters of noblemen, and when she went abroad she was accompanied by two hundred riding gentlemen, and in the night time as she passed through the streets her way was lighted by eighty torches. Such was the pomp and circumstance of those days.

Of the stately mansions of those times we have practically no remains. Perhaps one of the most interesting was the house usually called Cardinal Beaton's palace. So far as records go we have no authority to say that this was the residence

of the Cardinal, but as he was the nephew of the builder it is more than likely that he did occupy the house now and then. Pitscottie informs us that the Archbishop of Glasgow, James Bethune, was the owner, and that this was the mansion 'quhilk he biggit in the Freiris Wynd.' He was Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1512. The angle turret is a well-known feature of this house, but the general design of it is not well known nor easy to prove. There are many sketches of the house, but so narrow are the streets on all sides that a good view was not easy to be got. Besides, from the sketches extant it is plain that it underwent several alterations and the actual original design is difficult to trace. Nevertheless, from an examination of what sketches there are, and especially some very helpful drawings in the Watson Bequest in the National Library, we are able to put on paper a fair idea of the appearance of this historic mansion. Among these drawings is an elevation to a small scale which reveals a wondrous insight as to what originally existed, and removes doubts which were excited by some of the other less reliable sketches. The longest frontage was to the Cowgate, and appears to have been a simple Scottish design showing a basement and two upper storeys, the topmost one having dormer windows of stone breaking wallhead line. About the centre of that front there is a projecting corbelled staircase, evidently starting at the first floor. The gardens of the house stretched the length of South Gray's Close. In the sketch prepared to illustrate the design there is shown an archway to the east of the house. There may have been an archway there leading to the garden, but as such would in early days be a source of weakness in defence it probably was not made until the Mint occupied the site of the garden, and led to Todrick's Wynd. It is probable that there were no windows in the basement; but some shot-holes for defence might exist. At the corner was the well-known hexagonal turret richly corbelled out from an attached shaft. The lesser front was to the Wynd and



"CARDINAL BEATON'S PALACE"
Cowgate, Edinburgh

Note. Compiled from many old prints, including a valuable elevation (Watson Bequest, Scot. Nat. Gallery, H.F.K.)

CARDINAL BEATON'S PALACE
(Sketch suggesting original appearance)

here was the entrance to the mansion, a wide archway with shot-holes on either side and overhead the sculptured arms of the Archbishop (it is thought), a mitre above and two angels in support. The same simple Scottish treatment probably was on this front also, a range of lights on the first floor and on the upper floor windows with stone dormers.

The entrance archway led to an interior courtyard of good size, and we are told that from this yard the doorway was reached by a noble flight of stone steps.

In front of these walls the rough life of these early days throbbled. It is true that the sylvan vale of the Cowgate was in front, but it only served as a foil to the unseemly brawls that probably started in the High Street, were continued down the Friars' Wynd and past the entrance of the Beaton House. With the rough gallants of the noble houses the right of the Crown of the Causeway was a frequent cause of tuilzies more or less dangerous. But the times were uncertain, family and party feuds kept all men wondering what next was to happen. Then came the climax. Regencies had ever been trying times for the Scottish nation, and on the death of James IV a vicious state of affairs ensued. The Queen-Mother assumed the Regency, but as she had married the Earl of Angus her right was assailed by the Earl of Arran and the Earl of Lennox. Arran marched to Edinburgh with a large following and the Earl of Angus followed. On the High Street the rival factions met one day and a fearful carnage took place, some seventy being slain, while the Chancellor fled down the Wynd past his own house and took refuge in the Blackfriars' Monastery; there the peaceful-minded Bishop of Dunkeld entreated for his life in front of the altar.

The uncertainty of human affairs was well illustrated in this scene. For before that severe brawl, which was called in history 'Cleanse the Causeway,' Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, called on the Archbishop in his palace and pled with him to try to compose the quarrel. The Archbishop



was visibly impressed but vehemently asserted his helplessness in the matter; in the vehemence of his protestation he struck his breast with his hand, when a sound revealed that beneath his robes there was a coat of mail. Douglas, when he heard the sound along with the words 'Upon my conscience I cannot help it,' retorted, 'How now, my Lord, methinks your conscience clatters.' Such were the days of yore.

Not long after the east side of the new thoroughfare was opened it was found that the grading of the street interfered sadly with the doors on the west side. So they in turn were cleared away and this picturesque and historic wynd was almost totally wiped out. Both in the case of the West Bow and Blackfriars' Wynd the modern roads, which were looked forward to as an 'improvement to traffic,' have owing to their steepness proved nearly useless as routes of communication.

HENRY F. KERR.

MISCELLANY

IN accordance with the concluding paragraph of the Report circulated to members in January 1943, it is proposed to set apart a small number of pages in this and subsequent volumes for brief contributions of a miscellaneous nature relating to Old Edinburgh, and for *addenda* and *corrigenda* relating to articles which have already appeared in previous volumes.

The information thus furnished will form a kind of 'Source Book' and in many cases provide material for more extended treatment of particular phases of Old Edinburgh life and history.

All such contributions will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the honorary Editor, H. M. Paton, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

The following items, obtained from record sources or supplied by members, exemplify the kind of thing that is required. For the sake of easy reference, numbering will be continuous throughout the series.

1. LICENCE TO TRAVEL (see Plate, p. 248).

On 3rd May 1679 Archbishop Sharp was slain on Magus Moor. On 8th May the Privy Council gave orders to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to keep all the inhabitants within doors, shut all shops, and prevent all burials, until every house and lodging in the town was searched by two Privy Councillors, a bailie and several soldiers, for participators in the attack on the Archbishop. A royal proclamation followed, forbidding the carrying of firearms or travelling without a pass signed by some public official.

Six weeks later the battle of Bothwell Bridge was fought, and the prisoners there captured were brought to Edinburgh and placed in the Inner Yard of the Greyfriars—a piece of ground extending from the western wall of the churchyard to the corner of Bristo Place and Teviot Place. On 4th July the Clerk of Privy Council was authorised to grant release to any of the prisoners who should enact themselves to refrain from taking up arms against the Government. The recipient of the *Licence* here reproduced was evidently one of those who gave this assurance, and accordingly received this pass from one of the bailies in terms of the Act of 8th May. (See *Register of Privy Council*, 3rd Series, vol. vi. pp. 186-9, 265-6.)

2. THE MOUND.

The construction of the Mound, which was begun about the year 1781 (by which time Princes Street had been built as far west as Hanover Street), did not proceed so rapidly as is suggested in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*. Indeed, there was a time when it looked as if the work would require to be entirely suspended for want of funds. Such was the position in 1783 when the committee 'appointed by the General Meeting of Citizens for carrying on the Mound of Earth across the North Loch' learned that their treasurer's outlays were 'considerably in advance of the sum available.' So critical had matters become that a notice, signed by 'Thomas Tod, Preses,' was inserted in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for 11th February intimating the resolution of the committee that, unless additional money was immediately forthcoming from the citizens to continue the work, they would be under the 'disagreeable necessity of ordering the Overseer to discharge the poor labourers, by which they will be deprived of subsistence in this time of dearth, and the inhabitants of a most easy road between the Old and New Town, which is now raised to that height as will soon make it a good foot passage.' The committee further explain that the financial situation had delayed the making of proper access to the new road by means of 'a wooden Bridge over the middle opening of the water.' Finally the committee announced, with a view to expediting the work, that a meeting of citizens interested would be held 'on Friday, the 14th inst. at 6 o'clock in the Goldsmiths' Hall.' Contributions, it was added, would be 'taken in by James Brown, merchant, Lawnmarket, or by those who have taken subscription papers from him for that purpose.'

3. ROSS (BRISTO) HOUSE.

On the site of University Union buildings there stood within living memory an old mansion, which at one time had a spacious park to the south on which George Square was ultimately built. The entrance, however, was from the north, the approach being made originally by a short avenue lined with venerable trees. The mansion, which had an uninterrupted view of the Meadows, was variously known as Ross House, then as Lockhart House, and finally as Bristo House.

Little is in print concerning the history of the mansion, but the Town Council Minutes of 13th March 1793 throw some light on the



FOrasmekle as the Kings Majesty, and his Highness Council, by their Proclamation of this date, at *Edinburgh*, the 8th day of *May*, 1679. Do thereby discharge any Persons whatsoever, to Travel within any part of this Kingdom of *Scotland*, with Fire-Armes, Swords, or any other kind of Armes, (excepting Noble-men, Landed Gentlemen, or their Children, or servants travelling with them) unless they have Passes declaring whence they came, and whither they are going, under the hand of one of his Majesties Privy Council, Lords of Session, Sheriffs, Stewarts, Bailies of Royalties or Regalities, Magistrates of Burghs, Justices of Peace, or Commissioners of Excise, and that under the Certification mentioned in the said Proclamation. And

Robert Hamilton in ye name of the Town of Edinburgh
has bene chosen by ye Town for this purpose
and is authorized by the Town Council
to sign the said Passes

Being resolved to Travel from this City to *London*

or other Places thereabout, in prosecution of
 lawful Affairs. These are therefore giving war-
 rant to *John* to pass and repass in *London*
 Journey with *John*
 without trouble or molestation, & Behaving
John self civilly and peaceably as becometh.
 Given under our hand, at *Edinburgh*, the *Mynd*
 day of *July* 1679.

John
John

subject. George, Lord Ross, while Master of Ross, feued the ground in 1738, and on it built the mansion which, appropriately enough, became known as Ross House. Here his Lordship died in 1754, leaving one son, William, fourteenth Lord Ross, the last to hold the title. Dying two months after his father, the property passed to his sister, the Hon. Jane Ross, who sold it in 1756 to John Adam, architect, the eldest brother of the famous Robert, and a son of William Adam of Maryburgh, the designer of the old Royal Infirmary and of Hopetoun House. Soon afterwards John Adam sold the house to George Lockhart of Carnwath, while the park to the south was disposed of to James Brown, the builder of George Square. On 14th February 1769 an advertisement appeared in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* intimating that 'Bristo House, belonging to Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath,' was to let. It is described as 'the very best house about Edinburgh, well furnished to accommodate a large family,' and has a coach-house for two carriages and stables for nine horses. Mention is also made of 'ground to be immediately laid down in grass for the benefit of keeping a cow.'

In the Minutes of the Town Council for 21st February 1787 the mansion is designated Lockhart House, and is stated to have been 'inherited lately by General James Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath.' This personage, in right of his mother, assumed, in addition to Lockhart, the name of Wishart. He was one of the lords of the bedchamber to the Emperor of Hungary; served in the Austrian service under Maria Theresa during the Seven Years War; was created general of the Imperial forces and a baron and count of the Holy Roman Empire. On the death of John Lockhart, last of Lee, in 1777, the succession to the Lee estates became united with Carnwath in the person of General James, Count Lockhart-Wishart.

The next owner of Bristo House was another general—Alexander Mackay. A son of George, third Lord Reay, he raised an independent company for Loudoun's Highlanders in 1745 and was taken prisoner at Prestonpans. In 1761 he became M.P. for Sutherland and in 1780 Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland. General Mackay disposed certain portions of ground behind Bristo House on which Park Place was erected, at right angles to which was a row of old-fashioned houses with gardens in front which went by the name of Teviot Row. These buildings were pulled down to make way for the Medical School.



General Mackay died in 1789, and in the following year his mansion was advertised for sale, 'together with the feu duties payable out of the buildings and grounds of Park Place.' It was also pointed out that 'a considerable part of the park might be built on without hurting Ross House' and could be 'feued with great advantage' (*Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 4th January 1790). But no person seems to have accepted the offer, and the mansion stood empty till 1793, when it was opened as a hospital by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, Professor of Midwifery in Edinburgh University. He is included in Kay's *Original Portraits*, where there is some interesting letterpress about him.

4. GAYFIELD SQUARE.

On 28th January 1783 it was announced in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* that several acres, 'lying on the west side of the new road to Leith, immediately adjoining to Picardy Gardens,' were to be feued for building purposes 'according to a plan.' This was to take the form of a square, and as an inducement to prospective buyers, stress was laid on the 'remarkably pleasant' and rustic situation, affording extensive and 'uncommonly beautiful' views 'without the possibility of interruption.' Besides, the new square would be near the city and therefore specially suitable 'for persons in business and those otherwise connected with the town.' Feuars were also promised 'the privilege of the area of the Square,' as well as wash-houses, 'a large bleaching green,' and 'wells of excellent water.' Other advantages were that the ground was free of the land tax and exempt from all public burdens. Finally, they were told that building expenses would be greatly lessened owing to the fact that there was a quarry on the site 'where builders will be supplied with stones for rubble work of an excellent quality.'

This announcement did not fall on deaf ears, and as the eighteenth century drew to a close Gayfield Square was largely built. Till 1811 or thereabouts it bore the name of Gayfield Place, but after that date it received the modern appellation. One of the early residents was Kincaid Mackenzie, Lord Provost in 1817-19. At No. 5 Gayfield Square (west side) he entertained, during his term of office, the Grand Duke Michael of Russia and Prince Leopold, the future King of the Belgians and uncle of Queen Victoria. Patrick Crichton, son of the well-known Edinburgh coach-builder, resided at No. 1. He was

Colonel of the Edinburgh Volunteers and figures in Kay's *Original Portraits*. Other noted denizens of Gayfield Square were Sir John Wardlaw of Pitreavie, Bart., Lady Campbell of Aberuchill, and, in more recent times, John Miller Gray, the first curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. His sitting-room at 28 Gayfield Square forms the frontispiece of his *Memoir and Remains* (2 vols., 1895). Gray, who was widely known by his art criticisms, edited the *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik* for the Scottish History Society.

5. CANONGATE CHURCH.

On 16th August 1688 and 3rd August 1689 an Agreement was made between Robert Davidson in Hownam and William Gladstones in Marchcleugh, on the one part, and Mr. James Smith, overseer of H.M. Works, on behalf of the town of Edinburgh (into whose hands the late Thomas Mudie bequeathed certain money which the King now appointed to be employed 'for buying of ground and thereupon to erect and build ane kirk with ane churchyard for the use of the Cannongate'), on the other part: whereby Davidson and Gladstones sold to Smith their tenements of land 'lying besyde and contiguous to the Canongate Tollbuith' for the sum of 5000 merks. Discharge was granted for that sum on 8th August 1695. These transactions are recorded in the *Books of Council and Session* (Deeds, Mackenzie) on 3rd January 1702.

6. TENNIS.

On 16th July 1625, at Windsor, King Charles I signed a Warrant empowering the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland to pay to Alexander Peeres the sum of £50 sterling 'and that towards his charge in building of a Tenniscourt neare our pallace of Halyruidhouse.'¹

On 2nd May 1582 there was a Contract between Mr. John Learmonth, advocate, and Mr. Alexander Livingstone, by which the former became possessed of a 'nether ludgeving' and yard adjacent, bounded by a tenement belonging to the heirs of James Cant on the east, land belonging to the heirs of George Ker on the west, and the wall of 'ane lymehous quhilk is biggit at the end of ane catchepell pertaining to the said Mr. Alexander' on the north. There is a condition that 'incaise ony ballis cumming out of the catchepell fall

¹ Yule Collection in Reg. House.

within the clois or boundis of the said Mr. Jhone ' it shall be allowable for Mr. Alexander and his heirs or assignees ' to caus knock at the yett and to seik the sadis ballis at the induellaris of the sadis ludgeing quhatsumevir and thai to delyver the samyn to the said Mr. Alexander his airis or tennentis without payment of ony price or dewite thairfoire.'¹

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

7. ST. LEONARDS LANDS AND HOSPITAL.

In relation to article on above, in vol. xxiii. p. 120, attention is called to the footnote on p. 223 of the present volume. Also relative to vol. xxiii. p. 131, line 9, there has been discovered the following document, preserved in Reg. House (Balmedy Writs), which takes the story a stage further back. It is a Precept by George, Abbot of Holyrood, dated 3rd March 1519-20, for infefting Sir Patrick Creichtoun of Cranstounriddale and Katherine Turing, his wife, in Sanct Leonardis lands with mansion, etc., reserving to the Abbey the chapel and almshouse of St. Leonard, and to the poor of said almshouse the crofts called Terrariscroft and Hermittiscroft on south side of chapel.

8. THE GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE.

On p. 165 of vol. xvii. it is stated that in 1789 a beginning was made with the transfer of records. Actually the transfer was begun on 13th August 1787 and finished on 5th October 1791 (cf. Robertson's *Index of Missing Charters*, 1798, p. v).

In the same paragraph reference is made to the heating arrangements. An interesting comment occurs in Sir William Fraser's *Annandale Family Book* (1894), vol. i. pp. 338-9 of Introduction: 'At one time it was proposed that the new mansion' (Raehills, in Dumfriesshire, built 1782-86) 'should be completed by a great dome like that of Her Majesty's General Register House at the east end of Princes Street, Edinburgh, which had recently before been erected. But the proposed dome for Raehills was abandoned, as a report was circulated that the dome of the then new Register House was the cause of so much smoke, that the clerks in the rooms could not occupy their several apartments.'

¹ Yule Collection in Reg. House.

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APPENDIX

THIRTY-FOURTH AND THIRTY-FIFTH
ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC.

Old Edinburgh Club

1941

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Honorary Auditor

C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., 4A York Place.

REPORT OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 27th January 1942.

The Right Honourable The Lord Provost, one of the Honorary Vice-Presidents, presided.

The Thirty-fourth Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, were held as read. The Report is in the following terms:—

The Council submits its Report for the year 1941. It is perforce of the same meagre character as that of the previous year, for the war is still with us, amplified in the number of the combatant nations, and intensified, if that be possible, in spirit and action. The Council realises the duty of this and similar societies to serve another side of life, as well as possible in the circumstances, and to hold together till happier days come.

The Twenty-third volume of the 'Book of the Club' was issued in the beginning of the year, and the Report must bear witness to the value of the matter the Editor has collected for it (and to some extent written), and must sympathise with him in the difficulty of its production. It should be mentioned here that the past year has seen the death of Mr. Moore, Manager of the printing department in the works of Messrs. T. and A. Constable. Mr. Moore was concerned from the first with the practical side of the issue of the 'Book,' and to him much of its excellence is due.

The portion of the Report contributed by Mr. Paton was in draft before this portion was prepared, and it suggests that the occasion might be used to emphasise and commend on behalf of the Council the Editor's plea. There are so many parts of the history of our town, whereof so much original matter exists, that have never been studied and printed, and we go on with inadequate, imperfect, and in some cases incorrect material. To the lover of the story of Edinburgh other

examples occur in addition to those mentioned by Mr. Paton, and this is the direction in which the publications of the Club might be of the greatest value, and the researches of new workers, members and others, of the greatest use.

Mr. Paton writes :—

During war time potential contributors to the 'Book of the Club' labour under difficulties, and it is unlikely that a new volume will be forthcoming till early in 1943. The Editorial Committee therefore submits the following interim Report, with a view to stimulating interest in the provision of articles suitable for production in the 'Book.' It is felt that there are many members who possess or have access to useful material about Old Edinburgh, *e.g.* in relation to crafts and trades, gilds, institutions and clubs, which they might either utilise personally or make available to someone for the purpose. There are others who may have interested themselves in particular aspects of the City's life and fortunes, social, educational or philanthropic, from whose pen contributions would be welcome. The hope is expressed that such members will get into touch with the Honorary Editor or any member of Council at an early date. The Committee also invite suggestions as to the kind of papers that the 'Book of the Club' should contain. Contributions need not be lengthy; brief papers will be as acceptable. Hitherto the burden of providing material for each volume has rested on a few die-hards, and new contributors will afford a pleasant change.

It is not possible as yet to enumerate the contents of Volume XXIV, but there are likely to be (among other contributions) articles relating to the growth and literary associations of Newington, Warriston, Morningside, and St. Leonards (southern section), also a paper on the Edinburgh and Glasgow Canal and earlier projects.

Before the business of the Meeting was begun Mr. R. T. Skinner expressed the pleasure of members in learning that one of their number had been chosen Lord Provost of the City and another Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. On behalf of the Club he congratulated Mr. William Y. Darling and Dr. Henry W. Meikle.

In reply, the Lord Provost added the name of a third member of the Club for their congratulations—Colonel H. L. Warden, C.B.E., D.S.O., who had been elected a member of the Town Council.

He then moved the adoption of the Report and Balance Sheet,

and in the course of an address said no Club deserved so well the patronage of the Corporation for its admirable work in shedding light on many interesting aspects of historic Edinburgh through its valuable publications, full of material indispensable to those engaged in researches, and its lectures, by means of which accurate information was circulated about Old Edinburgh. The Corporation had done a great deal of printing of historic material from the Burgh Records—as well as conserving the historic and architectural memorials of the city's past.

Mr. J. G. Galloway, who seconded the motion, expressed the hope that in the better world to which they looked forward more attention and consideration would be given to improvement of civic design generally. New shop fronts of varying heights and materials, and often of poor design, had given a patchwork and undignified appearance to Princes Street, unworthy of a street so nobly planned. He also deplored the blackened state of the buildings, which was absent from those in continental cities, where soft coal was not burned.

The Report and Balance Sheet were then approved by the Meeting.

The re-election of the Office-Bearers for the ensuing year was moved by Mr. H. M. Paton and agreed to, as was the re-election of the Members of Council.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1941

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS
I. Funds at 1st January 1941 :—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£230 0 0	
In Bank on Current Account,	31 15 0	
In hands of Hon. Treasurer,	0 2 2	
	£261 17 2	
II. Subscriptions :—		
Year 1941 :—		
Due 336 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£176 8 0	
" 28 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	14 14 0	
	£191 2 0	
Less—Received in 1939—		
1 Member at 10s. 6d., . . £0 10 6		
Received in 1940—		
4 Members, 1 Library		
at 10s. 6d., 2 12 6		
Subscriptions in arrear		
for 1941, 16 Members		
at 10s. 6d., 8 8 0		
	11 11 0	
Year 1940—2 Members at		
10s. 6d., . . . £1 1 0		
1942—7 Members, 1		
Library at		
10s. 6d., 4 4 0		
	5 5 0	
III. Interest on Deposit Receipt,	184 16 0	
IV. Volumes sold (12),	3 1 8	
	8 8 0	
	£458 2 10	
		£20 9 1
		10 8 1
		298 13 3
		£100 0 0
		24 18 5
		3 14 0
		128 12 5

HENRY LESSELS, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

EDINBURGH, 12th January 1942.—I have examined the Intricommis of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1941, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., Hon. Auditor.

Old Edinburgh Club 1942

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C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., 4A York Place.

REPORT OF THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 26th January 1943.

The Right Hon. Lord Provost William Y. Darling, C.B.E., M.C., Hon. Vice-President of the Club, presided.

The Thirty-fourth Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, was held as read. The Report is in the following terms:—

The Council has pleasure in submitting its Thirty-fifth Annual Report. It calls attention to the subjoined Report by the Editorial Committee on the contents of the volume to be issued during this year, and it endorses the Committee's appeal for contributions to the new feature in the Club's publications.

During July 1942, members in town were given an opportunity of learning something about such old parts of Edinburgh and Leith as South Leith Church and Churchyard, and other historic features of South and North Leith; Corstorphine Parish Church; the Valley of Dean, with the Village of Water of Leith.

Mr. David Robertson described certain customs of 'Leithers' in their use of the churchyard; after which talk Mr. Russell conducted members and their friends to various landmarks of the seaport. On the second Outing Mr. Russell told the story of the Church from mediaeval times and showed surviving fragments of the earlier Churches. The Valley of Dean, which was the objective of the third Outing, was under the guidance of Dr. C. A. Malcolm. The three Excursions were well attended, between 70 and 90 members being present at each of them.

For the winter programme three lectures were arranged: the first, 'The Occupants of and Visitors to Abbeyhill House and Kirkbraehead House,' was given by Mr. W. Forbes Gray, on 28th November; the second, 'Story of the Tounis School,' will be told by Mr. William C. A. Ross, late Deputy Rector of the Royal High School, on 23rd January; the third will be given on 20th February by Dr. C. A. Malcolm, the subject being 'Mediaeval Edinburgh.'

It is satisfactory to report that the Roll of Members is at its maximum of 350 individual members.

The Council records with deep regret the loss which the Club has

sustained by the death of its Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Henry Lessels, C.A., who for eleven years devoted much of his time and energy to the interests of the Club, first as Auditor of its Accounts and later as Hon. Treasurer. Those who were privileged to know him will retain most pleasant recollections of his sincere, kind and genial personality.

The Club is fortunate in having as his successor Mr. A. A. Middleton, Manager of the North of Scotland Bank, 20 Hanover Street. It is hoped that members will send their subscriptions to Mr. Middleton without undue delay, and so avoid putting unnecessary labour on him and his depleted staff.

The Club has also lost the much valued services of the Rev. Will Burnett, B.D., Hon. Secretary of the Club, who, since his appointment in 1936, has been tireless in his efforts to further the objects of the Club. Now having found it necessary to take up residence south of the Borders, Mr. Burnett has felt impelled, reluctantly, to give up his official connection with the Club.

To fill the vacancy thus caused, the Council feels great satisfaction in reporting that Mr. C. A. Malcolm, M.A., Ph.D., Librarian, Signet Library, has agreed to take over the duties of Hon. Secretary.

The Editorial Committee reports as follows:—

In these days of national emergency it is not possible to provide subscribers with a yearly volume; indeed, owing to printing costs and calls upon the time and activity of contributors, the Club is doing well if it can furnish a volume biennially. The Committee is pleased to be able to announce that Volume XXIV is well on the way to completion, and should be ready for issue by the summer of 1943. It will include the following articles (with a number of illustrations):—

1. Selections from the Diary of George Sandy, Apprentice W.S., 1788, by Dr. C. A. Malcolm.
2. Historic Morningside: Lands, Mansions and Celebrities, by William Mair, F.R.S.E., F.C.S.
3. The Bore Stone, a critical Note by the Editor, H. M. Paton.
4. 'All the Statelie Buildings of . . . Thomas Robertson' (A Building Speculator of the Seventeenth Century), by Dr. Marguerite Wood.
5. The Lands of Newington and their Owners, by W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E.
6. The Lands of St. Leonards—Part II, by H. M. Paton.
7. Note on Cardinal Beaton's House, with a sketch of its original appearance, by Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A.
8. Miscellany.

With the forthcoming volume a new feature is being introduced. Reference to former Reports will show that the Committee has often stressed the need for new contributors, but it recognises the fact that few members of the Club have facilities for preparing a lengthy article. There are doubtless, however, many who are in possession of material sufficient to furnish a short note, from a dozen lines to a page or two, on some subject connected with Old Edinburgh, or they may have corrections or additions to make to articles that have appeared in previous volumes. A certain number of pages is therefore being devoted to this purpose under the title of 'Miscellany,' and a cordial invitation is extended to members to contribute to this section. The pages are not intended, of course, as a vehicle of controversy; the primary aim is to extend the interest and usefulness of the Book of the Club. Members are requested to communicate with the Editor when they have material to hand.

In moving the adoption of the Report the Chairman expressed his pleasure on learning of the prosperous condition of the Club financially, and in respect of numerical strength which was at its maximum. It was, he said, particularly noteworthy to find that members who had left Edinburgh still maintained their close interest in the Club's activities, and in this connection he instanced Miss Barbara Peddie who was probably the oldest member in point of years, for she was 96, and was one of the founders of the Club, though she herself ascribed the honour of its foundation to Mr. W. J. Hay, who is also one of their active members.

Miss Peddie, who is a member of an old well-known Edinburgh family, recently contributed some highly interesting facts relating to the Sibbalds, merchants and shipowners of Leith, the arrival of whose sailing vessels at Leith after trading in the Far East meant a holiday for the school children of Leith.

The Chairman, commenting on the varied nature of the articles in the forthcoming volume of the Club, predicted that Mr. Paton would be certainly unpopular with many for destroying old legends attached to the Bore Stone on the Burghmuir.

Sir D'Arcy W. Thompson, who seconded the motion for adoption, gave a delightful description of the Edinburgh of his schooldays. The Report and Balance Sheet were then approved by the Meeting.

The Chairman and Sir D'Arcy Thompson were cordially thanked on the motion of Mr. J. S. Richardson.

It was agreed on the motion of Mr. Butters, M.A., F.R.S.E., to re-elect the Office-Bearers and Members of Council for the ensuing year.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1942

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
I. Funds at 1st January 1942:—		I. Printing and Stationery,	£15 19 4
In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£100 0 0	II. Postages and Miscellaneous,	13 2 2
In Bank on Current Account,	24 18 5	III. Funds in hand at 31st December 1942:—	
In hands of Hon. Treasurer,	3 14 0	In Bank on Deposit Receipt,	£250 0 0
	£128 12 5	In Bank on Current Account,	286 17 6
II. Subscriptions:—			
Year 1942—			
Due 321 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£188 10 6		
" 29 Librarians at 10s. 6d.,	15 4 6		
	£183 15 0		
Less In Arrears—			
14 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£7 7 0		
1 Librarian at 10s. 6d.,	0 10 6		
	7 17 6		
	£175 17 6		
Add Subscriptions in Arrear paid and			
Subscriptions paid in advance—			
1941—10 at 10s. 6d.,	£5 5 0		
1943—6 at 10s. 6d.,	3 3 0		
1944—1 at 10s. 6d.,	0 10 6		
	8 18 6		
III. Bank Interest Received:—	184 16 0		
On Deposit Receipts,	2 10 1		
IV. Commission,	0 0 6		
	£315 19 0		
			£315 19 0

A. A. MIDDLETON, Hon. Treasurer.

EDINBURGH, 15th January 1943.—I have examined the Intrmissions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ending 31st December 1942, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

C. MAITLAND SMITH, Hon. Auditor.

Old Edinburgh Club

1943

Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

Honorary Presidents

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS OF AILSA (died 1943).
THE HONOURABLE LORD ST. VIGEANS, LL.D.,

15 Grosvenor Crescent.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

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Sir THOMAS H. HOLLAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.,
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CHARLES B. BOOG WATSON, F.R.S.E., 24 Garscube Terrace.
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Honorary Secretary

C. A. MALCOLM, M.A., Ph.D., 21 Findhorn Place.

Honorary Treasurer

A. A. MIDDLETON, Manager, North of Scotland Bank, Hanover Street.

Editor of Publications

HENRY M. PATON, 5 Little Road, Liberton.

Council

W. FORBES GRAY, 8 Mansionhouse Road.
R. WATERSTON, 27 Inverleith Terrace.
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JOHN RUSSELL, 2 Brunton Place.
ERNEST SAVAGE, 23 Braid Crescent.
IAN G. LINDSAY, B.A., A.R.I.A.S., 9 Inverleith Row.
WILLIAM C. A. ROSS, M.A., 9 Northumberland Street.
Col. H. L. WARDEN, C.B.E., D.S.O., 54 Great King Street.
Miss MARGUERITE WOOD, M.A., Ph.D., 13 Learmonth Gardens.
WILLIAM ANGUS, H.M. General Register House.
HENRY W. MEIKLE, M.A., D.Litt., 23 Riselaw Road.

Honorary Auditor

C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., 4A York Place.

Old Edinburgh Club

LIST OF MEMBERS

*Surviving Original Members marked **

AILSA, The Most Honourable The Marchioness of, Culzean Castle,
Ayrshire.

Allan, Mrs. C. A., 40 Park Road.

Allan, F. H., 33 Inverleith Gardens.

Allan, James, J.P., 6 Castlclaw Road, Colinton.

Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Leny House, Muthill, Perthshire.

Anderson, Mrs. Arthur, 29 Montpelier.

Anderson, Captain D. M., New Club, Princes Street.

*Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 20 Grosvenor Crescent.

Anderson, W. J., 24 Blantyre Terrace.

*Angus, William, H.M. Register House.

Archer, John M., 24 Stanley Road, Leith.

Armstrong, Ian, C.A., Dunolly, Bettyhill, Sutherland.

Arnott, James A., F.R.I.B.A., 7 Mansionhouse Road.

Atkinson, John J., 26 St. Ronan's Terrace.

BALFOUR-MELVILLE, EVAN W. M., M.A., D.Litt., 2 South Learmonth
Gardens.

Barnett, Rev. T. Ratcliffe, Ph.D., 7 Corrennie Gardens.

*Barrie, John A., 11 Lady Road.

Bartholomew, John, M.C., M.A., 12 Duncan Street.

Baxter, Robert, 28 Cowan Road.

Birrell, J. Hamilton, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.G.S., 51 Lauderdale Street.

Bonar, John J., Eldinbrae, Lasswade.

Bonnar, A. O., Romanno House, West Linton.

*Boyes, Dr. John, 31 Campbell Road.

Brown, Mrs. Jean H., 32 Drumsheugh Gardens.

Bruce, James, W.S., 16 Hill Street.

Bryce, Herbert D., 60 Macdowall Road.

*Burnett, Rev. Will, B.D., 14 Thorn Lane, Roundhay, Leeds.

Burnside, Rev. John W., M.A., 19 Carriagehill Drive, Paisley.

Burrows, C. H., B.Com., C.A., 16 Picardy Place.
 Burt, Mrs. Annie C., 40 Murrayfield Avenue.
 Butchart, R., Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge.
 Butters, John W., M.A., F.R.S.E., 116 Comiston Drive.

CAIRNS, T. H., 20 Niddrie Road, Portobello.
 Calder, Thomas R., 8 Charlotte Square.
 Campbell, Mrs. A. D., 136 Braid Road.
 Campbell, Buchanan, W.S., Moidart, Currie.
 *Campbell, J. D. B., W.S., 25 Ainslie Place.
 Campbell, Neil, 4 Craiglockhart Terrace.
 Campbell, Robert B., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 15 Douglas Crescent.
 Carroll-Robertson, Mrs. S. H., c/o Mrs. Hannay, 23 Windsor Street.

Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street.
 Christie, Miss Margaret, c/o Miss Aikman, 8 Fountainhall Road.
 *Chrystal, F. M., M.B., Queensberry House.
 Cochrane, James Dean, Cuilbeg, Woodhall Road, Colinton.
 *Cockburn, Harry A., 21 Mansion Gardens, Chelsea, London, S.W. 3.

Considine, W. D., 2 Alvanley Terrace.
 Cormack, Donald S., 10 Piersfield Place.
 Cousland, Chas. J., 26 Kinnear Road.
 Cowie, Mrs. Harold, 13 Lennel Avenue.
 *Craig, Sterling, LL.B., 13 South Charlotte Street.
 Craigdallie, John, 146 Canongate.
 Crawshaw, Dr. Charles, Barwood Mount, Ramsbottom, Lancashire.
 Crichton, George, 6 Duncan Street.
 Crichton, Mrs. Lilian M., M.A., 30 Blacket Place.

DALRYMPLE, The Hon. Sir HEW, K.C.V.O., D.L., 24 Regent Terrace.
 Darling, Sir William Y., Lord Provost, C.B.E., M.C., 28 Northumberland Street. (*Hon. Vice-President.*)
 Darlington, James D., 13 Midmar Gardens.
 Dawson, A. B., C.A., Nansidwell, Mawnam, nr. Falmouth.
 Dey, William G., 20 Dovecot Road, Corstorphine.
 Dick, Andrew W., M.A., 9 West Claremont Street.
 Dickson, John A., 3 Brandon Terrace.
 Dickson, Walter (Messrs. G. Duncan & Son Ltd.), 10 Murano Place.
 Donaldson, Gordon, M.A., Ph.D., H.M. General Register House.

Donaldson, James, M.A., Morrison's Academy, Crieff.
 Douglas, L. MacQueen, Newpark, Mid-Calder.
 Douglas, Robert E., 89 George Street.
 Douglas-Hamilton, Lord Nigel G., LL.B., Advocate, Hamilton Estates Office, Hamilton.
 Doull, A. Clark, 10 Alexandria Drive, Alloa.
 Dow, Joseph A., M.A., 18 Duddingston Crescent.
 Dowie, A. B. B., 8 Roseburn Crescent.
 *Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 7 Ravelston Terrace.
 Duncan, Robert J., 12 York Road.
 Duncan, William, L.D.S., R.C.S.E., 3 Bellevue Terrace.

EDGAR, Mrs. J. DOUGLAS, 9 Sylvan Place.
 Edgar, Miss A. Gertrude, 9 Sylvan Place.
 Eggeling, H. F., M.A., 95 Comiston Drive.
 Elliot, William, 23 Joppa Road, Portobello.
 Erskine, Andrew, Solicitor, 31 Scotland Street.
 Erskine, J. M., D.L., F.R.S.E., Commercial Bank of Scotland, George Street.

*FAIRLEY, JOHN A., Curator's House, Lauriston Castle, Davidson's Mains.
 *Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 46 Dick Place.
 Ferguson, Miss Jessie, 19 Drumdryan Street.
 Ferrier, Mrs. H. M. Straton-, 89 St. John's Road, Corstorphine.
 Finlayson, Wm. W., 98 Pilrig Street.
 Forbes, Mrs. S. A. C., 15 Clerk Street.
 *Fortune, R., S.S.C., 9 South Lauder Road.
 Fraser, Mrs. James, 23 Learmonth Terrace.
 Fraser, Professor Sir John, Bart., K.C.V.O., M.C., M.D., 20 Moray Place.
 Fraser, W. A., 49 Braid Avenue.

GALLOWAY, JOHN G., 7 Stirling Road.
 Gauld, H. Drummond, Craig Binning, Dechmont, West Lothian.
 Geddie, Mrs. Hannah E., Ellicot, Eskbank.
 Glassford, Samuel, Aparima, Corbiehill Road, Davidson's Mains.
 Glegg, A. H., W.S., Maines House, Chirnside, Berwickshire.
 Goddard, Mrs., Dunmore, Craigmore, Isle of Bute.
 Good, Miss Mary, Braefoot, 8 Liberton Brae, Liberton.

LIST OF MEMBERS

Grant, John, 100 Bonnyrigg Road, Eskbank.
 Grant, Sir Francis J., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Lord Lyon King of Arms,
 18 George Square. (*President*)
 Grant, Robert, F.R.S.E., 31 George IV. Bridge.
 Gray, John, 12 Hailes Crescent, Colinton.
 Gray, W. Croft, S.S.C., 5 Forres Street.
 Gray, W. Forbes, F.R.S.E., 8 Mansionhouse Road.
 Green, A. M'Watt, C.A., 17 Great Stuart Street.
 Greenhill, William, C.A., 34 Heriot Row.
 Greig, J. Russell, Ph.D., M.R.C.V.S., Wedderlie, Kirkbrae,
 Liberton.
 Groves, Dr. George N., 198 Newhaven Road.

HALDANE, W. P., 21 Cumlodden Avenue.
 Halliday, T. M., 21 Priestfield Road.
 *Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.
 Hardie, Miss Janet S., 8 Saughton Crescent.
 Hardie, R. S. L., 3 Clarendon Crescent.
 Hardie, William Hodgson, 1 Glenisla Gardens.
 Hawkins, Miss Eleanor, 19 Mayfield Terrace.
 *Hay, William J., 148 Brunton Gardens.
 Hayhoe, John H., 34 Hazelbank Terrace.
 Hayne, Adam H., Thirlestane, 45 Gardiner Road, Blackhall.
 Henderson, W. F., 16 Mansionhouse Road.
 Hendry, Robert J. L., 41 Cluny Drive.
 Hewat, James, 105 Warrender Park Road.
 Highgate, James, 31 Drumbreck Road, Glasgow, S. 1.
 Hislop, W. B., F.R.P.S., 9 Albany Street.
 Hogg, Miss Florence E., 95 Queensferry Road.
 Holland, Principal Sir Thomas H., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.,
 The University, Edinburgh. (*Hon. Vice-President*)
 Hopkirk, Rev. D. S., M.A., B.Litt., 18 Regent Terrace.
 Hossack, James, M.A., 10 Wardie Avenue.
 Howie, Mrs. Nancy, 8 Middleby Street.
 Hunter, John, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., Martindale, Bo'ness.
 Hutchison, John R., 21 Lismore Crescent.

IMRIE, JOHN D., C.B.E., M.A., City Chamberlain, City Chambers.
 Inglis, D. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.

OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Inglis, Mrs. G. M., 56 Fountainhall Road.

JAMIESON, J. BOYD, T.D., M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 43 George Square.
 *Jamieson, James H., 14 Sciennes Gardens.
 Jamieson, John R., 18 Napier Road.
 Jamieson, Robert M., 88 Gilmore Place.

*KELLY, JOHN G., Summerhall, Ratho.
 Kennedy, John, 19 East Heath, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.
 Kerr, Henry F., A.R.I.B.A., 12 East Claremont Street. (*Vice-President*)
 Kilpatrick, P. J. W., Bridgend, Colinton.
 King, John A., Tigh-na-Righ, 27 Dreghorn Loan, Colinton.
 Kinloch, David N., 66 Northfield Crescent.
 *Kippen, John, M.A., Broughton Primary School, Broughton Road.
 Knoblauch, Mrs. Doris M., 17 Murrayfield Avenue.

LAIDLAW, Rev. R. S. F., M.A., The Manse of Towie, Glenkindie,
 Aberdeenshire.
 Lamb, J. Edwin, 14 Blasket Place.
 Lamb, Stewart, 10 Mortonhall Road.
 Lamont, C., Coledale, Milton Road West, Portobello.
 Lamont, Lt.-Col. J. C., C.I.E., 16 Rothesay Terrace.
 Langwill, H. G., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 4 Hermitage Place, Leith.
 Law, Alexander, M.A., 36 Morningside Drive.
 Law, Mrs. John, 41 Heriot Row.
 Lawrie, R. D., Ravensdown, 248 Ferry Road.
 Leckie, Rev. R. W., M.A., The Manse, Davidson's Mains.
 Lee, William J., 21 Merchiston Crescent.
 Leslie, John C., 8 Bruntsfield Place.
 Lindsay, Ian G., B.A., A.R.I.A.S., Houston House, Uphall, West
 Lothian.
 Lindsay, Robert S., W.S., 16 Queen Street.
 Lindsay, Mrs. Robert S., 16 Queen Street.
 Lorimer, Miss Agatha, 17 Learmonth Terrace.
 Lorimer, Norman W., F.F.A., High Croft, Balerno.
 Lyll, George, 5 Cluny Place.

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.
 McDermid, J. S., Kyebi, Gamekeeper's Road, Barnton.
 McDermid, Mrs. Julia Millar, Kyebi, Gamekeeper's Road, Barnton.
 Macdonald, Mrs. Mary S., 52 Grange Loan.
 Macdougald, Mrs. Maude, Castle Bank, Juniper Green.
 MacGregor, Miss Nina S., Medwyn House, West Linton, Peeblesshire.
 M'Kelvie, Alex., C.A., 26 Mortonhall Road.
 Mackenzie, J. Melville, 45 Forrest Road.
 MacKinnon, Donald Shaw, Leob, Elliot Place, Colinton.
 Mackintosh, Eric B., C.A., 1 Hill Street, Arbroath.
 M'Laren, R. M., 4 St. Andrew Square.
 M'Lellan, J. H., 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.
 MacLennan, T. Forbes, F.R.I.B.A., 57 Melville Street.
 *M'Leod, Alex. N., 19 Mentone Terrace.
 MacLeod, Sir John Lorne, G.B.E., LL.D., 25 Albany Street.
 MacMaster, Thomas, 190 Grange Loan.
 Macniven, Daniel, 188 Princes Street.
 Macpherson, James P., Cockburn Hotel, Cockburn Street.
 M'Pherson, Miss L., 23 Fairmile Avenue.
 Macrae, Donald, S.S.C., 39 Castle Street.
 MacRae, E. J., A.R.I.B.A., City Chambers.
 Macvicar, Neil, W.S., 9 Belgrave Crescent.
 M'Vie, John, 13 Hillside Crescent.
 Mair, William, F.R.S.E., 32 Braid Hills Road.
 Malcolm, Charles A., M.A., Ph.D., Signet Library, Parliament Square.
 Manclark, James M'Kinnon, 54 Inverleith Place.
 Marshall, William, Belmont Castle, Meigle.
 Martin, Robert, P.O. Box 704, Newmarket, Ontario, Canada.
 Marwick, George H., 63 Pirniefield Place, Leith.
 Marwick, T. Craigie, 54 Northumberland Street.
 Mason, John, M.A., Ph.D., The Schoolhouse, South Queensferry.
 Mathams, Mrs. A. M., Craufurd, Lasswade.
 Mathieson, Donald M., 8 Doune Terrace.
 *Mears, Frank C., F.R.I.B.A., A.R.S.A., 44 Queen Street.
 Meikle, Henry W., M.A., D.Litt., 23 Riselaw Road.
 Melville, Miss Frances H., LL.D., Kirkstyle, Dalry, Kirkcubrightshire.
 Mercer, Walter, 12 Rothesay Terrace.

- Middleton, A. A., 20 Hanover Street.
 Middleton, Miss Harriet A., Manorhead, Stow.
 Mill, William, 109 Princes Street.
 Millar, John, 495 Gilmerton Road, Gilmerton.
 Miller, Dr., c/o Prof. M. Tirol, B.A., Ph.D., 130L Albert Street, Kingston, Canada.
 Miller, Miss K. M. B., 49 Spottiswoode Road.
 Milne, Archibald, M.A., D.Sc., 38 Morningside Grove.
 Milne, Charles, K.C., 9 Northumberland Street.
 Milroy, Miss J. G., 16 Abbotsford Park.
 Moncreiff, Major R. H. F., 1 Cambridge Street.
 Moncrieff, George, 34 Cluny Drive.
 Morrison, H. P., 15 Greenhill Place.
 Morrison, Mrs. Jane C., 69 Merchiston Crescent.
 Morrison, W. H., 28 Eglinton Crescent.
 Murray, Miss Elizabeth A. P., 11 Murrayfield Gardens.
 Murray, Miss Eunice G., Moore Park, Cardross.
 Murray, Gilbert J., 40 Ravelston Dykes.
 Murray, J. H., 98 Lothian Road.
 Murray, R. Selcraig, 8 Mackenzie Place.

 NIGHTINGALE, CHARLES T., S.S.C., 8 North St. David Street.

 ORR, JOHN, M.D., 6 Strathearn Road.
 Osborne, James M., 27 Bernard Street.

 PATERSON, ALEXANDER, North of Scotland Bank, 20 Hanover Street.
 Paterson, H. Brougham, S.S.C., 13 York Place.
 Paterson, James, C.A., 9 Craigmillar Park.
 Patterson, J. G., C.A., 17 Melville Street.
 *Paton, Henry Macleod, H.M. Register House. (*Editor of Publications*)
 *Peddie, Miss Barbara, Ruaig, Lindfield, Sussex.
 *Petrie, James A., Ashfield, 7 Bonnington Grove.
 Pitkeathly, Miss Helen, 3 Kew Terrace.
 Pitkeathly, Miss Jane, 3 Kew Terrace.
 Porter, David, W.S., 16 St. Ninian's Road, Corstorphine.
 Purves, Mrs. Isabella, 49 Greenbank Crescent.

 RAITHEY, LAURENCE, D.L., 33 Hope Terrace.

LIST OF MEMBERS

- Reekie, J. Ferguson, S.S.C., 22 Great King Street.
 Rice, Professor D. Talbot, M.A., B.Sc., 448 Chelsea Cloister, Sloane Avenue, London, S.W.
 Richardson, J. H., W.S., 23 Magdala Crescent.
 Richardson, James S., University Club, Princes Street.
 Robertson, A. Niven, M.D., M.R.C.P., 22 Buckingham Terrace.
 Robertson, David, LL.B., S.S.C., 10 Strathearn Place.
 Robertson, E. B., W.S., 15 Great Stuart Street.
 Robertson, George, 32 Montpelier Park.
 Robertson, Thomas, 22 Atholl Crescent.
 Robertson, Thomas, Struan, Belgrave Road, Corstorphine.
 Robinson, G. A. Fitzroy, 89 Willowbrae Road.
 Ronaldson, Mrs., 4 Clarendon Crescent.
 Rosebery, The Right Hon. The Earl of, D.S.O., M.C., Dalmeny House, Midlothian.
 Ross, Miss Elizabeth H., 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
 Ross, William C. A., M.A., 9 Northumberland Street.
 Rusk, J. M., S.S.C., 14 Whitehouse Loan.
 Russell, John, 2 Brunton Place.
 Russell, Miss Madge, 112 Thirlestane Road.
 Rutherford, Miss M. F., 10 Delta Place, Inveresk, Musselburgh.
- *ST. VIGEANS, Hon. LORD, LL.D., 15 Grosvenor Crescent. (*Hon. President.*)
 Salvesen, Miss Dorothy, Dean Park House.
 Sanderson, Miss Jessie, Lyncedale, West Linton.
 *Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Northumberland Street.
 Sandison, T. S., 56 Kenmure Avenue.
 Saunders, William, 15 Morningside Grove.
 Savage, Ernest A., 23 Braidburn Crescent.
 Scott, George J., J.P., The Homestead, High Cross Avenue, Melrose.
 *Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street.
 Shaw, Duncan, 6 Ulster Crescent.
 Sheriff, Miss Jean K., 5 Succoth Gardens.
 *Skinner, Robert T., M.A., F.R.S.E., 35 Campbell Road. (*Vice-President.*)
 Smart, Mrs. J. A., Bellfield, Eskbank.
 Smith, C. Maitland, C.A., 4A York Place.
 Smith, Lieut.-Col. Chilton L. Addison, C.B.E., W.S., 19 Heriot Row.
 Smith, James, 27 Haldane Avenue, Haddington.

OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

- Smith, John H., 16 Duddingston Park, Portobello.
 Smith, Robert I., 320 Mountcastle Drive North, Portobello.
 Sommerville, John, 9 Hermitage Terrace.
 Spittal, Lieut.-Col. John K., M.B.E., 10 Spylaw Road.
 Steedman, James A., 72 Morningside Drive.
 Stevenson, Percy R., 7A Young Street.
 Stevenson, Peter, C.A., 52 Arden Street.
 Stewart, George D., 92 George Street.
 Stewart, James, 27 South Oswald Road.
 Stewart, J. N., Mount Lothian, Eskbank.
 Stirling, K. J., 1 South Inverleith Avenue.
 Strachan, J. Frederick, K.C., LL.B., 27 Heriot Row.
 Sutherland, Mrs. James, 31 Duddingston Park.
 Sutherland, G. D., 18 Blackford Road.
- TAINSH, Dr. J. CAMPBELL, 27 Fairfield Road, Inverness.
 Taylor, Alexander W., 28 Buckingham Terrace.
 Taylor, William C., C.A., 6 Forres Street.
 Tedcastle, John G., 7 Coltbridge Terrace.
 *Thin, James Hay, 2 Chalmers Crescent.
 Thin, R. Traquair, M.A. (Cantab.), M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S.E., 31 Heriot Row.
 Thompson, Sir D'Arcy W., F.R.S., LL.D., South Street, St. Andrews.
 Thompson, J. H. Hannay, B.Sc., Ph.D., Granton Harbour Trust.
 Thomson, Miss Alice, 108 Findhorn Place.
 Thomson, J. F. Gordon, Advocate, 26 Heriot Row.
 Thomson, J. Gordon, S.S.C., 54 Castle Street.
 Thomson, William R. H., City Chambers, Edinburgh.
 Thorburn, Thomas, Hearthstanes, Tweedsmuir.
 Tirol, Prof. M., B.A., Ph.D., 130L Albert Street, Kingston, Canada.
 Tocher, J. F., D.Sc., 17 Carden Place, Aberdeen.
 *Tod, Henry, W.S., 45 Castle Street.
 Todd, John B., B.Sc., Ph.D., 4 Bright's Crescent.
 Todd, W. M., M.C., 9 Thistle Street.
 Trench, G. Mackenzie, O.B.E., F.R.I.B.A., Glen Morven, Forest Drive, Kingswood, Surrey.
 Trotter, Sheriff Thomas, K.C., D.L., Wick.
- URMSON, W. A. T., Bairsie House, 74 Trinity Road.
 Urquhart, Miss Florence C., 23 Gillespie Road, Colinton.

LIST OF MEMBERS

DE VILLIERS, Mrs. M. G., 44 Belgrave Road.

- WADDELL, JAMES, 33 Oxford Street.
 Wade, Henry, C.M.G., D.S.O., F.R.C.S.E., 6 Manor Place.
 Warden, Col. H. L., C.B.E., D.S.O., D.L., 55 Great King Street.
 Wardlaw, James, 9 Gillespie Road, Colinton.
 Waterston, Robert, 27 Inverleith Terrace.
 *Watherston, John, 8 Wester Coates Gardens.
 *Watson, Charles B. Boog, F.R.S.E., 24 Garscube Terrace. (*Vice-President.*)
 Watson, D. S. Chalmers, M.C., 37 Summerside Place, Leith.
 Watson, The Hon. Mrs. Ronald B., 11 Clarendon Crescent.
 Watt, James, LL.D., F.F.A., W.S., 28 Charlotte Square.
 Watt, Very Rev. Lauchlan MacLean, D.D., LL.D., Kinloch, Lochcarron, Ross-shire.
 Watt, Mrs. Margaret, 12 Clifton Terrace.
 Webster, Miss Jessie B., Burdiehouse Lime Works, Loanhead.
 Weippert, Mrs. Grizel H., Dodhill, Douglas Avenue, Exmouth.
 Weir, J. Mullo, S.S.C., 21 Mayfield Terrace.
 White, Anthony T., 28 Shandon Crescent.
 Whitton, Kenneth, 2 Albert Terrace.
 Whyte, James F., S.S.C., 11 Albyn Place.
 Wilkie, Miss Alison, 30 St. Bernard's Crescent.
 Wilson, D. J. Clark, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 10 Randolph Cliff.
 Wilson, Robert, F.R.S.E., 13 Corrennie Drive.
 Wilson, Professor William, LL.B., 38 Moray Place.
 Wilson, William M., J.P., Saint Helens, West Coates.
 Winchester, William D., LL.B., 4 Craighall Gardens.
 Wood, G. Mure, W.S., 19 Alva Street.
 Wood, Miss Marguerite, M.A., Ph.D., 13 Learmonth Gardens.
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- YOUNG, Miss BELLA M., c/o Miss Watt, 76 Ashley Terrace.
 Young, Miss Isobel T., 7 Great Stuart Street.
 Young, John, 24 Comiston Drive.
 Young, Thomas, M.A., 106 Comiston Drive.
 Yule, Allan R., C.A., 16 East Claremont Street.

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 Birmingham Public Libraries, Birmingham, 1.
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Toronto Reference Library, per Messrs. Gordon & Gotch,

75-79 Farringdon Street, London, E.C. 4.

University Club, 127 Princes Street, Edinburgh, 2.

University Library, Cambridge.

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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