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**TITLE:** The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 25

**AUTHOR:** Old Edinburgh Club

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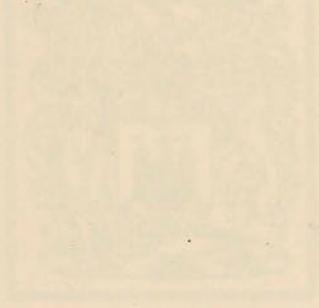


OLD EDINBURGH CLUB



THE BOOK OF THE  
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Issued to Members  
May 1946

436 (46054)

THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH  
CLUB

TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME



EDINBURGH

PRINTED BY T. AND A. CONSTABLE LTD.  
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

1945



THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH

CLUB

THE TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME



PRINTED BY J. AND A. LEITCH, LTD.  
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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE WEAVERS OF PICARDY. <i>With Plan and Sketch.</i>	By JOHN MASON 1
NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF PILTON. <i>By W. FORBES GRAY</i>	34
EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH. <i>By ROBERT WATERSTON</i>	46
LANDS AND HOUSES OF DRUMSHEUGH. <i>By JOHN CLARK WILSON</i>	71
EDINBURGH POLL TAX RETURNS. <i>By MARGUERITE WOOD</i>	90
SKENE DRAWINGS OF OLD EDINBURGH. <i>By ROBERT BUTCHART</i>	127
OLD DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH. <i>By A. NIVEN ROBERTSON</i>	146
MISCELLANY . . . . .	204
<i>With Illustration.</i>	
INDEX . . . . .	216
APPENDIX— THIRTY-SIXTH, THIRTY-SEVENTH AND THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORTS, LIST OF MEMBERS, ETC.	

## P L A T E S

	FACING PAGE
PICARDY SETTLEMENT . . . . .	16
<i>Pencil Sketch by Mr. George Cameron Foley, adapted from Grant's 'Old and New Edinburgh,' Vol. II, p. 185.</i>	
OLD PAPER MILL OF 1662 . . . . .	48
<i>From 'Theatrum Machinarum Novum,' by Georg Andrea Böckler (Nürnberg).</i>	
MODERN PAPER MILL . . . . .	49
<i>From 'Esparto Papers' (Edin., 1933), by courtesy of Association of Makers of Esparto Papers.</i>	
RAG CUTTING . . . . .	56
SIZING PROCESS . . . . .	56
<i>From Diderot's 'French Encyclopædia,' c. 1770.</i>	
DRYING LOFTS . . . . .	57
SALLE OR FINISHING HOUSE . . . . .	57
<i>From Diderot's 'French Encyclopædia.'</i>	
OLD TYPE OF BEATERS . . . . .	58
VATMAN, COUCHER, LEVERMAN . . . . .	58
<i>From Diderot's 'French Encyclopædia.'</i>	
EARLY TYPE OF HOLLANDER . . . . .	59
<i>From 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'</i>	
HOLLANDERS GEARED TO WATERWHEEL . . . . .	59
<i>From Diderot's 'French Encyclopædia.'</i>	
FACSIMILE OF RECORD ABOUT DALRY PAPER MILL . . . . .	62
<i>From Original in H.M. General Register House.</i>	
WATERMARKS OF BRAID AND YESTER PAPER MILLS . . . . .	63
<i>From Original Deeds in H.M. General Register House.</i>	
PART OF PLAN OF DRUMSHEUGH, ABOUT 1810 . . . . .	72
<i>Courtesy of the Heriot Trust.</i>	
VIEW OF EDINBURGH FROM VILLAGE OF DEAN . . . . .	80
<i>Engraving in Brockendon's 'From London to Naples.'</i>	

	FACING PAGE
LEITH WYND FROM NORTH, 1817 . . . . .	128
JOHNSTON TERRACE UNDER CONSTRUCTION, 1829 . . . . .	129
GRASSMARKET AND HERIOT BRIDGE . . . . .	136
BRISTO PORT AND CHARITY WORKHOUSE . . . . .	137
<i>All above reproduced from Drawings by James Skene of Rubislaw, now in Edinburgh Public Library.</i>	
DOVECOTES AT CRAIGIEHALL AND CORSTORPHINE . . . . .	184
DOVECOTES AT UPPER AND NETHER LIBERTON . . . . .	185
DOVECOTE AT REDHALL, COLINTON . . . . .	192
<i>All above from Photographs kindly lent by Mr. J. S. Paterson, 24 Greenhill Gardens, Edinburgh.</i>	

## ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	PAGE
SKETCH PLAN OF PICARDY . . . . .	10
<i>Drawn by Dr. Marguerite Wood.</i>	
SIGNATURE OF NICOLAS DUPYNE . . . . .	62
<i>From Original in H.M. General Register House.</i>	
HERALDIC STONE OF THOMAS SANDILANDS, 1670 . . . . .	215

## THE WEAVERS OF PICARDY

THE origin of the French weaving colony which settled at the hamlet of Picardy in the Burgh of Broughton and which operated with varying success during the greater part of the eighteenth century has hitherto remained obscure. Conflicting opinions regarding it have been offered by writers of note, but these have never been authenticated; neither have they been disproved until the present time. In his *Memorials of Edinburgh* Sir Daniel Wilson relates that in a copy of the *Annals* of Lord Hailes he discovered a manuscript note, probably written at a time when the hamlet of Picardy was in existence, which asserted that the weavers were French refugees who fled to this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and who, settling on the open common between Broughton and the old capital, attempted to establish a silk manufactory. When disaster befell this enterprise through the failure of the mulberry groves on Moultrie's Hill, the refugees turned their experience as weavers of silk to the manufacture of fine linen; and thus, it was believed, to these unfortunate settlers the weaving hamlet of Picardy probably owed its origin. This opinion was readily accepted by others—either in entirety or with variation—by Francisque-Michel,<sup>1</sup> and by James Grant,<sup>2</sup> who stated uncertainly that in 1730 the Governors of Heriot's Hospital sold five acres of ground to the City of Edinburgh for behoof of the refugees or their descendants. Grant's uncertainty apparently caused him to forsake his previous belief that in 1729 the Board of Manufactures, as one of their earliest acts, proposed to Nicholas D'Assaville of St. Quentin to bring over ten weavers with their families to settle in

<sup>1</sup> *Les Écossais en France, Les Français en Écosse*, pp. 379-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Grant's Old and New Edinburgh*, 1882, vol. ii. p. 186.

Scotland, that houses were built for them on a piece of ground lying eastward of Broughton Loan, and that in memory of their native land the weavers named the colony Little Picardy.<sup>1</sup> Robert Chambers declared that the Frenchmen were brought over by the Linen Company of Scotland,<sup>2</sup> an opinion tentatively accepted by Wilson, although he attributed the origin of the colony to the initiative of the British Linen Company. In the issue of the *Scotsman*, dated 16th August 1938, there appeared a letter which, commenting upon an Account of the 'Ancient Villages of Edinburgh' lately published, claimed that the weavers had no connection whatever with any refugees, but consisted of ten families who were brought from France by the British Linen Company for the specific purpose of teaching the art of cambric weaving. Although he appears to have been unaware of the fact, Grant was correct in his first statement regarding the origin of the colony.

The authentic account of the institution and progress of the manufacturing hamlet of Picardy has long lain unregarded in the manuscripts of the Trustees and Commissioners for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland, papers which within recent years have found safe harbourage in the Historical Department of H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.<sup>3</sup>

In a Minute of Meeting of the Commissioners, dated 3rd August 1727,<sup>4</sup> it is disclosed that the Trustees, being met for the fourth time since their appointment by Letters Patent, remitted to their recently appointed Linen Committee the task of conversing 'with Nicolas D'Assaville of St. Quentin Cambric Weaver lately come from London at the desire of the Lord Advocate and Mr. Lindesay to offer proposals for Settling here & for bringing over several Families from France

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, 1882, vol. ii. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Walks in Edinburgh*, footnote, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Largely owing to the good offices of the writer of this article.—*Ed.*

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes of Trustees of Board of Manufactures*, vol. ii. p. 213. All references are to these Minutes, unless otherwise stated.

skilled in making Cambricks & Looms &c & in Bleaching in order to Introduce these Manufactures into this Country.'

Negotiations with D'Assaville were not concluded with that ease and rapidity which apparently the Trustees expected. At his first interview, the astute Frenchman raised objections to certain provisions in the Articles of Agreement, and it was not until the Trustees had acceded to his demands that the following proposals, written in French and in English, were accepted:

- ' Article 1st. That betwixt and — The Said Nicolas D'Assaville bring over from St. Quentin in France, Ten experienced men weavers of Cambrick with their families to Settle in this Country upon the Conditions after mentioned.
- Art. 2. That each Master and his family shall be provided in a House consisting of a Vault mostly sunk under ground, a Kitchen and Bedroom with a place for keeping yarn, Each 16 foot Square within the Walls, with one third part of a Scots Acre of Ground inclos'd for Herbage at the public Charge.
- Art. 3. That the Master of each family shall be entituled to possess the said House and Inclosure during life, And his Widow upon continueing the Business, She and family shall have a House with the same Dimensions gratis during her Life, Excepting a Vault and yarn room.
- Art. 4. That each Master shall be furnished with all materials for Making up Four Looms for his own use gratis, provided They shall have hands or Apprentices of this Country to Employ the same.
- Art. 5. That each of the said Masters with their families shall, upon their Arrival here, be paid Ten pounds Sterline in full of their travelling Charges from St. Quentin and freight over.
- Art. 6. That the said Masters and their families shall be maintained from and after their arrival here, untill things be got in readiness for falling to work at the rate a master earns p day.
- Art. 7. That the said Masters shall be at liberty to work for their own profite, and at their own risque, Unless by volutar

agreement they choose to work to others at agreed prices.

- Art. 8 That there being no Taxation by public Law at present impos'd on their Trade or Manufacture, And they having right of buying selling and purchasing Moveables from the moment they settle here, Care shall be taken to settle them in such a place, as shall free them from local Taxations impos'd in particular places for the Policy of the Touns and Cities.
- Art. 9 That care shall be taken to furnish such as are poor with lint or yarn at the Current prices, and how soon the same is Manufactur'd, it shall be taken off their hands at the current rates.
- Art. 10 That each Master shall be obliged to take an Apprentice every five years for a term of five years, And shall teach them their whole art and Trade, concealing nothing of the same from them, Which Apprentice he shall maintain during the said term in Bed and Board, And for which Apprentice he shall receive a Sume not exceeding £10 Ster. with the whole profits of his work during the said space, Each Master nevertheless being at Liberty to take one or more Apprentices as parties can agree.
- Art. 11 That the said Nicolas D'Assaville shall bring along with him at his Second Journey a maker of Brushes, Combs &c. whose Charges shall likewise be defrayed; and that this comb-maker be Super-numerary of the Ten Master Weavers.

That the said Nicolas D'Assaville having taken time to advise with his friends in France upon the above Eleven general Articles, And the Separate one, It's understood, That on or befor the first November next, He shall signify to David Flint Merchant in Edinburgh his and his friends fixt Sentiments upon Accept of which, The Trustees will immediately order him to be acquainted with their final Resolutions, Signed Da: Flint, Secretary. N. d' assaville.

Separate Proposals to the said N. D'Assaville.

That the said Nicolas D'Assaville as Undertaker to bring from St. Quintin in France, to Settle in the Country,

Ten experienced Men weavers with their families, shall not only have the Charges of his present Journey to Scotland defray'd, But also the Charges of any other Journey, which by agreement he shall make afterwards, And shall have a proemium of 100 lres french or £5 Sterline for every Sufficient Master and family, And 50 shill Ster. for every young man wanting a family, skilled in the said Manufacture he shall so bring over in tears of the said Eleven Articles, And shall be provided in a Shope or wright's yeard for making Tools and other Utensils, And for laying up his materials safe contiguous to his house within described.'

D'Assaville travelled to London *en route* for France, bearing with him a signed copy of the Articles. His tarry in the Metropolis where he experimented in weaving a quantity of Scots flax into cambric, his slow journey to the Continent, and his incarceration in a French prison after the nature of his commission became known to the Government of France, were the causes of a delay which lasted for twelve months. It was not until August 1728 that, upon his release from prison, D'Assaville signified, through Francis Bochart, a silk-weaver of Nicolas Street, Spittlefields, London, his ability to fulfil the articles of agreement. The Trustees, however, were suspicious of Bochart. They failed to understand on what authority he acted, especially since hitherto they had received letters from D'Assaville written from his place of confinement. Surmising that Bochart might be an agent for the Government of France, employed to procure further evidence against the undertaker, they made enquiry through the agency of John Drummond of London and discovered that Bochart was nephew to D'Assaville, and acting with authority. They therefore directed him to inform his uncle 'in the most cautious way' that the proposals formerly made were still open to acceptance.

It was not until 10th October 1729 that the Frenchmen were reported as being at Tournais *en route* for Rotterdam,

from which they expected to sail for Scotland. John Gordon, agent at the Dutch port, arranged a passage for them in one of John Cormack's ships bound for Leith, and when on 24th October they arrived in good health, after an easy passage, they were met by David Flint, Secretary to the Trustees, whose intention was to billet them in the vicinity of the port. Nothing perhaps could have appeared more strange than the sight of five French families, dressed in strange peasant garb, speaking an unknown tongue, and standing on the pier with their baggage lately tumbled from the ship. Flint was perplexed. He had been unable to find accommodation in the vicinity. Through an interpreter he learned that James Charlet's wife, Mary Fleming, was large with child and near the time of her accouchement. With difficulty he found a lodging near at hand for Charlet, his wife, and her mother, the sister of Nicholas D'Assaville. In this lodging, on the morning of 25th October, Charlet's second child was born. In a letter to Drummond of Blair, dated 31st October, Duncan Forbes of Culloden related that the child bore 'a name no less considerable than that of George Augustus.'<sup>1</sup>

In the Minute of Meeting held on 25th October there is recorded a list of the five families :

- ' Charles Proy Reedmaker & Margaret Bochart his Spouse.  
 Their Children    John Proy aged 9 years begins to weave.  
                          Charles Proy 9 months.  
                          Magdalen Proy 7 years.
- Thomas Carlier Weaver & Marion Proy his Spouse.  
 Their Children    Francis Carlier aged 18 years Weaver.  
                          John Carlier 10 years Learner.  
                          Thos. Carlier 2 years.  
                          Marion Carlier 4 years.
- James Charlet Weaver & Margaret Fleming his Spouse.  
 Their Children    James Charlet aged 2 years.  
                          ——— Charlet not yet named Born 25th Octr.

<sup>1</sup> Tenth Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 155.

John D'Assaville Weaver & Francize Carlier his Spouse. They were married at Tourney in their way thither.  
 Anne D'Assaville Widow of Heber Fleming & Sister to Nicholas.  
 Her Children    Margt Fleming married to Jas. Charlet.  
                          Katherine Fleming } unmarried  
                          Anne Fleming        } spinners.  
                          Jacob Fleming learning to weave.'

These families were lodged in the City of Edinburgh near the 'French Congregation'; but the accommodation proved inadequate and new quarters were procured in Candlemaker Row, in a house lately repaired by James Spalding, a flax-dresser, which the Trustees rented at an annual charge of Eighteen Pounds sterling and of which they remained tenants for several years. The house was furnished with 'Seven Standing & four folding Beds with suitable Cloaths & Linens,' with 'as much Kitchine and Household furniture' as was required for immediate purposes. Arrangements were made to supply the women each with 'a Goun, Plaid & some Linens.' Thus provided the families settled down each with a subsistence allowance—Charles Proy and Thomas Carlier at 10s., James Charlet at 8s., John D'Assaville at 7s., Anne D'Assaville with the boy Jacob at 6s., the spinsters Catherine and Anne Fleming at 6s., Adam Chenabow, an interpreter, at 4s., and the young weaver, Francis Carlier, at 3s. per week until they were able to maintain themselves. A cutler in the city was employed to make tools for the reedmaker according to Proy's description. A quantity of fresh reeds of the common small bog variety was purchased from Sir William Cunningham of Priestfield. An expert wheelwright was commissioned to make wheels for the women 'by their own Direction,' and a stone each of foreign and of Scots lint was procured which the spinners dressed in the French manner.

Nicholas D'Assaville arrived in December, bringing with him his wife, two married Frenchmen, and two single men. They were billeted in the 'South high rooms' of Spalding's

house which had been repaired and furnished for their reception. They were granted maintenance allowances—D'Assaville at 10s. 6d., Francis Bochart at 10s., Claud Polain at 8s., and the two unmarried men, John Dallet and John Bochart, at 3s. each per week.

Spalding's house was a temporary billet. Permanent quarters had yet to be found. The task of finding a suitable site on which to build was attended with difficulty, since according to the Article of agreement, it was impossible to erect a settlement within the city bounds. Several localities were suggested and examined. The Lord Provost proposed the acquisition of five acres of Bearfoords Park. Walter Scot of Gairdenschall offered his park of about seven acres, lying east of Hopepark, at a prohibitive price. Provost Wightman's land at Roseburn and the lands of Alexander Lind of Gorgie were both viewed and considered. Acting on the best advice, the Trustees agreed to purchase ground at Gorgie which Lind agreed to dispose of 'free of all publick burdens Cess included for Two hundred Pounds Sterling being at the rate of Fourty pounds per Acre, holding Blench to him for payment of a Rose annually if demanded.'

The site selected, however, was not acceptable to the Frenchmen because of its distance from the city. On being advised of the decision, D'Assaville enquired if the Trustees 'would provide him in Town with a House for teaching Spinning, for a Warehouse for laying up their Cambricks in, and for retireing to on Sabbath twixt Sermons,' and if they would 'hire and pay the Rent of a piece of Ground for Sowing Lint seed to them not exceeding two acres.'

So unsuitable did the site appear to the weavers that they threatened to return to France rather than settle at Gorgie or at any place so distant from the city. As an alternative they proposed that the Trustees should acquire a site lying east of Broughton Loan which, they asserted, was most suitable to their requirements since it lay near to the town and

to the villages of Broughton and Caltoun, from all of which they expected to obtain spinners and apprentices. Influenced by the determined attitude of the weavers, the Trustees instructed their Sub-committee of three, headed by the Lord Provost, to repair to Broughton, along with three of the Frenchmen, in order to inspect the site proposed. As a result of the survey, Alexander McGill, Architect, was directed to measure off five acres of ground and to prepare a plan for a village. The Secretary to the Trustees was instructed to propose to the Council of Edinburgh 'that they feu the said 5 acres in consideration of a Sum the interest whereof at four per Cent. shall amount to the said feu duty.'<sup>1</sup>

The site selected was bounded on the east by the lands of Thomas Wood, on the north by the holding of Widow Shiells, on the west by the common way of Broughton Loan, and on the south by the public road leading to the farm of Caltoun. It formed part of the property of George Heriot's Hospital.<sup>2</sup>

An Act of Town Council<sup>3</sup> records that the Trustees requested that when the ground was feued, it should be secured to them or to one or more of the 'Frenchmen or to a person for behoof of the Trustees free of all burdens imposed or to be imposed'; that in place of feu duty to be paid to the Hospital, an agreed sum should be paid to the City; 'that if upon tryal no quarries shall be found in any part of the said ffyve Acres of Ground for building houses and Dykes,' the Council should obtain liberty from the Governors of the Hospital to win stones from the quarries of Broughton, the Trustees agreeing to pay for any damages arising from 'tiring' the ground of the tenants concerned.

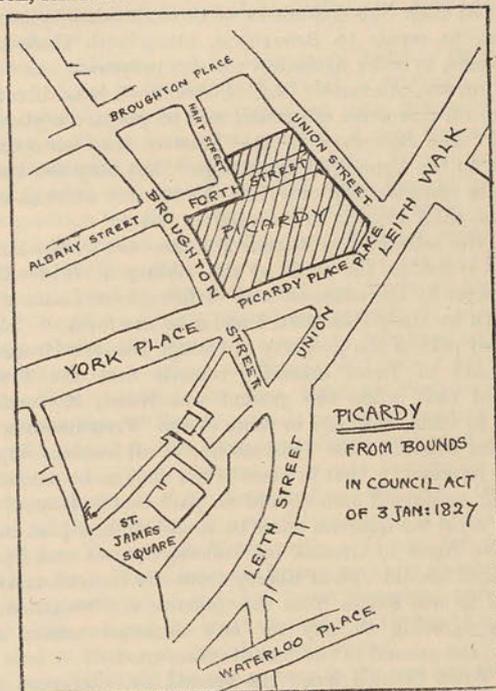
The Town Council feued the ground and conveyed it to the Trustees for a sum of £273, paid to them by the Receiver

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of 20th February and 16th March 1730.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Marguerite Wood for the sketch plan on p. 10, and for access to Town Council records.

<sup>3</sup> An Act of Council anent the purchase of five acres of Bruchton Loan for the School of the Cambric Manufactory—18th March 1758.

General in April 1730, and applied by them to extinguish a debt of like amount due to James Balfour of Pilrig and John McLaren, Minister.



The Charter granted in favour of the Trustees and their successors disposed the subjects for payment of 1d. Scots yearly, and with an obligation upon the Council and Deacons of Crafts to relieve the Trustees from payment of 'all teind Cess Ministers Stipends Schoolmasters fees and all other

public burdens imposed or to be imposed upon the five Acres in all time hereafter.'<sup>1</sup>

Upon the site thus acquired the Trustees erected a row of thirteen houses each consisting of a kitchen and a bedroom, with a garret for storing yarn and a vault intended as a weaver's workshop. Each vault had a window which projected slightly 'in the sill' from the wall in order to 'dart the Rays of light to the backmost part.' All the houses were built according to a plan and to a model kept in the Secretary's office. D'Assaville's house, situated in the middle of the row, was larger than the other twelve, being eighteen inches higher in the side walls, the gables being heightened in proportion, so that the garret windows might be enlarged to light the room intended for the inspection, stamping, and storing of cambrics.

Building operations on the first two houses were begun on the 10th April, 1730, the contractors being Robert Frame, mason, and David Laing, wright. By 3rd July the foundations of the second two houses had been laid. By the end of September, the last house was completed. The cost of both mason and wright work was computed on the basis of measurement, at the rate of £4, 10s. per rood. The garden ground, enclosed by a drystone dyke, was divided into thirteen allotments. The builder's rubbish and the earth excavated to create foundations and vaults was levelled by James Bain, gardener and feuar of Bainfield, to form a walk of eight or nine feet broad, 'with a Bank therefrom of an Easy descent so as' the weavers might 'carry in Dung to their Gardens.' The earth at the back of D'Assaville's house was cleared and the ground levelled to form a court fifty feet square. Along the front of the houses the ground was levelled to the height of the window sills of the vaults, thus making a street sixteen feet broad from the lowest step of the stairs to the houses.

<sup>1</sup> Charter in favour of the Trustees & Commissioners for Improving the Fisheries & Manufactures of Scotland of Five Acres of Land near Broughton, 30th December 1730.

The street descended to east and west so that drainage water might run into Leith Street and into Broughton Loan. This street was laid with 'causey' stones gifted by the Town Council in May 1732, the sets being laid in sand at a cost of 10s. per rood. At the same time stone flags were laid level with the sills of the vault windows. A 'Syver' was built on the south side of the street within three feet of the garden wall, 'one half to run east and the other half west.'

The total initial expenditure on the village, including the erection of coalhouses and of a bakehouse, the enclosing of the gardens, the formation of the walk, the causeying of the street, recompensing Thomas Wood, Elizabeth Good, and Lilia Anderson for damage to their ground by quarrying, Surveyor's and Measurer's fees amounted to over £2000.<sup>1</sup>

While the houses were in course of erection, Proy was engaged in making reeds and combs. The women, supplied with twelve pecks of lint obtained from Tournais, were busy at the spinning wheel. Nicholas D'Assaville was employed in making looms and in erecting them in the vaults at Picardy. In June 1730 he suggested that three or four of the spinners should be sent to Glasgow and the neighbouring towns and villages in order to teach the inhabitants the French method of brushing, spinning, and reeling, being convinced that the venture would assure to the weavers of Picardy a plentiful supply of yarn. By permission of the Trustees he with his two nieces and a boy, Garro an interpreter, visited the west country and were posted to suitable localities by McDougal, the 'Surveyor of Linen.' At the end of three months, during which they taught with satisfaction, the Linen Company of Glasgow, convinced that French methods were superior to those of the Scots spinners, urged the Trustees to extend the period of instruction; and the request having been granted, the women set out on an itinerary which took them to Paisley and to several villages in its neighbourhood.

<sup>1</sup> Cashier's Payments, 1727-60.

The success of the experiment in the west and the urgent need for developing spinning near or in Edinburgh so as to supply yarn to the weavers already at work in Picardy, constrained the Trustees to set up a spinning school at Spalding's house in Gray's Close. Anne D'Assaville and her daughter, Anne Fleming, were appointed spinning mistresses, each at an annual salary of Fifteen Pounds sterling. In this school the girls of the City's Charity School were taught; here also Scots spinning mistresses from widely scattered districts were instructed—Susan Smith of Glasgow, Christian Munro of Inverness, Janet Orr, 'spouse to Andrew Greg, Chirurgeon in Cupar,' Betty Gray of Haddington, and the mistresses at Ayr, Elgin, Monzie, and Dunkeld, each of whom attended so that they might be qualified to fulfil the condition of their appointment under the Trustees, viz., that out of a roll of at least fourteen scholars, four should be taught the French method of spinning. The activities of the French spinning mistresses were not confined to the school in Gray's Close. They extended to the Merchant Maiden Hospital which Anne and her daughter visited daily during the year 1734, teaching the girls for two hours in the forenoon and one hour in the afternoon. Ten years later, the two mistresses were instructing the women in the City's Workhouse, at the request of the Managers who intended that all the inmates of the institution should be largely employed in spinning.

The spinning school continued to operate in Gray's Close until 1739. It was reported that Anne and her daughter had for some time taught their few scholars in the house, No. 9 Picardy, and so the Trustees decided to vacate Spalding's premises. During the years that followed, the number of scholars diminished. Anne D'Assaville was now 'blind in age,' in March 1762. Her daughter was now the wife of the Dutch reedmaker, Jacob Gravenbrook, and thus was no longer dependent upon the bounty of the Trustees. So the school was closed; but the aged Anne was granted an annual

allowance of Ten Pounds, a sum which she enjoyed until her death.

According to the representation made to the meeting of Trustees by Lord Monzie on 20th April 1730 the weavers, although they had been in the country for a period of almost six months, had engaged no apprentices. During that time, D'Assaville, with the help of his brother John, had been busy making looms and erecting them at Picardy as soon as the vaults were ready for occupation. Such looms as had been completed were still idle and were likely to remain so for some time owing to lack of yarn. Lord Monzie contended that the method of making looms was a necessary part of the training of a weaver's apprentice, and he proposed that a lad Bowie, a youth of 'promising Genius & Suitable age,' should be indentured so that he might learn the whole business of the French weaving craft. To this proposal the Trustees agreed, and this lad, the son of the minister of Monzie, became the first apprentice. From February 1731 until March 1738, several apprentices were indentured, the youths selected being drawn from different localities and from different grades of society—Hugh Wilkie, son of a minister, who after trial proved unfit because of 'weak & short sight'; John, the son of Lewis of Merchiston; William Robertson, son of James Robertson, surgeon, Edinburgh; Richard Borthwick of Fallahill; Colin Ker, son of John Ker, Writer, Edinburgh; Hugh Brown, son of the 'Land carriage waiter' in the City; Abraham Marie, son of the deceased Quentin Marie, silk weaver, Spittlefields; Peter Garro, the boy interpreter; Patrick Begbie, son of the dyer of Haddington; George Hutton, son of an Alloa Merchant; John Ross of Inverness; John Lesly, son of the Factor to the Earl of Wemyss; John Forbes, a 'Port waiter's' son; John Wallace of Prestonpans; Clement Carse, son of the late smith of Dean, and others. These were lodged at Picardy, in the garrets ('which were very cold, having a Vent at each end') to the great incon-

venience of the weavers, whose rising families were thus deprived of sleeping accommodation, and who, having complained that they had 'no other place for their maids to lye in,' constrained the Trustees to divide the lofts by deal partitions.

In the early years of the experiment, apprentices were indentured immediately after their acceptance, with the result that youths who proved unsuitable remained as a drag on the weavers. In 1733 this practice was abandoned and henceforth presentees were compelled to undergo several weeks' trial before they were indentured.

The Minutes of 3rd March 1738 reveal that although a considerable number of youths had been indentured, the weavers 'had not yet given any bred tradesmen,' a fact which induced the Trustees to consider the adoption of a system of instructing journeymen. The existing apprentices, one having newly completed his agreement, and a few almost at the end of their period of indenture, were retained as improvers.

The failure of the apprenticeship system, together with events relative to the colony as a whole—of which a fuller account is given later—effected changes which led to the extinction of the colony as a manufacturing centre.

On 5th August 1730, Nicholas D'Assaville and his brother John were made Burgesses and Guild Brothers of the City of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> On 14th August Nicholas was appointed Stamp-master of cambrics at a salary of £10 sterling per annum, for which amount he was under obligation to inspect all cambrics in the County of Edinburgh; to stamp only materials that were to standard and that were whitened in Scotland; to make certain that each piece was exactly 16 yards, and each half piece 8 yards in length, and in width according to the French standard; to record in a book particulars of each piece passed and stamped by him, showing the name of the weaver, the reed in which the cloth was woven, the quality of

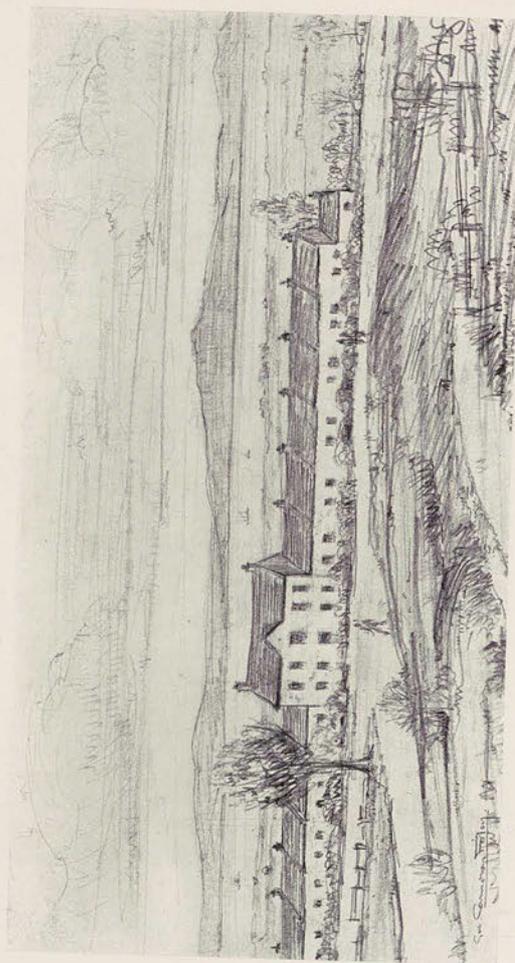
<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Town Council, 5th August 1730.

the material being denoted by a letter of the alphabet 'for the hundreds in the Reed,' and the kinds of cloth in any reed being designated by a figure (1, 2, 3, etc.). The stamp provided for his use was a 'Thistle Crown'd imperial with the County of Edinbo. and his name encircled all in the bigness of a Scots half penny.'

As the current price of stamping was two pence for each forty yards—three pence below the charge exacted in France—D'Assaville was granted a sum of Five Pounds per annum 'untill,' as Flint records, 'a Clause in an Act of Parliament be obtained for Establishing the fees here for Stamping of Cambrick equal to these fees paid in France.'

For his work as Stampmaster, D'Assaville was provided with two marble tables, one 5 feet by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet by 6 inches, the other of the same area but only 3 inches in thickness, both imported from Germany. The Bill of loading and the Invoice for these tables, lodged by John Gordon, showed a cost of £16, 13s. 9d., due to Arbuthnot & Company, the suppliers. The tables, and the presses operated by two large screws, formed the chief articles of the Stampmaster's equipment. In the garret above his house D'Assaville received, examined, smoothed, measured, stamped, and folded the cambrics brought to him, and laid them in store until they were taken off his hands by the Trustees.

By 10th November 1730 each of the weavers had woven three or four pieces which they desired Flint to receive in exchange for yarn at current prices or for cash, according to the terms of agreement. So far, no method had been devised for trading the cambrics. On 29th December the weavers proposed that the Trustees should lend each of the eight masters a sum of £25 on their accepted Bills payable six months after date, together with £8, 15s. each at the next bleaching season, to enable them to purchase yarn and to keep their cambrics in stock until they were whitened when, as they averred, 'everybody wou'd be Judge of the penny



PENCIL SKETCH OF PICARDY SETTLEMENT

BY G. CAMERON FOLEY

(Adapted from View by Clerk of Eldin)

worth, there being none in this Country acquainted with the value of Green Cambrics.' As their families could not be supported by the profits of one loom when cambrics were sold at French rates, the weavers requested that each master be allowed five shillings per month until each man possessed four looms. This the Trustees granted.

In November 1731 the Linen Committee endeavoured to find a suitable method of disposing the stock of bleached cambrics still in the hands of the Trustees, and of green cambrics as these came from the looms. A parcel of cambrics had already been despatched to John Higton, merchant in London, who however refused to purchase on the grounds that the fabrics were  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches narrower than those imported from the Continent, that they were badly coloured, and too highly priced. The weavers asserted that the reeds were made '30 Inches English instead of 30 Inches French'—a mistake which the Trustees demanded the reedmaker to rectify—and that the fabrics were whiter than those they had bleached in Holland the previous year, and that it was impossible to manufacture cambrics at a cheaper rate. Thereupon the Trustees instructed Claud Johnstone of London to dispose of the goods at maker's rates and to pay Higton the cost of carriage and other charges.

Since sales were slow the stock of cambrics increased. This was due mainly to the want of the right type of flax, the lack of skilled spinners, and the inability of the weavers to sell goods on credit. A continuance of this situation would bring ruin to the Frenchmen and defeat the project of establishing the cambric trade at the colony. In view of this situation the Linen Committee recommended the better cultivation of flax, improved methods of dressing, and encouragement to fine spinners already operating. To assist the Frenchmen it was decided that all cambrics should be lodged in a 'public office' over which an officer should preside who would sell the goods on credit not exceeding six months, or

for ready cash at reasonable discount. To finance this scheme, the Trustees craved the Treasury's permission to expend a sum of £1000 to enable the warehouse keeper to advance money to the weavers upon the cloth deposited. This was granted by Royal Warrant on 19th June 1733.

David Flint was appointed warehouse keeper and cashier at a salary of £100 per annum under security of £1000. His duties were the 'Receiving, Booking, Keeping & Selling out all Cambricks, brown or white, made or to be made by the Forreign Cambrick workers now settled or that shall be settled near Edinburgh.' For his guidance he was given certain instructions. He was obliged to provide a warehouse and proper books for accounting. A room adjoining his office in the City, 'pretty large and well lighted,' fitted with presses or cupboards divided and shelved 'for several Staples of Cambricks,' and provided with a table and other furniture, was deemed suitable as a warehouse. When the cambrics, brown and white, were deposited with him, Flint was obliged to take them to the stampmaster who, if satisfied with their quality and measurements, stamped them with a stamp on which was engraven 'Edinburgh,' with the stampmaster's name, and with a private mark denoting 'the hundreds of the Reed' on which the cambrics were wrought. On the end of each piece so stamped, the weaver sewed his own private mark and number, and fixed a label showing his name, his number, and the price of the cloth. A record of the cambrics received was kept in a Stock book which showed the date of receipt, the mark and number of each piece, the weaver's name, the number of yards, and the price. When he had witnessed these entries, the weaver received a proportion of the value of his goods—two-thirds of the value if the fabric was properly bleached, half if the cambric was green. The balance of account was paid to him when the cloth was sold. All brown cambrics unsold before the 25th March of each year, as well as others received after that date and during

the bleaching season, could be sent by Flint to any public bleaching field to be whitened, lapped, and folded 'in the best French manner.' After the cambrics were bleached, the weaver was paid a quarter of their value. When the cloth was sold and the price received by the warehouse keeper, the weaver was paid balance of price less the bleaching charges and a percentage on the cost price. The cambrics could be sold by Flint either for ready cash or on credit for six months. Brown cambrics were disposed of at the original marked price, if for ready cash; if they were sold on credit, 3 per cent. was added to the cost price. Bleached fabrics were sold at 6 per cent. on the marked price. The percentages added were retained by the warehouse keeper for the purpose of making good any losses due to bad debts or to misfortunes to the cambrics during the bleaching. If any piece of cambric remained in stock for six months, and the price of it appeared too high, the Trustees reserved the right to sell it 'at the next Lowest Staple in Value,' the price being reduced each six months until the cloth was disposed of. A list of accepted buyers was compiled and the warehouse keeper was debarred from giving credit to any merchant whose name did not appear in the list. The first merchants accepted were Archibald McAulay, Patrick Lindesay, Thomas Gardner, David Spence, Junior, and Andrew Jamieson. To safeguard the interests of these merchants, weavers who accepted benefit from the Trustees' scheme were debarred from selling any of their fabrics direct to any person and from weaving yarn for any private individual without permission from the Trustees.

By Royal Warrant, dated 19th June 1733, the Treasury allowed a sum of £2010 for the development of the industry, one half to be expended on advance payments to the weavers. This provision assisted the colony during the early stages of its development, and the settlement, though small, produced a considerable amount of cloth each year. In 1732 James

Charlet alone manufactured fabrics to the value of £82, 18s. 7½d., and this at an average price of two shillings per yard. The products, however, failed to find a ready market. In 1736 the cambrics woven during the three previous years were still in stock. This was attributed to various causes. The flax used was unsuitable for the making of fine linen. The spinners employed were inexpert. The fabrics were too thick, too narrow—thirty inches wide—and they were offered at a price which could not compete with that of cambrics imported from France. According to the weavers, the inequalities in the rates of exchange militated against their success. The price of cloth in France varied considerably, rising and falling by as much as 50 per cent. The French weaver received twelve livres for manufacturing a fabric for which a journeyman in Scotland would demand twenty-one shillings sterling. Moreover, the prices charged for bleaching in Scotland were exorbitant, and the quality of the bleaching was inferior. To these disadvantages there was added the burden of the long period of credit allowed to the merchants.

In 1741 the Trustees reviewed the situation with the weavers, and it was agreed that the width of the cambrics should be increased to seven-eighths of a yard, and that prices should be reduced to the level of the French standard. The Trustees emphasised that unless such changes were effected the industry could not continue, agreeing however to seek permission from the Treasury to expend £200 upon advance payments.

In spite of such improvements and of the aid granted by the Treasury, the colony gradually declined. Houses and vaults became vacant; looms stood idle or were discarded. In February 1735 it was reported that five out of the thirteen vaults stood unoccupied. This situation resulted in the admission of Dutchmen and others to the settlement. Yaxly Davidson, trained as a weaver in Scotland and in Flanders,

gained possession of two houses and vaults in which to accommodate himself and a Dutch weaver, with nine Dutch looms. John Melville, trained by James Liberights, a Dutchman who wove linen for Lind of Gorgie, occupied a vault for one year before he removed to Dunbar. In December 1735 William Hamilton entered into possession of the house and vault next to Proy, the reedmaker.

By May 1735, John Carlier and his wife were both dead. In 1736, John D'Assaville, his wife, and their children died, and his furniture and effects, sequestrated in order to meet the funeral expenses and debts outstanding, were roused by warrant of the Bailie of Broughton.

Previous to November 1733 thirty-two looms had been erected in the vaults, four each being allotted to Claud Polain, Frances Bochart, Charles Proy, James Charlet, Nicholas D'Assaville, John D'Assaville, John Dellat, and Thomas Carlier. In December 1738 it was discovered as the result of a survey that only nineteen looms were operating. Four others were idle. Polain occupied two vaults, employing three journeymen and four apprentices. Proy had five looms at work. The vault, No. 10, had never been equipped with cambric looms, but four Dutch looms had been installed by Archibald Stewart, a City merchant. James Charlet, the occupant of No. 9 in the Row, employed three journeymen on cambric looms, while two looms, in bad condition, lay neglected on the vault floor. In the vault two Dutch looms were also at work. In John D'Assaville's workshop, No. 8, there stood four Dutch looms belonging to Alexander Dalrymple, a City advocate, while four cambric looms, one in disrepair, stood neglected. Nicholas D'Assaville used part of his vault, No. 7, as a workshop in which he was making Dutch looms. He had three cambric looms working, the fourth being idle. John Dellat, now unable to work 'by reason of a Scurvey and Swelling on his Legs,' employed nobody. His three looms stood unused. He had rented part of the vault,



number of cambric looms had increased to forty-six, thirty of which were at work for McCulloch and Tod. Twelve were weaving for the Frenchmen, and four were idle. McCulloch, who was present at the survey, stated that all the old looms were incapable of producing fabrics in popular demand 'by Reason,' he averred, 'of the Late Act of Parliament against the Vending and Weaving of French Lawns or Cambrics, which Subjects every Drapper, to have his Warehouse Searched, after Midsummer 1748, and on finding any such Goods (or which an Officer may Call such) is liable to a penalty of five Pounds Sterling pr piece.'<sup>1</sup> All French cambrics, he declared, were thirty-one or thirty-one and a half inches broad and were imported in 'Demi pieces, of about Eight yards or Lupins, of two, or three Yards in Length each.' 'When our Scots Cambrics are whitened, there is no Possibility of Distinguishing betwixt the Fabrick or Goods of the two Different Nations, we making our Goods at Present in the very Same method, with the foreigh, so that a Drapper may be brought under very great Difficultys, and Charge in the Vending of our Goods, and as the Onus Probandi lyes at his door will be obliged either to bring up the maker of the Goods, from his place of Residence to Prove them British Manufacture, or pay the penalties with the forfeiture of the Goods.'

In order to secure the market before the French could discover means to evade the Act, the old looms would require to be altered so as to weave fabrics thirty inches wide. According to information received from London, there would be a demand for broad lawns, and this had induced McCulloch and Tod to consider the erection of more broad looms in and around the City.

In 1750 the cambric trade at Picardy had expanded under the management of the undertakers, and the contract with the Trustees was renewed. But four years later it was re-

<sup>1</sup> Act 18 Geo. II, cap. xxxvi. (1745).

ported that French manufacturers had contrived to recover the British market in cambrics by illegal methods, sending over fabrics under a false denomination at small duty charges and smuggling them across the Channel, thus escaping the imposition of duty. This illegal trade had so affected the Picardy weavers that several, in dire distress, deserted the colony, while those remaining petitioned the Trustees for relief. At this juncture the Trustees seriously considered the question of closing down the settlement, but on the advice of the Lord Justice-Clerk, who recommended that since the foreigners had been brought from France 'upon the public faith,' it would be 'highly improper to disband them,' they resolved to relieve McCulloch and Tod of their obligation and to apply half of the Cambric Fund, then remaining, towards the indemnification of the managers and the Frenchmen for the losses they had sustained since the passing of the Act. Admitting their responsibility for the welfare of the weavers, they made an agreement with McCulloch and Tod whereby the latter should supply the Frenchmen and their heirs or apprentices with yarn and should employ them in weaving 'lawns, carolines, Cambrics, hollands, or other fabrics above a 1200 Warp,' cloths which could be woven without loss. The contractors were further bound to supply suitable looms free of charge, three looms per vault; to pay the weavers at journeyman's rates; to allow Carlier, Charlet, and Dellat a sum of £3 each in addition to a like grant awarded by the Trustees for several years; and to pay a similar amount to Fleming for supplying reeds and other equipment required for the looms. To enable the undertakers to fulfil these obligations the Trustees awarded them a sum of £50, together with half of the Cambric Fund, free of interest, for three years, in the hope that the illegal importation of French cambrics and lawns 'contrary to the Intent of Parliament, the Interest of the Revenue, and the Manufactures of this Country,' would cease by the intervention of the British Government. The

Cambric Fund in December 1756 amounted to £845, 7s. 6d., half of which by agreement was allotted directly to the support of the industry, and was distributed according to the quantity of fabric woven. It was as follows :

McCulloch and Tod	45, 676 yards valued at	£285-19-1½
Charles Proy	8, 572 „ „	53-13-3½
Nicholas D'Assaville	7, 366 „ „	46- 2-3½
James Charlet	4, 458 „ „	27-18-2
Jacob Fleming	1, 444 „ „	9- - .9
Total	67, 576	£422-13-9

The smuggling of French cambrics into the Kingdom continued with disastrous effects upon home industry. British importers under bond as exporters disposed of the fabrics in the United Kingdom and exported linens of inferior quality. Masters of ships freighted and bound for the Plantations paid duty for a few fabrics only, reporting all as bound for foreign colonies, then sailed away to hover round the coasts of the British Plantations and secretly landed their whole cargoes in British possessions.

By the end of 1758 McCulloch and Tod had sustained considerable losses through lack of sales. There still lay in stock the products of several years' labour, valued at £2500. In their plight they, along with the weavers, who had also suffered losses, petitioned the Trustees craving assistance. As a consequence, and on the advice of the Lord Justice-Clerk, the agreement with McCulloch and Tod was annulled, and it was agreed that out of the funds remaining, the weavers should receive increased grants on condition that they wove a certain quantity of Silesia or other fabrics.

In 1758 an Act was passed<sup>1</sup> which declared that on and after 1st August 1759 no cambrics, French lawns, or other linens usually denominated cambrics, should be imported unless packed in bales, cases, or boxes covered with sackcloth

<sup>1</sup> Act 32 Geo. II, cap. xxxii. (1758).

or canvas, each bale, case, or box to contain one hundred whole pieces or two hundred half pieces. Any cambrics or lawns in less quantity found on board a ship in the United Kingdom, or imported, should be liable to forfeiture. Importation of French fabrics would be allowable only if the goods were intended for export, and a duty of 5 per cent. was imposed. All such imported fabrics would require to be lodged in the Customs House and could be withdrawn only under export restrictions.

Despite this enactment, the industry at Picardy again declined. So unsatisfactory was the situation by March 1762, that the Trustees deliberated whether the annual aids granted to the weavers as well as the salaries to spinning mistresses should be discontinued. According to the contract made with the first French settlers, the Trustees were not bound to award grants or salaries, but they were under obligation to supply lint or yarn at current prices and to assume the responsibility of disposing of the fabrics woven. At the time of deliberation only two of the original settlers were alive, viz. Charles Proy and James Charlet, with Anne D'Assaville, now an old woman and blind. The other possessors of houses and vaults were five heirs of original settlers—John Carlier, Daniel Dellat, Duncan D'Assaville, Nicholas D'Assaville, Mary Polain—all holding possessions by right of the original contract. Two sons-in-law of deceased Frenchmen—Peter Drummond and William Anderson—were Trustees' tenants. Five houses in all had reverted to the Trustees. After reviewing the circumstances, the Trustees resolved to discontinue the grants to both weavers and spinning mistresses, but in compassion for the blind old widow they allowed her a sum of £10.

By June 1776 all the original settlers were dead. The heirs of six of them held rights of possession to the houses they occupied. The others were tenants who had gained possession at different times. There were sixty-one looms in the vaults, fifty of which wove cambric. Thirty-seven were

operated by sundry weavers; thirteen stood idle. The buildings were now in a state of decay. Almost all the roofs were ruinous, and sundry repairs were required on the fabric. The march dykes were breached and tumbled down. Since the burden of upkeep rested on the occupiers, the Trustees instructed the present possessors to effect the necessary repairs. At the same time they decided that the vaults should contain only cambric looms so that nothing but cambric might be woven. Mrs. Catherine D'Assaville was appointed Stamp-master at a salary of £5, with authority to enquire and report every four months how the looms were employed.

The industry, carried on by the heirs of original settlers and by tenants, each possessed of half a vault, lingered on to decay. The heirs were no more successful than their forebears and they adopted various expedients to augment their small incomes. In 1785, Duncan D'Assaville, grandson of the deceased undertaker, Nicholas, granted leave to William Burrel, a barber, to erect a small house 'within the fore garden part' of his ground at a small Tack for fourteen years. The house was occupied by 'Jackson of the Theatre Royal.' Burrel had started building operations next to this house before the Trustees raised protest. But on hearing the details of the transaction and Burrel's plea that the house might remain until the expiry of the Tack, they took little action, being 'of opinion that it might distress petitioner & would not answer any purpose to the Board to demolish the house immediately.'

The end of the colony was foreshadowed when, in 1786, James Craig, an architect, enquired if the Trustees intended to dispose of the property at Picardy, and what annual feu duty they would demand. At a meeting held on 19th July 1786, the Trustees agreed to employ an architect to survey the ground and to construct a plan for buildings and streets to be erected thereon, showing the elevation of the houses, with length of frontage and width of the gables. At that meeting the Lord Provost of Edinburgh stated that on the

extension of Queen Street eastwards to Broughton Loan, as permitted by Act of Parliament, the Magistrates desired to continue the road through Picardy to connect with 'the great road leading to Leith.' The Trustees therefore agreed that such a street should be included in their plan.

The Trustees realised that before they could dispose of the ground, the whole rights to the properties held by the heirs of original settlers would require to be purchased. In their attempts to effect a settlement, they experienced difficulty. Some of the heirs refused to sell; others demanded a high price. It was not until 1791 that two heirs—Deskford Fleming and James Charlet—agreed to accept the sum of £165; a third—Somerville Pinkerton—receiving £20 in addition for the old bakehouse which had been converted into a vault. The Trustees were now in possession of nine of the thirteen properties, and after negotiation the possession of Duncan D'Assaville, who was now a soldier, was purchased through his agent for £265. In 1800, the properties belonging to the heirs of John Carlier were sold for £500.

Meanwhile the disposition of the land was still under consideration. We find that in 1791 'several gentlemen' addressed the Trustees, explaining that they desired 'to build a court for playing of fives,' and that part of the ground at Picardy, 'the Angle to the east of Broughton road,' would suit their purposes 'from its situation and vicinity to the new Town.' They expressed a desire to feu or purchase the land. From the plan which they presented it appeared that the intended structure would not interfere with the line of Queen Street. The proposal, however, failed to find favour with the Trustees who, on the suggestion of their Secretary, resolved to adhere to their former decision to obtain a plan for the whole layout of the ground.

In June 1791, Baxter, the architect, submitted three plans for consideration of the Trustees. He reckoned that the angular piece of ground bounded by Leith Walk, Broughton

Road, and the proposed line of Queen Street was worth £100 per annum since it would give 290 feet of frontage, and that the remaining ground to north of Queen Street would afford 900 feet of frontage and be worth seven shillings per foot or £315 per annum.

During the same month the Lord Provost of Edinburgh presented a Memorial from the Town Council which declared that as the cambric manufacture had now ceased, the Trustees should dispoise the ground to them at the original price of £273, the existing buildings to be taken over at valuation. The Trustees informed the Council that the proposition was inadmissible and that they were unable to sell any land except the angle of ground through which it was intended to extend Queen Street. This ground they were willing to offer.

In March 1800 the Secretary to the Trustees stated that as Baxter's plans were unsuitable, he had employed Robert Burn, architect, to survey the ground and produce a plan of buildings and streets. Burn estimated the value of the land in annual feu duty at £41, 10s. 9d., and advocated selling or feuing by public roup.

By May 1800 all the tenants had been given notice to remove by the Term. The sale of the materials of the houses was authorised. The ground was opened from Broughton Road to Leith Walk in a straight line from York Place, so as to continue that street as shown in Burn's plan, 'there named Picardy Place.' The Trustees' Committee had obtained a statement of the average rates of feu duty for the ground in York Place and Albany Row, and on the basis of this statement they estimated that the ground at Picardy was worth £646, 5s. 3d. of annual feu duty. 'From the excellent situation of Picardy and the rage for building in that Quarter,' they believed that, sold publicly, the ground would fetch that price or even more.

The Trustees thereupon decided to sell the ground as a whole at the price of £600 per annum and to offer it to the

Town Council who, they had been informed, would willingly purchase it. The Council however hesitated, and the Trustees resolved to advertise the lands for sale by public roup, if they were not disposed of privately.

In July 1800 the Town Council again memorialised the Trustees setting forth that the Board originally obtained the lands for the sole purpose of establishing the cambric trade, 'which purpose,' they averred, 'has completely failed'; that the increased value of this small property had been created entirely by the erection of the North Bridge and other public works built at the expense of the community; that the sale of Picardy as a building site would adversely affect the feuing of the Town's property at Bellevue. The Trustees stated in reply that they were not mistaken in the value they had placed upon the property and that they would account themselves remiss in their duty to the public if they sold at a reduced price. This statement appears to have had the effect of compelling the Council to abandon their intention to purchase, and the Trustees forthwith accepted the offer of Robert Burn, the architect, who agreed to an annual feu duty of £600. Burn proposed to impose £400 of the feu duty on the principal houses or those occupied 'from top to bottom' by one proprietor only, and that he should remit a sum of £4000 in lieu of the remaining £200 per annum which would require to be collected in small amounts from the proprietors of houses consisting of one flat.

A formal Minute of Sale was signed declaring that the Trustees agreed to sell and dispoise to Robert Burn and his heirs and assignees, heritably and irredeemably 'All and Hail that piece of Ground called the Lands of Picardy consisting of Five Scotch Acres or thereabouts,' bounded by the lands possessed by Thomas Wood on the East; by the lands possessed by Widow Shiell, elder, on the North; By the way called Broughton Loan on the West; and the Highway leading to Caltoun on the South. Burn agreed to pay £100 sterling

at Martinmas 1804, £200 in 1805, £300 in 1806, £400 in 1807, £500 in 1808, £600 in 1809, and £600 yearly in all time coming ; and in order that the Trustees or their successors in office might be able to levy an annual duty of £600, he bound himself, in feuing the ground, to impose upon the larger proprietors annual sums of not less than £10 so that £400 per annum might accrue, and upon lesser proprietors at least £3 in order to meet the remaining duty of £200.

Burn quickly discovered that the proposed method of imposing duty hindered the feuing of the ground. In 1803 he suggested to the Trustees that he should pay a sum of £12,000 by instalments in lieu of the annual amount of £600. His proposal was accepted, the following instalments, each payable at Martinmas, being agreed upon : £2000 in 1803, 1804, 1805 ; and £3000 in 1806, 1807.

By direction of the Trustees, Burn disposed of the materials of the old houses at Picardy for £169, an amount which he received as an equivalent for his services as architect.

The houses built by Burn upon the site sold slowly. In January 1807, when he was pressed by the Trustees for an instalment of £3000 then due, he revealed that he had houses on hand to the value of £20,000.

Burn was regarded as dilatory and indifferent to his obligations. The Trustees therefore proposed to prosecute him. They were compelled to collect the feu duties, which in 1807 amounted to £889, 9s. 2d. The balance of account then due by Burn had been reduced to £650 which, the Trustees hoped, would be settled in a few weeks ; but according to the Minutes of Meetings the Account was not closed by the year 1810.

Among the Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh there appears a Memorial presented by various proprietors of houses in Forth Street, Picardy Place, and other parts of the ground at Picardy, in which it is claimed that, according to the Act of Council, December 1730, disposing of the lands

to the Trustees, they were not entitled to pay public burdens. Petitioners asserted that because Burn had failed to transmit the instalments of the price of purchase, the Trustees had issued to them a feu contract under restriction only of maintaining the streets and pavements, and against sub-feuing. The properties were rated high in the ' City Books for Cess, Stipend, Police Money &c.' They had received water from the Town and, like other proprietors in the extended Royalty, had paid the public burdens. Since Burn had declined to interfere in the matter of relieving them of the public burdens, they had sought the advice of Counsel who was of opinion that such burdens should not be imposed. The taxes—Cess, Stipend, Poor Rates, and Police Money—ranged from £8 to £12 on the Forth Street houses ; they varied according to valued rent in the case of houses in Picardy Place. Petitioners asserted that if the burdens were withdrawn, the value of their properties would increase by as much as two or three hundred Pounds.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that in 1804 Burn presented a plan of a Drawing Academy which he proposed to construct in the attic storey of the corner house at Picardy. The building included apartments to accommodate a keeper. Burn offered to complete the structure for £1000 plus feu duty. A provisional agreement was reached in terms of offer, and the Academy was eventually built. In November 1809 the Trustees resolved to sell the premises, but, according to the Minutes of Trustees, no offer was received.

I am indebted to Mr. George Cameron Foley for the fine sketch reproduced at p. 16.

JOHN MASON.

<sup>1</sup> Memorial for various Proprietors of Houses in Forth Street, Picardy Place and other parts of Picardy grounds, 1806 (Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh).

## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF PILTON

AT the far end of Ferry Road, and opposite the seventeenth-century mansion of the Lochs of Drylaw, are the lands of Pilton (Pyltoun), which recently have been sadly transformed by the extensive building of working-class dwellings. The rustic character of the district has been largely obliterated, and, unless it be the farm of West Pilton,<sup>1</sup> little survives to remind us of an area (now incorporated in Greater Edinburgh) with highly interesting records going back to the days of James VI and probably earlier—an area, moreover, which for centuries was the home of historic families. The old mansion of Pilton has long since disappeared, and, unfortunately, there seems to be no description of the building extant, though it existed till almost the middle of the eighteenth century when it was destroyed by fire, 8th February 1749. Nor is there any detailed account of Pilton estate. The following notes, pieced together from scattered but authentic sources, may however serve as an introduction to more elaborate researches.

When Pilton (which Wood's *Cramond* erroneously describes as a 'barony') first comes on the page of history it was owned by the Lords Montgomery of Eglinton. In or about 1430 the lands were possessed by Alexander, Lord Montgomery, who bestowed them on his grandson, Alexander, after the latter's marriage in 1459 with Katherine, daughter of Gilbert, Lord Kennedy.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Pilton is mentioned in two charters preserved in the General Register House, and dated 1460 and 1465. Thereafter the lands are frequently referred to as part of the Eglinton estates, being known as Principality lands, *i.e.* held of the Prince as Steward of Scotland. A third charter, dated 5th March 1501/2, conveys Pilton to John, Master of

<sup>1</sup> The farm buildings of East Pilton were pulled down recently.

<sup>2</sup> *Great Seal*, ii. No. 755.

Montgomery, who was killed in the skirmish of 'Cleanse the Causeway'—that furious encounter between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses which took place in the High Street of Edinburgh in 1520.

So early as 1465 a feu was granted to David Liddell of Lochtullo for three suits of court at Pilton,<sup>1</sup> but fully a century elapses before we come upon another feu in the person of Clement Maughan (Mauchane) whose testament was confirmed on 20th April 1573. Maughan died in July 1571, leaving a widow, Marion Hoppringill, and a son James. The latter, described as 'elder of Pilton,' with consent of his sons James (younger of Pilton) and Clement, granted a charter on 30th June 1600 to Peter Rollock (Rollok) and Christian Cant, his wife, of the £5 lands of Pilton in the parish of Cramond, of which sasine was given on 12th May 1602.<sup>2</sup>

Rollock was in the extraordinary position of being both a bishop and a lawyer. The sixth son of Andrew Rollo of Duncrub, he qualified as an advocate, and in May 1596 was admitted a Lord of Session with the judicial title (subsequently) of Lord Pilton.<sup>3</sup> Previously, in 1585, he had been appointed titular Bishop of Dunkeld, but performed no ecclesiastical functions, though mindful of the temporalities, having, it is stated, eventually sold his bishopric for £20,000 Scots; but this may be doubted. Another account says that Rollock demitted his ecclesiastical office, 'but obtained nothing in its place.'<sup>4</sup> This statement, however, does not necessarily preclude his having received monetary compensation. But whether this be so or not, it is a fact that the General Assembly had occasion during his tenure of office to cause inquiry to be made regarding his life, conversation and doctrine. It was not till February 1607 that he was finally induced to surrender the bishopric of Dunkeld,<sup>5</sup> after which he was known simply

<sup>1</sup> *Great Seal*, ii. No. 854.

<sup>3</sup> *Scots Peerage*.

<sup>5</sup> *Fasts*.

<sup>2</sup> *Edin. Sas.*, 15th May 1602.

<sup>4</sup> *Art. Dictionary of National Biography*.

as 'Mr. Peter Rollock of Pilton.' Some years before this, and while still a bishop, he had evinced a disposition to take a prominent part in secular affairs. In 1603 he was one of the influential Scots who accompanied James VI to London, and was subsequently rewarded with the controllership of the royal household. Two years later, however, he returned to Edinburgh. The latter part of his career was stormy, and almost the last public record of him is his resignation in 1620 of his seat on the Bench.

In 1611 an attempt was made on Rollock's life by two sons of a neighbour, Matthew Finlayson of Killeith, with whom he had a lawsuit. The *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* gives a circumstantial account of the incident. On 21st September John and Robert Finlayson, 'armed with certain weapons and with pistolets at their belts,' waylaid Rollock 'at the back of Innerleith' while 'returning from the town of Restalrig.' When the two sons of Killeith saw him approach they 'horsit thameselffes to his awn house of Piltoun' and 'with ane loude scheut [shout] cried: This is a traytour!' Rollock, who was accompanied by his son, was 'fiercely pursued.' Both assailants shot at him but their pistols missed fire. The spirit of revenge, however, was strong, and on the following day John Finlayson sent a message to Rollock regretting 'his awn mishap in missing of the taking of the said Rollock's life' and adding menacingly that nothing would 'stay him fra scheduling of the best blood in his body.'

Rollock died on 30th June 1632. He was twice married. His first wife, Christian Cant, was at the date of the union a widow twice over. Her first husband, Colonel Henry Balfour, was killed in November 1580, and her second, Captain John Balfour, died *ante* 17th November 1592.<sup>1</sup> Rollock's second wife, whom he married in 1607 and who died in 1621, was Elizabeth Weston, widow of John Fairlie of Bruntfield.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. i. p. 43 (Scottish History Society).

<sup>2</sup> *Fasti*.

Apparently having no lawful surviving issue, he was succeeded in Pilton by his nephew, John Rollock of Pitmeadie and Pilton. Admitted advocate in 1608, he became Commissary of Dunblane and later Sheriff of Stirling. In 1607 he married Christian Justice, daughter of William Justice, merchant burghess of Edinburgh. By her he had a son, Peter Rollock, who acquired Pilton and part of Muirhouse (Toungs and Forty Acres) by gift from his father. Peter Rollock died in April 1653, leaving a heritage of debt to his daughter, Christian, by his first wife, Elizabeth Halyburton, and his son, John, by his second wife, Mary Stirling. The estates accordingly were appraised from them in July 1654 at the instance of James Menteith of Milnhall, probably a brother-in-law of Peter Rollock.<sup>1</sup>

The next family to possess Pilton were the McCullochs, descendants of the McCullochs of Catboll in Ross-shire. In 1672 Hugh McCulloch had a Crown charter confirming his possession of the lands of Easter and Wester Pilton together with parts of Muirhouse. It is known that he had already acquired proprietary rights in the latter through George Cockburn, late of Pilton, who derived from the appraisers of Peter Rollock's estate. Hitherto McCulloch had been described simply as writer in Edinburgh, but in the charter of 1672 he is designated 'of Pilton.' Three years later he figures as 'Sir Hugh McCulloch of Pilton, knight,'<sup>2</sup> but when or in what circumstances knighthood was bestowed on him, has not been ascertained. McCulloch, whatever his rank, evidently was a man of substance, since he also owned the lands of Howletstoun and Cumnorig in Stow parish as well as the estate of Innerethie in Ross-shire. He married (January 1660) Jean Gibson, daughter and heir and executrix of Alexander Gibson, minister of the Second Charge of South Leith from 1640 to 1650. Gibson, who was connected with the historic

<sup>1</sup> See *Great Seal Reg.*, 28th July 1654 and Test. of Peter Rollock, confirmed 6th July 1653.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. of Deeds.

family of Durie, was appointed in 1644 by the Presbytery of Edinburgh to attend the Covenanting army in England.<sup>1</sup>

Some interesting particulars regarding Pilton are given in the marriage contract between Hugh McCulloch and Jean Gibson, dated 21st December 1657. In order to provide his wife with suitable liferent, McCulloch disposed of the lands of Wester Pilton 'and fourtie aikers with hail housis, biggings, yeards, etc., occupied by Thomas Cleghorne . . . also maner house of Pilton, with the park on south side thereof surrounded with a stone dyke, and with hail yeards south and north, office housis, doucat, ginnall housis, high and laigh; also lands of Easter Piltoune, housis, biggings, park, etc.' McCulloch also granted to his wife the furnishings of the manor house at Pilton, likewise a dwelling in Edinburgh, 'on the fore street, south side of the Cross, being part of new stone tenement built there.' Lady McCulloch married as her second husband, John, third Lord Lindores. She died in 1712.

In Greyfriars Churchyard there is a monument to Sir Hugh McCulloch of Pilton, who died in 1688, aged seventy. According to the Latin inscription he was a most exemplary person. Translated, the lapidary conveys the impression that he was 'grave in his manners, harmless in conversation [whatever that may mean], sincere in devotion, a faithful friend and pleasant companion, a most just citizen.' This laird of Pilton also was 'singular in piety towards God' and exhibited 'honesty towards his neighbour'—in short, an exemplar of the Christian virtues.

The 'sole heir of the defunct' was James McCulloch, a kinsman to whom Sir Hugh left the lands of Pilton in fee. In 1690 James McCulloch purchased the estate of Mulderg in Ross-shire.<sup>2</sup> In 1716 his eldest surviving son, David, sold

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*. See also *South Leith Records*, by D. Robertson, S.S.C., Session Clerk, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> As late as 1779 Christian, daughter of James McCulloch and sister of David, is referred to as 'of Pilton' (Edin. Tests.). She had died in 1751.

Pilton for £6000 to Thomas Fairholm of Kinglass, grandson of John Fairholm of Craigiehall. The new proprietor was a merchant's son and owned a tenement in Fairholme's Close, near the Bowhead. But he got into financial difficulties, and in 1727 Pilton was disposed of by his creditors to George Ainslie, merchant at Bordeaux, who opens a fresh and shining chapter in the history of Pilton.

The Ainslies in olden times were a noted race of warriors, the earliest of whom, says an epitaph, 'defended the strong town of Dolphingston in the Cheviots in the reigns of six Scottish kings.' George, the first of the family to settle at Pilton, had a prosperous business connection at Bordeaux, and there his numerous family was born. Late in life he returned to Scotland, and for the remainder of his days his interests were centred in the broad acres lying between Edinburgh and Granton, which he had bought. George Ainslie died on 11th August 1773, leaving by his wife, Jean, daughter of Sir Philip Anstruther of that Ilk and sister of Christina, Countess of Traquair, three sons and five daughters. Of the latter, three married and settled in France.

Sir Philip Ainslie (he was knighted by George III) was the eldest son. After succeeding to Pilton he increased his territorial responsibilities by purchasing a considerable portion of the barony of Craigeleith. Sir Philip, who married Elizabeth, fifth daughter of John, twelfth Lord Gray (and therefore was allied to the family of the Earl of Moray), followed a military career. In 1754 he joined the Horse Grenadier Guards, in which he was promoted Major. On the breaking out of hostilities between Spain and Portugal as a result of the latter country giving support to Britain, this laird of Pilton became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Portuguese Cavalry. After completing his foreign service he held similar rank in the 4th Regiment of Horse. He retired in 1787 but lived other fifteen years, dying on 19th June 1802.

George, the brother of Sir Philip, was Major-General in

the 13th Regiment of Foot and one of the staff officers of the Duke of York during His Royal Highness' service on the Continent. Subsequently he was appointed Governor of the Scilly Isles. Still more distinguished was the career of Robert Ainslie, the third brother, who, in 1775, was appointed British Ambassador to Turkey. Resident in Constantinople till 1792, he is reported to have been a favourite with the Sultan, Ahmed IV. On his return to England Ainslie was given a pension of £1000 on the Civil List, to be held 'during the joint lives of His Majesty and himself.' He now became Parliamentary representative for the close borough of Milbourne Port, Somerset, and in 1804 a baronetcy was conferred, with remainder, in default of male issue, to his nephew, Robert Sharp Ainslie, son of Major-General George Ainslie.

Sir Robert, who died at Bath in 1812, in his eighty-third year, was an ardent numismatist. While at Constantinople he formed a choice collection of ancient coins from Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and North Africa. His researches also embraced antiquities of various kinds, objects of natural history, and sketches of contemporary life in the East. He published three volumes of drawings, containing ninety-six plates.

George Robert Ainslie, the eldest son of Sir Philip, was born at Pilton in 1776. Continuing the family tradition, he entered the Army in 1793, served as Major with the 85th Regiment in Flanders, and took part in the expedition to the Helder. But a military life was not to his liking, and in 1812 influential relatives obtained for him the governorship of the island of Eustatius, from which he was transferred to Dominica. Here his term of office was unfortunate, allegations being made that in subduing the maroons he resorted to cruelty. The matter was raised in Parliament, and in 1814 Ainslie was recalled. Some years later he was promoted Lieutenant-General but had no more active employment.

Like his uncle, Sir Robert, General Ainslie had a passion

for collecting rare coins, of which he had a unique collection. He specialised in the Anglo-Norman variety, and travelled over all England as well as many parts of Normandy and Brittany in pursuit of his hobby. In 1830 the result of his labours was given to the world in a sumptuous and copiously illustrated quarto entitled *Anglo-French Coinage*.

General Ainslie also was an enthusiastic antiquary and owned a valuable and varied collection of relics drawn from many quarters. To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland he presented a basket-hilted sword which he had dug up within the precincts of Edinburgh Castle. His treasures included a painting purporting to be a likeness of Sir William Wallace. A reproduction of this painting, which had been in the Pilton family for upwards of a century, is in John Kay's *Original [Edinburgh] Portraits*. He also possessed a small, profile cast of Prince Charles Edward, presented by the 'Young Pretender,' while at Holyroodhouse, to Colquhoun Grant for distinguished service at the battle of Prestonpans.

In later years General Ainslie resided almost constantly in Edinburgh and was a familiar figure in the salerooms. There is an etching of him in Benjamin Crombie's *Modern Athenians* where he faces the rather pugnacious-looking Bindon Blood of Cranacher. Ainslie was in his sixty-second year when the sketch was made, but looks considerably older. He is dressed in blue, wears spectacles, and clutches what looks like a stout bamboo cane. The pose is anything but military; indeed suggests the last stage of decrepitude. Allowance, however, must be made for caricature.

This son of Sir Philip Ainslie died at his house in South Frederick Street in 1839. He was a friend of Sir Walter Scott and a frequent caller in the Castle Street days. In Scott's *Journal*, under date 3rd March 1828, there is an entry revealing Ainslie at his favourite pursuit. 'The General,' writes Sir Walter, 'is a medallist, and entertains an opinion that the bonnet-piece of James V is the work of some Scottish artist

who died young, and never did anything else. . . . He also told me that the name of Andrea de Ferrara is famous in Italy as an armourer.'

Pleasant glimpses of the Ainslies of Pilton in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth are contained in an octavo volume entitled *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman* by 'Philo Scotus,' the pseudonym of Philip Barrington Ainslie, a younger son of Sir Philip. Published in 1861, and bearing a London imprint, the work, which runs to several hundred pages, brings the narrative down to the year 1819, thus covering the earlier portion of the author's life. The book closes with the promise of a further instalment dealing with his 'subsequent residence of twenty-four years in Scotland.' As far as is known, the intention was never fulfilled, at least diligent search has failed to unearth any such volume, which is regrettable, for the author of the *Reminiscences* has a talent for graphic narration, and has much of interest to tell regarding happenings, mainly social, in Edinburgh in the heyday of the author of *Waverley*. True, a number of the events recalled are to be found in Cockburn's *Memorials of His Time*, but Ainslie usually treats from a different angle and here and there adds particulars omitted in the more famous work. Incidentally too 'Philo Scotus' furnishes sidelights connected with his family and of the early days when his father was still laird of Pilton—sidelights which we would have been sorry to miss.

Philip Barrington Ainslie, the writer of the volume, was born in St. Andrew Square on 13th March 1785. He had thoughts of joining the Navy, but a pressing invitation by a relative to go to Jamaica and become a West Indian planter was ultimately accepted. The climate however injured his health and after some years he was compelled to return home. Then it was that his predilection for a naval career revived, but he was now too old. Instead he entered a mercantile establishment in Liverpool. Later, he made his home in

France, and a large part of the *Reminiscences* is occupied with describing experiences gained in extensive travel in that country. Still the author's boyhood was spent in Edinburgh, and in touching on it he is delightfully anecdotal.

His pen-portrait of his father, Sir Philip Ainslie, no doubt is coloured by filial regard, yet conveys a clear impression of what manner of man he was. This laird of Pilton, we are told, was 'distinguished for the elegance of his manners and address, to which his tall and handsome person and the expressive intelligence and sweetness of his countenance, added force and every advantage,' while 'his constant intercourse and intimacy with the highest in grade created in him that settled polish which distinguished the *haut ton* of that day.' Sir Philip was 'passionately fond of horses and considered an excellent judge of them,' as became the 'favourite pupil in equitation of the famed Sir William Meadows' and 'the most perfect horseman among all his contemporaries in the Horse Grenadier Guards.'

Field sports appealed strongly to Sir Philip, and these were indulged in to the full at Pilton and neighbouring estates. 'Many a stubble we beat across,' writes his son, 'and many a potato and turnip field we waded through, ranging over the lands of Inverleith, Wester Pilton, and even as far as Royston (Caroline Park), sometimes with good fortune, sometimes the reverse.'

The fact of Sir Philip and his son shooting over the Inverleith policies brings to mind that there was close intimacy and much coming and going between the Ainslies and the Rocheads of Inverleith. With the latter family the author of the *Reminiscences* 'passed some of the happiest days' of his life. And again: 'My taste for field sports was encouraged by my constant visits to Inverleith,' the lands of which were 'much interlaced with those of Pilton. Every Saturday morning during the shooting season I was to be found at Inverleith.' And he pays tribute to Mrs. Rothead, the stately

dame whose lineaments are indelibly fixed for all of us in Cockburn's *Memorials*. 'Nobody could sit down like the lady of Inverleith. She would sail like a ship from Tarshish, gorgeous in velvet or rustling in silk, and done up in all the accompaniments of fan, ear-rings and finger-rings, falling sleeves, scent bottle, embroidered bag, hoop and train—all superb yet all in purest taste.' Thus Cockburn. Our author, on the other hand, points out that despite her grand manner and love of finery, the mistress of Inverleith was noted for her kindly disposition. He writes: 'At the period of my mother's death, I was in infancy; and Mrs. Rothead, who was her much-loved friend, immediately on this afflicting event taking place, had my brothers and sisters as well as myself much with her at Inverleith.' At Mrs. Rothead's our author often met 'Lang Sandy Wood,' the famous Edinburgh surgeon, with whom he had many walks and much social enjoyment.

The Ainslies also were frequently guests at the Earl of Moray's town mansion at Drumsheugh, which, as indicated in Dr. Clark Wilson's article in this volume, stood in front of what is now Randolph Crescent. The two families were related, and a further link was forged at Pilton in 1801 when Margaret Jane Ainslie was married to her first-cousin, Lord Doune, afterwards eleventh Earl of Moray. In the twenties of last century the family mansion at Drumsheugh was pulled down and the ground behind was feued. Ainslie Place is a reminder of the relationship of the Pilton family with that of the Earl of Moray.

Here is another passage from the *Reminiscences* which brings the Earl of Moray and Drumsheugh into the picture: 'It was on a dull gloomy day in October [1798] when the gazette containing the account of the action in Aboukir Bay arrived in Edinburgh. My father . . . immediately dispatched me with a note of congratulation to his friend and relative, the Earl of Moray (who resided in his beautiful villa and

grounds of Drumsheugh, then at some distance from Edinburgh but now covered with the fine buildings of Moray Place, Ainslie Place, etc.) with whom and my father a constant interchange of political feelings and opinions took place.' The Earl was elated, and that evening entertained the Ainslie family to dinner at Drumsheugh in celebration of Nelson having destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay (battle of the Nile). In 'one of two small houses opposite to the grounds of the Earl of Moray' resided at this time Colonel Halket and his family. The son, Hughie Halket, was a companion of Philip Barrington Ainslie, and there, as he tells us, 'I frequently passed my Saturday holiday.'

Another intimate of the Ainslies was Sir Ralph Abercromby, who defeated the French at Alexandria in 1801 but was mortally wounded. Our author writes (the year is 1799): 'On the return of the British forces from the Helder, I had many opportunities of seeing Sir Ralph Abercromby in the frequent visits he paid to my father. . . . Sir Ralph remained in Edinburgh until June 1800 when he was again called into active service. . . . I was present . . . when he came to take leave of my father, and they parted for the last time.'

W. FORBES GRAY.

## EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH

'And whereas before they wrote only in skins, in barks of trees, and in reeds, now they have attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And though at first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same, they shortly got the feat of both.'

MORE'S *Utopia*, 1515.

A GREAT deal of literature exists on the history of paper making. Genuine paper, not to be confused with the papyrus of the Egyptians, was invented in China, A.D. 105. The art spread slowly west and took over 1000 years to reach Europe by Tibet, Samarkand, Baghdad, Cairo, Morocco, reaching Spain in 1151, Italy 1276, France 1348, and finally England in 1494. What of Scotland, and when does Edinburgh come into the picture?

It is proposed to confine this article as far as possible to the results of recent research amongst Edinburgh records bearing on this question, together with a few short notes on later developments and conditions.

Hitherto the accepted authorities state that the earliest date of the manufacture in Scotland was 1675 at Dalry Mills, on the Water of Leith. Further investigations at H.M. Register House have, however, proved the undoubted existence of mills making paper in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh at a considerably more distant period.

The attempt to trace back an industry to its earliest origins is not only of interest, but the contrasts it affords between the primitive methods employed and the modern manufacture are of certain historical importance.

This craft is and has always been a rural industry owing to the necessity of having a good water supply for washing and treating the fibres and also depending, in the early days, on a good head of water for milling power. Hence the mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were originally situated in the river valleys of the Water of Leith and Esk.

## EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH 47

Clustered around these grew up the small paper-making communities and villages such as Colinton, Currie and Balerno, Lasswade, Polton, Auchendinny and Penicuik, the industrial histories of which date back to the tiny mills supplying the purely local demands of the Edinburgh Printers, now developed into the modern mammoth concerns sending their products to all parts of the world. The present workers, however, still carry on a craft the traditions of which stretch back to the days when their predecessors plied their hand moulds beside the clear trout streams driving the small water wheels for pulping the rags.

In 1790, over 150 years ago, when each sheet of paper was made by hand, Creech in his *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces* (p. 81) states that in that year there were twelve paper mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh manufacturing upwards of 100,000 reams and even at that early date sending 'vast quantities of printing paper to London from whence it used formerly to be brought.'

The names of some of the 18th century owners of these mills can be traced, e.g. *Colinton*, Balfour & Sons (Bogs Mill); *Currie*, Walker & Co. (Kinleith); *Balerno*, Nisbet & Macniven; *Lasswade*, John Hutton, John Pitcairn (Melville Mill); *Polton*, William Simpson, Strachan & Cameron (Springfield Mill); *Auchendinny*, William Cadell & Co.; *Penicuik*, Charles Cowan; *Cramond*, Cadells & Edington (Peggy's Mill).

Creech contrasts this with the three mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh in 1763 with a total output of only 6400 reams, probably for local consumption only. The present normal output of the mills within ten miles of Edinburgh is approximately 50,000 tons per annum,<sup>1</sup> reckoned at about six hundred times the above.

### Process.

To compare a paper mill of 300 years ago with one of

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce Journal*, Aug. 1944, p. 9.

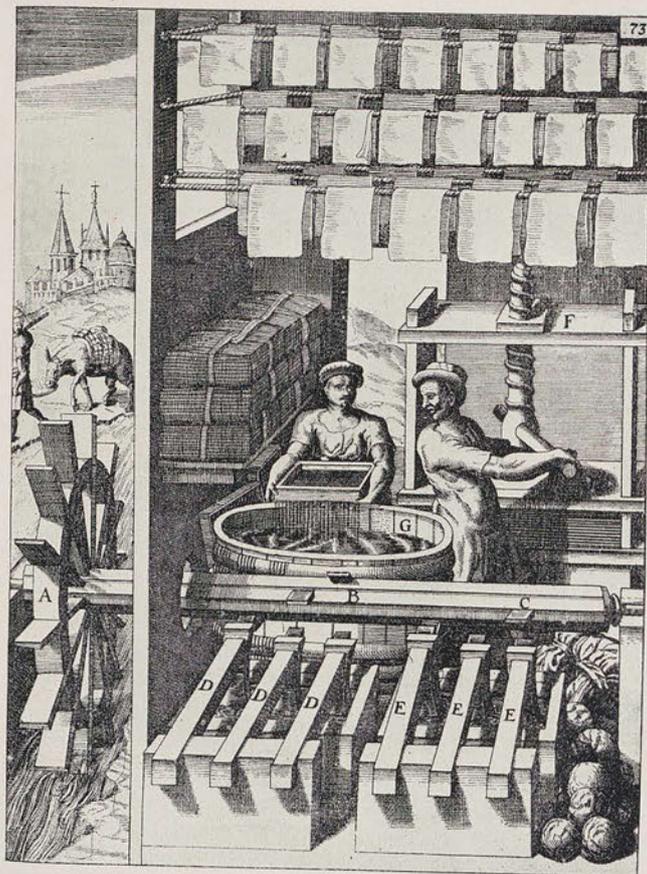
48 EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH

the present day is like trying to compare a coracle to a modern liner. The process of those early times can, however, be accurately described from the many old prints extant.

The one shown herewith, of date 1662, is a quaint and artistic effort, no doubt intended to display at a glance the whole process of a primitive one-vat mill, a mill as it were in embryo, prototype of its modern successor. On the left we have the under-driven water wheel. In the foreground is the thick main shaft, fitted with a series of cams, which lift and drop the stampers for macerating the rotten rags in the pulping troughs. To the right are bundles or balls of rags undergoing the fermenting or retting process. Behind stands the toiling vatman who has just dipped his wire mould in the vat of pulp in a state of milky suspension, preparatory to the highly skilful and delicate operation of shaking out the water to form the matted layers of fibres which go to compose the sheet of paper. On his left is the coucher and press man who lays the sheets between woollen felts and squeezes out the surplus water in the screw lever press. Aloft are the sheets hung up to dry or suspended on horse or cow hairs. On the left are reams of finished paper, and outside we have a glimpse of medieval landscape across which strides the packman with his ass carrying a load of paper, the total week's output, to the nearest town.

To recapture the proper atmosphere, one has only to hear the loud clacking and clatter of the cams and stamping hammers, to smell the sickly odour of the rotten rags and to feel the rush of water splashing, gurgling, dripping, swirling under the wheel and rushing out by the tail race. To quote a contemporary poem,

'The hammers thump, and make as lowde a noyse,  
As Fuller doth, that beates his woolen cloth,  
In open shewe, then sundry secrete toyes  
makes rotten ragges to yeelede a thickned froth :



OLD PAPER MILL OF 1662





THE MODERN

(TOP) BEATER HOUSE

(BOTTOM) DRY END OF PRESENT-DAY MACHINE

## EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH 49

Then is it stamp't, and washt as white as snowe,  
 then flong on frame, and hang'd to dry I trow :  
 Thus paper streight, it is to write upon,  
 as it were rubde and smoothde with slicking stone.'

As time went on methods were of course gradually improved, the old mallet and mortar milling process being completely revolutionised by the introduction in the 18th century of the beating engine called the 'Hollander,' consisting of a drum fitted with bars of steel. This, revolving on a trough containing rags, previously digested in boiling water and soda, circulated and cleansed them by a rinsing process and then by lowering the roll on to a bedplate, also fitted with blades, sheered and bruised out the fibres to the required consistency. Similarly, moulding of each sheet by hand was superseded by the Fourdrinier Machine started early in the 19th century, which consisted of an endless wire on to which flowed the steady stream of pulp gently shaken and aided by a suction box to rid it of the surplus water before going through the couch rolls and drying cylinders, producing a continuous web of finished paper. This was followed by the industrial era, which greatly quickened the pace, and later by the age of ever larger and larger machines; invention and competition continually reacting on one another involving constant change and reconstruction.

The enormously increased demand caused by the abolition of the duty on paper led to the search for new raw materials. The introduction of the new fibres, wood pulp and esparto, involving modern chlorine bleaching and soda recovery process, all led up to the highly technical manufacture of the present day with its geared steam turbines and electric auxiliary plants—a triumph of the chemist and engineer.

The present-day paper maker may find it indeed difficult to realise that possibly on the site of his modern mill with its 2000 horse-power plant and its weekly output of hundreds of tons, there may have existed three hundred years before

a tiny little one- or two-vat mill such as has been described, going all out at say 3 or 4 horse-power and making certainly not more than 2 or 3 cwts. of hand-made paper a week. Grouped around the same site no doubt dwelt the little rural community complete with the mill, the master's house, crofts and thatched cottages of the workers.

Looking back on these pre-industrial days, one is perhaps apt to conjure up a vision of a sort of idyllic existence. That such, however, was far from the case one can gather from the reminiscences of Mr. Charles Cowan, who, describing the making by hand, stated that the labour imposed upon the vatman and coucher, owing to their constant stooping posture, aggravated by the heat of the vat, was particularly severe, men being prematurely old at the work and at 50 years having the appearance of threescore and ten. In describing the hand process he explains that the moulding of each sheet by hand was a very delicate operation requiring great skill and practice, particularly the shake, no two workmen having the same shake.

A sidelight on the working conditions of the industry over 150 years ago can be obtained from the Old Statistical Account. One writer states, 'This manufacture gives employment to a number of young persons who are taken in at 8 years of age.' Another foresees the evils of the coming industrial revolution and writes, 'The grasping hand of avarice, never satisfied, extracts from children employed in manufacture, tasks unsuited to their years; sickly and debilitated, their growth is seldom that of full manhood. Since the manufacturing rage hath commenced, the waste of the human species would not be easy to compute. Children bear the confinement with impatience, unjustly deprived of the hours which, in the season of youth, should be devoted to play.'

On the other hand, a writer on Currie Parish takes a much more favourable view, but a view which certainly sounds

strange to modern ears. He writes as follows: 'While the advantages of manufactures in Scotland cannot be too strongly inculcated, those in particular that employed the very young and aged, ought to meet with every encouragement. The paper trade employs children from 10 and 12 years of age, a period when they can do nothing very laborious, and when their morals from idleness and neglect, are very apt to be corrupted. The mill of Messrs. Nisbet & Macniven is perhaps the most extensive on one water-fall of any at present in the island, it has increased the population of the parish about 200 souls.'

All this is perhaps somewhat of a digression, but it illustrates the contrast between the old and the new.

The present century has seen a vast improvement in industrial conditions, for instead of the long night and day shifts, the 24 hours is now reduced to three shifts of 8 hours only. The deafening roar in the machine room caused by the old jog strainer has given way to the almost perfect silence of the present suction type; instead of the low-roofed, gas-lit, hot, damp and dripping machine rooms of 50 years ago, we have the present modern buildings well ventilated and perfectly lit by electricity; whilst the laborious man-handling of the half stuff is now done away with, pumping machinery working the pulp through all the stages from boilers to beaters. Again, the hand stoking of the steam boilers is replaced by automatic stokers. Fifty years ago fully 5 tons of coal were used by Scottish esparto mills per ton of paper made; by the efficiency of modern steam-raising plant, whereby the exhaust from the turbines is used at different pressures for the various processes, this coal consumption is reduced to about half this quantity.

The last mill in which paper was hand made in Scotland was at Millholm, near Cathcart, as late as 1873. It is of interest to know, however, that moulding the sheet by hand still survives in certain parts in the south and west of England



where, in spite of the competition of the machine, there are still 9 mills continuing this old process. These papers are very high grade and are made to suit the special requirements associated with a hand-made sheet; in fact, a survival of the thoroughbred as it were.

*Early Records.*

We know definitely that in England paper was made not long after the days when Caxton set up his first printing press towards the end of the 15th century. This has been proved by the book printed by Wynkyne De Worde c. 1496, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, which contains the lines:

' And John Tate  
Which late hathe in England doo make thys paper thynne,  
That now in our englissh thys boke is prynted inne.'

This refers to the paper made by John Tate near Stevenage in Herts, and means that this was an English translation of a Latin book printed on a thin paper of English make.

The introduction of printing gave a great impetus to the already existing paper-making industry in England. In Scotland, however, we are on more uncertain ground. There the first printers were of course Chepman & Myllar, who started this craft in Edinburgh in 1507, but it is doubtful if paper was made in Scotland until a somewhat later date. The upheaval and turmoil of the Reformation seems to have interrupted the printing of books, as after Chepman's day there appears to have been a pronounced lull until towards the end of that century. The few Edinburgh printers who carried on precariously depended on the favour of either the prelatie or reformed parties whichever happened to be uppermost. John Scot and Robert Lekpreuik were both imprisoned, whilst Thomas Bassandyne was censured by the General Assembly and afterwards denounced as a rebel for

favouring Queen Mary. It is hardly surprising therefore that in those difficult days any attempt to introduce the sister art of paper making met with little encouragement; indeed, Robert Chambers in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland* gives the earliest record as late as 1675 at Dalry Mills on the Water of Leith where French workers were introduced. This date is also supported by other authorities, including W. R. Scott in his *Joint Stock Companies before 1720*, and has hitherto been generally accepted; although Chambers mentions that a privilege was granted by James VI to one Peter Graet Haere, a German, in February 1589/90, but states that this attempt was believed to have proved abortive as no record had ever been found to show that he had taken advantage of same. Ten months after this, the Register of the Privy Seal, under date 5th December 1590, states that a monopoly was granted to ' Pietter Gryther and Michael Kysar, almanis paper makeris ' appointing them paper makers to the King for nineteen years. Note the curious alteration in the spelling of the name from Graet Haere.

*Recent Research into Origins.*

A great deal of interesting matter has been discovered of late to provide abundant evidence that the craft was practised at a much earlier date than 1675, the year hitherto accepted; and new light has been shed on the later developments of the manufacture in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh during the latter part of the 17th century.

The first printer in Scotland was undoubtedly Chepman, but the search for the first paper maker appears to have no finality. There are definite proofs, however, of paper having been made at Canonmills in 1659, at Dalry in 1605 and 1594, and of printing paper of Scottish manufacture having been included in an inventory of stock of a deceased Edinburgh printer as far back as 1593.

Before giving evidence to support these claims, mention should be made in passing of what, at first sight, looks like a very early record of a paper mill. This occurs in a deed,<sup>1</sup> dated 3rd January 1604, for the service of Patrick Edgar as heir to his uncle in a property called '*lie Papermylne*' (the present *Peffermill*, south of Duddingston Loch). This however appears to be misleading, as an exhaustive search of all contemporary and earlier records points to this having been merely one of the many variations of the spelling of the name, such as *Pepper*, *Papper*, *Pepir*, *Paper*, and the modern *Peffer*, etc. As far as can be traced, this mill, one of the small detached structures north-east of the present house, was a meal mill only, attached to the barony of Craigmillar. Nothing has been discovered to prove that it was at any time a paper mill. The name however is peculiar, and there may be some significance in the fact that this place is in the immediate vicinity of Prestonfield (Priestfield) which was the property of Walter Chepman the printer from 1509 until his death in 1528/9. This seems to open up a field of conjecture. As is known, Chepman was a man of great enterprise and was interested in many industrial and trading ventures. Is it possible that he could have dabbled in paper making at this small meal mill early in the previous century? This cannot altogether be ruled out, as there have been instances of corn mills having been utilised for the dual purpose of milling of rags for the manufacture of paper and grinding of grain.

*Canonmills, 1659.*

Paper was made here about 1681 by one Peter Breusch. He was the German engineer who laid the first 3-inch bore leaden water pipe from Comiston Wells to Edinburgh. His

<sup>1</sup> *Abbreviates of Retours, Edinburgh*, No. 117.

mill came to grief, as is fully described by Mr. Forbes Gray,<sup>1</sup> when Breusch complained to the Privy Council that certain enemies 'did under silence and cloud of night come to the said paper milne, and there most maliciously and invidiously break doune the same and render her altogether useless'; further, that they 'did divert the water from the said milne when she was sett agoeing by opening the sluices and withdrawing the water.' Still worse, they 'invaded and abused the complainer's wife and servants, and threw dust in their faces and threw the complainer's wife in the milne dame and committed several other outradges.' Breusch afterwards set up the same manufacture at Restalrig and finally, being a Roman Catholic, was appointed by James VII as printer to the Royal Household, his printing press being set up at Holyrood where he again appeared as the victim of religious persecution and mob violence and had to flee.

We have, however, more recent evidence that twenty-two years earlier the magistrates of Edinburgh appointed the dean of gild, the treasurer, and other officials to visit 'John Patersone's paper milne at the Canonmylnes and the dams thereof,' and report.<sup>2</sup>

These records give Canonmills a position of some importance in the early history of the trade; but pride of place must be awarded to Dalry, as the following will show.

*Dalry Mills, 1605 and 1594.*

These ancient grain mills and adjacent mansion (now Roseburn House), were situated on the south bank of the Water of Leith, and were in existence until a few years ago under the name of Murrayfield Mills, then producing oatmeal. The dam was at Saughton and the lade first served Gorgie Mills before driving the wheel at Dalry, the tail race

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xviii. App., p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Edinburgh Town Council, 6th July 1659.

56 EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH

finding its way back to the river at Coltbridge. The old-world building was completely cleared away to make room for a new housing scheme, some of the corn mill stones being still on view in the neighbouring bungalow gardens.

Not only is there the 1675 record of Archibald Home, the owner of the 'paper works at Dalrymilnes' who employed 'sevinten Scotsmen and boyes bred up and instructed in these airts be the french,' and again, the record of one Alexander Daes who flourished about the year 1679, but we also have a retour of 1605 and a recently discovered lease of 1594, carrying us back to a more remote period and proving that paper was made in this locality over 350 years ago and carried on there for the best part of a century.

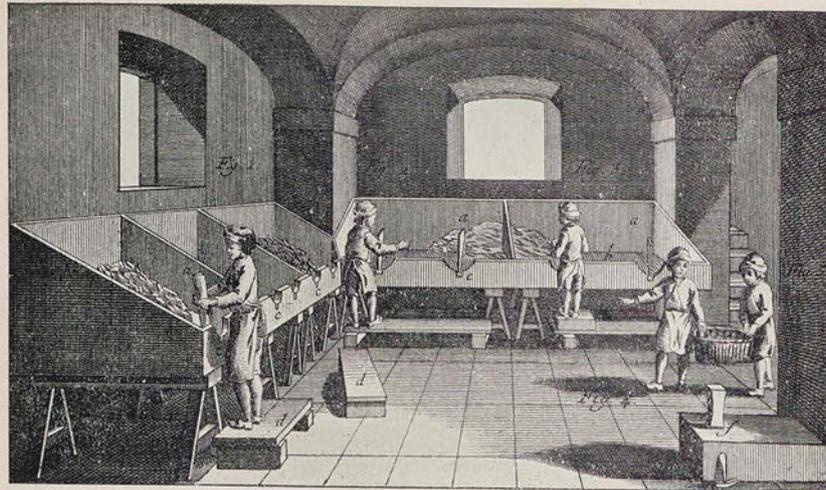
(1) Sir George Touris of Garmeltoun was served heir to his father, John Touris of Inverleith, on 14th May 1605,<sup>1</sup> in certain property including the grain mills and paper mill of Dalry ('*cum molendinis granorum et molendino paperio de Dalry*'), showing that at this date several mills operated—as a matter of fact two for grain and one for making of paper.

(2) On 24th February 1594/5<sup>2</sup> Michael Keysar and John Seillar 'Almanis<sup>3</sup> paper makeris,' caused to be registered a Contract made at Edinburgh on 3rd May 1594 between them and Gideon Russall of Dalry Mills, merchant burges of Edinburgh, and his wife Margaret Stewart, whereby Russell 'setts to the said Michaell K. and John S. equallie betuix thame thair airis and assignais all and hail the West Mylne of Dalry lyand within the Schirefdome of Edinburgh quhilk is presentlie a paper mylne with the dam wattergang frie ische and entre and all uther commoditeis eismentis and pertinentis pertening mylnes and with the hail heich houssis in the eist and north quarteris of the mansioun and duelling place of Dalry mylnes occupieit and possest be the said Michaell and befor exceptand the westir half of the galrie to be devydit be ane

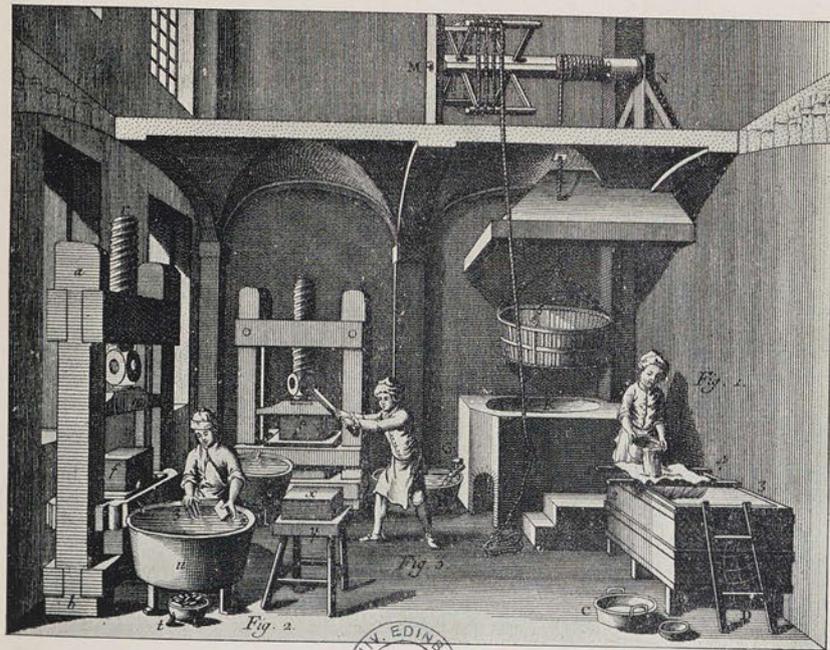
<sup>1</sup> *Abbreviate of Retours, Edinburgh*, No. 153.

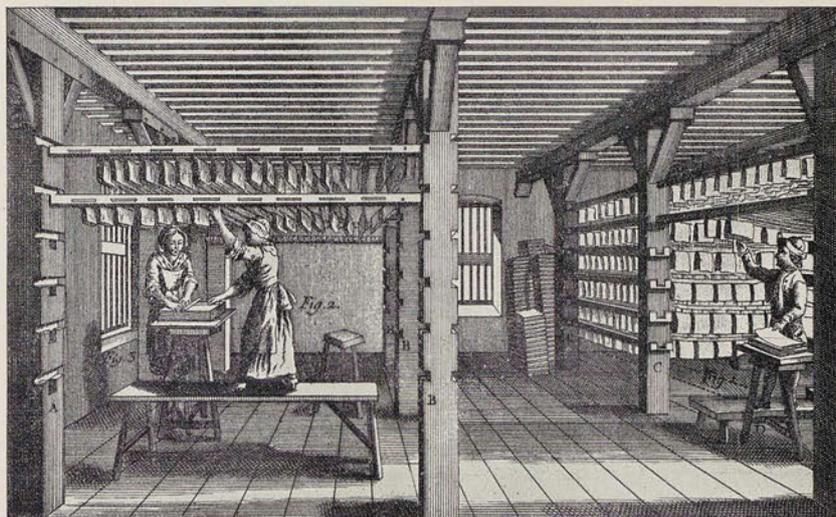
<sup>2</sup> *Register of Deeds (Books of Council and Session)*, vol. 50, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. German.



RAG CUTTING—NOTE CHILDREN EMPLOYED





DRYING LOFTS



SALLE OR FINISHING HOUSE

EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH 57

parpar wall to be maid be the said Gedeon quha sall also make ane sufficient loft of the hail lenth of the new hous biggit be him out-with the grit yett of the said mansiou of Dalry betuix the burne and the dam, and sall mak twa windois in the said loft and put cordis thairin for hinging and drying of paper therupoun, and sall devyde the laich hous under the said loft be ane parpane wall and mak ane dur thairin, to the effect the saidis Michael and Johne may haif and occupie the said loft and half of the said laich hous with the said mylne,' and that for the space of eleven years from Whitsunday 1594; and Russell is to heighten the mill 8 feet to make another loft the whole length of the mill and put cords in the loft to hang the paper on, 'with ane sufficient extrie quhilk is presentlie in Nudrie quhilk trie the said Michael has sene and is content therwith, and ane pres for the said mylne.' The tacksmen are to pay £200 Scots yearly and to give preference to 'ane or ma freindis of the said Gedeonis' if suitable, as apprentices, and shall not during this tack give help or advice in the 'devysing or biging of ony uther paper mylne in this realme to the hinder and prejudice of the said Gedeon and his mylne.' The parties discharge all former contracts and especially one between said Michael and the deceased Mungo Russall, father of said Gideon, except in relation to £81 : 5 : 8 claimed by Mungo's executors, and Michael's action against the heirs of Mungo 'for the damage and entres betuix Troyis Wyght and Trone Wyght of certain raggis during the tyme of the said umquhile Mungo Gedeon and Michael wer partineris of the work of the said paper making.'

This is an important document, for not only is it unique as the earliest record so far discovered of the manufacture in Scotland, but it definitely establishes the fact that this industry was in operation in the 16th century. Incidentally it also clears up, to a certain extent, the mystery regarding the privilege granted by James VI to the German paper makers. (See page 53.)

From a careful study of same, and from further investigations, it would appear that the Russells were the owners of three corn mills at Dalry and that prior to the lease they had, with the assistance of the German, Keysar, converted their west mill to the making of paper, and that seemingly this

enterprise had then reached the stage at which, after the death of his father Mungo, the son, Gideon, had decided to grant an eleven years' lease from 1594 to Keysar and another German, Seillar.

As it clearly refers to 'the tyme of the said unquhile Mungo Gedeon and Michael wer partineris of the work of the said paper making,' it is a safe assumption, unless earlier proof can be found to the contrary, that these two Russells were our first Scots paper makers and that this West Mylne of Dalry, the site of which is within the present city boundaries, was the first recorded paper mill.

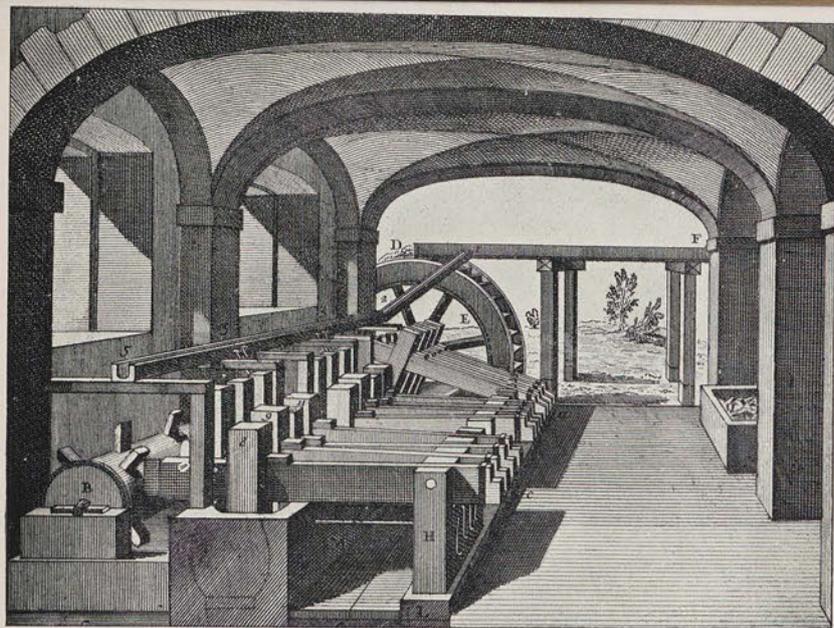
It is interesting to note the arrangement in the lease which includes the use of part of the mansion house of Dalry Mills, now Roseburn House, the gallery of which was to be divided by a partition wall; and certain important structural alterations had to be made in the buildings. Again, an 'extrie' (axle-tree), probably for a new mill wheel, had to be supplied from 'Nudrie.' This may have been either from Niddrie Mill, near Duddingston, or from a mill of the same name near Cramond. Again, a press had to be provided, which would be the usual screw press for couching paper.

Gideon evidently wanted to make certain about his rent and had tied up the Germans by a clause preventing them from starting any other paper mill which might prejudice Gideon's ownership of the mill he had leased.

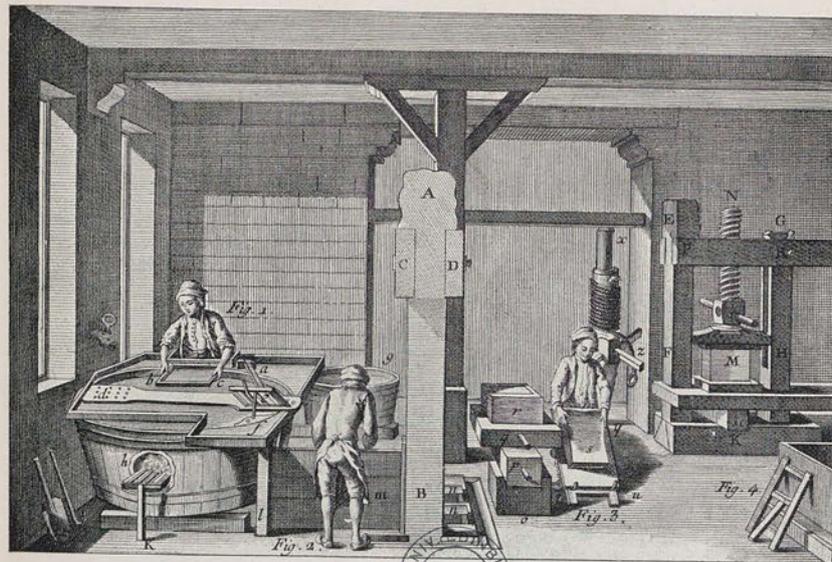
Mungo, the father of Gideon, like Chepman the first Scottish printer, was a man of wide activities. A merchant prince of his day, he was not only the owner of mills at Dalry but was a trader in a large way, exporting and importing to the Continent. In 1578 James VI wrote to the authorities at Campvere, Holland, to protest against the seizure of Russell's goods on the high seas by the people of Flushing.<sup>1</sup>

Mungo was twice Treasurer of the City of Edinburgh, in

<sup>1</sup> Rooseboom's *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, p. 97.

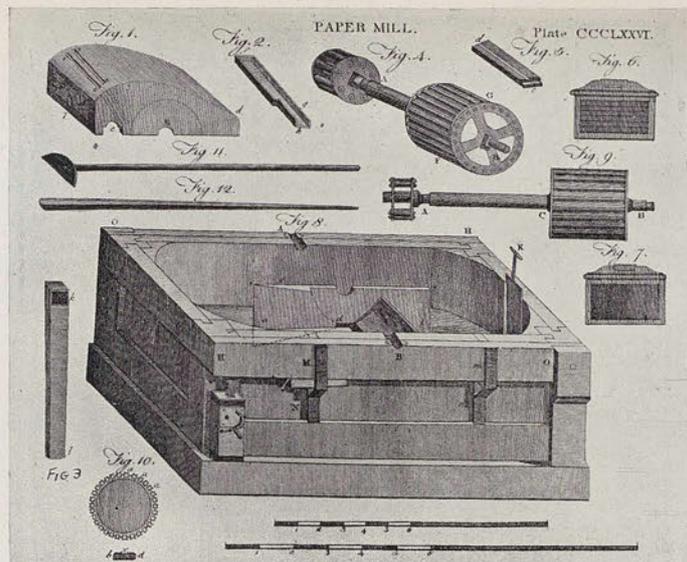


OLD TYPE OF BEATERS, *i.e.* STAMPING MILLS AND MORTARS  
IN USE TILL END OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

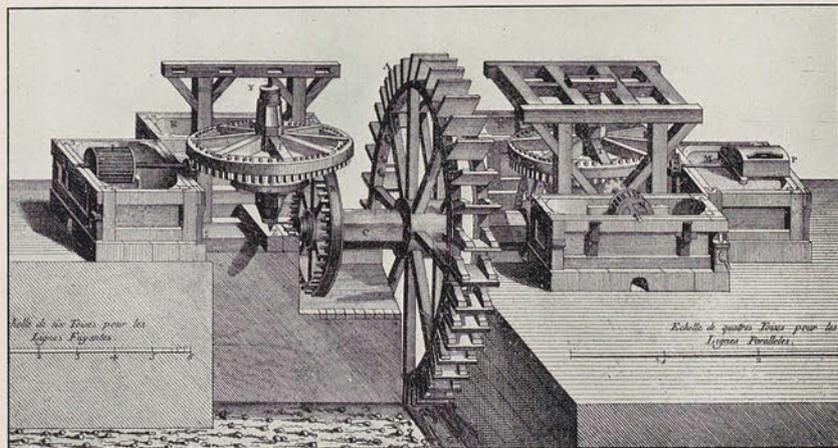


VATMAN      COUCHER      LEVERMAN (LEVEER)





EARLY TYPE OF HOLLANDER OR BEATER,  
SUPERSEDING OLD STAMPING MILL



HOLLANDERS AS ABOVE GEARED DIRECT TO WATERWHEEL  
BEFORE INTRODUCTION OF SHAFING, PULLEYS AND BELTS

EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH 59

1575/6 and in 1582/3. He died on 8th September 1591, and the inventory of his trade effects<sup>1</sup> is an impressive one showing that he was a man of substance. It fills nine and a half closely written pages and the total value being £15,259, 8s. 9d. was a considerable sum for those days. It shows an immense variety of merchandise, including many imported luxury goods such as Flemish velvet and other cloth, glass mirrors, haberdashery, hats and hose; but of particular interest in the list of 'Dettis awand to the deid,' are the following items:

Owing by Robert Waldegrave 'for paper' £254, 13s. 4d. scots. [This Waldegrave was King's Printer and printed in Edinburgh four works under the authorship of King James VI, including his *Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* in 1591, and the witchcraft book *Daemonologie* in 1597.]

Owing by Michael Keysar (here spelled 'Kaster'), 'paper maker,' £81, 0s. 10d. scots.

It is interesting to compare the introduction of paper making into Scotland with that of printing. Walter Chepman set up the Southgate Press under privilege from James IV in 1508, with the aid of, and in partnership with, Andro Myllar whose practical knowledge of the art of printing was acquired in France. So likewise Mungo Russell, a man of affairs at the end of the same century, introduced Scottish paper making in partnership with the German craftsman, Michael Keysar, an experienced paper maker named in the original privilege granted by James VI in 1590.

*Scots Printing Paper in Use before 1593.*

That paper of foreign manufacture was largely used by Edinburgh printers during the 16th century is of course well known and is borne out by examination of the old inventories of estates. These give such items as 'Fyne Lumbard,'

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Testaments, 24th July 1593.

'Frensche' and 'Flanders' papers, showing imports from North of Italy, France, and the Low Countries.

On the hitherto incorrect assumption that Scots paper had not been manufactured in this country until 1675, it may have been taken for granted that any primitive attempts at the manufacture could, at the best, only have produced the coarser grades such as greys and blues for covers of books and pamphlets and for stiffeners; but that this was far from being the case, is proved by the inventory of the effects of the widow of Thomas Bassandyne, the first printer in Scotland of the New Testament. She died in 1593, the inventory of her effects including 'xxij ryme Scotis prenting paper, price of the haille xxvij li. xij d.'<sup>1</sup>

We may therefore safely affirm that paper good enough for printing purposes was made in Scotland before the end of the 16th century, and from the preceding Dalry records of the same period, it is not unlikely that such paper was of local make.

#### *Identifying the Paper Maker.*

Old Scots writing papers occasionally show watermarks, but these are of the usual conventional types such as a Bull's head, a Foolscap, Hand or Posthorn, and give no clue to the maker. In medieval days in Europe these symbols may have had some sort of religious or territorial significance, but as they were afterwards adopted to indicate sizes of sheets they are confusing and seldom afford guidance.

We find in early Scots paper an occasional clue such as a mill-name watermark (see illustration), but this is exceptional. Makers' monograms appear in the 18th century, but it was not until 1770 that even the great James Whatman II, who had previously shown his initials only, proudly determined to watermark his name in full on his sheet.

<sup>1</sup> Dickson and Edmund's *Annals of Scottish Printing*, p. 476.

Although the printer is frequently anonymous, the expert bibliographer can generally trace same by his device, comparison of type or style of capitals or ornaments, and from these the date of manufacture of paper can be roughly determined, but that is about all. The earlier works were no doubt on paper of English or continental origin, but although printing paper was undoubtedly made near Edinburgh at an early date it has been found generally impossible to identify the maker.

In the course of this research fresh light has been thrown on a much later venture by the recent discovery at the Register House of certain interesting documents dealing with the ambitious attempt at the end of the following century to form one of the earliest Joint Stock Companies in Scotland, and which definitely brings Edinburgh into the picture, namely:

#### *The Scots White Paper Manufactory of 1695.*

The end of the 17th century saw a great rush of speculative Joint Stock ventures, culminating in the disastrous South Sea Bubble.

Typical of these times was the advent of the company promoter, or as then described 'projector,' and inventor, Nicholas Dupyne, originally a French refugee. This extraordinary man claimed to have 'brought to perfection the yet never known art and mystery of drawing water out of coal pits,' the work being performed 'by the true proportions and rules of Hydrostaticks, Hydronewmaticks and Hydrawliacks.' He also had 'The art of making all sorts of fine paper moulds as good or better than any made beyond the seas and at a far cheaper rate, in so much that one man may make more moulds in one week than any other workman of other nations can furnish in 2 months time.'

62 EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH

His activities included The White Paper Co. of England, The Irish Paper Co., and various linen and mining companies in Scotland.

Here is the gentleman's signature and one surely sufficiently impressive to reassure the most hesitant of investors.

He had apparently started his activities in Scotland about 1694. These have been fully dealt with by W. R. Scott in his *Joint Stock Companies before 1720*. Floating the Scots Paper Co. with a capital of £5000 sterling, divided into 1400 shares, Dupyne had provided 'several ingenious outlandish workmen to teach their art in this country.' The Privy Council granted him the privilege of making paper and stipulated that such should bear the watermark of the 'coat of arms of This Kingdom on paper that should be made at these mills.'

The first discovery was the following Deed :<sup>1</sup>

Contract dated 16th August 1695 between Nicholas Dupine esq. late deputy governor of the Paper and Linen Manufactures of Scotland England and Ireland and Denis Manes esq. on the one part and Mr. John Menzies of Cammo advocate Thomas Spence writer in Edinburgh Alexander Clark and Patrick Fermer merchants there George Mossman stationer there and Mr. James Baillie W.S., as the Committee appointed by an act of the General Meeting of the Scots White Writing Paper

<sup>1</sup> Register of Deeds (Books of Council and Session, Durie Office), 4th April 1698.

[EXCERPT FROM CONTRACT BETWEEN GIDEON RUSSELL AND MICHAEL KEYSAR AND JOHN SEILLAR DATED 24 FEB. 1594-5]

TRANSCRIPTION

... the tennour thair of Off the quhilk the tennour followis AT EDINBURGH the thrid day of Maij The yeir of god j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> fourscoirfourtene yeris It is apointit & finallie contractit betuix honest parteis They ar to say gedeon russall of dalry mylnes merchand burges of edinburgh and margaret stewart his spous on the ane part and Michael Keysar and Jon seillar almanis paper makeris on the uthter part in maner following That is to say the said gedeon hes sett and be the tennour heirof settis to the said Michael Keysar and Jo<sup>n</sup> seillar ...

EARLIEST RECORD OF SCOTS PAPER MAKING SO FAR DISCOVERED





(From Deed dated 25 Nov. 1700)



(From Deed dated 17 Mar. 1703)



(From Deed dated 20 June 1705)

BRAID AND YESTER MILL WATERMARKS

Company dated 7th August instant for settling of several affairs relating to the said incorporation and particularly for making such alterations in the fundamental articles of agreement dated 27th November last as should be found necessary for the good of the Company, on the other part, whereby in place of 1400 shares at 18s. sterling per share Dupine and Manes are to get £800 and allow the company for 426 shares already subscribed the sum of £383. 8s. and the balance of £416. 12s. is to be paid to them by the Company in two instalments; whereupon Dupine and Manes undertake to 'oversee the building of two papermills for making of white wryting and printing paper for the use of the said company and the buying and furnishing of all materialls necessarie for the said milnes which milnes are to be built and materialls furnished thairto upon the Companeyes charges the one thair of at Yester and the other near *Edinburgh* whair the aire and water shall be found most agreeable for the making of good and sufficient whyte wryting and printing paper,' and to remain for the period necessary to train ten apprentices viz. 'two oversiers whose work is att the fatt two cocheers two leveers and two that lookes after the rags the morters and beating stuff commonly called governours and two masters of salls which size and finish the paper': and the Company promise a gift to Dupine and Manes of one dozen silver spoons at the fulfilment of their undertaking.

Apparently the ten apprentices were to be trained to eventually take over the work of two mills, *i.e.* 2 each Vatmen, Couchers, Leveers (*i.e.* workers at the levers of the presses), Beatermen, Sizers and Finishers. This would rather indicate that each mill would be of only one vat capacity, *i.e.* employing one each of the above workers and therefore exceedingly small concerns.

It will be noted that two mills were projected, one at Yester, East Lothian, and the other near Edinburgh. The interesting question then arose, was this latter mill ever started, and if so, where? Then followed the extraordinary and quite accidental discovery of several old papers at H.M. Register House showing watermarks as illustrated. Could this possibly have meant a mill on the Braid Burn? This would seem to be quite unprecedented, as local history

of the trade had hitherto recorded paper mills on the Water of Leith and on the Esk Rivers only. Hot on this clue, however, further search disclosed a Deed of an earlier date which removed any doubt on the matter. This was a

Lease<sup>1</sup> dated at Edinburgh 29th June and 12th July 1695, whereby the tutors of Andrew Broun 'set in tack' to Nicolas Dupyne of London, Esquire, now residenter in Edinburgh, and his heirs or assignees, 'all and hail the said Andrew Broun his maner place and mansione house of Braid' and the old ruinous houses within the 'north court or closs of Braid' with the three orchards gardens waterponds and stanks, grass and pasturage within the dykes, the gardener's house, 'the south old orchyard now ane litle grass bank within the stone dyke lyand betuixt the gairdens and the burne called Braids Burne,' together with the 'corne miln kiln and dwelling houses and office houses and miln lands,' with full power to the said Nicolas Dupyne and his fore-saids at their own charges 'for their conveniencie if they shall swae think fitt to alter and change the stance of the said corn mill and kiln and to take down and alter and rebuild the samen upon any uther convenient place or pairt of the said burn belonging to the said Andrew Broun betwixt the place where it now stands and the said each march of the said baronie down the said burne in the dean betwixt the rocks or hills,' and at their own expense 'to build such peaper milns' or other kind of mills within the said bounds as they shall think fit, and also if they think fit to repair and rebuild 'the old ruinous houses doucats barns kilns and uthers within the bounds of the saids lands . . . provydeing they do not take the hewen stones about the mainer place from thence but make use of the samen about the mainer place and uther buildings or reparations above the brae or glane,' and also to build and make 'miln dams miln leads and uther aquaducts and water passages and uthers for gathering and keeping up the water in the said Burn or for conveying and bringing any convenient springs from any adjacent pairt of the saids lands and baronie to the saids milns.' The lease was to be for twelve years after his entry at Martinmas 1695, for payment of £60 scots of grassum presently and £35 sterling of tack duty each year; and if the corn mill and kiln shall happen to be taken down for building a paper mill, Dupyne is to rebuild a sufficient corn mill and kiln upon some other convenient place of

<sup>1</sup> Register of Deeds, Mackenzie Office, 21st June 1698.

the said Burn within the said bounds and to maintain and keep in repair the same and all habitable dwelling houses already built or to be built and leave the same in good repair at the expiry of his tack. Finally if he or his partners shall build 'peaper milns ane or mae upon the saids bounds' they shall have liberty to take away and dispose upon the 'wheels axel trees mortars iron plaits hammers gripps fatts tubs presses drying cords and pols and uther instruments of the peaper work' at any time they please.

A paper mill at this locality was certainly unlooked for, and at first sight the present appearance of the policies of the Hermitage of Braid would hardly lead one to imagine that there had at any time been a mill here of any description; but a careful survey of the ground shows that although very little vestige can be seen, yet there are still distinct indications of a mill lade on the south side of the drive leading right up to the bridge on the Braid Road; and more conclusive still was the discovery of a heavy mill stone lying close to the burn on the north side about 300 yards upstream from the mansion house, clearly indicating that this was approximately the site of the corn mill referred to, and unless the projected paper mill was built further east 'down the said burn in the Dean betwixt the rocks or hills,' it probably occupied the site of the old corn mill.

W. R. Scott mentions that the venture had a short life. Apparently the company had asked for a monopoly of the manufacture but this had been refused. Again, it had evidently trouble in obtaining rags for raw materials and had asked the Privy Council to act to prevent the Edinburgh Incorporation of Candle-makers from using wicks made from fine rags, thus raising again the old bone of contention between these two trades.<sup>1</sup>

As only vegetable fibres are suitable for the manufacture of paper, rags from woollen garments were of no use, cotton and linen only were available but exceedingly scarce. The

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Club*, xvii. p. 101.

old Scots saying, 'The clartier the cosier,' probably implied that, 'clarty' or not, the mass of the population preferred to continue to wear their old rags to protect them from the cold Edinburgh winds rather than hand them over for the benefit of either Candle or Paper Makers.

Like their modern successors the Paper Makers of those days had not their sorrows to seek. What eventually caused the cessation of the company's activities it is difficult to say, but the following documents show that its affairs became involved, and disclose troubles and changes.

(1) Bond, dated 1st July 1697,<sup>1</sup> by Nicholas Dupine, residenter at Braid, to Robert Carstairs, W.S., for the sum of 100 merks. (The watermark is the word 'COMPANY' surmounted by a thistle which in turn is surmounted by a crown.)

(2) Bond, dated 18th August 1697,<sup>2</sup> by Denis Maines to David Robertson, treasurer to the White Writing Paper Company of Scotland, for £4 sterling: signed 'D. Manes.'

(3) Bond, dated 9th September 1697,<sup>3</sup> by Nicolas Dupin, 'tacksman of the paper milne at Braid,' to Robert Carstairs, W.S., for £8 sterling. (Watermark as on No. 1.)

(4) Obligation, dated 29th July 1699,<sup>4</sup> by Robert Hendersone, clerk to the White Paper Company of Scotland, to be accountable to the conjoint tacksman of the paper mills at Brade and Yester as their 'store and wairhouse keeper and provisor to their saids milnes' who have delivered to him from their warehouse at Edinburgh the following quantities of paper rags and 'scrows,' viz. of paper 'fyve rimes of Croune wryting seaventy two rimes and twelve quair of pott wryting eightie seaven rimes of Croun printing six hundred and seaventy thrie rimes of pott printing thrie hundred and twenty two rimes and two quair of gray peaper twenty four

<sup>1</sup> Register of Deeds, Mackenzie Office, 20th July 1698.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 28th September 1697.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 20th July 1698.

<sup>4</sup> Register of Deeds, Durie Office, 10th June 1703.

gross of pressing peapers and two stone of paisboards except fourteen sheet of rags ane hundred and fyfty stone of linning and ane hundred and threttie eight stone of sacking and mixt rags, of scrowes twenty four stone.'

(5) Obligation, dated 8th May 1703,<sup>1</sup> by Robert Hendersone, late clerk of the paper manufactory at Yester and Broadmilns who was imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh 'for alledged imbazelling the effects belonging to the said manufactory' and is now set at liberty because the tacksman of the manufactory have made no charge against him, undertaking to account to them for his intromissions.

(6) Tack dated at Edinburgh, 17th September 1703,<sup>2</sup> by James Nairn, merchant, late bailie of Edinburgh, Robert Carstairs, writer to the signet, Mr. Patrick Foord, doctor of medicine, George Mossman, bookseller, burgess of Edinburgh, Thomas Spence, writer there, James Dewar, brewer there, and Mr. James Baillie, writer to the signet, members of the 'Whyte wryteing paper Company of Scotland' (having power by act of the general meeting of the company dated 1st September instant to sign this contract), in favour of George Kerr, merchant in Edinburgh, and George Livingstone, wright, burgess there, of 'there tuo paper mylnes att Brade and Ester' as the present tacksman possess the same, for a period of four years from Martinmas 1703 for £50 sterling yearly (sureties being Evander McKiver, merchant in Edinburgh, and James Livingstone, wright, burgess there). They oblige themselves (1) to relieve the company of £35 sterling of tack duty payable by Nicolas Dupyne, one of their own number, to the tutors of Brade for the whole years of the present tack; (2) to relieve the company of £100 scots of yearly feu duty payable for the paper mill of Ester for the same period; (3) to keep the premises in repair and leave the

<sup>1</sup> Register of Deeds, Durie Office, 10th June 1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15th June 1708.

same as sufficient at the expiry of the tack; (4) to 'maintain and educate the company's prentices now in their service accordingly as the company stands obleaded and to leave also many servants in the mylns bound to the company at the ish of this present tack as will be sufficiently able to manadge the work.' Witnesses were Patrick Douglas, secretary to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and Charles Bryden, servant to the said Mr. James Baillie.

This is the last record so far traced. Apparently the old owners cut their losses, selling out to new purchasers and thus clearing their debts, but both mills seemed to have been still making paper in 1703 and occupied by a tenant who held a lease until 1707.

It is comforting to know that the 'Company's prentices' were not to be overlooked. These were 'fatt' men, 'cocheers' and 'levers' and 'the two that lookes after the rags, the morters and beating stuff,' not to speak of the 'masters of salls which size and finish the paper.' All were to have protection. What ultimately was the fate of these workers it is difficult to say; no doubt they helped to get the industry going in other parts, as after that period, old maps show quite a number of small mills in most out-of-the-way rural parts of the Lothians and Berwickshire.

In the 18th century the rivers and even the small water courses were dotted with little corn and waulk mills with an occasional paper mill here and there, all rural hubs of social and industrial activity. For instance, Armstrong's Map of 1773 shows seven of various sorts on the 2½ mile stretch between Colinton and Currie, whilst Kirkwood's Map of 1817 shows quite a cluster near Balerno, four in all, which includes 3 Paper Mills.

This era has long since passed. The days of the small wheel were numbered, fated ultimately to give place to big industry. As the small rural corn mill disappeared, so vanished also the little paper mill from the scene.

This article, although it has hardly succeeded in proving who the first rude forefather of the trade was, and where exactly he first shaped his axle-tree, has shown that Mungo Russell and his son Gideon (without further proof to the contrary) would appear to have been the first Scotsmen to have made paper; likewise that Dalry, on the Water of Leith, gets pride of place as the hitherto earliest recorded mill. Again, it reveals that Russell was undoubtedly in partnership with Michael Kysar and John Seillar 'Almanis paper makeris,' two of the foreigners appointed by James VI in 1590. Is it possible therefore that to 'The wisest fool in Christendom' we probably owe the introduction of this industry to Scotland? If so, perhaps his penchant for persecuting witches, his *Poeticall Exercises* and his other weaknesses may be forgiven. Anyhow these records show that this important local manufacture, although it cannot boast the hoary antiquity of such crafts as Tanning and Brewing, can yet claim quite a 'lang pedigree' and one intimately connected with the industrial life of Edinburgh. Handmaiden to the printer, though not able to trace back to such an early foundation, it can at least be traced back to the same century—the sixteenth, as these notes have proved.

Edinburgh, long a literary centre, and famous for its publishing and printing houses, can assuredly take pride in the paper industry which, born over three and a half centuries ago, has been fostered and developed to its present stature just outside her gates.

ROBERT WATERSTON.

CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY PAPER MAKERS NEAR EDINBURGH

Date Operating.	Notes on Makers.	Mill.
c. 1591	Mungo Russell and his son Gideon. Earliest Scots makers so far traced.	Dalry.
	Michael Keysar and John Seillar. German partners of the Russells.	
1659	John Paterson. See Edinburgh Council Minute, 6/7/1659.	Canonmills.
1675	Archibald Home. Employed French workers.	Dalry.
1679	Alexr. Daes. After his mill burnt, showman of an elephant.	Dalry.
1681	Peter Breusch. Held monopoly for making playing cards. Also printer at Holyrood to Royal household of James VII and II.	Canonmills and at Restalrig.
c. 1681	James Lithgow and Dechamp—the latter of Huguenot extraction, also founder of paper mill at Cathcart.	Upper Spylaw, near Colinton.
1693	James Hamilton of Little Earnock. Carried on Breusch's monopoly of playing cards.	Restalrig.
1695	Nicholas Dupyne and Denis Manes. Scots white paper manufactory.	Braid and Yester.
1709	Mrs. Agnes Campbell or Anderson. King's printer and zealous upholder of her rights.	Penicuik.
1714	John Reid. Printer and owner of <i>The Edinburgh Gazette</i> . Imprisoned for infringing Mrs. Campbell's monopoly.	Jinkabout Mill, above Slateford.
1716	William Hamilton, son of James Hamilton of Little Earnock; grandson and heir of Mrs. Agnes Campbell.	Penicuik, later at Redhall, Colinton.
1717	Nicol Lithgow. Maker of paper for Bank of Scotland notes.	Bogsmill, Colinton.
1727	Richard Watkins. King's printer and stationer.	Penicuik.
c. 1742	Walter Ruddiman. Partner (as printer) with his brother Thomas, the grammarian.	Partners at Springfield, Polton, and Redhall, Colinton.
	Robert Fleming. Proprietor of <i>The Edinburgh Courant</i> .	
	John Aitken. Bookseller.	Auchendinny.
1745	John Hutton. Paper warehouse, Edinburgh.	
	William Annandale (now Annandale & Son, Ltd., Polton).	Bogsmill.
1756	Gavin Hamilton, son of Wm. Hamilton, Principal of Edinburgh University.	
1766	Adrian Watkins. King's printer; nephew of Richard Watkins.	Penicuik.
c. 1770 to 1859	John Balfour & Son—of the Pilrig family. Business carried on for three generations.	Bogsmill and Kate's Mill, Colinton.
1779	Charles Cowan. Founder of the present firm of Alexander Cowan & Sons, Ltd.	Penicuik.
1782	William Cadell. One of the founders of the Carron Iron works.	Auchendinny and Peggy's Mill, Cramond.

LANDS AND HOUSES OF DRUMSHEUGH

THE district called Drumsheugh, in the west or north-west of the city of Edinburgh, is well known to all nowadays, if only from the name Drumsheugh Gardens. But it was formerly only a small hamlet on the first stage of the road from Edinburgh to Queensferry; and the purpose of the present article is to give some particulars of the history and owners of some of the chief houses in it, especially of those houses calling themselves at one time or another Drumsheugh House, of which there were at least four. Three of those were associated with names well known in Scottish history, and one at least has literary associations as well. And as they have often been mixed up and confused with each other, this is an attempt to define more clearly which was which.

Drumsheugh occupied the second or lower half of the road formerly called the Kirkbrae (the Kirk in question being St. Cuthbert's), now represented mainly by the lower end of Queensferry Street and from there to the Dean Bridge. This road began at Kirkbraehead, roughly the west end of Princes Street or where Rutland Street now stands, and ended at the top of Bell's Brae, at the south end of the present Dean Bridge. It was in those days, or at least prior to 1760, a long way from Edinburgh, from which it would be reached either by way of the Lang Dykes (more or less in the line of Princes Street or more correctly Rose Street) or from the Grassmarket by the King's Stables Road. The ground sloped rapidly down, more particularly in the second half of the road, and continued then as it still does by a much steeper slope down Bell's Brae to the village of the Water of Leith, which contained the granaries and maltings of the Incorporation of the Baxters of Edinburgh, where for many generations the grain for all the bread of Edinburgh was stored. Down

this road, across the Water of Leith and up the equally steep road on the opposite bank called the Dean Path, passing on the left the Nisbets' house of the Dean, the ground of which is now occupied by the Dean Cemetery, was then the only way to Queensferry, if one excepts the roundabout road via Stockbridge. The later route via Belford Bridge, now called the Old Queensferry Road, was only made and the first bridge built and opened in 1784, to be itself in turn superseded in 1834 by the opening of Telford's Dean Bridge, begun in 1832, over which is now the main road.

The whole of the area under discussion is in the barony of Broughton, anciently belonging to the Abbey of Holyrood. Removed from their jurisdiction in 1612, the barony came into the possession of Robert Ker, 1st Earl of Roxburgh, in 1630, and was by him given in 1636 to the Town of Edinburgh in trust for Heriot's Hospital. So far as Drumsheugh is concerned this barony is divided into two main estates, Drumsheugh or Meldrumsheugh and Coates, Heriot's Hospital still possessing the superiority of both. Meldrumsheugh lies to the east and north-east of the Kirkbrae, and has also, as will be presently seen, an area of some three acres to the west and south-west of that road, whereas Coates is still further to the west and south. Of the four Drumsheugh houses two were in Meldrumsheugh and two in Coates, the latter however forming only a small part of the complete estate.

## I

*Meldrumsheugh*, the oldest and largest, will first be considered. Possibly it was named after some one called Meldrum, but there seems no other trace of any one of that name. It may, on the other hand, be of Gaelic origin. Its main extent was from the lower half of the Kirkbrae towards Stockbridge, sloping to the Water of Leith, with the exception of a strip along the water's edge belonging to the Incorporation of Baxters at the foot of the steep bank, shown in the map.





PART OF PLAN OF ESTATE OF DRUMSHEUGH, c. 1810

There was also as above stated a strip of land on the opposite side of the road, corresponding to what is now Lynedoch Place, which originally belonged to Meldrumsheugh but was afterwards sold, and will be described under II.

The earliest mention of it that can be found is in the Inventory of Writings of the Charter House of Edinburgh in 1506, where Robert Vaus has a corn mill and waulk mill lying in Drumsheugh in the barony of Broughton owned by the Abbot and Convent of Holyroodhouse, to be held of Patrick Richardson of Meldrumsheugh. Francis Bothwell, Provost of Edinburgh and Lord of Session, father of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, who officiated at the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Bothwell in May 1567 and also crowned the infant King James VI in July of the same year at Stirling, married for his first wife in 1515 or earlier Janet, daughter of this Patrick Richardson of Meldrumsheugh, who was Treasurer of Edinburgh in 1504 and again in 1508, and is probably the same person as Patrick Richardson who was a feuar on the Burgh Muir in 1511. The next mention of the name is in James Harlaw's Protocol Book, where under the date 1578, 26th June, we read that David Touris, brother of John Touris of Inverleith, gave infeftment to his wife, Elizabeth Scott, of his piece of land of 'Maldrumisheuch,' farmed by John Jak. In July 1618 William Scott gets lands and houses in the Dean. This very probably is the same person as William Scott indweller in the Kirkheuch who on 9th August 1623 grants a charter to his eldest son John Scott and Margaret Scott the latter's future spouse, of all the lands of Meldrumsheugh with mansion house, houses, etc., newly constructed and built by the foresaid William Scott, reserving liferent to him and Margaret Oliphant his spouse. William Scott is here described as 'portioner in Broughton.' In 1632 John Scott is called 'son and heir of umquhile William Scott of Drumsheugh.' He sold it in 1632 to Mr. John Acheson or Aitchison, advocate, who in turn sold it in 1647 to Hew

Hamilton, merchant and afterwards bailie of Edinburgh. In the Minutes of Edinburgh Town Council for 24th September 1663 it is noted that the Town of Edinburgh is to pay eight score pounds Scots as its share of £20 Sterling to be paid for the use of the stone quarries of Bailie Hew Hamilton in Drumsheugh for reparation of damheads at Nether Malt Milnes in 1659. Bailie Hamilton, who was a brother of John Hamilton, apothecary and burges of Edinburgh, of Muirhouse and Olivestob, died in 1667, and his only son and heir Charles before November 1686, when Margaret and Christian Hamilton, the Bailie's only surviving daughters and heiresses, sold Meldrumsheugh to Mr. James Hunter, advocate, of Muirhouse in the neighbouring parish of Cramond.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1694 in very involved circumstances, the Register of Apprisings and Adjudications being full of entries relating to those two estates, the sums secured on them being well over £150,000 Scots, representing nearly 100 different creditors. In 1699 and 1701 Michael Allan, merchant and late dean of gild of Edinburgh, got assignations from the principal creditors and had charters of Meldrumsheugh, disposing it in 1723 to his nephew Mr. Thomas Allan, merchant, and also subsequently dean of gild. He, in 1734, sold the greater part of it, excluding *inter alia* the 'Gushet' or three acres on the other side of the road already referred to, on which he had built another house for himself, to Adam Drummond of Binnend in Burntisland parish, surgeon in Edinburgh, a brother of John Drummond of Megginch in the Carse of Gowrie, for £7119 Scots. The part sold was about 12 acres out of the original 18 possessed by the former owners. Mr. Adam Drummond had an only child Elizabeth, who married

<sup>1</sup> He also got possession from John Byres of Coates in December 1687 of 'banks and braes' including a bank or brae lying between the passage by the north gable of the house called *Jericho*, on the north, and the way from *Jericho* along the lade of the east and west malt mills belonging to Edinburgh, on the south, reserving to the town the said house of *Jericho* and the east and west mills (Drumsheugh Writs, *penes* Town Clerk).

in 1737 James Stuart or Stewart, merchant and bailie and afterwards Lord Provost of Edinburgh, a relative of the then Earl of Moray, and grandfather of the James Stuart of Dunearn, W.S., who in 1822 fought a duel with Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, son of Johnson's biographer, near Kirkcaldy, from the effects of which Sir Alexander died next day at Balmuto, as narrated in Lord Cockburn's *Memorials*. She got a disposition of the estate in 1750 in fee from Adam Drummond,<sup>1</sup> and from her husband it passed shortly before his death at Kirkbrahead in 1777 to Lady Diana Grey, widow of George Middleton of Seton.<sup>2</sup>

In 1782, Lady Diana having died in January 1780, the estate of Meldrumsheugh was bought by Francis ninth Earl of Moray. His son, the tenth Earl, who succeeded in 1810, pulled down the house in 1822, and in the succeeding years the handsome streets, all with names connected with the Moray family, that now cover the site—Moray Place, Ainslie Place, Great Stuart Street, Randolph Crescent and Cliff, Forres Street, Darnaway Street, etc.—were erected.

The estate was bounded on the north by the steep declivity sloping to the Water of Leith from the high ground where Moray Place and Ainslie Place now stand. From the testimony of many it must have been a beautiful spot. In a book called *Playing About*, written by an actor called Benson Earle Hills, who seems often to have played in Edinburgh, and published in 1840, the author speaks of the beauty of the district round St. Bernard's Well, which was on the edge of Drumsheugh, and the Earl of Moray's strawberry beds, when he was playing

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting reference in Vol. XV of the *Old Edinburgh Club Book* to a complaint before the Burlaw Court of Leith brought by Thomas Wood, father of the more famous 'Lang Sandy Wood,' who had a farm at Broughton just east of Meldrumsheugh, against Adam Drummond and Lady Dirleton in 1742 for allowing their cows to destroy growing grass on his farm.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Diana Grey was the owner of a three-storeyed house or mansion on the east side of Nicolson Street nearly opposite Nicolson Square, and of various other properties in that neighbourhood at the time of her death. Her husband was one of the family of the Middletons, Earls of Middleton, who had their estates and titles forfeited in 1694 for their fidelity to the exiled James VII.

in Edinburgh in 1805. Cockburn also in his *Memorials* speaks of the Earl's ground as being before 1822 'an open field of as green turf as Scotland could boast of, thickly wooded on the bank along the Water of Leith,' and says 'that well-kept and almost evergreen field was the most beautiful piece of ground in immediate connection with the town, and led the eye agreeably over to our distant northern scenery,' and when building began 'we thought with despair on our lost verdure, our banished peacefulness, our gorgeous sunsets. But it was unavoidable.'

In the picture painted about 1821 by Clarkson Stanfield,<sup>1</sup> when he spent a year in Edinburgh painting scenery for the Edinburgh theatre, long before he became famous, an engraving of which is shown at p. 80, and which gives the view looking up the Kirkbrae towards Edinburgh from a short distance up the Old Queensferry or Belford Road, there will be noted a large block of buildings on the left or east side of the road halfway up. This is the building referred to by Thomas Allan in his disposition in 1734 as 'the big stone tenement of land belonging to me upon the east side of the high street leading from Edinburgh to Drumsheugh,' and by Adam Drummond in 1750 as 'the big stone tenement of land belonging to said Thomas Allan upon the east side of the highroad from Edinburgh to Drumsheugh now converted into two entries to the dwelling house lately built by me.' This latter dwelling-house was a large building occupying, as will be seen in the accompanying map, a position nearly corresponding with the junction of Randolph Crescent and Great Stuart Street at the present day, which replaced the earlier house of Thomas Allan, converted as above into a gatehouse.

<sup>1</sup> *Clarkson Stanfield, R.A.*—When in Edinburgh painting scenery as above he was associated with David Roberts, a native of Stockbridge, who also afterwards became famous, and formed a great friendship with him. In memory of this Ballantine's *Life of David Roberts* is dedicated to Clarkson Stanfield, in eulogistic terms.

## II

The old boundary between the estates of Meldrumsheugh and Coates was not the road between this old house, later converted into a gatehouse, and Bell's Brae, but another road which diverged from it just opposite and was the old road to Bellsmills, passing behind the piece of land referred to as the 'Gushet,' on which Lynedoch Place is now built, and is now represented by a meuse lane which ends blindly at the back of the garden of the last house in that row, entering from the east corner of Drumsheugh Gardens. The area between this meuse lane and the road to Bell's Brae and the first part of the Old Queensferry Road beyond it was therefore a part of Meldrumsheugh and not of Coates, which begins on the other side of the meuse lane.

When Thomas Allan sold the bulk of the estate in 1734 to Adam Drummond of Binnend he reserved this 'Gushet' to himself and built a house right across its eastern end, as will be seen in the map, almost exactly opposite his converted gatehouse on the other side of the road. In that house he lived until he got into difficulties a few years later and had to sell it. But closely adjoining this house on the west will be seen a much smaller house, referred to by the Misses Walker, its later owners, as Old Drumsheugh House, though it is never referred to by that name in 18th century titles. This smaller house with the rest of the ground, but excluding his own house and the garden in front of it extending to the point of the 'Gushet,' was sold by Thomas Allan in 1750 to Dr. James McKenzie, lately physician in the City of Worcester, being at that time in the occupation of Robert Dundas, the first Lord President of the Court of Session of that name. A little later, at the time of its sale in 1753, Thomas Allan's house next door was occupied by James Erskine, advocate, afterwards Lord Alva and the occupant of Drumsheugh

Mansion House (No. IV), who was a near relative of the Lord President, his father's mother having been one of the Arniston Dundases.

The smaller house, which is the one under discussion, is described as 'dwelling-house, office, houses, garden, orchard and park adjoining thereto, with the summerhouse at foot of said orchard, with that toofall' (called in the deed of 1734 the Cantores) 'belonging thereto consisting of larder, laundry, bedchamber and cellar, the latter being partly below said toofall but much more below the house belonging to Thomas Allan.'

This house, after the deaths of Dr. James McKenzie in it in 1761 and of his widow later, came into the possession of John McKenzie, merchant in Inverness, who sold one half of it to James Weir of Tolleross, architect, in 1776. The latter died in 1780, and was succeeded by his son and heir Major James Weir of Tollcross and Drumsheugh, an officer in the Royal Marines, who bought the other half in 1790. He died in 1820, and his elder son Dr. James Weir in 1842. By this time all Lynedoch Place west of those two houses had been feued out, and in 1849 Dr. T. Graham Weir, only surviving son of Major James Weir, after his mother's death in 1848, sold the house, then described as Old Drumsheugh House, to the Misses Barbara and Mary Walker of Coates, whose father Mr. William Walker had half a century before bought Thomas Allan's house adjoining, as well as Drumsheugh III, to be presently considered. In the title deeds mention is made of the plan and elevation for feuing the acres of ground attached, made by James Milne, architect, dated 24th May 1820, shortly before Major Weir's death, and the articles of agreement with the various feuars.

Both those houses—the so-called Old Drumsheugh House and that formerly lived in by Thomas Allan—were still standing in September 1872 but were pulled down not long after in accordance with the will of the Misses Walker, the

last survivor of whom died in the end of 1870. On the site was erected the block of flats and shops at the corner of Drumsheugh Gardens, Allan's house with the large garden in front of it having extended considerably farther to the south-east, reaching as far as Drumsheugh Place.

Thomas Allan's house after various ownerships was bought by Mr. William Walker of Coates in 1795. There seems very little doubt that this house, which for a considerable period of time was converted into two houses, was the scene of the rather unsavoury circumstances related by Mr. Roughead in his *Closed Doors*, which took place about the year 1809 and led to ten years' litigation. The Elevation Plan of Kirkwood published in 1819 gives the external appearance of the house, which closely corresponds with the plan of it used in the action in the Court of Session as given in Mr. Roughead's book. At that time the two schoolmistresses who brought the action would be Walker's tenants.<sup>1</sup>

### III

Turning now to the houses called Drumsheugh built on the estate of Coates, one large L-shaped one will be seen on the map on the other or south side of the meuse lane and a little west of Old Drumsheugh House last considered. This was the house latterly lived in by the Walkers of East Coates, and called by them Drumsheugh House, but only after I and IV were pulled down, before that being simply described as Drumsheugh.

The lands of Coates anciently belonged to various members of the Kincaid family, one of whom was also proprietor in the 17th century of Warriston; afterwards to John Byres of

<sup>1</sup> *Old Drumsheugh House*.—In the *Memoirs of Robert Paul*, afterwards referred to under IV, it is related that in 1865 when the congregation of Free St. George's (Dr. Candlish), then in a church in the Lothian Road nearly opposite St. Cuthbert's, the site of which is now occupied by the L.M.S. Station and Hotel, were looking for a site for a new and larger church, 'Mrs. Weir's old house and ground at the top of Lynedoch Place is thought of as the site.'

Cotis, father and son, and shortly after the death of John Byres about the close of the century they were bought by Archibald Earl of Rosebery in 1702, who resold them in 1705 to Heriot's Hospital, who before that had been the superiors only. A considerable portion of these lands was feued by the Hospital in 1725 to William Keir, baxter in Edinburgh, and this part contained the two remaining houses to be described.

The former (III) first comes into notice about 1740, when William Keir let it with some acres of ground to Lady Jane or Jean Douglas, the only sister and heir of Archibald, first and only Duke of Douglas. While here, on 4th August 1746, she was secretly (dreading her brother's displeasure) married by Bishop Robert Keith, a friend of her own from Aberdeen, to Col. John Steuart, afterwards Sir John Steuart of Grandtully, Bart., leaving for England six days later on her way abroad. There in 1748, being then fifty years old, she gave birth to twin boys, the younger of whom died in 1753; and the elder, Archibald, on the death of his uncle the Duke in 1761 assumed the name of Douglas and claimed to be his heir. This was the beginning of the famous 'Douglas Cause' which divided Scotland into two rival camps and at one time caused riots in Edinburgh. The action was brought by the young Duke of Hamilton, heir male of the Douglas family, or rather by his trustees, as he was only seven years old, to have it declared that the claimant was not the son of Lady Jean, and therefore not entitled to the estates of his uncle. This cause or action was successful in the Scottish courts, though only by the casting vote of the Lord President Dundas, second of that name, son of the Lord President of the same name who lived at II. But on appeal to the House of Lords in 1769 the decision was reversed, an occasion marked by great rejoicings in Edinburgh. Long before this, in November 1753, Lady Jean had died at her house in the Crosscauseway 'near to the Windmill,' worn out with anxiety over the refusal of her



VIEW OF EDINBURGH FROM VILLAGE OF DEAN



brother to see her or her children or acknowledge her marriage, which had enraged him, and also by the illness and death of her younger son earlier in the year.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly before her marriage she gave a safe refuge at Drumsheugh to the Chevalier Johnstone or de Johnstone, whom she had known from his infancy, and who was in hiding after the ill-fated battle of Culloden in April 1746. In his *Memoirs of the Rebellion* he gives a very racy account of his sufferings and escapes getting from Culloden across the closely guarded Tay and Forth to Leith, and of his being visited there secretly by Lady Jean, who invited him to her house 'about half a league from Leith, at the village of Drumsheuch.' Thither he went that night, disguised as a beggar, and was hidden for two months, which he spent as he says in the most tranquil and philosophic manner, mostly in reading. At the end of that time, under the impression that his hiding-place had become known and was about to be searched, he spent a whole day covered up in a haycock, of the agonies of which, it being very hot weather, he gives a vivid picture. Next day he again escaped disguised and at length safely reached London, a short time afterwards accompanying Lady Jean and her husband to Holland.

In *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, published in 1767, there is one written from The Hague on 18th October 1746, two months after leaving Drumsheugh, in which she says, 'Keir my landlord's behaviour has shocked me a good deal, and the more that I could easily have prevented any impertinent demonstration, had I not had a better opinion of him than it seems he deserved; but my greatest uneasiness for his late proceedings is that I had allotted Drumsheugh for an easy and agreeable dwelling for Peggy Ker, who I always had and always shall have a particular liking for.' What exactly Keir had done we are not told. In another letter she writes to her husband from Edinburgh in September 1752, 'I dined last

<sup>1</sup> She was buried in Holyrood Chapel (Belhaven Aisle) beside her mother.

Monday with Mr. Ker, our Parliament man. He's married to my cousin Betty Kerr.' A footnote says, 'Mr. James Ker, an eminent jeweller, formerly Member of Parliament for the City of Edinburgh, and much in the confidence of the late Mr. Pelham.' Mr. James Kerr of Buchtrigg, to give him his ordinary designation, was M.P. for Edinburgh from 1747 to 1754. In the Magdalen Chapel in the Cowgate is a tablet recording a donation by him in 1756 of £20 for the ornamentation of the building. This is mentioned in Vol. VIII of the *Old Edinburgh Club Book*, which also prints the letter with which he accompanied the gift. Mr. James Kerr, in 1763, bought the house at Drumsheugh in which Lady Jean Douglas had lived. He must have had some land there before that, as in April 1760 he gives an obligation not to erect any edifice or wall on that part of the lands of Coates belonging to him north of the ground belonging to Alexander Cunningham, W.S. Here also he died in January 1768. In the latter part of the same year his widow sold it to Alexander, seventh Lord Colville of Culross, Vice-Admiral of the White, who had retired from the Navy in 1766 after thirty-five years' service at sea. He married in October 1768, and from the papers of a lawsuit a few years later we find that he paid Mrs. Kerr 1100 guineas for the house and grounds, and spent in all with additions and alterations over £4000 on it. He died in 1770 and was succeeded by his brother John; but his widow lived on at Drumsheugh till her death in 1794. She was Lady Elizabeth Erskine, daughter of the fifth Earl of Kellie, and had previously been the wife of Walter Macfarlan of that ilk, the eminent genealogist, who died in 1767. She was one of a family not unknown to literature, her mother Lady Kellie, who died at Drumsheugh in 1775, having been a daughter of the great Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, the witty and cultured Jacobite physician, a great figure in Edinburgh society in his day. He died in 1713 and his tomb is in Greyfriars, with a laudatory inscription in Latin. Her brother, the Hon. Andrew

Erskine,<sup>1</sup> was a great friend of James Boswell the biographer of Dr. Johnson; he edited the first volume in 1760, and he and Boswell between them the second in 1762<sup>2</sup> of '*A Collection of Original Poems*, by the Rev. Mr. Blacklock<sup>3</sup> and other Scotch Gentlemen' (published by Alexander Donaldson, the Edinburgh and London bookseller and publisher, who will be mentioned later).

When Dr. Johnson was in Edinburgh in 1773 after his Hebridean tour, he was taken by Boswell to visit Elizabeth Lady Colville at Drumsheugh, Boswell saying he was proud to introduce her to Johnson 'as the living embodiment of the dignity and grace that are to be found in Scotland.' Boswell records some remarks of his in favour of Lord Mansfield being a great lawyer.

In the *Fettercairn Papers* (1936) mention is made of a letter written to Boswell by Lady Colville dated Drumsheugh, 6th February 1788, expressing unalterable friendship and warm interest in the welfare of both him and his family.

In 1801 William Walker of Coates, attorney in Exchequer, who had previously become owner of various parts of the estate of Coates including East Coates House, as well as of the house formerly of Thomas Allan in the 'Gushet' already referred to under II, bought from John Lord Colville the house at Drumsheugh in which Alexander Lord Colville and his wife had lived, which was not however, as already stated, called Drumsheugh House until after the demolition of the Earl of Moray's Drumsheugh about 1822 and the Erskines' house (IV) rather earlier. A considerable part of it must have been taken down, as the south limb of the L is wanting from at

<sup>1</sup> In the *Scots Peerage* it is related on Boswell's authority that he ran through all his money and then filled his pockets with stones and drowned himself in the sea in 1793.

<sup>2</sup> A number of letters between him and Boswell are given in R. T. Skinner's *A Notable Family of Scots Printers* (1927).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Blacklock the blind poet, met by Johnson in Edinburgh in 1773, and by Burns in 1786-7.

least as early as 1820, only one rectangular block running east and west being left.

The Walkers called themselves of Easter Coates and Drumsheugh, and Mr. William Walker, his son Sir Patrick and his daughters the Misses Barbara and Mary Walker all lived and died at Drumsheugh. Mr. William Walker (who died in 1817) bought in February 1806 for his son, afterwards Sir Patrick, from General Campbell of Inverneil the heritable office of sole and principal Usher for Scotland, otherwise Usher of the White Rod, for the sum of £7600. This was an office, originally hereditary in the family of Cockburn of Langton, with a salary of £250 and fees payable before the Union on the creation of new peers, baronets or knights in Scotland. After the Union no new peers or baronets of Scotland or Nova Scotia were created, but from 1766 an arrangement was made by which new peers or baronets—not only those connected with Scotland apparently—paid fees to the Usher of the White Rod. There seem to have been no duties attached to the Ushership except possibly walking in the Coronation processions, though Sir Patrick, who had a very exalted view of the responsibilities of his office, took upon himself to arrange the proclamation of George IV as king and also his entry into Edinburgh on the occasion of his visit to the North in 1822, neither of which things pertained to his office at all. He thereby came into conflict with the Lyon King of that date, whose duty it was, and had to withdraw his programme. Another function arranged by him was the procession from the old to the new High School in 1829.

Owing to difficulty in collecting the fees, which had been done in London by a Treasury official and sent to Sir Patrick till his death in 1837, then to his sisters, to whom he bequeathed the office, and after the death of the last survivor of them in 1870 to the Walker Trust, a body constituted by Act of Parliament in 1877 to carry out the provisions of their bequests, in which also the office had been vested, the Trust in 1908

brought an action against the Lord Advocate, as representing the Treasury, and various others to have it declared that it was entitled to those fees, which had not been paid since 1904. After a long trial in Edinburgh judgment was given for the Trust, but in 1912 on appeal to the House of Lords this judgment was reversed, and consequently since that time no fees have been paid.

After the death of Miss Mary Walker, the last member of the family, in 1870, Drumsheugh and Old Drumsheugh Houses were demolished and the whole estates of Coates and Drumsheugh—so much of it as had belonged to the Walkers—feued out to form Drumsheugh Gardens, Walker Street, Chester Street, Manor and Palmerston Places, etc.; the very large feu-duties resulting, with other money left, being devoted by the settlements of the two sisters to the building of St. Mary's Cathedral and endowing of the Scottish Episcopal Church and especially of the Diocese of Edinburgh. The capitalised value of the estate was said to be £400,000, of which the Cathedral cost approximately £140,000.

The immediate neighbourhood of Drumsheugh House and grounds is now occupied by Drumsheugh Gardens, the north side of which near its eastern end is its former site. The first parts of the Gardens to be built were the houses on the east side of the lower end of Walker Street, which were finished in 1874, but the whole was not finished till 1882.

#### IV

The fourth of the houses called Drumsheugh House stood where Alva Street stands now, and is usually referred to as 'The Mansion House of Drumsheugh.' It will be seen on the map, a large house facing the Kirkbrae some little distance back from it, with an ornamental pond in front, gardens to the south, and a large shrubbery behind it to the west. It was acquired in 1755 by Charles Erskine, a Lord of Session

in 1742 under the title of Lord Tinwald, and Lord Justice-Clerk in 1748, with two acres of land and houses originally granted by William Keir, baxter in Edinburgh—whose name is preserved in the street built by him in Lauriston—to James Donaldson, linen manufacturer, in 1732, who will be referred to later. Before coming into Lord Tinwald's possession these two acres, minus the houses which formed Donaldson's linen factory and were along the north border of the ground, passed through the hands of Wardell Westby, Commissioner of the Board of Customs, in 1732; of Dowager Lady Dirletoun, in 1741; and of Mr. Archibald Stewart, the unfortunate Provost during Prince Charles Edward's brief occupation of Edinburgh in the '45, who was summoned to London and thrown into the Tower for not having organised the City's defences better and also for his supposed Jacobite proclivities. The house was probably built for Donaldson, as it is transferred to all three subsequent owners. Charles Erskine was one of the Erskines of Alva, a branch of the Earls of Mar, his grand-nephew the head of that branch afterwards becoming the second Earl of Rosslyn, ancestor of the present Earl. He is said to have begun his career by studying theology, and was lecturer and professor at Edinburgh University, first of Philosophy then of Public Law, before becoming an advocate at the age of thirty-one. Later he entered Parliament and was successively Solicitor-General and Lord Advocate before being raised to the Bench. He died in 1763, and was succeeded at Drumsheugh by his son James, also a Judge or Senator of the College of Justice under the titles first of Lord Barjarg, after his mother's property in Dumfriesshire, and later of Lord Alva.

In 1777 there seems to have been a dispute between Lord Alva and John Donaldson, son of James mentioned above, over free access to the former's house past that of the latter, the arbiter chosen being the well-known and witty Mr. Harry Erskine, advocate, brother of one Earl of Buchan and father

of his successor. In the event Donaldson had to give up a small piece of ground, for which he was to be paid £50, and make other minor adjustments. The manufactory was given up in 1769 and the buildings converted into a row of small houses, which were ultimately bought by Lord Alva from Alexander Donaldson, the elder brother of John, in 1786.

Lord Alva died in 1796, and was succeeded (his only son having predeceased him) by his grandson James Erskine of Cambus. In this year the assessed rental of the house was given as £160, and that of the small houses alongside as £28, 6s. 6d.

Soon after 1819 the grounds were feued out for building purposes and the house taken down. A sidelight on it is furnished by the *Memoirs of Robert Paul*, written by Benjamin Bell, a well-known Edinburgh doctor of last century, father of the equally well-known Joseph Bell, the original of Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes. Robert Paul, an uncle of the late Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, married from this house the sister of James Erskine of Cambus, and had a great admiration for it, so much so that when the new Commercial Bank, of which he was for many years manager, was erected in 1847 in George Street on the site of the former College of Physicians of Edinburgh, he saw to it that his drawing-room there, now the Board Room of the Bank, should be an exact replica of the drawing-room at Drumsheugh, both as regards shape—it had a handsome 'coach roof,' which the writer by the courtesy of Mr. Erskine the manager has seen and greatly admired—and dimensions.

Alva Street was begun about 1819, and it and the northern two-thirds of Stafford Street now represent the former area of the estate. What was left after the earlier buildings was acquired from Mr. Erskine by Sir Patrick Walker in 1823 and formed part of his estate of Coates, now managed by the Walker Trust.

Mention has been made of the Donaldson family, and as

dwellers for a considerable period in Drumsheugh some particulars of them may be of interest. James Donaldson died in 1754, and was succeeded in the manufactory by his son and executor John, who however did not make a success of it, and the house and workhouses were put up for sale in 1769, as related in R. T. Skinner's *A Notable Family of Scots Printers*. Before that John had joined his elder brother Alexander as a bookseller in London in 1763 in Arundel Street, Strand. In a Submission and Decreet Arbitral arising from a dispute between the brothers in 1776 John speaks of his loss in carrying on the linen trade after joining his brother. The brothers were in partnership for ten years, separating in 1773.

Alexander Donaldson, the elder brother, started as a bookseller in Edinburgh in 1750 but went as above stated to London in 1763. He is notable for three things: he founded and published the *Edinburgh Advertiser* from 1764 till his son took over from him in 1774; he was the father of James Donaldson, the founder of Donaldson's Hospital; and thirdly, we owe to him and his brother John the judgment by the House of Lords in 1774 on Literary Property, which was that all books became the property of the public after the period of Copyright, usually twenty-eight years, had expired. He had published cheap editions of various works and been proceeded against and an injunction against him obtained in the first instance. After this he became wealthy and in 1786 bought Broughton Hall in Edinburgh, opposite to where Claremont Crescent now stands, returning to Edinburgh about 1789 and dying there in 1794. He was said to have left £40,000 to his son James, who on his death in 1830 left £210,000—which by 1844 had risen to £246,000—for a Hospital for poor boys and girls, a certain number of whom were to be deaf-mutes. Playfair's magnificent building will be familiar to all.

That the above brief differentiation and description of the various Drumsheugh houses had become necessary is shown

by a paragraph in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, published in 1882, which reads: 'Drumsheugh House, of which nothing now remains but its ancient rookery in Randolph Crescent, was removed recently. Therein the famous Chevalier Johnstone was concealed for a time by Lady Jane Douglas. Admiral Lord Colville of Culross resided there subsequently, and so lately as 1811 the mansion was occupied by James Erskine, Esq. of Cambus.'

The writer has to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Douglas of the Heriot Trust for the very interesting map of about 1810 which he has allowed him to reproduce here; to Dr. Malcolm for the loan of the print of Clarkson Stanfield's picture from the Signet Library, and other help; and to Mr. C. Boog Watson and Mr. W. Forbes Gray for much help from their notes.

JOHN CLARK WILSON.

## EDINBURGH POLL TAX RETURNS

IT is hard to imagine that returns of any kind could possess general interest. Yet a short examination of these returns of the late 17th century proved that they possessed not only interest, but some amusement. They give a variety of details about some of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, their wealth, or the reverse, their families, their servants, their lodgers and in some cases the place where they lived and the size of their houses. Such details might be found elsewhere, but the advantage of finding all the facts conveniently grouped together is great.

The returns, unfortunately, are far from complete. While this detracts from their value, it by no means makes them worthless. For the year 1694 there are returns from the Old Kirk parish. For 1695 there is a supplementary list for that parish and the returns for Greyfriars parish. For 1698 the New Church, Tolbooth and Lady Yester's parish are represented, and for 1699 there are also supplementary returns for these parishes.<sup>1</sup>

It may be hard to bring out the points of these old records. To many people the persons mentioned are likely to be names and no more; yet there really is a fascination in following out the story of men whose names are otherwise known. Sir George Home of Kello was a Provost of Edinburgh. His return shows him as plain George Home, a merchant among the wealthiest perhaps, but not excessively so, with a household established in a large house in Parliament Close. Burnet, late Archbishop of Glasgow, deprived at the Revolution and taking refuge abroad, had to leave behind a numerous family in an Edinburgh house. Sir Robert Blackwood, later a Provost, and his father, Mr. Robert, are found in the same

<sup>1</sup> The later returns will be dealt with in another volume.

prosperous class as Sir George Home. Many well-known lawyers and judges appear in the list, such as Lord Crossrig, immortalised by Duncan Forbes' description of him in the great fire of 1700. In 1694 he occupied the house whence he had to escape six years later and already had some of the numerous family which had to be rescued. There are many other examples which could be given. It is interesting to follow the career of some of the great goldsmiths. The widow of William Law was already an occupant of Lauriston. A French watchmaker, married to a Scots wife, had a feeling for honesty and was meticulous in his returns, while he shifted his dwelling from one parish to another. Apart from persons who played some part in the history of the city or even of Scotland are, of course, the lesser folk; yet in the returns even these have their importance. The incidence of trades new to Edinburgh, such as perfumers and periwig makers, show that the country, in spite of poverty, kept pace with the fashions. Above all, there is the ever recurring speculation as to how the majority of the inhabitants lived, who had little or no visible means of support, workmen who had nothing but their wages, married apprentices and journeymen, widows left with families, but nothing else, ministers deprived of their charges at the Revolution and all the rest who thus become more than names.

Let these be placed on the background of 17th century Edinburgh, a city with a mixture of old and new buildings, modern stone-fronted houses like Thomas Robertson's in Parliament Close and the Kirkheugh, and other new arcaded ones at South Gray's Close and Gladstone's Land, and old timber-fronted lands, some of seven or eight storeys, some of two or three with a garret. Imagine a High Street with the six new fountains, built and ornamented by Robert Milne, King's Master Mason, for the new water supply, and the five lesser fountains in the wynds and closes—all doubtless centres of gossip, while women queued up to draw water for the

household cooking. Add to that the streets and wynds which the Town Council made constant, frantic and quite unavailing efforts to keep clean, and the winds blowing up and down these streets and wynds like funnels, and upon this background place the people in the returns and 17th century Edinburgh will become clearer.

The inception and details of the Poll Tax are to be found in an Act of the Scots Parliament dated 29th May 1693, when a collection 'by way of Pole money' was appointed for making up 'arrears due to the country' and 'arrears due to the forces,' which had not been adequately met by previous imposts. There was a further Act dated 27th June 1695, when a subsidy was voted to the Crown for the cost of the war with France. Upon William III's continuous and costly war with Louis XIV of France there is no need to enlarge. Participation in this was part of the price paid for the Glorious Revolution. Both acts correspond as to the manner of raising the money. The only exemptions were of persons living on charity, children under sixteen years and living *in familia* and those whose poll did not exceed £1, 10s. Scots. The flat rate for all persons who were not heads of households, including wives, children and servants, was 6s. each, payable by the master or head of the household. In the case of servants one-fortieth of their yearly wage was to be added by the employer and deducted from their wages. For ascertaining the value of the one-fortieth, wages and 'bountith' or bounty were taken into account, but not livery clothes provided for a serving-man. Doubtless this was logical, since the livery was not the property of the man, but it seems hard that the pair or two pair of shoes, given as bounty to a servant maid, and worn out on journeys up and down stone turnpike stairs, had to be declared and taxed. But there it was. It was this clause in the Act which explains the insistence in so many returns that a maid was unpaid or kept out of charity. Another curious result, also shown in the returns, was that

not infrequently a servant paid a higher tax than the employer.

On the whole, the rating for the tax seems not too severe. Merchants, seamen, shopkeepers, chapmen, tradesmen and others whose free stock, not including workmen's tools and household plenishing, was worth between 500 and 5,000 merks paid £2, 10s., no more and no less even if their stock was only 100 merks short of the maximum. For stock between 5,000 and 10,000 merks the tax was £4; 10,000 to 20,000 merks £10; 20,000 to 30,000 merks £15; 30,000 to 40,000 merks £20, and 40,000 merks and above £24.

Incomes derived from land had their own scale of taxation. While this affected Edinburgh merchants less, still there were enough proprietors to make it worth recording here, since some permanent householders, gentry or their widows, paid tax in the city. The list begins with the statement that 'gentlemen' paid £3. Heritors with valued rent between £20 and £30 paid £1; £50 to £200, £4; £200 to £500, £9; £500 to £1,000, £12 with half-a-crown for each child in the family. Heritors with £1,000 a year and over, knights and baronets were liable in £24 with £3 for each child, while lords paid £40, viscounts £50, earls £60, marquesses £80 and dukes £100. All widows rated above £1, 10s. paid on one-third of their late husbands' estates, except heiresses who paid the same as their predecessors.

Professional men were assessed at a flat rate, although in the returns it is found occasionally that some gave in an income higher than that at which they were assessed and were taxed on that basis. Notaries, procurators before inferior courts and messengers-at-arms were taxed £4. Writers, not to the signet, clerks of inferior courts, agents, macers and under clerks of session paid £6. Advocates, clerks of sovereign courts, writers to the signet, sheriffs and their deputies, commissaries and their deputies, doctors of medicine, surgeons, surgeon-apothecaries and apothecaries paid £12. This discrimination between surgeons and apothecaries and

the other crafts is interesting. It places them at once on a different level and seems to infer a high estimate of their incomes, since £12 was the tax on £500-£1,000 valued rent and £10 was payable on stock between 10,000 and 20,000 merks. By some means, however, known only to the town officials and these surgeons and apothecaries, not all paid tax on the flat rate, but declared their stock and paid less than the sum at which they were assessed in the Act.

It all seems very simple and straightforward, but then as now many people were incapable of sending in a return with exactly the information required and no more. Indeed, since the day of printed forms had not yet dawned, each householder could and did supply the required particulars as he thought good, in many cases omitted what might have been judged essential, and in his zeal to do what was required of him contrived to put in extraneous information quite unnecessary for the purpose of the return. This gives no cause for regret. Had the returns been confined to the matter in hand, they would have been useful in their time, but not as illuminating and amusing as they are now. Who would not have missed the return of Robert Swan, printer, who had 'non in his family bot Marion Flucker his wife who are worse than nothing,' or of John Law, wright, in somewhat the same situation, who 'hes no servants but ane old hacie named Marion Thomson that he wold fain bein quatt of hir thir 23 yeirs'? These are enough to repay much monotony, indistinctness and ill-spelling.

All the returns are rendered on slips of paper signed usually by the householder and occasionally by his wife in his absence. The papers vary in size. Some persons, usually those with a due sense of their own importance, used half a sheet of paper for a brief summary of their position. Others crammed on a piece of paper about four inches by one and a half full details as to family and means. Doubtless paper was not always to hand in some households. While few were so

illiterate as not to be able to sign their names, many seem to have dictated their return to the official charged with collecting the information, as may be seen by similarity of wording and handwriting. There was no attempt at arranging or classifying the returns. They are neither alphabetical nor by profession or trade. It appears likely that they were kept in the order in which they were collected, street by street, tenement by tenement and house by house. This cannot be proved, for names of closes and wynds, of lands and their owners are rare. In Edinburgh, even long after this date, every one knew their neighbours and where they lived, and exact addresses were unnecessary.

The information supplied by the returns is far from invariable. Those for 1694 are the most detailed, giving an account of the return demanded by a previous tax as to the number of hearths possessed by each householder in 1691. The returns for 1695 omit this, recording, as in 1694, the names of the householders, their profession or trade, wives, children, servants, lodgers and stock or tax payable. The returns for 1698 and 1699 give merely the name of the householder, his profession or trade and what he was worth or what tax he paid. It is useless to regret either the imperfection of the returns or the alteration in their form. The latter, perhaps, is the most tantalising. For, in the later years, merchants and others seem to have more than doubled their wealth. It would have been instructive to learn whether their families and establishments had kept pace with their apparent prosperity.

#### OLD KIRK PARISH, 1694

The first returns preserved were those for the Old Kirk Parish, giving the names of 283 householders, of whom 39 were women, 498 children, of whom 187 were boys, 233 were girls and the rest undifferentiated, 78 men servants,

101 apprentices and 344 maid servants. In addition there were lodgers whose numbers are not easy to assess, since the returns are confused. So comparatively small a number showed that the returns could not be complete. Fortunately this is proved, and the information as to the parish supplemented by the Poll Tax Roll for that year in H.M. Register House. This was compiled from these and other missing returns and gives 548 householders, of whom 113 women, 686 children, of whom 263 boys, 309 girls and the rest, as above, undifferentiated. There were 115 men servants, 492 maids, 144 apprentices and approximately 147 lodgers.<sup>1</sup> The roll gives the total tax collected as £5,814, 3s. 10d. Scots and goes on to state the number of 'deficients,' those who had evaded payment. Among the names were persons of whom more may be said, Mr. Thomas Learmonth, Captain Slezzer, his son and servant, Jean Ireland, Lady Congleton, the Laird of Drummelzier, the Earl of Carnwath, Cecile Home and Helen Ballantyne, Dr. Dundas and Mary and Christian Christie. The collector also tried to tabulate the different payments of the tax, but gave it up as a bad job.

Between the original returns and the roll there are slight differences. The roll omits all mention of the hearth tax. It also, not unnaturally, ignores all informalities and tabulates the information more or less simply, while omitting all the pleasant asides. Still, in the main, the two correspond, and for the purpose of this part of the present article, a rough analysis of the population of the parish, the returns and the roll are used without differentiating between them.

For lack of the City records the exact bounds of the parish cannot be given. It had varied a little from the earlier boundaries, but had not yet reached the form given in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*. Still, it was the central and

<sup>1</sup> In every case, here and later, *salvo justo calculo*. The records themselves are not tabulated and the writer owns herself not good at figures. Still, an approximation will serve. The money is Scots unless otherwise stated.

probably the most important part of the town. It included Parliament Close and the Kirkheugh, the High Street from Peebles Wynd to Forrester's Wynd, the corresponding part of the Cowgate, both north and south, and Booth Row, also known as the Luckenbooths. The returns themselves mention Bess Wynd, Borthwick's Close, Fishmarket Close, Bell's Wynd and Conn's Close. Specific buildings are named: Thomas Robertson's new lands in Parliament Close and the Kirkheugh, Pittedie's Land in the latter, Bannockburn's Land in the passage between Liberton's and Forrester's Wynd, George Marshall's Land, Cessford's Land in Dickson's Close, Ludovic Cant's Land in Fishmarket Close, the Old Exchange, of which the whereabouts is uncertain, Bailie Nicholson's Land in Parliament Close and others. The Exchange Coffee House, a new venture for the town, is named. The new Exchange, too, is mentioned, or rather one of the shops which lined the ground floor.

There and thereabouts lived the 548 households of the returns and rolls in dwellings which might have eight or nine fire-rooms or only one. In most cases they seemed to have filled their houses to capacity. Those who had large families seemed able to squeeze in one or more friends or relations, those who were small to accommodate lodgers. The wealthy often had several servants, in numbers seemingly quite disproportionate to the space at their disposal. Sometimes there are persons, too poor to be taxed, with houses which seem too large for their requirements. Apart from the fact that most of the dwellings were flats, there can be little difference between 17th and 20th century Edinburgh. Even then there was a housing problem.

From these households, then, certain particulars were demanded for the purpose of the tax and by their heads more or less accurately supplied: their own name and occupation, their wives, children, servants, and their wages, apprentices, lodgers, their stock or the tax for which they were liable.

Also, as noted, they had to state the number of hearths for which they had paid the last tax, although that information was not utilised in the Poll Tax Roll. It is possible that this last piece of information was demanded as a check on the newly married, who had not had establishments of their own in 1691, or on those who had moved from one parish to another in the interval. Such persons stated the parish in which they had been taxed previously—at least some of them. It is too much to believe that all took that trouble, for someone, if not the collector, was sure to know.

The minor variations in the returns are as many as the limited questions could permit. Some men name their wives, others do not. The roll omits the names almost invariably, inserting the laconic 'married.' This spoils the effect, for part of the amusement of the returns is speculation as to the marriages, whether a goldsmith had married the daughter of his old master or of one of the same craft, why an Edinburgh man had married a wife with a name common in Leith, but not in the town, why a Frenchman had married a Scots wife and whether persons of the same name and similar prosperity were relations, on the principle that wealth associates with and breeds wealth. Still, in nearly three hundred cases such information is supplied and the recurrence of well-known burgh families may be noted. Some persons, indeed the majority, are meticulous in giving the sex of their children and even all their names. Some merely note the possession of children generally and whether they are of taxable age. One marked peculiarity is the number of childless households and of those with only one or two children. In some cases this is explainable by the fact or assumption that the couple were recently married. In other cases it is probable that the children were full-grown and, in the phrase used, 'forisfamiat,' either as sons with establishments of their own or as daughters who had been married. Sometimes, too, children boarded out in the country may have been omitted, but this cannot

be relied upon as an explanation, for several returns note such cases. One thing does seem to stand out, that the size of families corresponded roughly with the prosperity of the household. A certain wealth or stability in a profession allowed for the risk of a large family. The poorer inhabitants, whether from lack of means, imperfect housing, mere disinclination for responsibility or infantile mortality, had few or no children—the exact opposite of the modern position.

The listing of servants is various. Most persons took care to state whether they were paid or not, and the amount of their wages. This was necessary for calculation of the tax. Resident men servants were comparatively few and frequently unpaid, presumably getting their living from their masters' businesses. Frequently enough some were unpaid boys, although not apprentices, learning their work. The men servants whose wages are given, varying from £100 to about £10 a year, were mostly in the employment of the gentry. The fewness of these servants is explained by the returns and roll, which show that many journeymen were married and had households of their own, a departure from the ancient proceeding whereby entering burghers, marrying and setting up house were practically simultaneous.

Apprentices are surprisingly few and are found chiefly in the households of merchants. The rest are found among the lawyers and craftsmen. Among the latter, apothecaries, barbers, printers and periwig-makers claim the most. John Law, goldsmith, had three apprentices. William Blackwood is an exception among the merchants with four. John Reid, printer, and James Muirhead, surgeon-apothecary, head the list with five apprentices each, an unusually large number even considering that apprenticeship to these trades was long, and for which they must have had special permission from the Town Council. One of Muirhead's apprentices, the son of Sir David Carnegie of Pittarow, lived, as the return explains, with his father. It was usual for apprentices to live

with their masters, who were bound by the indentures to keep them in bed and board, but evidently there was a point beyond which overcrowding could not be carried. Muirhead's establishment, a wife, two maids and four apprentices, must have filled a house of five hearths, even when his two daughters were boarded out at Stow and in the West Kirk parish. The type of lad who became apprentice would be interesting to study, but few details are given. One Alexander Keith, writer, had as apprentice Mr. Robert, son of Alexander Bothwell of Glencorse. Patrick Hepburn, apothecary, had Mr. Patrick Sutherland. Could he have been a son of James Sutherland, keeper of the Physic Garden? John Seton, goldsmith, had as one of his apprentices Mungo Yorkston, who made his assay in 1702 and in 1720 transferred himself to the Canongate, where he entered burgess and, presumably, established his business, while his mark still may be seen on several Communion cups. Patrick Johnston, merchant and a future Provost, had as apprentices William, son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs and Robert, son of Mr. John Watt of Rosshill. If the Burgess Roll is accurate, the former did not follow the calling, but the latter may be that Robert Watt, merchant in New York, who was made burgess and gild brother gratis in 1717.

On the other hand, maid servants were numerous enough. There were not far short of 500 in the parish. Such servants were not expensive luxuries, since the majority were not highly paid. Wages of from £4 to £8 a year were not unknown, although sums from £10 to £14 were the most usual. In the households of the gentry wages were on a rather higher scale, at least for the upper servants, and nurses might receive £40 and more if they were satisfactory. The lowest wage paid seems to have been 40s. a year, but frequently the returns bear that the maids were unpaid, either because they were taken out of charity, or because they were young and presumably employed during their training for board and lodging alone. To these wages sometimes, but not

invariably, was added the bounty of one or two pairs of shoes. Still, less than half of the households of the parish had maids, even though wages were low. Those without maids are found chiefly among the crafts and these persons classed as 'indwellers,' persons such as workmen or those having neither trade nor profession. Among the more prosperous a servant must have been considered a necessity. Otherwise all sorts of menial duties must have fallen upon the wives and daughters, such as fetching water from the fountains, doing the family washing, possibly at the public washing place near Trinity College, and carrying home the household provisions from the markets. For, while marketing was usually the housewife's job, to be followed by a maid to carry the purchases was correct. Indeed, in some opulent or dignified household a reliable maid might have charge of provisioning the family. The account books of Sir George Home in 1705 show that one 'Hellian' had charge of the family, with responsibilities from buying half a sheep to buying new caps for Lady Home and providing odd sums of money for the master himself.

So the possession of maids was a mark of a certain position. In the families of the resident gentry the distribution was variable, some obviously having their real establishments elsewhere. Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden and Sir David Towers kept three maids, Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill had six, Viscount Tarbet and Lady Lee seven each. Yet ten households had no maids at all. Among the households belonging to the different branches of the law, the lesser people, such as messengers, notaries and writers, obviously could not afford maids. Other persons, although listed as householders, not as lodgers, appear to have had no establishments and possibly occupied chambers in some house. The largest number of maids kept was by Mr Hew Dalrymple, advocate, who had five. Sir Patrick Home, advocate, with a family of seven children, kept four maids; Mr. James Falconer of Phesdo, with eight, kept the same number, yet Mr. David

Dalrymple, also advocate, with only two children, kept four also. Clearly the number of servants bore no relation to the size of the family, for Lord Crossrig, who had nine children and three lodgers, only kept two, as did Mr. Thomas Skene, advocate, with ten children.

Among the merchants few households had no maids. It is probable that this was due not only to wealth and dignity, but to the fact that the wives took considerable interest in their husbands' businesses. This is seen, not particularly in the returns, where there are at most one or two examples of women sending in the returns on behalf of their absent husbands, but among other documents in which factories to conduct business during absence overseas were granted to 'my well beloved spouse.' It is also shown by the fact that widows could and did carry on their late husbands' businesses, either merchant or craft, employ apprentices and workmen and do all that was necessary until a son was of age to take over. Two or three maids in a merchant's household were not unusual both among the richest and those rather less prosperous. Only one man, Robert Blackwood, who valued himself at over 10,000 merks, kept four. George Home, though possessed of 10,000 merks, only kept one for a household of five children—possibly that was why he became still richer. So did several others with similar valuations.

Women householders, usually widows, or occasionally spinsters, in many cases seem not to have been able to afford maids. The widows of gentry managed to keep two or three. The widow of a vintner kept four, but they probably were employed in the business, although the Town Council and the Church frowned upon the employment of women taverners. But most were contented with one, not infrequently unpaid. It is a curious thing that among nine ministers, all of them without charges or stipend, only two had maidless households, while Archbishop Burnet and Dr. William Garden's establishments had two. Teachers of private schools, of whom there

were four men and two women, though declaring themselves without stock, each managed to keep one maid. The one schoolmaster, who owned to possessing between 2,000 and 3,000 merks, kept no more.

It is, of course, possible that the incidence of families without maids was not always due to poverty, but to the age-old servant problem. Lady Grissel Baillie's Household Books show the well-known complaint that maids had changed for the worse and were ill to get. The returns also suggest this. One example of an unsatisfactory maid already has been quoted, leaving unsolved the mystery why the man had not summoned up courage to dismiss the 'hag.' Another man stated his position: 'for the tyme having noe servant woman she haveing left her service some few weeks agoe and gone away with a sodger.' A woman filled in her return with the note that her maid was away sick, another states that her maid left and she did not know whether she would return. So some servantless households may have been temporary evils.

This parish seems to have been of the most marked respectability. Centred round Parliament House, it attracted members of the College of Justice and lesser fry connected with the Law. There was a considerable number of merchants, many of the richer and more influential sort, with a sprinkling of future Lord Provosts. The crafts outnumber the merchants and among them are found in largest numbers those which were judged the most respectable. Doctors, teachers of schools, officials, chiefly of the town, and ministers are represented, the last-named, oddly enough, by those 'outed' at the Revolution. Not quite a quarter of the households were those of women, chiefly widows. At the lowest end of the scale come the 'indwellers,' interesting chiefly by what they had not.

For the purpose of studying the inhabitants of the parish, it has seemed best to classify them roughly, rather than to

comment upon them as they are arranged—or rather not arranged—in the returns and the roll. This does detract from the effect of the originals. It was a truer picture of the city at that date when judges, merchants, craftsmen, widows and others were all mixed up together, for so they lived in the old lands and tenements. But it is distracting and makes for much repetition.

Of the five hundred and forty-eight households the Law accounted for ninety-seven. In seventy-one of these, wives are mentioned. The others must have been widowers or unmarried. There were a hundred and seventy children, of whom seventy-five boys and sixty-five girls, the rest being undifferentiated. These numbers may not give a true account of the size of families, since there is no means of finding how many were full-grown and away from home. Still it serves. Men servants numbered fifty-two, maids a hundred and twenty-two, apprentices twelve and lodgers, a term used to include relations of all degrees and friends, as well as others, were thirty-eight.

Among the householders were twenty advocates and three judges, nine writers to the signet, a clerk of session, a commissary. There were several officials, a large number of writers, one or two heralds and messengers. All of them have some interest, but examples picked at random of the information they offered must suffice.

Mr. Thomas Learmonth, a widower, who, according to the roll, no longer practised, gives in a family of one son and four daughters, two men servants and one maid. Apparently a son, Dr. John Learmonth, was not living with him, but his wife, Susanna Carse. He had a large house of ten fire-rooms and meticulously enclosed the receipt for his last payment of hearth money. John Fairholm, advocate, owned a house of four hearths in 'Mr. Robertson's Land which goes down to the Kirkheugh,' one man and one maid. There lived with him Marion and Sophia, his sisters and his brother James,

who for the time was out of the kingdom. This household cannot long have remained the same, for in the following year he married. Mr. David Dalrymple, advocate, lived with his wife Janet Rocheid—who was a daughter of Sir James, Town Clerk—two sons, one man and four maids in a house of seven hearths. In addition he had three lodgers, Alexander Murray of Melgund, who, though it is not stated, must have been his wife's son by her first husband. That child, aged 12, is described as possessing more than £1,000 of valued rent, and had with him his governor Mr. James Dods with a salary of £60 and a servant maid, at £12. Sir Patrick Home, advocate, had a large family, a wife and seven children, three men and four maids. One of the latter was a nurse who received £100 a year. His sister, Mistress Isobel Home, lived with him, and he employed a 'pedagogue,' Mr. Thomas Bowers, at £80. Mr. Hew Dalrymple, also with a family of seven, five sons and two daughters, had four men, of whom one a 'herd' and five maids. One of these was a nurse who received no wages, but 'drink money.' Mr. Thomas Skene and his wife Beatrix Hepburn had a family of seven sons and three daughters, served by two men and two maids. To these he added two lodgers, Archibald, son of the late Sir John Young of Leny, and Catherine, daughter of Mr. John Menzies, also advocate. He noted paying for a house of three hearths at Leith, but assuredly his house in town must have been larger.

The three judges are worth noting. Sir Andrew Birnie, Lord Saline, widower since 1664, must have been very elderly since he had entered advocate in 1661. He lived with one daughter, two men servants and two maids, in a house which he noted as having six or seven hearths—the uncertainty is not explained. Mr. James Falconer, Lord Phesdo, was the son of that Sir John Falconer of Balmakellie, sometime Warden of the Mint and dismissed during a scandal as to malversation in which Charles Maitland of Halton was implicated. Sir John was heavily fined and his family reduced to

great poverty, the whole story being told in certain manuscripts in the City muniments. But Lord Phesdo seems to have been able to afford a family. He and his wife, Elizabeth Trent, had three sons and five daughters and were served by a man, four maids and a page. Better known still is David Home, Lord Crossrig. He and his second wife, Beatrix Hepburn, inhabited a house of eight hearths in Thomas Robertson's new land in the Parliament Close. There were five sons and four daughters, who cannot all have been by the same wife, and only two men and two maids to attend the lot. More, he had two lodgers, his niece, Agnes Cockburn, possessing about £50 valued rent from Ladykirk and fishings on the Tweed, and George and James Suittie, sons of a former merchant of that name, who also had money. While it was not necessary, since he was taxed in a fixed sum, Lord Crossrig valued himself at £1,000 from lands in Berwickshire.

Among the writers to the signet some seem to have had no establishments, but only chambers. Among those with a household was Colin Campbell, who, with his wife, Elizabeth Pringle, and two maids was considerably over-housed for the period in a dwelling of six fire-rooms. A similar number of rooms accommodated James Hamilton, Katherine Duncan, his wife, three sons, three daughters, one man, five maids, of whom one a nurse, and one apprentice. John Inglis of Auchendinny and Helen Hay, his wife, though either childless or with no surviving children at home, kept a household of two maids and a page.

Then there was Mr. James Smollett, Commissary of Dunblane. He and his wife had a family of three sons and a daughter in their house of six hearths, with two men servants and three maids. Besides these children Tobias, his son, father of the novelist, and his wife, Elizabeth McFarlane, seemed to have shared the house. When in the following year the Commissary moved to another parish, Tobias did not share in the fitting.

Among the lesser men of law several are interesting in one way or another. James Adam, macer to the Court of Session, who did not bother to name his wife, had six children, a man, two maids and a girl apprentice to his wife in a house of seven hearths. One child was 'at nurse' at Duddingston, but probably was included in the count. Nicol Somerville, writer, and his wife, Helen Melville, had a house of four hearths, a man and two maids. In addition to their own two boys and three girls they had three child lodgers, one of whom, Elizabeth, daughter of the late James Abercrombie, bailie, he supported and educated 'upon mutual affection.' William Wilson, writer and under clerk of the session, had two sons and a daughter by his wife, Janet Reid. Their house of three hearths was in Galloway's Land. There they kept a man, a maid and a child lodger out of charity. Wilson, whose tax was a fixed sum, stated further that he had an 'interest' in the lands of Hayburn in Borthwick parish. William Leggat, procurator, and his wife, Margaret Ballantyne, had what was a large family, especially for his class of writers, four sons and four daughters, the youngest of whom was at nurse in the Dean. He had a five-hearth house, three men servants and two maids and further accommodated his sister-in-law, Janet. He stated carefully that all his children were under thirteen years of age. A contrast is given by Robert Stewart, clerk of the Bills, and Beatrix Seton, his wife. They, with one child, lived in George Marshall's house in Borthwick's Close and one of their two maids was hired temporarily to do spinning. Andrew Spence, messenger, his wife and a daughter were maidless. He noted on his return that he 'will not pay' for his daughter. It sounds truculent, but, since he was not required to pay, the probability is that the child was under sixteen. Mr. John Burden, servant to the principal clerks of session, had a house of two hearths in Ludovic Cant's Land in Fishmarket Close. His wife, Isobel Cant, probably was some relation of the owner.

Odd little bits of information make many of the people more real. Mr. John Frank, advocate, married to Agnes Syme, had boarded out four of his five children in the country, possibly in Peebles where he was born. Of his two men servants one, James Tod, writer, lived alone in a chamber in the house of Mrs. Cairns. Frank, who had a house of six hearths, was unusual apparently in not overcrowding his home. Mr. Robert Park, also advocate, lived with his mother, Barbara Mein, widow of the late Mr. John Park, formerly minister at Stranraer who had been outed since 1663. Their previous house had been on the top storey of Bailie Learmonth's land in Skinner's Close in the Tron Church parish containing five fire-rooms. In 1694 they were in the fashionable parish with a household of the advocate's man and two maids. That establishment cannot have remained the same, for the *List of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland* states that Robert Park was killed by Major Menzies in Glasgow that year. Robert Grant, writer, had an enterprising wife, Elizabeth Cruickshanks, who kept a school in their house of seven fire-rooms, as well as a lodger, the son of the late Mr. Thomas Kirkcaldy, minister. It is regrettable that no indication is given of what Elizabeth Cruickshanks taught, but it may be conjectured that subjects were sewing and embroidery, lace and braid making and probably spinning, the higher branches of woman's work. This is made probable by the type of her scholars or apprentices. As their names show, they were of good or decent families: Marion, sister of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, a former Provost; Euphan, daughter of the late Pringle of Craigend; Christian, daughter of Scott of Greenhill; Margaret, daughter of the late William Ritchie, merchant in Aberdeen; Cecile, daughter of the late Home of Bassenrig; and Helen, daughter of John Ballentyne, merchant in Rosa. Incidentally, these last two scholars are noted as not having paid their tax.

The merchants in this parish were fewer than the lawyers,

numbering only seventy-seven households. In sixty-one the householders were married. There were a hundred and fifty-nine children, of whom fifty-four boys and seventy girls, the rest undifferentiated. Of resident men servants there were only sixteen. Maids numbered a hundred and fifteen and apprentices thirty-three, with twenty-five lodgers, some of whom were relatives.

Among these merchants were several of the richest in Edinburgh, as well as some who had borne and were to bear office in the Town Council. It is curious how most of these men declared themselves worth no more than 10,000 merks, since in later returns the figure is higher. It is hard to believe that some could have more than doubled their stock in four years, equally hard to believe in collusion among so many to evade a higher tax.

According to the returns there were twenty-eight merchants in the parish worth 10,000 merks. Three of these declared they possessed over that sum, Mr. Robert Blackwood, Robert Blackwood, his son, and Duncan Mackintosh. Of these only nine held office in the Town Council. This may be further proof that the Council was indeed the close corporation which it is stated to be. It may also be that the nineteen others who did not attain to office did not aspire to it, but preferred to give their whole attention to their own profitable businesses. However, the names of these nine men are worth recording, since it was one of the necessities of holding office in the Council to be possessed of money, for the simple reason that, when the town's revenue was not forthcoming, officials were bound to advance money for pressing needs—a point often overlooked.

The two richest merchants are differentiated as Mr. Robert and Robert, later Sir Robert, Blackwood. The first was a bailie. The second served as bailie, dean of guild and Provost. Their returns on the whole are laconic. Mr. Robert listed himself and his wife, Margaret Neilson, and one daughter, living in a house of nine hearths with two men servants, two

maids and two apprentices. The daughter, Elizabeth, was for the time in the country. Robert, with a wife unnamed and four children, four maids and one apprentice, had a house of seven hearths. George Home, later Sir George, of Kello, already alluded to, had a record as bailie and Provost. His establishment was modest compared to the Blackwoods, for one maid served him and his family of a son and four daughters. Samuel McLellan, bailie, dean of guild and another future Provost, and his wife, Marjorie Thomson, with three sons and three daughters, two maids and three apprentices, lived in Parliament Close in one of Robertson's lands. The return he made of sixteen hearths cannot possibly have been for one house only. Patrick, later Sir Patrick, Johnston, also a future Provost, with a wife and six sons, had only one maid and two apprentices. George Warrender, Provost at the troublesome time of the '15, had a record as treasurer and bailie before. His return shows a wife, two sons and a daughter, one man servant and two maids, of whom it is explained that one stayed for only 6 months. The other men aspired less high—quite possibly they found the cost of office too great. William Menzies was treasurer for the statutory two years and bailie, John Duncan was bailie twice and George Lawson was treasurer and bailie. It may be imagined that Menzies' abstention from further office was due to the cares of his household. It was a large one. He and his wife had four sons and four daughters, two men and three maids, one of whom was a nurse at £20. He also had four lodgers, Mary and Jean, daughters of Mr. James Stewart, gentleman, and Thomas Kincaid, described as a young gentleman, with his servant.

Among the other men worth 10,000 merks some stand out in other ways. William Scheill records his wife, Agnes Burne, a son and two daughters, with a man and two maids. He, like McLellan, owned more property than he lived in, for he enters fifteen hearths, some in houses that were ruinous.

There boarded with him Ellen, daughter of Thomas Yorkston, one of a well-known family of goldsmiths, to whom he was curator. He notes also that his son, Thomas, was procurator before the Sheriff and Commissary Courts. Charles Jackson, with a family of three boys and three girls and four maids, had a house of only two hearths. Perhaps it was this scantiness of accommodation which made him buy two houses from the Trustees for the creditors of Thomas Robertson in 1698, the couple costing him £2,350. It was no profitable purchase, as he must have lost them in the fire of 1700. Another, James Edmonston, had a brief return. He occupied a house of two hearths with no family but one maid servant, to whom he paid £5 a year.

Apart from these were a fair number of merchants with about 5,000 merks of stock. Another Blackwood, William, stated his wealth at 9,000 merks. Though below the higher limit, he must have been prosperous enough, for he had four apprentices. Where he put them in a house of five hearths, already filled with his wife, Elizabeth Duncan, three sons, a daughter, a man and three maids, is rather a mystery. Two men had abandoned the profession of writer for merchandise. John Hamilton had been a writer to the signet, but cannot be identified among the three writers of the same name of that period since he did not give his wife's name. At the time of the hearth tax he had been living in Deacon Newland's Land in Halkerston's Wynd and had owned a shop in Parliament Close, paying for five hearths. He had three sons and a daughter, the last boarded at Cramond, and two maids, and valued himself at between 500 and 5,000 merks, for which the tax was £2, 10s. as contrasted with his former £12. Mr. Alexander Johnston, formerly a writer, not to the signet, was worth 5,000 merks. He and his wife, Christian White, occupied a house of five hearths. Of his three daughters, all under three years of age, one was being nursed at Bonaly. He had a man and two maids and two lodgers, Mr. William,

brother of Mr. Robert Keith of Fedret, and Marie, daughter of Irving of Stank, in his house in Bess Wynd.

In the whole parish there were only two merchants who could be described as poor, an interesting commentary on the general prosperity. One, George Lawson, with no establishment, stated that he was bankrupt and had disposed everything to his creditors. Another, William Cockburn, declared that he had no stock. He was, however, married, with a daughter over 16 years and four younger children, and must have made a living some way, for he employed two maids at £12 each.

Crafts in the parish were more numerous than the merchants and lawyers. There were 138 householders, of whom only one woman, a hundred and twenty-seven wives, only a hundred and twenty-six children, of whom fifty were boys and fifty-eight girls. Twenty-nine resident men servants, eighty-nine maids and sixty-two apprentices with sixteen lodgers completed the tale of inhabitants. Of these eighty were without stock and paid merely the individual tax. There is one thing which neither the returns nor the roll explain, why such persons paid 12s. and not 6s. each, as most of the craftsmen without stock appeared to do. There seems to be no justification for it in the Act.

Yet there were a few wealthy men among the crafts. A goldsmith, Robert Bruce, had 8,000 merks. He and his wife, Margaret Craig, probably a daughter of the goldsmith family of that name, had a house of five fire-rooms. They had only two children, a man servant and two maids and lodged Margaret Bruce and Katherine Craig, their respective sisters. Other goldsmiths, Andrew Law and James Penman, reached the highest limit of the merchants, 10,000 merks. The former had no family, but two men servants, one John Gonsale obviously a foreigner, and one apprentice. The latter and his wife, Margaret Cleghorn, had a large family, seven children, of whom one was in the country, two men, two maids and two apprentices. The fourteen hearths for which he paid

probably were in different properties. David Baillie, apothecary, owned to stock between 5,000 and 10,000 merks. He should not have needed to declare it, since the flat rate for apothecaries as for doctors and surgeons was £12. Still he did so, and was taxed on his declaration, quite incorrectly according to the Act. He and his wife, Janet Baillie, had two sons and two daughters, three maids and an apprentice in a house of four hearths. Another apothecary, Gilbert Nisbet, declared his stock at 5,000 merks and was taxed in the same way. His house had only two hearths. He had a wife and two sons, one maid with the high wage of £20, and two apprentices. Yet another apothecary, Patrick Hepburn, had 10,000 merks, a wife, two children, a man, two maids and his apprentice, Mr. Patrick Sutherland. George Livingston, tailor, owned a similar amount. Married, but with no family, he employed one maid and two apprentices. Two wrights, Robert Alexander and William Scott, gave in 5,000 merks, as did Mr. George Leslie, bookseller, and John Law, goldsmith, Alexander Kincaid, goldsmith, and Colin Falconer, wigmaker. The French watchmaker, Paul Romieu, in 1694 had 3,000 merks. But these few were the richest among the crafts. It is true that stock was not so necessary for a craftsman as a merchant, still the divergence in wealth does help to show why the latter dominated in Edinburgh affairs.

The distribution of the crafts was very uneven. Some, without any particular reason, seem to have congregated in the parish, not because they were prosperous, since many were penniless journeymen. There were thirty-two tailors, of whom about half were journeymen, and twenty-two wrights. No other crafts reached that number. Eight goldsmiths lived there, four shoemakers, one of whom described himself as a cobbler, five smiths, one cutler, four skinners, six masons and one slater, six bakers, two fleshers, three weavers and one dyer, one candlemaker, one cooper, one tanner, two brewers and one stabler, a strange combination, which seems to

show that the crafts tended to congregate as crafts. Fleshers, as is known from other sources, appeared to live near each other. But, for lack of evidence, it is not safe to dogmatise.

In addition to these were other crafts, by their nature scarcer. There were four printers of whom two were apprentices to the redoubtable Mistress Anderson, only one bookseller and two bookbinders. One armourer and one watch-maker lived there, two barbers and six periwig-makers, the latter necessary because of the fashionable and indispensable wigs. A perfumer, a mull-maker and a quaich-maker also are found, the two latter difficult to class among the recognised crafts, the former in a class by himself. One cook and servants of the Exchange Coffee House cannot rank as crafts, nor the surveyor, gardener and fruitwife, but they fall most appropriately in or near that class. Two 'violers' probably belonged to the Town Waits. Of surgeons and apothecaries there were oddly few, one of the former and four of the latter, none of these taxed at the flat rate laid down in the Act. How and why they managed the evasion was known only to themselves and the Council's collectors.

The richer men among them already have been noted. Another peculiarity recorded but not commented upon is the comparatively small number of children. Most of the journeymen, though married, had no children or at most one. Servants, too, were fewer, even maids. Only one household had five, otherwise three in some cases, but mostly one maid sufficed. Apprentices, however, were more numerous than among the merchants. The distribution of these is uneven. A printer, John Reid, had five. Barbers and wigmakers sometimes had three. One apothecary had five.

Mr. George Leslie, bookseller, worth 5,000 merks, had a house of five hearths, inhabited by himself, his wife, Alison Law, his sister-in-law, Grissel, and one maid. In his return he entered that his father-in-law, Mr. Henry Rymor, minister of Carnbie, having another settled in his place because of his

age, stayed with them. Mr. Henry must have been father of a former wife. In any case the roll marked him as dead. John Dickson, candlemaker, worth 1,000 merks, with his wife, a man servant, a maid and an apprentice inhabited a house of two hearths. George Steill, baker, was wealthy as crafts went, having 4,000 merks. He and his wife, Anna Murray, two maids and an apprentice had a house of two hearths. One wright, William Scott, had 5,000 merks. Married, with a wife, a son and a daughter, he employed three men, two maids and an apprentice. The perfumer, George Beeck, who sounds like a foreigner, possibly a Fleming, had a wife and two children. Although he owned to stock between 500 and 5,000 merks he had no maid, while a baker, James Anderson, married and without children, with the same sum, employed a maid and two apprentices. Archibald Brownlee, servant in the Exchange Coffee House, with a wife, one child and two maids, was paid a yearly wage of £60. Two other men, also servants there at wages of £36 and £10 respectively, seem to have lived with him, although whether they inhabited the premises of the Coffee House is not made clear.

Still, as noted above, the majority of the households were poor. Several of them are careful in their returns to make this clear. George Bower, weaver, servant of Hugh Crystal, weaver in Canongate, describes himself 'a poor weak infirm man not able to work by reason of a rupture I am very much troubled with.' Others, not vexed by bodily infirmity, stated their position. John Grant, journeyman tailor, married, was 'not worth a halfpenny.' Andrew Henderson, tailor, had 'no stok at al.' James Service, journeyman wright, and Elizabeth Mason, his wife, had a son and a daughter, but 'we have nothing atail and skarchlie can get breid for our bairns.' Possibly the tailor-craft was overstocked.

Vintners fall into a class by themselves, as any person who desired to augment his income might open a tavern. Even for writers it was not thought unsuitable, and other

lesser branches of the law were fairly frequent in adopting this business, which, for form's sake, might be in the wife's name. Of this duplication there are only two examples in these returns. John Wilkie, tailor, puts himself down alternatively as a taverner. He was worth 1,000 merks and had a man and three maids for his household and business. James Shand, previously mentioned, sold ale.

Strangely enough, considering the habits of the capital, where much business of all kinds was done over a bottle of wine or pints of ale and where a morning drink and a 'four hours' must be either one drink or the other, the parish seems to have had only four vintners and one ale-seller. There was also a retired vintner, one John Watt, who declared no stock. One of these vintners was as rich as the wealthiest merchants. Patrick Steele, worth 10,000 merks, with a wife and three sons, had so many servants that possibly he may have had more than one tavern. He employed eleven men servants and four women. The numbers show that he was a law-abiding man, since the men predominate.

The other three were Mr. Charles Dallas, who enters his wife, Agnes Irving, her daughter, a man servant and three maids in a house of seven hearths. He had as lodger Henry Maule of Kellie, son of the late George, Earl of Panmure, with his three servants. From the latter's return the site of the tavern is given, the south side of High Street, opposite the Market Cross. Malcolm Henderson also had a tavern. Worth 500 merks, he records a household composed of a wife, two children and two maids. If these last were all his servants the tavern must have been a small affair. Andrew Tennent had less stock, only 400 merks, but employed two men and two maids for his family of a wife and one child and his business. The only ale-seller was John Walker, who with his wife, Jean Fenton, one daughter and no servants occupied a house of two hearths.

Professions other than the law were sparsely represented.

The Act of Parliament makes no mention of ministers in its table of taxation, but the returns give the names of nine ministers, householders. Not one of these had a charge and therefore may have ranked as mere 'indwellers' for the purpose of the tax. The list is headed by Mr. William Garden, D.D., married, with three children and two maids, living in a house of five hearths. This return bears that he had been 'deprived' by the Council. He had been minister at the Tolbooth Church and it was the Privy Council which had deprived him in 1689 for refusing to acknowledge the results of the Glorious Revolution. Most of the others, although not Edinburgh ministers, had suffered in the same way and write themselves down as 'outed,' 'without stipend' or 'without benefice.' They cannot have been in a comfortable position. Mr. William Abercrombie and his wife, Janet Home, had a son and two daughters and one maid. They lived in a house of two hearths, the top storey of Home's Land at the head of Forrester's Wynd, and, as the minister noted, friends stayed with him. At the time of the return they had three. Mr. James Gartshore and Jean Lockhart had three children and a maid in a house of five fire-rooms. Mr. Andrew Urie and Katherine Kinnear, with two children, had three fire-rooms. Mr. Daniel Robertson appears to have been without family. Mr. William Waterston records seven children and one maid; Mr. Hercules Lindsay had one son and no servants. James Burnet, late Archbishop of Glasgow, then himself in Hamburg, had a house of five hearths for his family of nine, three sons and six daughters, of whom only two children were over 16 years.

Doctors in the parish numbered five. None of them make any return of wealth. It was not necessary since their tax was £12. The chief of these was Sir Thomas Burnet, H.M. Physician. He and Dame Janet Bruce, his wife, had a son and two daughters at home with the daughters' husbands, William Crawford of Auchinames and Mr. James Robertson,

advocate. At least the return calls him advocate, though he does not appear in the *List of the Faculty of Advocates*. In addition was Christian, daughter of Mr. Robert Steedman, minister at Carnbie, a cousin of Sir Thomas. These, in a house of seven hearths, with three men servants and a maid, must have made a crowded household. Dr. Matthew Sinclair, with two children of his own, lodged three more, one of whom, Elizabeth, daughter of the late Bailie Abercrombie, he supported and educated 'upon tender affection.' It sounds a pleasant household, with Margaret Kerr, his wife, a man and two maids in a four-hearth house. Dr. William Eccles had paid hearth money for a house of five hearths in Blackfriars Wynd, so he and his household, a wife, five children, three maids and an apprentice, must have been newcomers to the parish. Dr. Alexander Dundas makes no return of a household. Dr. Hacket lived alone with one maid. Dr. William Kintore lived with his father, Mr. William Kintore of Mountlothian, advocate. The latter had entered advocate in 1661 and possibly his age made the arrangement desirable.

There were apparently six schools in the parish. One, kept by Alexander Heriot, taught bookkeeping. Mr. Robert Blair, Thomas Howison, gentleman, and James Short do not indicate what kind of school they kept, but probably they were what would now be termed elementary schools, for the Town Council did not care for rivals to the High School. All were married, but Blair was the only man of property with 2,000 to 3,000 merks. The other two schools were run by women, Isobel Cumming and Anna McLellan, apparently spinsters. Each had one maid and the latter a house of two hearths.

In spite of constant wars a profession little known in the town was the Army. The returns show only three men. Captain John Fletcher, captain of artillery, married, with four children, a man and two maids, declared himself worth only 100 merks. In his four-hearth house he also lodged Meg,

daughter of Captain Robert Wood, his niece. Another was John Peirie of H.M. Guards, who, with his wife Margaret Haldane and a maid, had as lodger David Aikinhead, who must have been one of the Edinburgh family with a Provost of that name. The other is mentioned in the returns as having 8s. a day, Captain Slezer. He, his son and man servant are noted among those who had not paid their tax.

Town and other officials without exception had no stock. Still some, like George Drummond, keeper of the tolbooth, must have made money. He and his wife, Anna Scott, had a large family, four sons and two daughters, in their house of four hearths. They kept three maids, of whom one was a widow, and had two lodgers, William and Archibald Gordon. His three servants in the prison were not so prosperous. Mr. Thomas Gow stated 'as for fortoun its too weell known I have non for my debt is more than my frie gear.' James Shand, H.M. Trumpeter, with a wife and six children, apparently kept a tavern to supplement his pay, for one maid, with £6 wages, got 44s. on each 'score' of ale he sold. William Robertson, messenger's officer, and his wife were 'two old pepill the one of thriescoir thrie years old and myself thriescoir sevine in december.'

Apart from these people who had professions or employment of some sort, there were three other kinds of residents in the parish which are not always easy to differentiate, the gentry, the women householders, who were chiefly widows of professional men, gentry or others, and the 'indwellers' who range from people with money to the poorest, wives of town pensioners, workmen and such.

There were twenty-three who were nobility or gentry, of whom only ten were married. Thirty-nine children are found, of whom eighteen boys and sixteen girls. Forty men servants and thirty-six maids seems a fair number, but one or two households, particularly Lord Tarbet's, bring up the average. There were only eight lodgers.

Among the richest of these were James Rocheid of Inverleith, who lived with his mother, Michael Norvell of Boghall, James Cathcart of Carbiston and Mr. David Scrymgeour of Gartmore, the two former with £1,000 valued rent, the others with £300 and £200 respectively. It may be suspected that Scrymgeour had sources of income which he did not declare, for he paid one of his men servants £100 and another £100 for 'dyet.' George, Viscount Tarbet, is in a class by himself. He declares tax for his household, hinds and tenants. These last with the men servants number thirteen, and he had seven maids. For these, his wife and a daughter he paid £105, 12s. His own tax as viscount should have been £50. Robert Hepburn of Bearford rated himself as a baron and paid tax for a wife, two children, a man and three maids. Sir Hew Paterson of Bannockburn had only a man and a maid. Presumably his lodging was in the house called by his own name, between Forrester's and Liberton's Wynd. He, it is worth noting, was grandfather of Clementina Walkinshaw, mistress of Prince Charles Edward Stewart. Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden is explicit as to his household arrangements. In a house of eight hearths were his wife and eight children, three men servants, three maids and his father- and mother-in-law. He noted that part of his house was let to others and that he paid separately for his hearths at Pitmedden.

The women householders are a queer medley, ranging from Dame Janet Wallace, widow of Sir Henry Guthrie, to Mistress Cruickshank, 'poor widow,' and taking in widows of merchants and craftsmen. There were a hundred and thirteen such in the parish—a large number proportionally to the rest. Only a hundred and five children are noted, of whom forty-one boys and fifty-five girls. It must be taken into account that other children must have been grown men and women who had left home. Ten men servants and ninety-eight maids and only six apprentices show how great was the difference in status. Lodgers numbered only twenty-eight.

Martha Stevenson, widow of Alexander Ogston, bookseller, with four children, must have kept on her husband's business, for she had two apprentices as well as two maids. In addition she had as lodger Mr. James Stevenson, advocate. Her husband's stock in which she had one-third interest had been between 500 and 5,000 merks. Jean Russell, widow of James Forrest, glazier, seems to have carried on his business too, with two apprentices. She also had four children all under nine years, and one maid, and let out some of her house of four hearths in chambers, but does not state their occupants. Two women, Margaret Wellwood, widow of John Colquhoun, merchant, and Christian Johnston, widow of William Finnie, tailor, kept girl apprentices. Neither of these were wealthy, since their husbands had been worth only 500 merks. Elizabeth Wilkie for family had one son and one maid, while Christian had a daughter by a former marriage, her own sister and a maid.

Isobel Luke was widow of a merchant worth 10,000 merks, Bailie Wylie—who cannot be found in the list of Edinburgh bailies. She wrote herself down as paying for ten hearths, but it is unlikely that she and her solitary maid occupied a house of that size. John Wallace, merchant and late husband of Grissel Porter, had left a similar amount. With her lived only a grandchild, Jean Blair. Jean Abernethy, widow of George Mitchell, smith, had two sons apprentices and one maid, owned a house or houses with six hearths and a third of 5,000 merks. Jean Hepburn, widow of Robert Fife, tailor, with no children and one maid, paid tax of £2, 10s. upon 3,000 merks. This indicates that she had no family living, otherwise she would have paid only a third of that sum. She kept two lodgers, Mr. David Fairfowl, gentleman, and John Riddoch, indweller—the distinction is her own—worth 3,000 merks. Still, the majority of the women householders from the merchants and crafts were so poor as to pay merely 6s.

The widows of gentlefolk recall some known names. Lady

Ninewells lived with her own daughter, Margaret Home, and Katherine Home, her husband's daughter by a former marriage. Dame Margaret Johnstone, widow of Sir John Wemyss of Bogie, had one maid and declared £8, being the third of a knight's tax of £24. Dame Jean Morison, Lady Dirleton, had a man servant and two maids, stated no tax and noted that the landlord had paid the hearths in her former house. Dame Magdalen Kinloch, Lady Inverleith, widow of Sir James Rocheid, former Town Clerk, declared valued rent of £1,000, which, however, really was her son's, who lived with her, together with another son and two daughters. They had five hearths in their house, a man and three maids. The estate of Inverleith had been acquired by her late husband, who started life as plain James Rocheid. Yet she is careful in her return to put the prefix 'Mistress' to her daughters' names. Dame Jean Gibson, Lady Pilton, was widow of Major James Montgomery, had £1,000 of valued rent, of which £800 for Pilton in Cramond parish and £200 for her town house. In the latter she had four hearths, in the former twenty-six. With three maids and a page and no children, one can imagine her very comfortably off.

At the other end of the scale are such as Jean Learmonth, widow of Mr. Robert Pow, schoolmaster in Leith. He had left 500 merks. She had a daughter-in-law living with her, but no maid. Margaret Lewis, widow of Commissary Wishart, who for a time combined that office with a professorship in the College, had a house of six fire-rooms in Robertson's Land, Parliament Close. It was an expensive house, rented at £110 and later bought by Robert Sandiland, merchant, for £1,210. There she lived with two sons and two daughters, a grandchild, son of Mr. John Lawson, under clerk of Exchequer, who paid the tax in the regality of Melrose. The Commissary, whose full name was Mr. John Wishart of that ilk, had made the return himself, but died before the date of payment. Jean Campbell, widow of William Law, goldsmith, purchaser of

Lauriston, had a house of four hearths in Parliament Close for herself, three children and a maid. By this time her son, the famous John Law, must have been on his own. Even with Lauriston as an alternative residence this house does not seem to have contented her, for in 1698 she bought from Robertson's Trustees a house of seven fire-rooms and a cellar, in his tenement called the back land of the Mealmarket. It cost her £3,351, a poor investment, since she can have enjoyed it only for two years. Katherine Hamilton, widow of Robert Dundas of Harviston, had three children and a maid. Also in 1698 she bought two houses in Robertson's tenement fronting the Cowgate. Possibly she was a tenant in one of these at the time of the return.

One thing is shown by these returns and others, how several of these women had been married more than once. It was not unusual for a household to be made up of the children of two or more families. Jean Lockhart, widow of James Green, vintner, had a daughter, Margaret Acheson. The widow of John Watson, merchant, had a son, John Symmer. Sir David Towers housed the children of his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, Robert and John Jardine, then at school. Agnes Waddell, widow of James Trotter, writer, had achieved three marriages. With her were Margaret Pettigrew and Alexander and Janet Gordon, her children. Bessie Hodge, widow of John Smith, sergeant, had done the same. She had two children of that husband, Margaret Straitton, daughter by a former marriage and James McRankin, a son, who, however, lived in another family.

Those classed as 'indwellers' numbered forty-eight, of whom thirty-four were married and a few apparently single women. There were only twenty-seven children, of whom eight boys and twelve girls are differentiated. Neither men servants nor apprentices are found and only twenty-six maids and sixteen lodgers.

Some of the indwellers were possessed of stock. James

Douglas, unmarried, was worth 1,000 merks. He kept house with two maids and George Suittie, writer, and his man servant as lodgers. George Chalmers declared himself worth under 4,000 merks. With his wife, a son and a daughter he had also a step-daughter, Janet Cockburn. James Borlands, possibly a relation of the former owner of King's Stables, was worth 500 merks. His wife and one maid, two lodgers, Mr. Robert Mitchelson, notary, and Gavin, son of Gavin Stenhouse, baker, made up the household. George Hay and Mary Young, his wife, with under £100 of valued rent, lived in a house of four hearths a little above the Main Guard, having flitted from the third storey of Tailors' Land. One maid and two children were of the household and Jean, daughter of the late Mr. William Clerk, advocate, 'who resides sometymes in my family and as often elsewhere.'

One or two, with no visible means of support and large houses, took lodgers. Thomas Paterson and Mary Lyle each had houses of five hearths. The former took in William Reid, or Riddell—the return and roll give different names—notary or writer, Thomas Row, servant of Lord Crossrig, Lady Kersland and her maid. Mary Lyle in Bailie Nicholson's Land, Parliament Close, had as lodgers the Laird of Drummelzier and his man. Isobel Anderson, with one maid, had three women lodgers, one her own niece, Helen Douglas, and Elizabeth Cockburn and Helen Douglas. But some, like David Knight, workman, with neither family nor maid, wrote themselves down as having no stock. He sounds almost hopeful, adding 'for the tim.' Another, George Graham, had no desire for misunderstanding of his position. To the statement that he had a wife he added 'no gentleman nor stock.'

The supplementary returns for this parish for 1695 add few new names to the list, and those, presumably new-comers. Such was William Adam, druggist, who had not had a household of his own in the previous year. Married to Dorothy Smart, they had a son of three months, two maids and an

apprentice and 5,000 merks. David Burton, glazier, also was a new-comer. He and his wife, Jean Jeffrey, had one daughter, a maid and an apprentice and 9,000 merks. There lodged with them a friend, Isobel Burton, at the sewing school, possibly Mistress Grant's. A new household and a queer one consisted of Marion Ewing, widow, Robert Symmer of H.M. Lifeguard in Scotland, John Symmer, merchant, with his wife, Mary Campbell, and two maids and 3,000 merks of stock. In addition were two sisters of the wife and her three children named Park, by a former husband. Robert Grant, writing master, made his return for the first time in the parish, noting only his wife, Euphan Cockburn, five children and a maid. William Jack, servant of Mr. James Douglas, writer to the privy seal, recording possession of a wife and maid, added 'the said Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Jack hath no children.'

Why some persons appear on this list is not evident, for no great change is seen in their returns. In one or two cases children were fewer, but whether by death, marriage or setting up businesses of their own was never said. Comparison with the Greyfriars Burial Register shows the former in some cases. John Doull, writer, who entered three children in 1694, in 1695 had two, one a boy at Haddington school, the other, as he explained at length, with a wet nurse on trial, who was to have £60 if her milk suited, because she would have to pay £36 to put her own child to nurse. Robert Blackwood, merchant, also lost a child. And so with others.

Mr. Thomas Learmonth, advocate, sent in a return with two alterations. His daughter-in-law no longer lodged with him and he had given up practising as an advocate. Since he had been admitted in 1648, the retirement must have been due to old age. William Home, Unicorn Pursuivant, and his wife Isobel Stewart had changed their house and taken a lodger. In Bailie Rae's Land, Conn's Close they accommodated William Kintore of Mountlothian, advocate, and his servant. He in the previous return had been a householder with his

son Dr. William Kintore. Quite possibly the doctor had taken over the house. Robert Hepburn of Bearford expanded his second return. He gave his wife's name, Margaret Riddell, explained that the son and daughter were his only children in town and that the daughter had a nurse paid 100 merks. Of his three maids one got £18 a year and £2, 16s. of bounty. Finally he gave his valued rent at £500. Jean Campbell, Lady Lauriston, altered her return to give her valued rent of £560, omitted before. Isobel Luke, widow, added only that she had a grandchild, Thomas Anderson. Mr. Robert Monteith seems to have been questioned about his return, for his addition is querulous—'hes no person whatsoever in his family but a languishing child about 14 years age,' who was at Heriot's Hospital.

Mr. Robert Blair entered in his return that he was a private schoolmaster, gave his wife's name, Sabina Nicholson, had lost a child and apparently the stock which he had declared previously. Robert Bruce the goldsmith's household had altered little. He had no man servant, but three apprentices. Sir Thomas Burnet, H.M. Physician, had somewhat emptied his house. He only had one son at home, for his daughters and their husbands were gone, leaving of his guests only Christian Steedman, his cousin. He apparently had dismissed two of his three men servants and had engaged an apprentice or page. Patrick Fermour, merchant, seems to have made an incomplete return. Additions are a wife, Marie Balcanquell, and a son, a man servant of the same surname as his wife's, in addition to his maid and an exact report of his stock. In 1694 his return had been of 5,000 merks, but the compiler of the roll had marked him as worth 10,000 merks. Doubtless aggrieved at being supposed to qualify for the higher tax, Fermour wrote that he was worth 9,500 merks, liable only in a tax of £4, a very different matter from £10.

MARGUERITE WOOD.

#### SKENE DRAWINGS OF OLD EDINBURGH

ON 24th February 1943 the Edinburgh Public Libraries Committee purchased at Dowell's sale three volumes of water-colour drawings by James Skene of Rubislaw. The drawings number 222 in all. Most of them illustrate buildings and views of Edinburgh between the years 1817-19, though there is one as early as 1804 and some of date as late as 1837.

As far as can be ascertained, the drawings remained in Skene's possession until his death in 1864 when they were acquired by Bailie Dunlop, a property valuator in the City, a keen collector, and an antiquary of considerable repute. This statement is vouched for by the entry in the preface to George Lorimer's *Early Days of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh* (1915), in which the author acknowledges the kindness of Mr. Mercer Dunlop 'in allowing me to make use of the views of Old St. Cuthbert's, originally forming part of the collection of James Skene of Rubislaw, which was acquired by the late Bailie Dunlop.'

The drawings remained in the possession of the Dunlop family until the sale in 1943. Bailie John Charles Dunlop was a brother of Alison Hay Dunlop who, with him, prepared *The Book of Old Edinburgh* for the International Exhibition of Industry held in the Meadows in 1886 and was also the author of another interesting work *Anent Old Edinburgh*.

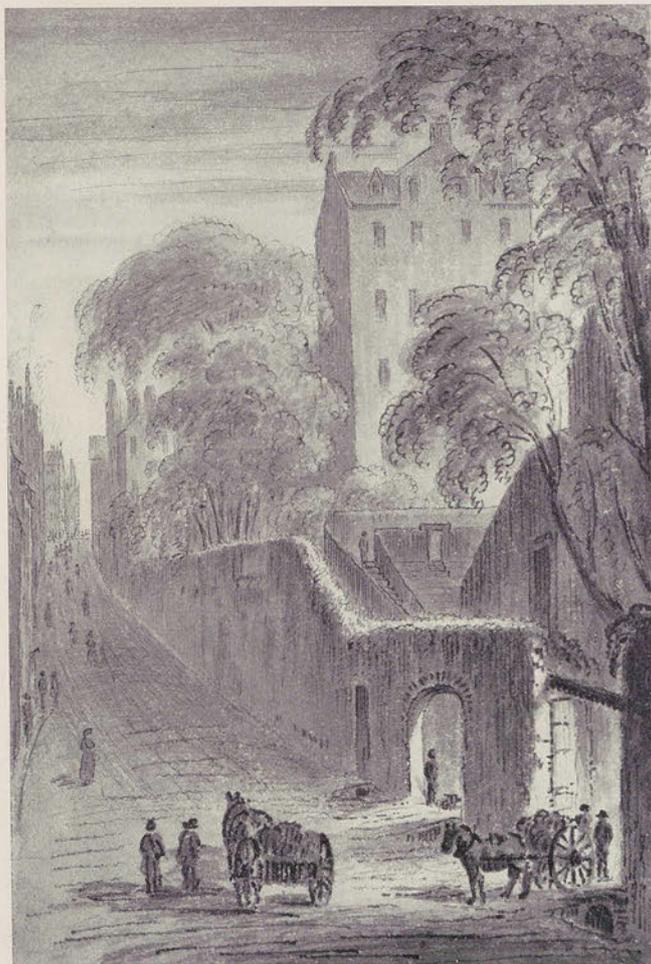
James Skene of Rubislaw was born in 1775. His father died next year, and in 1783 the family removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, primarily for educational reasons, and took a lease of Shawfields Lodging in Riddel's Court, near the ancient Weigh House. Even at that early age the artistic bent of the young lad showed itself, and he tells how he made his early drawings on a broad cellar door of the house with

whiting as his medium. His first efforts included sketches of near-by houses in the West Bow and other picturesque buildings in the neighbourhood. About this time [1785] the project for the building of the South Bridge was set on foot. This ultimately led to the disappearance of many notable landmarks such as the Black Turnpike, but as his talent developed Skene took every possible opportunity of setting down on paper his impressions of the outstanding features of the Old Town during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Later on, with the rise of the New Town, the family moved to George Street, opposite the Assembly Rooms, and Skene was again right in the centre of those great structural alterations which were transforming the City. It was fortunate for us that he lived through this wonderful period in the history of the City, for his facile pen and brush have provided us with an enthralling series of views of the disappearing and changing face of Scotland's capital. His interest in the architectural antiquities of 'Auld Reekie' never waned, and a year after his death his great friend Sir David Brewster, in an address to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, placed on record that

'During his residence in Edinburgh, Mr. Skene explored and sketched the various buildings in the Old Town that were remarkable for their antiquity or historical interest, and he has left a valuable collection of these sketches, which we trust may be given to the public.'

Seventy-eight years were to elapse before Sir David's remarks bore fruit, but the collection is now safely housed where it can be freely consulted by all those interested.

At the age of 21 Skene went to Germany to further his studies and on his return he was admitted to the Scottish Bar in 1797. Thus began his acquaintance with Sir Walter Scott; the friendship ripened with the passing years and was to continue throughout the remainder of Scott's life. They had a common bond in their love of German literature;



LEITH WYND FROM THE NORTH, 1817





JOHNSTON TERRACE UNDER CONSTRUCTION. 1829

indeed Scott had begun his literary career with translations from Bürger in 1796 and his better known rendering of Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen* in 1799. From time to time Scott saw and greatly admired Skene's drawings, and in 1806, writing to Lady Dalkeith, he describes Skene as 'an amiable and accomplished young man, and for a gentleman the best draughtsman I ever saw.' Between this date and 1820 Skene completed at least 120 drawings of the City, the bulk of them in the years 1817-19, and it would appear to have been about this time that Scott's interest in them was so greatly aroused that he repeatedly discussed with Skene the historical incidents and anecdotes connected with the scenes represented, and indeed suggested that together they might produce a monthly publication entitled *Reekieana* for which Skene would do the drawings and Scott the text. During this time Skene had been experimenting with the comparatively new medium of lithography [invented in 1796], no doubt with a view to making use of it for the proposed publication, and on 22nd August 1820 we find him writing to Scott with the news that he is taking Mrs. Skene abroad for the sake of her health, and adds:

'I have been doing some little things in Lithography of which I send you a specimen of my first attempt. . . . There are errors in the Etching I send, but I was working in the dark as it is my first Lithographical attempt and I see that they can be easily avoided.'—*Walpole Collection*.

Scott's reply to this letter was characteristic of him. It is from Abbotsford and is dated 29th August 1820, and is in these terms:

'MY DEAR SKENE.—It is a sad thing that you are obliged to begin your rambles again, but prevention is better than cure, and much as I shall feel your absence, and that of my much-esteemed friend Mrs. Skene, I must comfort myself by thinking that you are amused both of you, and her health strengthened and confirmed. If I take the Continent, which I should wish greatly, I will not fail to direct my

course so as to insure our meeting, for you will scarce choose a nook in the Continent where I will not poke you out. . . . The specimen of lithography is capital, but when shall we set about our "Antiquitates Reekianae"? When indeed? Meanwhile I hope you will not fail to add to your stock of drawings whatever memorables may occur in your travels. The etching was very clever indeed. God bless you, my dear Skene, your excellent partner and your family, and send us a speedy and a happy meeting. All here, Lockharts included, send kindest regards.—I am, very truly and affectionately yours,

WALTER SCOTT.'

The Continental journey with Skene was never to be made, much to Skene's disappointment, but in speaking of this letter in his *Papers* Skene says:

'The "Antiquitates Reekianae" was a joint undertaking of Sir Walter's and mine, illustrative of the ancient history, manners and antiquities of Edinburgh, but the necessity of my going abroad at that time delayed its appearance, and before I returned at the lapse of a year and a half, circumstances had occurred altogether to prevent its publication. The drawings I had prepared for the purpose had been seen, and the delay gave time for the idea to be taken up and turned to use by others, without, however, the only part of the scheme which would probably have given it interest in the public eyes, the narrative part from Sir Walter's pen.'

The others referred to were probably Storer whose *Views in Edinburgh* was published in 1820; and W. H. Lizars, who issued two publications in 1825—*Edinburgh Delineated*, and *Picturesque Views of Edinburgh*. Though the last two items are dated 1825 it should be noted that the *Picturesque Views* was issued in monthly parts from July 1823 onwards, and it was produced exactly in the style which had been laid down for the Skene-Scott project. Lizars must therefore have been working on the plates some considerable time before the issues of the parts, and Skene not only knew of this but bitterly resented the fact that his cherished plans were thus being frustrated. He made a last effort, however, to proceed with his idea, and on 28th March 1823 we find him sending to

Scott a lengthy and detailed letter with proposals for the publication, estimates of costs, and three specimen lithographic illustrations for the work. This letter and the accompanying lithographic impressions are in the Edinburgh Room at the Central Library. As far as I know the letter has never been published, but it is of such importance that it warrants quotation in full. It is as follows:

Edinr. 28 March, 1823.

MY DEAR SCOTT,

I send a specimen of Reekieana for your inspection, likewise a list of the materials already in my collection with an indication of a few of the subjects of historical anecdote to which they may bear reference, that you may guess at their sufficiency or not, to the sort of structure you contemplated.

The plates are my first experiment in an art new to me, therefore some improvement may be looked for as the difficulties are progressively overcome, and the ease of a sure and bold touch worked out, for there is no one here capable of giving any insight into the little, yet very essential arcana that attend the practice of every art. There is an other thing to be attended to unfavourable to first impressions, which these I send you are, that it is different from Copper plate engraving where the proofs on first impression are the finest, in Lithography on the contrary, they are the worst, the first twenty or thirty impressions are either faint or harsh and unequal, until the stone becomes firmly and uniformly charged with ink, so as to bring all the parts into harmony, so that future impressions would be preferable to those I send you. Another circumstance and a more important one is the uncertainty attending the printer's success, as those we have here are far from expert, accordingly you will observe that Regent Murray's house is much injured in the throwing off. It was the last I did, and by far the best, so far as my part of the work was concerned so that I was much disappointed at the result, and the printer honestly confessed to me that he had botched it. I hope however to improve it by retouching. The other two [Cardinal Beaton's Palace and Haddo's Hole] are very well for first attempts. I showed them to Lockhart who was much pleased with them, and said that if you brought Reekieana into action he would help to change the piece. Now from your Potosi of historical anecdote I have no doubt you

could send forth a most entertaining little budget, and my Lithographs would be a sort of toast to introduce the good liquor like the quotations from old plays that are often so obliging as to prepare us for the treat to follow.

It appears to me that a set of periodical *livraisons* consisting of 6 engravings in octavo, perhaps two of them smaller than the others as vignettes with as much letterpress as you please, and perhaps a couple of characteristic groups or heads of remarkable by-gone characters from Lockhart, or anything else amusing would be easily accomplished. For such I could furnish regularly Lithographs for at least twenty Nos. I purchased a stock of stone and materials at Munich, the expense of printing and paper would be very trifling:

The price of each stone comes to about	£- : 10 : -
Printing 300 impressions	- : 12 : -
Plained paper for 300	- : 15 : -
	<hr/>
	£1 : 17 : -
Six plates in each No.	6
	<hr/>
	£11 : 2 : -

There is no other expense but that of my labour and skill which of course is invaluable, but to tell the truth there is a good deal of labour and time required in these engravings. I find that I require four forenoons for each, but in these times when tenants have got out of the way of paying rents, it would be far from inconvenient if the occupation of my forenoons were any how to turn to profitable account, which none of my occupations as yet have ever had the sense to accomplish. So that if Reekiana still finds favour in your sight, and is likely to be worth your while, and my humbler efforts, I shall be ready to work away upon any of the subjects you like, as I think I have now ascertained that I shall be able to make Lithography suit the purpose of these minute town views, of which I had some doubts. The selection for each No. depending more upon the subject for the pen than the pencil, could easily be arranged, suppose the first to be the Frontispiece of Holyrood Gate—Old Cross vignette—Beaton's Palace—Haddo's hole—Regent Murray—and the Maiden.

I think you suggested that it might issue from under the wing of the Bannatyne according to regulations 11th and 12 having a few

extra copies on large paper for the club, and a larger impression on common paper to defray the expense and profit.

I intended to have sent you a few ideas as to the emblem for the Club title-page and a Colophon, pencil ideas I mean, but I have not yet got anything to please me. I think some use could be made of the Phenix surviving from its ashes, however I shall try two or three concerts.

I was very sorry to learn the loss of my old friend your Brother. I had never seen him since he first left Edinr. full of health and hilarity—poor little Walter will now if possible cling the closer to his second father and I shall be much mistaken in my augury if he does not turn out remarkably well.

With best compliments to the Ladies.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) JAMES SKENE.

I sent a few ideas about the Garden last week, which I suppose you got.'

This self-revealing document shows that Skene placed no mean valuation on his artistic ability and that he was not averse to putting it to good account. Nor was he satisfied to leave any stone unturned if he could further the project which lay so near to his heart. The list of which he speaks in the first paragraph was a lengthy one of some 97 drawings which he had carefully selected from the sketches which he had already prepared. It was set out in double columns; the first giving the titles of the 97 drawings, and the second the notes of anecdotes and incidents connected with each, which Scott was to elaborate for the proposed work. The detailed list is as follows:

REEKIANA

DRAWINGS	CONNECTED WITH ANECDOTES OF
1 Archbishopal Palace, Cowgate	Cardinal Beaton, Sharp, etc.
2 Haddo's Hole, St. Giles	Who?—Contiguous to the Tolbooth— Viaticum of the condemned.

134 SKENE DRAWINGS OF OLD EDINBURGH

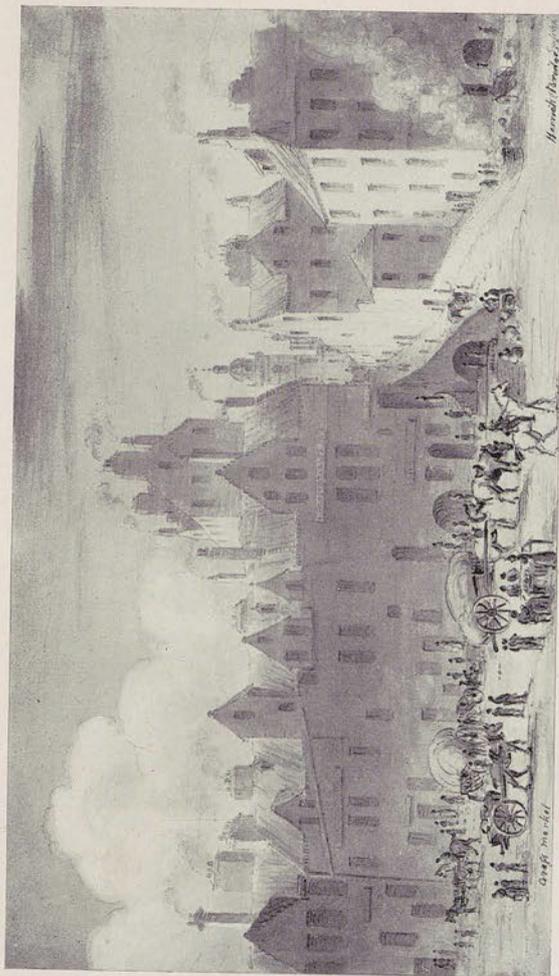
DRAWINGS	CONNECTED WITH ANECDOTES OF
3 Regent Murray's House, Cannongate	Murray—Montrose—Argyle.
4 Earl Huntley's Do.	Do.
5 Hotel for foreign Ambassadors	Netherbow.
6 Generals Court, Potterrow	Monke—Jacob More.
7 Kirk of field	Darnley etc. Principal Robertson.
8 Hamilton House	Earl of Arran—College— Jas. 6 disputations.
9 Knox's house—pulpit, etc.	Do. Reformation Covenant.
10 The Maiden. Juggs. Thumbscrews &c.	
11 Heart of Midlothian. two	
12 . . . . . Cage	
13 Oratory of Mary of Guise	under protection of the castle. Jealousies of the French troops etc. built by her.
14 Court house of Leith	various drawings connected with its various history from the legend of David 2nd to the court of Geo. 4th.
15 Holyrood House & chapel	
16 Outer Gate of the Palace.	
17 Girth Cross	Sanctuary. Debtor chase. etc.
18 Water Gate	Hospital of St. Thomas—pond.
19 Remains of the Catchpel or	Tennis court of the Palace.—a grotesque old turret. Comely Garden.
20 Castle. various drawings	
Morton's prison	attack of the castle. Kirkaldie etc.
Regalia discovered	Drochil Castle.
Removal to Holyrood	
From the west port	Battle of Boroughmoor; retreat of French to the rock. Etc.
Spur	Sheepskirmish. etc.
Halfmoon battery	Kings reception—Mounts Meg.
several others.—	illuminated etc.
21 Well house tower	North Loch, its history.
22 Grass Market	West port 1745—Kings stables.— Tilting field now a square of slaughter houses.—Kings Grange. Old gallows and its annals.—Porteous, etc.
23 Monastery of Gray Friars. Dominicans	Their humility in refusing to reside in so splendid a mansion.
24 Herriots work	Old Bridge—Templars & Knights of St. John.

SKENE DRAWINGS OF OLD EDINBURGH 135

DRAWINGS	CONNECTED WITH ANECDOTES OF
25 West Bow, various drawings	Major Weir—remains of the antient gate—Assembly rooms, etc.
26 Weigh House. two.	
27 Castle Hill. Old Castle Gate	remains of chapels & wall, etc.
28 Land Market	Its former gentility—scene of several affrays of old time.
29 Lukenbooths	
30 Libertons Wynde	
31 St. Giles. various drawings	Towns charter chamber. Oratory. Jenny Geddes—Fate of the saint and abbot of Nismes—The Virgins shrine —Goldsmiths hall—The Creems.— Parliament etc.
32 Parliament house. Old facade	sculpture and statue.
33 " " during Musical festival	
34 Parliament house. Kings banquet. etc.	
35 Parliament house from the Cowgate	in its old form.
36 Back stairs	site of old Holyrood chapel—St. Giles church yard vaulted—The farm house of St. Giles grange was here.
37 Old Cross	The prophetic vision.
38 Exchange. proclamation of	Geo. 4th.
39 Old guard house. 1514.	piquet horse—clans shell turnpike. Maison Dieu.
40 Tron Kirk before the South Bridge	Christ Kirk—pillory.—old Dress & Equipages—booth of the old cor- poration of sweeps. Cannongate. Monks market.
41 Netherbow port	
42 Cannongate Tolbooth & Cross	
43 White horse tavern	Dr. Johnson.
44 Cowgate port	Priory of St. Mary of Placentia.
45 Mint	
46 Black Friars monastery	Colege wynde—indulgencies adver- tised on the door.
47 House of the 12 Apostles. Cowgate.	probable a manor house before the street was built.
48 French Ambassadors Hotel	
49 Mary Magdalin.	Maison Dieu.
50 Old Fish Market close	privileges of the hangman.
51 Various drawings of Cowgate	architecture.

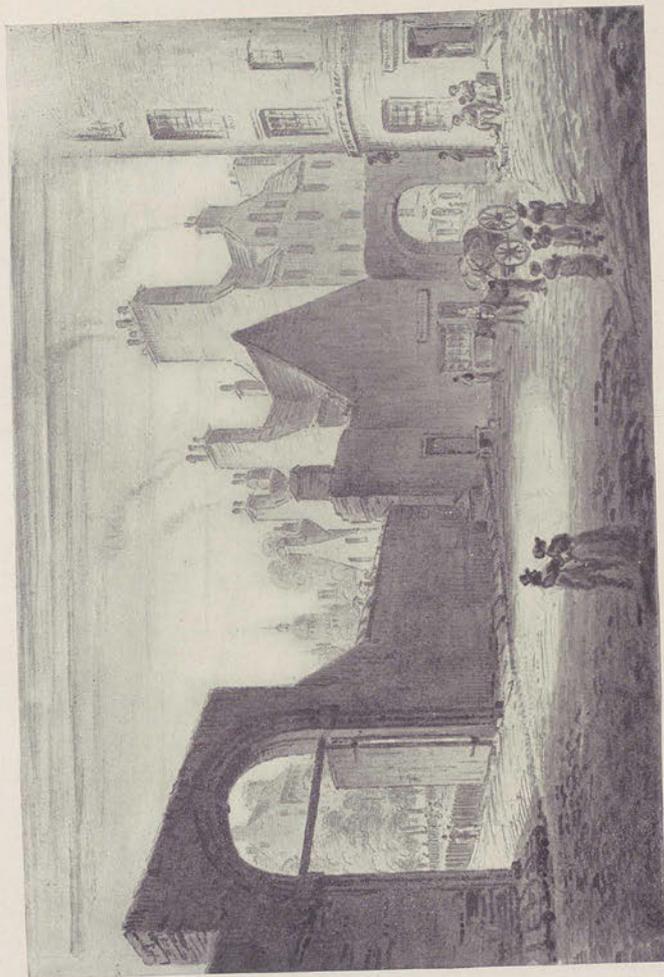
136 SKENE DRAWINGS OF OLD EDINBURGH

DRAWINGS	CONNECTED WITH ANECDOTES OF
52 Gray Friars church & yard	Covenanters monument.
53 Bloody Mackenzies grave	
54 Cordiners Hall	Duke of Douglas's house
55 Potterrow	
56 Nunnery of the Sheens	plague—Blackford Hill. Grange. Borough moor—heere stane, etc.
57 Chapel of St. Roque	Templars of Mounthooly—Cemetery of Quakers. Suicides & unbaptised children.
58 St. Leonards	Mary etc. various
59 Craig Millar	
60 Arthur's seat & Salisbury Crag	
61 St. Anthonys chapel	
62 Gilmerton	Logan.
63 Restalrig	
64 St. Margarets Well	Mary of Guelders Queen of Jas. 2d.
65 Trinity Colege kirk	Library various—Refectory like the main deck of a man of war. little change of the monkish forms.
66 Do. Hospital	Bishop Spense.
67 Paul's work. 12 Beads men	
68 Calton Prison	
69 Low Calton	
70 North Bridge	Dingwal castle at the orphan hospital.
71 Regents Bridge	
72 Humes Monument	Dung port & postern at Halkerstons wynde.
73 Leith Wynde. old wall, &	Gabriels lane & Barefoot parks prob- ably broad pond.
74 New town. various.	
75 Dudingstone	
76 Cannon mills	
77 Craig Lockhart	
78 South Leith Kirk	
79 Jas. 6th Hospital	
80 Citadel of Leith	Old Noll.
81 North Leith various	sent by Henry 8th landed. burnt Edinr.
83 Royston where the troops	Law of Do.
84 Lauriston	
85 Cramond. Roman	
86 Loch End. Skating	
87 St. Bernards well	



GRASSMARKET, SHOWING APPROACH TO HERIOT'S HOSPITAL BY HERIOT BRIDGE





BRISTO PORT AND CHARITY WORKHOUSE

SKENE DRAWINGS OF OLD EDINBURGH 137

DRAWINGS	CONNECTED WITH ANECDOTES OF
88 Princes Street	
89 Wrytes houses. 1376	Robt. 3rd. Jas. 4 & 6.
90 Merchiston	Napier
91 Tolbooth Musselburg	Inveresk Roman
92 Inch Garvie	
93 Inch Colm	
94 Inch Keith	Besieged by Dessè. Guerres d'Ecosse.
95 Tolbooth Well. P.P.C.	
96 Corstorphin	Templars.
97 Old sculpture & Inscriptions. various.	

A week passed before Scott answered Skene's letter in these terms :

'MY DEAR SKENE,—I received your parcel safe, and I have no doubt whatever that the 'Reekianae' will answer, so very beautiful are the specimens you have supplied. Three hundred copies appears rather a large impression, but we will see what Constable says. The man of books is to be here on Wednesday or Thursday next, and I will take the opportunity to take his advice about it, for a man can no more be delivered of a book without a bookseller than a woman of a child without an accoucheur, and much trouble and risk is saved in both cases by having recourse to the first assistance. Constable and Dr. Hamilton are worth all the old women in the world.

Lockhart, I am sure, will not want good-will, but I doubt if his very excellent sketches are finished enough for publication. Charles Sharpe's assistance would be truly invaluable, both in explanation and delineation.'

In a further letter to Skene he says :

'I have given Constable the plates, and he seems much pleased with the plan of the 'Reekianae.' All that I can do will be done, of course. He will hold communication with you on the subject himself. I conceive that it should be something that would pay your time and trouble.'

In spite of Sir Walter's warm advocacy of the proposed book the whole project had to be abandoned because, as Skene tells us in his *Papers* :

'Mr. Constable's proposals, which were something of the wolf's

division usual to booksellers, and often oppressive to the many authors who engage in such compacts, were not to be risked.'

What this 'wolf's division usual to booksellers' consisted of I have been unable to discover, but it is scarcely surprising that Constable, who had so recently as 1820 published Storer's *Views in Edinburgh* in two large quarto volumes with finely engraved plates and plans as well as extensive letterpress, should have been somewhat reluctant to embark upon another venture of a similar nature, more particularly as Skene, on his own admission, was not yet satisfied that he had attained sufficient skill in delineating landscapes in the new medium with which he was experimenting. Be that as it may, nothing more appears to have been done at that time and Scott's financial disaster in 1826 put an end to further progress. But Skene kept adding to his drawings from time to time, and since he could no longer count on the help of Sir Walter for the text he required he apparently undertook the task of compiling the material himself. But a further event was to cause him considerable pain, for in 1833 Robert Chambers issued his *Reekiana: Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*, in the preface of which he speaks thus:

'Reekiana—a title once contemplated for a similar work by Sir Walter Scott, and which he good-humouredly surrendered to me some years ago—is probably the last contribution I shall make to the history of Edinburgh.'

To Skene this was surely 'the unkindest cut of all.' The plan of his long cherished work had been adopted by Lizars; now the very title itself had been selected by Chambers for a similar publication. What more could he do? Very little indeed; and, though he added one or two more drawings of the City to his collection, neither they nor the manuscript, carefully written in his own neat script and bound up in leather, were to be given to the public in his lifetime. From my own examination of the manuscript I must say it will be

a pity if it does not appear in some permanent form, either as a separate publication or as one of the volumes issued under the auspices of this Club. In either form it would serve as a fitting memorial, if that were needed, of one who dearly loved this ancient City of Edinburgh and did everything in his power to place on record his own impressions of its glory.

When we come to look at the drawings two points at once stand out: first, that they give a wonderfully complete contemporary survey of Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century, and second, that they undoubtedly have a high artistic value. Scott was a man of sound judgment and his oft-expressed view that Skene was the best amateur draughtsman in the country is, I think, borne out by a close examination of this collection of his work. Skene had his limitations, but his sense of colour, his appreciation of the architectural refinement of the subjects he chose for his pen and brush, and above all his technique give him a high place among the artists who specialised in this kind of work. Unfortunately he was not equally skilled in the art of engraving and his attempts to master lithographic methods of reproduction did not lead him very far. As a consequence, I have no doubt the high costs involved in getting his work engraved was the real difficulty which he encountered when he sought to commercialise his art.

On examination of these 220 drawings the Edinburgh expert will notice that though a high proportion of them must have been done from the actual buildings and scenes as they existed in Skene's own day, others represent places which had been demolished before his time. These he must have prepared from drawings or similar material collected from various sources. One must remember that Skene was much nearer in time to the days of Edinburgh's greatness, and his personal contacts with eminent people and events gave him a quite exceptional opportunity of exercising his talents on this wonderful set of drawings.

To describe each of the drawings in detail would needlessly extend this account of Skene and his association with Scott in the projected publication of *Reekiana*, but the following sketches illustrated in this volume present features which are worthy of special mention :

No. 45. *Leith Wynd. 1817.*—The view is from the north a short distance above Trinity College Church. The top of the Wynd is now represented by the head of Jeffrey Street at the point where once stood the old Netherbow Port. The rural aspect of this ancient thoroughfare is so different from that of the present day that it is rather difficult to identify the main features of the drawing, but the lower gate from which the cart is emerging led to the old Physick Garden and the postern gate through the wall above it is an entrance to the grounds of the high building in the background which was the property of Mr. A. Henderson and is clearly marked on Kirkwood's map of 1823. That map also shows the trees which lined the garden.

No. 168. *Charity Workhouse. Heriot's Work. Bristo Port.*—Only a distant glimpse of the Workhouse is seen through the arched doorway in the Telfer Wall to the left of the picture. The doorway led to what is now Forrest Road and the Workhouse must have been situated where the Drill Hall now stands. Also seen are the towers of Heriot's Hospital in the middle distance and the Port which opened through the Flodden Wall. The cul-de-sac on the right hand of the sketch is the west end of the Old Back Row which was superseded by Lothian Street.

No. 183. *Excavating for the New West Road. 1829.*—The New Road was, of course, Johnston Terrace, the work for which occupied about eleven years between 1825 and 1836. This view, showing the early stages of the reconstruction, was probably done on the spot. The Flodden Wall is clearly marked and also the doorway through it leading to

the Castle. In those early years of the nineteenth century much fine planning was carried out in Edinburgh and this great feat of roadway engineering is an excellent example of the foresight of the civic authorities. The sketch indicates Skene's keen interest in the changing face of the City in his time.

No. 216. *Grassmarket. Heriot Bridge.*—The approach from the Grassmarket to the original entrance to Heriot's Hospital is the principal feature of this important drawing of an old and historic part of the City. At the top of the slope the gateway through the Flodden Wall is seen. The steepness of the Bridge was very marked and pedestrians could easily pass below the archway on either side of it. The Bridge stretched awkwardly into the main thoroughfare and formed a considerable obstruction at this point; indeed in 1762 the people of the neighbourhood petitioned the Council to remove it and this was done. No drawing of this is known to exist, and Skene must therefore have based this sketch on written material ready to his hand. Note one of the Temple Lands marked by the usual cross, Hume's Stables, and the characteristic pends of the period, giving access to the closes and back lands. The building at the foot of the Bridge to the right is Jeffrey's Brewery, which was later transferred to Roseburn.

In addition to the sketches noted above the following brief notes on a few of the others may be of interest :

No. 23. *Back Stairs. 1818.*—The steps led up from the Cowgate through the Kirkheugh to the Parliament Close. It was down these stairs that Boswell led Dr. Johnson to view the Cowgate. The high arch and the reflection of sunlight on the Parliament House seen at the head of the stairs give this view a strange likeness to some Eastern scene.

No. 24. *Commissioner. Luckenbooths. 1817.*—A picture of the Lord High Commissioner's procession on the occasion

of his visit to the General Assembly in St. Giles'. The carriages are passing the Guard of Honour and interested spectators are seen in the street as well as round the parapets of the roof and tower of the Church. The dials of the clock are seen and also the Cramers in the narrow passage between St. Giles' and Creech's Land. The Luckenbooths have gone but the Tolbooth still stands, so that the sketch must have been done about the time of the demolitions.

No. 41. *Trinity College Kirk*.—A careful wash drawing of the main entrance of the church seen from the north-east. The North Bridge, seen in the background, was some 150 yards or thereby due west. The church was founded by Mary of Gueldres in 1462 and was taken down when the Waverley Station was built. Many regretted its demolition and several plans for its re-erection were considered, notably one on the shoulder of the Calton Hill, a print of which proposed restoration is in the Edinburgh Room. Ultimately all that remained of this fine old church were some of the carved stones built into the existing church of the same name in Jeffrey Street.

No. 55. *Parliament Stairs*. 1817.—The stairs led up from the Cowgate to the back of Parliament House. The building at the top of the stairs was the original office of the Friendly Fire Insurance Society, erected in 1726. At the foot of the stairs a number of people are gathered together at the public well, gossiping and exchanging the news of the day. The tower on the top of Parliament House is still a well-known feature of the skyline from George IV Bridge.

No. 98. *Tron Kirk before the South Bridge was opened*. 1818.—Presumably this drawing was copied from some old print, possibly from Elphinstone's work reproduced in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*. The east side of the church was cut away because it interfered with the continuation of the building line of the North Bridge. To balance this a

part of the west side was demolished. These operations did not improve the appearance of the structure and it is interesting to have this view of the church in its earlier form. In the shadow of the church may be seen seven sedan chairs, symmetrically parked on the stance, with the chairmen grouped near by. These chairs were for public hire. Most of the well-to-do families possessed their own chair or chairs, and when any member went visiting a servant man preceded the chair carrying a torch to light the way through the streets and dark closes. In the foreground a gentleman is courteously handing two fashionably dressed ladies into their carriage. We also get a glimpse of the pend at the head of Marlin's Wynd which disappeared with the building of the South Bridge.

No. 112. *Fishmarket Close*. *Hangie's House*. 1819.—The curious overhanging wooden structure above the round tower in which the hangman lived is said to have been used for housing the prisoner on the night before the execution. In Sir Daniel Wilson's time the official hangman was a cobbler and his shop with some of his stock-in-trade is seen close by where the street leads off to Heron's Court. John High (Jock Heigh) was the last executioner who lived here. He died in 1817 and some time afterwards the house was demolished.

No. 150. *Robert Gourlay's House*.—This imposing building dates from 1569. It was demolished in 1834 when Melbourne Place and George IV Bridge were planned. The house was built by Robert Gourlay, a law messenger, who, according to Chambers, was appointed officer-at-arms to the Abbey of Holyrood, with a salary of forty pounds and other perquisites. The latter must have had considerable value, for his house became a place of some importance. Gourlay used part of the house at least as a prison for the temporary housing of the criminals with whom his office brought him into contact. Among the famous sojourners

in the house was the Earl of Morton who was beheaded for his part in the murder of Darnley. This view shows the work of demolition and reconstruction in progress, and though the drawing is undated we may safely assume that it was done about 1830 or thereby.

No. 163. *Teviot Row. Correction House. Bethlem. Town Wall. Bristo Port.*—The dominating feature of this drawing is the massive Telfer Town Wall, erected in the early part of the seventeenth century, and behind it the Correction House and Bedlam or lunatic asylum in which Robert Fergusson, the friend of Robert Burns, died. At its extreme end we get a distant glimpse of Bristo Port. To the right we see part of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital with its massive iron-studded door, and on the left the road leading to Lauriston.

No. 178. *Magdalen Chapel, Cowgate.*—This beautiful drawing indicates clearly how the picturesque buildings in the City have been spoiled by the hand of the improver. Note how the windows of the cork cutter are festooned by the materials of his trade. Fortunately the fine old doorway has been preserved, but the quaint bow window with its inset panes of bottle glass and the stairway on the right to the first floor of the adjoining tenement have been swept away. This view of the chapel also appears in *Twelve Etchings of Edinburgh, By an Amateur*, which was issued in 1816.

No. 182. *East Coates, near Edinburgh.*—The pond in the foreground of this picture is where St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral now stands, and the house, altered somewhat, is immediately to the north. The Walpole Memorial Hall occupies the site where the trees are seen on the extreme left. The house was built in 1611 by Sir John Byres of Coates and its picturesque turrets and other old-time features present a striking contrast to the new erections with which it is now surrounded.

Those who wish to examine the drawings noted above as well as the remainder of the sketches which comprise the complete set can inspect them in the Edinburgh Room at the Central Library, where they will have access to a very fully annotated list of the series. The notes to each drawing, mainly historical and topographical in nature, have been carefully compiled by Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, an Honorary Vice-President of this Club, and a frequent contributor to its publications. For all the labour of love which he has devoted to this task the members of this Club and the Public Libraries Committee are deeply indebted.

ROBERT BUTCHART.

## OLD DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

I DO not know that a scientific name has been given to the study of old dovecotes, but possibly it might be termed Columbariology.

It is an interesting study because its history extends back into a remote past and has been closely associated with the economic and social history of human beings.

The dovecotes in themselves are also of great interest. Many of them have been in existence for centuries and thus have antiquarian value. They are usually connected with some fascinating old manor house, abbey, or castle, situated in beautiful places, and are often possessed by equally fascinating owners. They are of such variety also that the student of old dovecotes finds that not one of them is exactly the same as another. In addition, most old dovecotes are really beautiful architecturally, and it may perhaps be said that they expressed functionalism in architecture centuries before this term was used in that science. It is usually easy to recognise a dovecote even from a considerable distance. Old dovecotes were obviously built for their purpose, and although often ornamental they were never over-ornamented. Their architecture is frequently a perfect expression of excellent local craftsmanship, as most of them were built when the local mason took a pride in his work, and one reason that some of them have survived to this day is that they were built so strongly and so well.

Furthermore, it is an interesting fact that old dovecotes frequently reveal decided national predilections. It is not often that one could mistake a dovecote of Southern England for one of Scotland. For example, the charming Butt House dovecote in Herefordshire, built of black and white half-timber work on a base of mellow red brick, is completely

## DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH 147

unlike the strong thick-walled stone rectangular dovecote of Scotland, such as the one at Nether Liberton. The Butt House dovecote is akin to the beautiful old black and white houses and cottages of the Welsh Marches, while the Scottish dovecote is solid, grim, and almost menacing, like a border peel tower. Indeed it might be said that the Scottish dovecotes, having strong thick stone walls, often double doors for added safety, double chambers for increased security, and massive high back walls, are an expression of the national motto, '*Nemo me impune lacessit.*'

### HISTORY OF OLD DOVECOTES.

It is impossible to say when the first dovecote was built. Perhaps it was of the Bronze Age at Skara Brae. Professor Gordon Childe in his Report on the excavation of Skara Brae<sup>1</sup> states, 'In regard to the underground hut no. 7, about 7 or 8 feet from the floor, the walls near the corner are honey-combed with curious "pigeon holes." They frankly suggest joist holes but no strict symmetry in their disposition can be detected.' Dr. Childe does not commit himself further than that. It does not seem to me impossible that the Bronze Age inhabitants made these holes in order to domesticate the rock pigeon, the progenitor of all our innumerable species of domestic pigeons. Rock pigeons have been plentiful in the natural caves around the coasts of Orkney, and these primitive stone dwellings of the Skara Brae people were not a 'far remove' from a natural cave. Judging from the description of their settlement at Skara Brae, the additional dung of a few pigeons would not have unduly upset the sensibilities of the human inhabitants! It is interesting to record that Pococke in his *Tours*<sup>2</sup> writes, 'We saw on the point of Hoy a pigeon house formed out of the chamber of a Piets' House

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. lxxiii. p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Pococke's Tours in Scotland* (Scottish History Society, 1887), p. 136.

with some addition to it, that room was 8 ft. long and four feet wide.'

There is a natural cave on the South Wales coast near Port Eynon<sup>1</sup> which has been converted into a very primitive pigeon house by lining its interior walls with nest holes and building up a 60-foot wall across the entrance, perforated by several windows. The cave is called Culverhole, the old English name for a pigeon house being culverhouse.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a somewhat similar pigeon house in a cave near East Wemyss, Fifeshire, where the cave is called the Doo Cave.<sup>3</sup>

At Hawthornden two subterranean caves are to be seen which have been cut in the rocks.<sup>4</sup> One of these contains 174 nest holes, cut out of the actual rock. This chamber has been called Robert the Bruce's Library! The other cave has 317 pigeon holes, made of slabs. Pennant,<sup>5</sup> on his tour, noted these caves 'which have been cut with vast labour out of rock at Hawthornden. The descent into the chamber is by eight steps, on the right is the gallery, 15 feet long, with a space at the end whose sides are cut into rows of square holes, each nine inches deep, and seems to have been the pigeon house of the place, there being an entrance through the rock.'

Possibly these old cave *columbaria* are derived in a direct line from the still older and more primitive prehistoric efforts.

The earliest record of pigeons in a domesticated condition, according to Professor Lepsius in his *Denkmäler*,<sup>6</sup> occurs in the fifth Egyptian dynasty, about 3000 B.C. D. Smith states<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Smith (Donald), *Pigeon Cotes and Dove Houses of Essex*, p. 56; Cooke (A. D.), *A Book of Dovecotes*, pp. 199, 200.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Guide to Rossllyn Chapel and Castle and Hawthornden*, by Rev. John Thompson, F.S.A., published 1908, p. 114; *The Fringes of Fife*, by John Geddie, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Guide to Rossllyn Chapel, etc.*, pp. 113, 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Pennant's Tour*, 1776, vol. ii. p. 253.

<sup>6</sup> *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, by Chas. Darwin, vol. i. p. 214.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, p. 49.

that the first pigeon cotes appear to have been made by the prehistoric dwellers in South Palestine. There are drawings in Thomson's *The Land and the Book* of old Syrian dove-cotes, square towers of great height with nesting holes all round them, and it is said that dove-cotes were common in Ancient Persia.<sup>1</sup>

Pliny records a pigeon mania amongst the Romans,<sup>2</sup> remarking 'and many are mad with the love of these birds; they build towers for them on the tops of their roofs.' Varro, a great Roman authority, describes Roman dove-cotes in his book, *Rerum rusticarum*. The Romans fed pigeons for the table, and housed them in a Peristeron,<sup>3</sup> sometimes as many as 5000 birds in one house. They paid men high wages to chew white bread as prepared food for the young pigeons,<sup>4</sup> and even broke the legs of the 'squabs' so that they would fatten more quickly from lack of exercise. Chambers<sup>5</sup> says that 'there is an *a priori* possibility that dove-cotes existed in Roman Britain because octagonal foundations exist in close connection with farm buildings at Great Witcombe and Stroud, on Roman sites, which resemble the foundations of existing medieval dove-cotes, and which cannot be accounted for by any other theory; and pigeon holes were discovered at the remains of the Roman colony of Caerwent, S. Wales.'

It is, however, the Normans who really started the building of dove-cotes in Britain, yet no dove-cote is recorded in *Domesday Book*.<sup>6</sup> Our own dove-cotes linger close to old manor houses, so that to this day a dove-cote is almost a symbol of feudalism.

Possibly the earliest dove-cot in Britain which still exists is the splendid old Norman keep of Rochester Castle, with 121

<sup>1</sup> Darwin, vol. i. p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dovecot and the Aviary*, by Rev. E. S. Dixon, published 1851 by John Murray, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cooke, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers, *Romano-British Dovecotes* (*Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. x. p. 189).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, p. 60.

original nest holes, built in 1126.<sup>1</sup> Conisborough Castle, built in the 12th century, has pigeon holes in a stone vault in one of its buttresses. The oldest actual dovecote in Britain, built as a separate building, and still standing, is that fine old circular dovecote at Garway, Herefordshire.<sup>2</sup> Its actual date is recorded on the tympanum of the entrance: In the year 1326 this dovecote was built by Brother Richard. It belonged to the Knights Hospitallers.

The earliest date on any Scottish dovecote is 1576, on the dovecote at Mertoun House, St. Boswells.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the Scottish dovecotes that remain in existence date from the 15th to 18th centuries, but they gradually died out at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Up till then the dovecotes were used as an extra source of fresh food in winter-time, but they became obsolete when methods of winter feeding of cattle became generally known, and the turnip crop was introduced into husbandry.

In association with feudalism the *columbarium* became the legal right of most abbeys, monasteries, castles, and baronies, and one may therefore classify dovecotes into (1) Ecclesiastical, (2) Castle, and (3) Baronial Dovecotes.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL DOVECOTES.

Before we deal with the ecclesiastical dovecotes in the Edinburgh area some references to those in other parts of Scotland may be of interest.

We find that in 1642 the famous Dr. Guild, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, built the new Song School upon the site of the dovecote of the Bishop's Palace at St. Machar's Cathedral.<sup>4</sup> Probably the sacrist of the cathedral was delighted at the disappearance of the doocot, as it had been one of his duties 'to see that doos and ravens come not into the Cathe-

<sup>1</sup> Smith, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Cooke, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> *Story of Old Aberdeen*, by Katharine Traill, p. 15.

dral!'<sup>1</sup> Balmerino Abbey had its dovecote standing till 1829.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rogers in his interesting old book, *A Week at Bridge of Allan*, says, 'A few yards from Cambuskenneth Abbey is the Abbey dovecot';<sup>3</sup> but in a later book of drawings of old buildings in Stirling, it is shown as only a relic of parts of two walls. The convent of the Blackfriars at Ayr had a pigeon house,<sup>4</sup> and in the *Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth*, by Scott Pittis, one reads, at page 210, that dovecotes were the possession of the Carmelite, Blackfriars, and Carthusian monasteries there. It is most fitting that St. Columba's Cathedral, Iona, once had a dovecote in the old central saddle-backed tower. The charters in the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland refer to *columbaria* connected with the Abbeys of Kinloss, Haddington, Glenluce, Old Lindores, Paisley, and Dunfermline, with the monasteries of Coldstream and North Berwick, and at the Vennel of the Preaching Friars and the Cathedral College, Elgin. Fortunately some of the old abbey dovecotes remain. There is a quaint circular one at Crossraguel.

The old Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh give us an inkling of the ecclesiastical dovecotes of the past in Edinburgh. In 1599 they state 'A Tack<sup>5</sup> was given to Alex. Adamesoun of the eel ark in the East end of the North Loch, inside the yard of Trinity College on the drain of the loch, of the yard of the College with the dovecote on the North of the drain.' In fact there is a pictorial representation of this dovecote shown in that exact position, in the centre of the gardens of Trinity Chapel and Hospital, in a drawing taken from Gordon of Rothiemay's map (Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 312). Mr. Boog Watson kindly furnished me with the

<sup>1</sup> *Story of Old Aberdeen*, by Katharine Traill, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Balmerino and its Abbey*, by Rev. Jas. Campbell, D.D., p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *A Week at Bridge of Allan*, by Rev. Chas. Rogers, LL.D., ninth edition, published 1859, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Chambers's Gazetteer*, 1832, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, vol. 1589-1603, p. 244.

following references to this dovecote from Edinburgh Municipal Records: On 21st March 1677, 'The Town Council finding it prejudicial to the yaird of Trinity Hospital that the dowcat should continue any longer there, ordains it to be demolished, the Masters of the Hospital to sell the old materials to the best advantage';<sup>1</sup> and on 28th March 1677, 'The dowcat in the yaird of Trinity Hospital to be demolished at the expense of Mr. Sutherland who has likewise undertaken to lay with flagstones the ditch that conveys the water from the North Loch through the yard, and to big it with stones and lime on both sides of said ditch.'<sup>2</sup> So that was the end of the Trinity Chapel dovecote. From the same Records we find there was a dovecote above St. Thomas's Aisle in 1556, as it is recorded 'That the Provost, Baillies and Council ordain the Dean of Guild to receive from Sir Henry Loch the key of the little dowcat above Sanct Thomas' Aisle and deliver the same to Thomas Rowane during the Town's will.'<sup>3</sup> This was the St. Thomas's aisle of St. Giles' Church and one likes to think of the dignified town magnates listening to the gentle cooing of the doves above them as they prayed before the arm bone of Sanct Gelis. Then possibly 'the Dowcatt's Land on the South side of Cowgate, forenent the Blackfriars wynd,' mentioned in the Edinburgh City Records on 20th September 1661, indicates the site of an old dovecote that had once belonged to the Blackfriars Monastery.<sup>4</sup>

Even as recently as the year 1916, there was a dovecote over the ceiling of the Magdalen Chapel in the Cowgate.<sup>5</sup> There were wooden nests in the great open space that exists between the ceiling and the roof of the Chapel. The pigeons entered through a small opening in the south wall. There is no dovecote there now but a few pigeons still haunt the old tower.

<sup>1</sup> *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, vol. 1589-1603, p. 244 (in MS.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (in MS.).

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes of the Edinburgh Town Council*.

<sup>5</sup> *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. viii. p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 253.

Three ecclesiastical dovecotes, however, still remain in situations not far from Edinburgh. It is possible to see to this day the old pigeon holes in the tower chamber of the Carmelite Priory Church, South Queensferry, and I believe similar holes are still to be seen in the tower of Inchcolm Abbey where, in the 15th century, the second floor of the tower was converted into a dovecote.<sup>1</sup> There are wooden nest holes in Carrington Church tower, Midlothian.

Pigeons in church towers were sometimes, both in Scotland and England, the perquisite of the pastor. Mr. Malcolm in his book, *The Parish of Monifieth*, wrote: 'The tower of the Pre-Reformation Church at Monifieth was 36 feet high, and the middle portion of it was boxed for doos (the minister's).'<sup>2</sup> We find another reference to this practice in another book which states: 'Stenton Church tower, East Lothian, has long served as a dovecote, and a colony of pigeons there has always been regarded as the property of the minister.'<sup>3</sup>

Although the ministers in these two churches in all probability regarded the church doos in a favourable light, that members of a congregation did not always do so is revealed by the following minute of the Church Session of Old Culross Church: 'The which day Bagownie desiring that his open seat being incommodat through dows dung and stones falling upon these in his seat it might have a covering; the Session finding the same inconvenient and prejudicial to all behind did for his convenience grant him that they should, out of the church treasurie, stop the places where the pigeons were wont to build and where he was discommoded.'<sup>4</sup>

For many references to pigeons in churches in England one can consult Smith's book, *Dovecotes in Essex*, pages 89 to 94, and Cooke's *A Book of Dovecotes*, pages 117 to 126.

<sup>1</sup> *Official Guide to Inchcolm Abbey*, by J. W. Paterson, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *The Parish of Monifieth*, by John Malcolm, F.S.A., p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, vol. ii. p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> *Culross and Tulliallan*, by David Beveridge, vol. 2, p. 23.

## CASTLE DOVECOTES.

The great lords in their mighty castles would have found it useful to possess a dovecote, both in peace and in war, but especially in war, when an extra source of food from pigeon meat might make all the difference during the stress of a siege; and it is believed that most castles at one time probably possessed a dovecote. There are few references to castle dovecotes in Macgibbon and Ross's *Castellated Architecture of Scotland* or in Mackay Mackenzie's book on Scottish castles, because in the majority, especially of the greater castles, the dovecotes have disappeared. A certain number of the dovecotes have survived in connection with the smaller castles. Possibly the dovecotes shared the same fate as the castles to which they belonged, and disappeared or became ruins as the result of military operations or due to the gradual pilfering of their stones after their partial destruction. Probably also the earliest castle dovecotes were destructible wooden structures.

One can readily imagine a strong stone circular dovecote which had walls four feet thick being used as the forerunner of a modern concrete pill-box; indeed it is conjectured that the nest holes knocked out of the bottom of the 'beehive' dovecote at Meikle Pinkerton, which stands on the site of the battle of Dunbar, were used by Cromwell's soldiers for cannon or gun holes.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases the dovecote has remained intact while the castle has become a ruin or disappeared completely; in other cases both have become ruins, or only the castle remains. In the Edinburgh area there remain six dovecotes which belonged to ancient castles, viz. at Corstorphine, Lochend, Granton, Colinton, Comiston, and Craigmillar.

Did Edinburgh Castle ever have a doocot? I have not

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of East Lothian Antiquarian Society*, vol. iii. p. 15.

seen one represented in any plan of the castle, but Mr. Boog Watson drew my attention to about fifty holes, scattered over the face of an old stone wall, which abuts on the south wall of David's Tower, and is hidden by the wall of the Regent Morton's Half Moon Battery. I am indebted to Mr. Wilson Paterson for permission to inspect them. He regards the wall which contains the holes as part of the old Flodden Wall. The holes are too irregular in position for joist holes. One of the holes has been cut out of the wall behind where the curving wall of the Half Moon Battery of 1573 joins it, which indicates that it was there before the Battery was built. They resemble pigeon holes, being nine inches high, nine inches deep and twelve inches wide, some coarsely hacked out but others neatly masoned. I am very doubtful of their being the pigeon holes of the old dovecote of the Castle, because if it is a part of the Flodden Wall that would not be a likely position for nest holes. There is depicted, however, a small outhouse, with a lean-to roof, near the position of this wall, and a little suggestive in its appearance of a dovecot, in a print of the Castle published in 1575. The Regent Morton's Battery is not depicted in this print. This outhouse is also seen in a conjectural drawing of the Castle as it was before the siege of 1573.<sup>1</sup> In both of these drawings it is represented as outside the Castle walls, which is an unlikely position for the dovecote. It is just possible that the holes now to be seen might have been in the east wall of this very doubtful dovecote. In Gordon of Rothiemay's drawing of the Castle, done in 1647, the Flodden Wall is shown extending up to the Half Moon Battery and the ground on its east side would appear to be higher than the ground on its west side, and this would probably apply to conditions before the Battery was built, so that I venture to suggest that the holes now seen were merely drainage holes in the wall to allow water in the higher soil to escape.

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 28.

## BARONIAL DOVECOTES.

*Columbaria* do not appear to be mentioned in barony charters recorded in the Great Seal Register up to the 16th century, and they are referred to in only 115 cases in the many thousands of baronial charters in the years that follow.

From other sources I have discovered a few charters granting *columbaria*, previous to 4th February 1509/10, when the first mentioned in the Great Seal Register occurs, in which a *columbarium* is granted to Patrick Murray along with orchards, stables, and beehives as pertinents of the barony of Uchertire and Correglen.

In the reign of James VI there is a 'spate' of them, 38 charters mentioning *columbaria* in the five years from 1598 to 1602; and again in the year 1653 alone when 11 are granted by the Protector. As far as the counties of Scotland are concerned, from a perusal of the advertisements of old baronial houses appearing for sale in the Scottish newspapers of the 17th and 18th centuries and the early 19th century, I have been able to find 542 houses which mentioned a pigeon house as part of their estate. Fife appears to have been the great county for dovecotes in Scotland, the number in that county being 132, while East Lothian had 59, Forfar 47, and Midlothian 38. The probable reason for these counties having the most pigeon houses was their fine agricultural crops, their great number of lairdships and their considerable population.

There was no advertisement of any in Argyllshire and there were very few in the counties of the far North and West, because, no doubt, of the smaller number of baronies in the wilder country of these areas, the absence of crops on which the pigeons could feed and the possibility of obtaining wild game as a source of fresh food in the winter. Only six pigeon houses were advertised in Ross-shire, three in Inverness-shire, one at Skibo in Sutherlandshire and one at Skar in Orkney.

There was a considerable number in the central counties,

33 in Perthshire, 30 in Lanarkshire, 30 in Stirlingshire and the other counties had intermediate numbers.

I believe these figures give one a fair idea of the distribution of baronial dovecotes in the counties of Scotland in past times.

From similar sources I found that there were at least 67 dovecotes connected with manorial houses in and around Edinburgh in those times. If these 67 dovecotes, which no longer exist, are added to some 34 that I will later describe as still standing, one sees that there must have been at least 100 dovecotes in and around our old city alone.

One has usually associated the term 'doooot' with old dovecotes in Scotland, but it is interesting that in 507 advertisements the term 'pigeon house' was used and in only 93 was the term dovecote used, which included 22 with the older spelling 'dovecoat.' 'Pigeon cote' was used on only 9 occasions.

It is surprising that any crops survived when we consider the great number of domesticated pigeons there must have been, especially when so many of these pigeon houses were advertised as 'well-stocked.'

## LAWS RELATING TO DOVECOTES.

As dovecotes were considered valuable property, especially of the great and mighty, ever since their origin in feudal times, it is natural that many laws were made relating to them, and that the laws were formulated by those who owned them. In 1503, in the time of James IV, all lords and lairds were directed to make deer parks, stanks (for fish), cunningaries (*i.e.* rabbit warrens), and dovecotes as beneficial to the community.<sup>1</sup> In 1617, however, in the time of James VI, as pigeons were perhaps becoming a pest to the crops, an Act of Parliament was passed that no person be entitled to build a dovecote

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Law Times*, 13th February 1926.

either in town or country unless he was a proprietor of lands or teinds yielding a yearly rental of ten chalders of victual, or one hundred and sixty bolls (each boll being  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cwt.), adjacent to the dovecote, or at least lying within two miles of it, and such a person was entitled to have one dovecote only within those bounds.<sup>1</sup> In November 1682, in the case of Durie of Grange against the Heritors of Burntisland, the final report of the case states: 'A decret being obtained for the demolishing of a dovecote upon a new foundation because the builder had not ten chalders of victual, the Lords found that the party was not obliged to demolish the dovecote, seeing the house might be employed to some other use; but decreed the defender to build up the head of the dovecote so as doves could not enter, and to continue it so till he acquired an estate conform to the Acts.'<sup>2</sup> In 1731, in the case of Kinloch of Conland against Wilson, it was decreed 'that if one purchase lands with a dovecote from a heritor, who had the privilege of a dovecote, he may enjoy the same privilege, though he be not possessed of 10 chalders, and it was found that if there was a dovecote at the time of purchase, the purchaser might repair and rebuild it upon the same foundation, but with no more dovecote holes than the former had; but if it was ruinous at the time of purchase he could not rebuild it.'<sup>3</sup> In the year 1741, in the case of the Procurator Fiscal of the J.P. Court, Haddington, against Forest and others, it was found by the Lords that the Justices had no power to cause demolition of pigeon houses even if the owner had not 10 chalders, if they had been in use for several years.<sup>4</sup> In 1752 Brodie had a lawsuit against the well-known Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun. Brodie complained because Sir Robert was commencing to build a fourth dovecote and it was close to Brodie's good corn lands but half a mile of waste

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Law Times*, 13th February 1926.

<sup>2</sup> *Morrison's Dictionary of Decisions*, p. 3601, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7600, No. 318.

moor separated it from the Gordonstoun land, Sir Robert already having 3 dovecotes and 60 chalders of victual. The Lords were of opinion in this case that a heritor had liberty to build a pigeon house for every 10 chalders, although they felt Brodie's reasoning more agreeable to the words than spirit of the Act, as the word 'Bounds' did more properly apply to the two miles than to the extent of ground producing 10 chalders, which had not been described by any bounds, and that according to their decision, a heritor might be able to have 6 dovecotes for 60 chalders, close to another heritor's grounds.<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Pageant of Morayland* says: 'Sir Robert built the fourth dovecote with the hope of getting rid of his wife in this way who suffered the full force of his hatred.'<sup>2</sup> He also mentions that the Jacobites plundered Sir Robert's house and shot the doves in his dovecot.<sup>3</sup> According to Rankine's *Law of Landownership in Scotland* (1909 edition): 'Such animals as are so enclosed as to have lost their natural liberty and such as retain the habit of returning home after straying afield are in the fullest sense the property of him who has brought them under his power, including pigeons. Tame pigeons are stolen when taken feloniously from their dovecote.'<sup>4</sup>

It is said that the laws as regards ownership of dovecotes held at least till the beginning of the 19th century, and that an eminent Judge once startled an entrant to the Faculty of Advocates by propounding as the first question in the Scots Law branch of the examination, 'Wha may hae doos?'<sup>5</sup> I have only once, however, seen the expression 'licensed pigeon house' in an advertisement and that related to one on the south side of the High Street, Musselburgh. The pigeon house was advertised for sale by a Major Johnstone, on 7th April 1770, in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*.

<sup>1</sup> *Morrison's Dictionary of Decisions*, p. 3602, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *The Pageant of Morayland*, by Dr. Ritchie, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *The Fair Land of Gowrie*, by Lawrence Melville, p. 34.

So one sees that in Scotland, which is sometimes reputed as having had a passion for litigiousness, dovecotes were jealously guarded and were a common cause of dispute, and so perhaps there arose the phrase, 'That is your pigeon,' and the common saying that the inheritance of a Scottish laird was 'a puckle land, a hantle o' pride, a doocot and a law plea.'<sup>1</sup>

In the matter of dovecotes both lawyers and landlords were so convinced of their rights that they became rather high-handed in their dealings, possibly without realising that they were so, which is a not infrequent result of long established and long recognised rights. For example, Cockburn of Ormiston gave the following instructions to his gardener: 'Don't feed the Pidgeons after they begin generally to sow in the neighbourhood'<sup>2</sup> and 'as soon as the corn offers to colour you may let them fly again.'<sup>3</sup> Selden, the English lawyer, in the 17th century, in his *Table Talk*, under the subject of 'Conscience' wrote: 'Some men make it a case of conscience whether a man may have a pigeon house because his pigeons eat other people's corn. But there is no such thing as conscience in the business; the matter is whether he be a man of such quality that the State allows him to have a dovecote: if so, there's an end of the business; his pigeons have a right to eat where they please.'

That is one side of the picture—the power of the law and of the great lords, barons, and churchmen—but throughout the centuries there has been opposition, and various persons were in the habit of destroying the dovecotes and pigeons of the mighty. Some no doubt did this because they liked to rob other persons' legal property; but others did it from a sense of injustice, and the feeling of injustice became more widespread as time went on.

Needless to say laws were made against such illegal acts

<sup>1</sup> *Dooocots by the Way* (*S.M.T. Magazine*, February 1940).

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Cockburn of Ormiston to his gardener* (*Scot. Hist. Soc.*), p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

from early days. By a law<sup>1</sup> of 1424 'Destroyers of dovecotts were to be punished the same as stealers of green wood by night, or peelers of bark to the destruction of the trees, to pay xls., to the King.' Scottish law became more and more severe. A law passed in 1503 states, 'Parents of children who break into dowcats to be fined 13/4d., to give up the children to the judge to be leschit, scurgit and doung according to his falt.'<sup>2</sup> By a law of 1567 doves were forbidden to be shot at under a penalty of forty days' imprisonment, and for a second offence, loss of the right hand.<sup>3</sup> By the time of James VI when, as already mentioned, a greater number of charters relating to dovecotes appear in the registers, and when possibly the number of dovecotes had greatly increased, it was thought necessary to make the law still harder against pigeon stealing and pigeon shooting, and 'The first offence was punishable by a fine of £10 and the stocks for eight days; a second offence by a fine of £20 and 15 days in the stocks, and a third offence by a fine of £40, and if it could not be paid the offender was hung to the death.'<sup>4</sup> Yet, curiously enough, Sir Walter Scott suggests in his *Fortunes of Nigel* that King James VI himself was a party to raids on doocots, when at an interview with George Heriot, he makes the King say, 'D'ye mind, for thou wert in maist of our complots, how we were fain to send sax of the Blue-banders to harry the Lady of Loganhouse's dowcot and poultry yard.'

Despite the severity of the laws in Scotland, we read constantly of various offenders being brought before the Circuit Courts 'for wearing hagbutts and pistolettes and shooting at the dows and destroying the dowcats.' When convicted *in absentia* they were denounced as rebels and had to flee the country. One is inclined to think these 'rebels' may have committed such acts from personal spite, for sheer mischief, or from anger at the destruction of the crops of the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. 2, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Dooocots by the Way*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

poorer people. Their accusers do not impute any high motives to them. Even the boys continued to be boys and risk a scourging or lashing, for in the Extracts of the Glasgow Burgh Records under 6th August 1653 we read, 'In answer to Coline Campbell his desyre, in craving licence to build some little fixit work befor his dowcat doir on the Greine, for withholding of boyes thairfrae wha troubles his doves by chapping at all times on the said doir, the saids magistrates and counsell does hereby grant to the said Coline the said licence according to his said desyre.'<sup>1</sup>

The *Caledonian Mercury*, on 16th January 1763, published an account of the depredation of Comiston dovecote: 'Whereas the Pigeon house at Comiston, two miles from Edinburgh, is greatly hurt and damaged by some folkes destroying and shooting the doves this therefore promises a reward of £10 sterling to be paid by Hugh Mosman, Writer in Edinburgh, to any person or persons who shall discover such as may be guilty of trespass upon the conviction of such offender.'

One of his own class made a depredation on the dovecote of the well-known poet, Dr Alex. Pennecuik,<sup>2</sup> who resented it so much that he wrote a poem on it called 'Ane letter by way of challenge'—'To a knight who shot at the author's doves and killed them upon the dovecot head, being new plenished.'

'Sir John, thou scandal to the name of knight,  
Here I appeal thee if thou darest to fight  
And do but either draw thy sword or pen  
I'll do my best to let your worship ken  
Thou did'st a base, absurd and scurvy deed  
To shoot my doves upon my dovecot head.'

and ends up with

'Fy man, change trades, turn hard among the geese  
And no more Sheriff John, Just Ass of Peace!'

<sup>1</sup> *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Glasgow, 1630-1662* (published 1881), p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Alex. Pennecuik of Newhall, M.D.*, 1815, p. 417.

The Rev. Adam Philip in his *History of the Parish of Longforgan* (p. 233) writes: 'We read regretfully that there were once 8 dovecots in the parish in the year 1796. It is calculated that in that year grain equal to the maintenance of 3000 persons was devoured by pigeons in the County of Midlothian. In a parish the same size as Longforgan with 1800 inhabitants the doves of six pigeon houses are reckoned to have eaten 120 bolls yearly.' Mr. Mackay, in his *History of Fife and Kinross* (p. 203), states: 'There were no fewer than 360 dovecotes in Fife and Kinross with 36,000 pairs of breeders, making dreadful havoc amongst the grain, of which they were supposed to consume between 3000 and 4000 bolls a year.' It is little wonder that farmers began to complain, but the cry of the neglect of our agriculture is no new thing. As in our own time, it needed a national war to rouse the nation to a realisation of the necessity of our being able to feed ourselves from our own resources and to awaken its conscience to put right certain injustices. It was the Napoleonic wars that helped the cause of farming and voices of protest became heard. A letter was published in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on 2nd August 1789, in which the writer, a farmer, proposed the formation of an association for the prevention of depredations by pigeons, in opposition to the Gentlemen's Association for the preservation of game, dogs, and pigeons. The writer of the *Statistical Account on Inverness-shire* wrote therein: 'The laws respecting multures and pigeon houses are not founded in equity. They are palpably oppressive.' This was in 1793, and in 1796 the writer on Gargunnoch parish in the *Statistical Account* writes in the same vein: 'Farmers suffer loss by pigeons, and thinks a tax on pigeons would be a wise measure.' A surgeon in Haddington wrote in 1813, 'If a poor man with a starving family found himself forced to take some of your thieving pigeons to preserve his life you may get him hanged and if he refuse to surrender you may shoot him.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dovecots by the Way*, p. 37.

It is probable that such expressions of opinion as above would not have been so openly ventilated a few years previous to this, but Paine had published his *Rights of Man* in 1791 and 1792, and the Friends of the People were demanding the rights of the common man at this time although being unjustly punished for doing so. There had been a succession of bad harvests<sup>1</sup> which had created a dearth in Britain. Indeed, it is said that one of the minor causes of the French Revolution was the indignation of the French peasants against the destruction of their hard-won harvests by the pigeons of the pigeon houses of the French aristocracy.

Thus, as the result of many causes affecting the whole nation and its people—war, famine, the rise of the depressed classes and their fight for justice and the fact that the landlords themselves began to count the cost—the long struggle ended, and the farmers' complaints were listened to, so that in the beginning of the 19th century the dovecote became more or less obsolete after their gradual diminution in numbers from the introduction of winter feeding.

It is perhaps strange that the event was delayed so long, but one must remember that even the poor man was permitted all this time to have a 'fuie' or pigeon box, made of wood, affixed to the gable of his cottage, where he could keep a few pigeons for his own use, and even many farmers kept pigeons in dovecote gables, over their own farm outhouses, what in Yorkshire are called 'Pigeon hoils.' As Cooke points out, it was a Yorkshire farmer who wrote: 'The ravages on crops by pigeons and crows are no doubt very serious at times. At times in midwinter I have shot a few pigeons and their crops are always gorged by what are probably weed seeds. In my opinion the harm done for short periods in the year is more than made up for during the longer period when they are doing good. A good old motto is "Live and let live."'<sup>2</sup> Cooke

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland and the French Revolution*, by Dr. H. W. Meikle, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Cooke, p. 152.

goes on to say, 'No one would suggest a return to the six and twenty thousand well-stocked dovecotes of four centuries ago, but there is no saying what the whirligig of time may not bring round. A day may come when dovecotes falling into ruin may be repaired, when architectural journals will give plans and elevations of desirable dovecotes.' In this connection it is interesting to see in the *S.M.T. Magazine* for March 1945 a photograph of two louvred circular dovecotes, designed by Sir Robert Lorimer, and erected at the gateway to Balcaskie House, Fife.

Another probable reason why the plaint of the farmers was for so long a voice crying in the wilderness, was that the Scottish burghs in many cases had vested interests in the profits of pigeon houses. James VI, for example, on 1st May 1601 granted a charter to the Burgh of Irvine as a free burgh with various lands, woods, meadows, etc., and doves and dovecotes.<sup>1</sup> On 19th November 1621 he granted various lands, etc., also dovecotes to the Burgh of Peebles,<sup>2</sup> and on 17th November 1641 Charles I, at Holyrood, confirmed the charters of the Burgh of Stirling to various rights including lands and dovecotes.<sup>3</sup> One of the items in the Rental of the City of Glasgow in the years 1663-1690 was 'for the doucat on the Little Grene 3/4 termlic.'<sup>4</sup> It is very likely that it was this doucat that gave the name Ducat Green to a piece of land close to the Broomielaw Bridge, as shown in an old map of Glasgow.<sup>5</sup> It is strange to think that a dovecote once stood where the busy Clyde Street now is, a street lined with shipping warehouses, where ships load and unload at the quays below Broomielaw Bridge. Even as far back as 1435 the pigeon cote of St. Michael's, Bath, belonged to the parish and

<sup>1</sup> *The Royal Burgh of Irvine*, by Arnold McJannet (1938), p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Charters of the Burgh of Peebles*, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Charters of the Burgh of Stirling*, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Extracts from Glasgow Burgh Records, 1663-1690*, p. 528.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* (Frontispiece from Ross's Map of the Shire of Lanark, 1778).

in 1506 the churchwardens made a ditch and hedge round it.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable, therefore, to suggest that burgesses turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the toilers of the soil.

## DOVECOTE AND PIGEON LORE.

It is only natural that during their long history many superstitions have arisen relative to dovecotes. It was an old belief that if an owner destroyed his dovecote his wife would die within the year,<sup>2</sup> a possible reason for the survival of some of these old dovecotes. On the other hand, the female sex got their own back because it was believed that if one built a dovecote the builder would die within the year. Possibly these beliefs were fostered, as it encouraged the retention of one's own dovecote and was a restraint on someone else building another in opposition, except in a few cases where a married pair might wish an easy method of one getting rid of the other!

It was not regarded as immoral to entice other people's doves to swell your dovecote by the sweet smell of the breath of your doves after feeding them on food flavoured with old wine or cummin.<sup>3</sup> Thus one reads in the accounts of Jesus College, Cambridge, 1651-52, the item 'For a roasted dog and comin seed' 00. 02. 00.<sup>4</sup> Every college in Cambridge had its pigeon house and the last in use was at Trinity Hall in 1730.<sup>5</sup> In John Moore's *Columbarium or the Pigeon House*, first published in 1735, the author mentions a food for pigeons called 'Salt Cat,' as there was a tradition of the use of baked cat with cummin seed.<sup>6</sup> It was, however, illegal to place a mirror on your dovecote and thus entice other pigeons to preen themselves before it.<sup>7</sup>

It was an old belief in many English counties that persons

<sup>1</sup> Smith, pp. 76, 77.

<sup>3</sup> Cooke, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cooke, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Dooocots by the Way*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> *Dooocots by the Way*, p. 37.

could not die easily if there were any pigeon feathers in their pillow or bolster. In *Records of an Old Vicarage* by the Rev. R. Whytehead, Rector of Lawford, he tells a story of an old parishioner who was dying and whose wife described to him his death: 'And Tommy had a bad tahme. We thought as hoo he wad niver die. When sudden I bethought me as hoo 'e 'ad pigeons feathers in his piller. Seah! Ah whipt it awaa fro' under 'im and 'e went aff lak a lamb.'<sup>1</sup> Emily Brontë also, when she describes the tantrums of Catharine Linton when she was feigning death, and wishing to die, makes her say, 'Ah, they put pigeons' feathers in the pillows. No wonder I couldn't die: let me take care to throw it on the floor when I lie down.'<sup>2</sup> It was also apparently a belief in Ross-shire, as in Jas. Grant's novel *Philip Rollo*, the author writes, 'But she died (Philip Rollo's mother)—and on a bed of pigeons' feathers too, to the dismay of all the wise women of Cromartie.'<sup>3</sup> There was an idea also in England that if someone ill took a fancy to having pigeons to eat it indicated he was near his end.<sup>4</sup>

Then there are the pigeon-cure superstitions which were very prevalent and believed by even the best educated in the land. Jeremy Taylor writes, 'We cut living pigeons in halves and apply them to the feet in fevers.'<sup>5</sup> Dr. Donne in his *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* states, 'They apply pigeons to draw the vapours from the head.'<sup>6</sup> Evelyn, the diarist, asserts that when Mr. Godolphin was dying, 'Neither the cupping nor the pigeons, those last of remedies wrought any effect.'<sup>7</sup> They were also applied to the heart to refresh the spirits,<sup>8</sup> and even to the royal feet of Queen Katharine of

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 3rd February 1934.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuthering Heights*, by Emily Brontë (Collin's Illustrated Classics), p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Philip Rollo*, by Jas. Grant (Aide-de-camp edition), p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 28th June 1851.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 18th October 1851, p. 291.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 27th September 1851, p. 228.

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

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 4th September 1926 (from Jas. Primrose's *De vulgi erroribus in medicina*, 1638).

Braganza when she was *in extremis*.<sup>1</sup> The pigeons used had to be freshly killed, cut in halves, and the warm body with the warm blood applied to the soles of the feet. In 1733 Dr. Alleyne in his *Dispensatory* defends the application of pigeon dung to the feet in fever because it would draw the pores.<sup>2</sup>

Francis Willughby in his *Ornithology of County of Warwick*,<sup>3</sup> describes other opinions that were once held, such as, 'the eating of Doves flesh is of force against the Plague, others commend it against the Palsie and trembling, the hot blood dropt into the eyes allays pain and cures blear eyes, the coat of the stomach dried and powdered is good against the Dysenteries, used also in Plasters, beaten and sifted and laid on Watercress it is good against Gout, Megrim, Turnsick, Apoplexy, etc.'

Dr. Salmon in *The English Physician* gives a prescription for baldness: Of the powder of Dung of Pigeons, beaten and sifted 2 ozs., of Bears Grease 4 ozs. and Pepper in powder 1 oz., oil of Cummin  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz., mix for an ointment.<sup>4</sup>

A Madame Michael<sup>5</sup> not so long ago made a fortune by selling pigeons, in the Paris markets, for medical cures.

As late as 1900 a lady in Deptford applied the pigeon cure to her infant son who died of pneumonia.<sup>6</sup>

#### CONSTRUCTION AND ARCHITECTURE OF DOVECOTES IN GENERAL.

In England dovecotes were often built of clay, wattle and daub, brick and weather-boarding, brick alone or brick in timber frames. In Sussex chalk and rubble is common. One can often tell at a glance which part of Britain one is in by looking at a dovecote. They are built, as a rule, of the local material and often of the same material as the local cottage.

<sup>1</sup> *Pepys' Diary* (Globe Edition), p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 28th April 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, pp. 115, 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 24th March 1900.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 7th July 1900.

In Scotland, naturally, they are usually built of solid stone, and all are of stone in the Edinburgh area.

The original Norman dovecote was circular as a rule. The older dovecotes are often circular with a circular opening in the roof, and generally the thicker the walls the older the dovecote.

The dovecotes of Corstorphine, Lochend, Knight's Law, and Arthur's O'on, Penicuik, are all circular, but the majority of Scottish dovecotes are rectangular or sometimes square. Comiston, Craigmillar and Newton House dovecotes are round because they were originally defence towers. One finds also octagons and hexagons. Redhall is the only hexagonal one in the Edinburgh district. Only one pentagon is known, that at Holt Castle, Denbighshire, but unfortunately it was demolished.<sup>1</sup> A huge cruciform dovecote stood at Lewes, Sussex, which had been the pigeon house of the old St. Pancras Priory, and sad to say this unique specimen was also knocked down.<sup>2</sup> It had between 3000 and 5000 nests.

The walls of dovecotes are usually provided with string courses, which are said to have been made to prevent vermin, such as rats, climbing up and destroying the pigeons and possibly also for pigeons to perch on. Tin plates were hung, 15 feet up, at the angles of a dovecote at Bollitree Farm, Herefordshire, to obstruct rats.<sup>3</sup> The *Sportsman Dictionary* of 1725 describes how 'such plates should be fastened at the outward angles of pigeon houses so that when the rats come they cannot catch hold and can fall on to iron spikes placed on the ground.'

Most of the rectangular dovecotes have a 'lean-to' roof which slopes to the south so that the birds can bask in the sun on the roof or on a landing ledge at the upper margin of the roof, and the back wall often rises considerably above the

<sup>1</sup> Cooke, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> *Pigeon Houses in Herefordshire and Gower* (*Royal Archaeological Journal*, vol. xlviii.).

roof as a protection from the north wind, while the gable walls are raised for the same reason. As a result the entrance is usually in the front south wall. Gables in Scottish dovecotes commonly have typical Scottish crowsteps. At Inverkeithing it is interesting to find crowstep gables cleverly placed on the top of an octagonal cote. Circular dovecotes have of course no gables, but even in these sometimes the back wall has been raised higher than the roof as a wind-screen. Phantassie in East Lothian has such, and this dovecote is of interest because it shows that even the architecture of our dovecotes is an expression of the Auld Alliance; this type of cote being very common in S. France where the cold mistral wind was apt to flutter the Gaulish doves without this protection. The dormer windows, often used for entrance holes, are also said to be of French origin. East Morningside is exceptional in having the roof sloping to the cold north and the entrance holes for doves in a gap cut out of the angle of two walls. Scottish roofs are generally slates on timber, but Craighouse, Corstorphine, and Edmonstone have roofs of fine old Scottish stone slabs like the roofs of Corstorphine or Crichton Church. Nether Liberton had a roof of red pantiles like the old Midlothian cottage.

The entrances for the pigeons are arched holes of varying number. They are frequently set in a row, in the case of rectangular dovecotes, in a boarding which extends the length of the roof, in a position about a half or two-thirds down the slope of the roof. This is the case at Nether Liberton, Inveresk Gate, Eskgrove, Ravelrig, the Drum, Addiston, and others. They have sometimes been cut out of a large massive piece of flagstone as at Corstorphine, Sheriffhall, and Edmonstone. They may be placed only below the eaves above the string course (or additionally there) as at Nether Liberton, Ravelrig, Craigiehall, Leny, and Alderstone. The string course at Linhouse acts also as a landing ledge below the holes for the birds, quite a sensible but exceptional arrange-

ment. The birds entered by holes in dormer windows in the roof at Ravelston, Hermitage, Craighouse, Liberton House, Malleny, Redhall, New Hailes, and St. Clement's Wells. Pigeon houses in England with pyramidal roofs are often capped by a handsome lantern, made of wood, called a 'glover,' from the French 'ouvert,' by which the doves also enter. It is sometimes called a cupola, sometimes a louvre. They are a great adornment to English dovecotes because they permit of an elegant weathervane which varied, was usually metal, and took the shape of a dragon, a double-headed eagle, a fox, a square shield with a coat of arms, a ball on a pole or a weathercock. Redhall, near Slateford, has a pyramidal roof surmounted by a metal pole with a nine-pointed star. Sheriffhall and Leny both have rather dilapidated louvres and Craigiehall had a louvre in 1913 but is now roofless. Louvres, being adaptable to the old circular cotes, were an early method of entrance for birds. Sometimes shutters of wood were provided for closing the entrances.

As dovecotes and their occupants were such precious possessions in olden times, many, especially in Scotland, were provided with double doors. At Nether Liberton the cote has two entrances and each has a double door, and Leny at one time had a double door. Redhall has a double lock and the outer bar conceals the inner keyhole. A large number of Scottish dovecotes have two chambers, also for security and to save disturbing the birds. In the Edinburgh area there are two-chambered examples at Ravelston, Ratho Park, Hermitage, Inveresk Gate, Pinkie, and Addiston.

The nest holes are usually made of sandstone, and when they extend from floor to roof, for 30 tiers upwards, on the back wall, they appear a work of art in masonry and impress most people who behold them for the first time. They are like the holes in a roll-top desk and hence the term 'pigeon holes.' Sometimes they are made of wood as at Redhall, Sheriffhall, and Morton House. Usually in Scotland they

are oblong boxes, but south of the Border they are often L-shaped, the inner limb of the L facing opposite ways in each alternate tier. They may be provided with landing ledges, often on each alternate tier only. There is a landing ledge, all round, below the tiers in Arthur's O'on cote. It projects 4 inches and thus prevents vermin climbing up, and with the same object the lowest tier is very often some feet from floor level. Bricks were used for making the nest holes at Castlesteads and St. Clement's Wells, both near Inveresk. At Knight's Law the sills of the nests are stone and the partitions brick. The number of nest holes varies. Nether Liberton has 2072 nests providing at one time for over 4000 birds and is the largest near Edinburgh. Hermitage runs it closely with 1965 nest holes. S. Queensferry Carmelite Tower has only 94 nests and is the smallest near here, but St. Illtyd's monastery, on its lovely green island off Tenby, has only 30 nest holes. Newton-in-the-Willows in Northants is probably the biggest dovecote in Britain, being 53 feet 9 inches long, 23 feet 7 inches broad, and 35 feet high. It is of two compartments and yet has only 2000 nests. It was built in the 16th century by Maurice Tresham, of an old local family.

The Potence was a central revolving pole to which were attached ladders by which the pigeon keeper could climb up to reach the higher nests. A splendid potence with 12 rungs to each side survives at Redhall, but it does not now revolve. Sheriffhall has a fine potence with a ladder of 26 rungs attached, which shows the great height of this dovecote; but Arthur's O'on at Penicuik House has a really magnificent potence with a ladder of 20 rungs at each end of the revolving transverse bars. It is remarkable that it still revolves right round a circle of 65 feet on the slightest touch to the bars, and Mr. Ross the factor states that it is never oiled, which shows the fine craftsmanship of the time when it was built by Sir James Clerk, the famous author of the *Memorials*. The

revolving pole is still called the *arbre*, and it is interesting that the old Norman words 'potence' and 'arbre' have survived in this connection for 900 years. The word potence originally really applied to the 'gallows' or transverse bars, which were often placed not in the same vertical plane so that the ladder had a slope in it. Corstorphine has only got the base socket stone left, to show it once had a potence, which was naturally of greater use in a circular cote; but Pinkie is remarkable in that it has a potence in each chamber although each chamber is a square.

The old tower of Braidwood is possibly unique. This fine old tower stands in a pretty glen not far from Carluke, and has five rows of seven nest holes each, in the outer side of the north wall. It would have been a cold exposure for pigeons, but the long flue of the only fireplace in the keep extends from the basement to the parapets behind the nest holes, so that the pigeons kept warm by a kind of central heating.

#### DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

They may be divided into the following classes: (a) Towers; (b) Circular; (c) Rectangular, with lean-to roof and circular or oval lights in front wall; (d) *ditto*, with entrance holes in dormer windows; (e) *ditto*, but with ridge roofs; (f) *ditto*, other kinds; (g) Louvred; (h) Hexagonal; (i) Square; (j) Others; (k) Dovecotes which have vanished.

##### (a) TOWERS

###### 1. *Craigmillar Castle*.

This dovecote forms the upper half of a circular tower of defence, standing at the north-east angle of the outer wall which encloses the forecourt of the castle. Its basement has a gun loop which covers the main entrance into the green lawn-like forecourt and another which covers the entrance from the east. It is of 15th century date. Pigeons still flutter around this roofless tower. There are 476 nest holes, in 15 tiers, encircling the upper half of the interior, but on a winter night it must be a perishingly cold refuge for a pigeon, and perhaps the watchmen of the 16th century who sat in this bleak tower may have been as cold when the wind whirled through the cracks

around the gun loops as they sat listening for sounds of an enemy. Perhaps they were asleep when the witch Agnes Sampsone, known as the wise woman of Keith, affixed an image of yellow wax under the name of Archie, and set it up on the east end of this dovecote, and obtained power from the Evil One that as the said image should melt before the fire, so should the man whose presentment it was. She had done this at the request of Barbara Napier, spouse of Archibald Douglas, 8th Earl of Angus, 'who had done her great wrong.' The Earl died on 4th August 1588, and she was burnt for witchcraft on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, two years later.<sup>1</sup>

An old view of the Castle represents the dovecote with a conical roof, and no evidence of entrance holes for the doves. A flat stone projects high up on its south wall above the entrance (now a grated window) which might have been a landing ledge below entrance holes.

The walls of this tower are only 32 inches thick, and its external circumference is 49 feet 3 inches. It has a single moulded stone string course.

#### 2. *Newton House Tower.*

This 16th century round tower, brown and harled, stands at one angle of the long and many-windowed old house of Newton in a beautiful old Scottish garden, where long borders of box give off an old world perfume on a sunny day. The old house has pink walls, and stone steps bordered by iron railings, leading up to a central doorway supported on wooden pillars, and somehow it reminded me of some old house in Normandy. It faces a green lawn and an orchard of apple trees and there is an old dialstone there, but one feels that it should only record a shadow of the long past in this secluded garden of memories. It only needed the fluttering pigeons to complete the picture, but these were absent.

This tower has been divided into three compartments. The lowest is a stone-vaulted basement which has three blocked-up shot holes. It is entered by a well-built stone entrance and now serves as a storehouse. An outside wooden stair leads up to the first storey, which has an entrance similar to, and directly above, the entrance to the basement. One can climb up to the top storey by an inside wooden stair. Both the upper compartments once served as a dovecote. There are no nest holes now but their previous position can be clearly seen by the vertical partitions of red sandstone which at one time separated the nests, and the number of encircling tiers can be easily made out. There were 13 tiers and 367 nest holes. The walls are 3 feet 6 inches thick and the outside circumference is 45 feet 9½ inches. The roof is slated and has a small ball finial and spike on the top.

The old house was the residence of Sir Wm. Murray in 1652<sup>2</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> *Guide to Craigmillar Castle*, by George Good (1894), pp. 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary of Sir Wm. Drummond of Hawthornden*, edited by Dr. H. W. Meikle, p. 48.

shot holes in the old tower show that it had once been a strong fortalice. It stands secluded among trees some distance off the main road between Inveresk and Dalkeith.

#### 3. *Comiston.*

Comiston House is now a hotel which stands in its own grounds on the edge of the suburb of Fairmilehead and retains its beautiful walled garden. It was built in the year of Waterloo by Jas. Forrest, father of Provost Forrest who gave his name to Forrest Road.

The old round tower-dovecote is attached by an old wall to the outhouses of the present Comiston House but is regarded as an old defence tower of the previous castle, relating to which there is a charter in the Register of the Great Seal, dated 11th June 1608, when the lands of Colmanstoun were given to Andrew Creich and his wife Margaret Dick and their son Andrew on the resignation of John Fairlie of Colmanstoun. Mr. Geddie has described a stone as having been visible on the back wall of the entrance lodge to Comiston on which were the initials A C and M D, 1610, for Andrew Creich and Margaret Dick,<sup>1</sup> but lodge and stone are gone. I was therefore interested to find cut on the stone lintel of the entrance to the tower the initials W. D.

This old tower is described by Dr. Fothergill in his *Stones and Curiosities of Edinburgh* (1910). He describes it then as 'very ruinous and the top covered with ivy.' It is in the same condition now and shows ominous cracks. The ivy has probably spread, because Dr. Fothergill describes it as having three shot holes, but only two are now visible. Ten stone corbels are seen encircling the upper part of the tower, and others are hidden by ivy. The old rubble wall that joins it to the stables is a part of the old castle wall and is 4 feet thick. The walls of the tower are only 2 feet 4 inches thick. The entrance on the north side is very narrow, being 18 inches wide, but splays inward to a width of 26 inches and is very low, only 4 feet high. There are about 161 nest holes, irregularly placed all round the inside walls, reaching to near the top and the lowest tier 5 feet from the stone floor. There were no pigeons in it but a jackdaw had built its woody cradle high up within. I fear the great weight of ivy that climbs up over the roof may ruin this fine old tower, but I hope it may survive many years as a relic of the old castle of Colmanstoun, home of the Fairlies and Creich family.

#### 4. *Liberton Tower.*

This fine massive square tower, built in the 15th century, has been used as a refuge for pigeons. There are two entrance holes, high up in its south wall, which have been made by partially blocking up a window with bricks, and they have a stone landing ledge. There are no real nest holes inside.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. iv. p. 71.

5. *Sheriffhall*.

This is quite an unusual dovecote, as it has been formed out of a wing stair-tower of the old manor house of Sheriffhall, which was a great stone house of two large wings and a central block, ornamental with 'pepper pot' turrets and crowstep gables. I find from a study of old maps that it appears to have been demolished between 1825 and 1845. It now consists of an almost square battlemented tower, built of sandstone and basalt, standing up conspicuously in a field, and facing the beautiful woods of Dalkeith Palace. It is close to where the road out of Dalkeith forks to Millerhill. It has required to be strengthened by horizontal iron bars fixed to its outer walls at three levels, which give the appearance, at a distance, of three string courses. It has also been at one time a tower of defence, as two gun loops are visible in its walls, round holes cut out of pieces of red sandstone shaped like bowls. Traces of its old appearance remain. An old arched stone entrance can be made out in its south wall above which is a panelled stone, probably once containing a coat of arms. The outlines of two arched windows and of two windows above these are discernible in the west wall and two small previous lights are seen in the east wall. The present entrance to the dovecote is in the centre of the west wall and has a horizontal stone lintel, but has been originally an arched entrance. The old wood door has a rusty lock and a huge key to open it.

It is curious in that the tower is practically square, but internally it is circular with a circumference of 32 feet, and the nests are arranged as an octagon. The nests are all made of wood, placed very irregularly from top to bottom owing to three windows breaking the wall spaces internally. There are 32 tiers of nests and the lowest tier is 4 feet from the brick floor. The total number of pigeon holes is 842.

It has a splendid potence which supports three horizontal bars to which is attached a ladder of 26 rungs. It is interesting to have a potence inside an octagon.

The pigeons entered by 10 apertures, cut out of a stone slab high up in the east wall, and also through a wooden lantern, fixed on the apex of a pyramidal slated roof. The lantern is rather dilapidated and the stone slab is half broken.

The name Sheriffhall is regarded as being derived from the fact that the owners in olden time had been sheriffs of the adjacent ancient Musselburghshire. Dr. Milne, however, gives a Gaelic origin to the name, Coill sear abh, or hill of the dark water.<sup>1</sup> Its oldest known owners were the Giffords, but the *Statistical Account* states, 'In August 1612 Mr. Thos. Hoip with Mr. Patrick Edmystone, "the laird of Schiraha," compeired and gave in a bill desyring for their interest the planting of the kirk of Newton.' The old

<sup>1</sup> Milne's *Gaelic Names in Midlothian*.

tower of the kirk of Newton still stands not far away. Tradition states that the young Lord Somerville of Drum, after killing his brother by accident in the year 1589, fled hither for refuge from the anger of his father<sup>1</sup>; and also that the famous George Buchanan wrote his *History of Scotland* in the old house of Sheriffhall.<sup>2</sup> It adds some romance to this fine old dovecote to think that the great historian perhaps climbed up a stair inside this tower to reach his study and add another chapter to his immortal history.

## (b) CIRCULAR DOVECOTES

6. *Lochend*.

This old circular stone building stands at the north end of the little loch of Lochend. The solid stalwart chimney of the old castle of Lochend or Restalrig which belonged in past centuries to the Logans still stands on a rampart of brown volcanic rock on the east side of the loch. This remnant of the castle, the rust-coloured rocks, and the half-wild shrubbery which surrounds a wooded islet, make this little bit of blue water a pretty scene on a sunny day when white seagulls rest upon its waves. They are all within a green public park which forms a delightful oasis in an area of rather grim grey tenements and smoky railways. The loch is the home of hundreds of red-headed pochards, golden-eyed tufted ducks, and white frontalled coots which collect to be fed close to the door of the old dovecote and give it a very picturesque setting.

There are now no nest holes in the dovecote, and it acts as the storehouse for implements used in the upkeep of the park. Its walls are 3 feet 7 inches thick. There is a string course right round it and the remains of a much weathered string course or cornice around the top which has a modern parapet. A wide modern entrance has been cut out of the south side, but the original entrance was probably on the east side, where one can see the lintel and jamb stones of a previous entrance, now blocked up, which was 3 feet wide and 4 feet 7 inches high. The walls are rubble, of sandstone, volcanic stone and pumicious lava, and oyster shells glitter in the mortar. Above the modern door is a slit-like opening over a stone which may have been a landing ledge and the opening would be the entrance for pigeons, but there may have been an entrance in the top as well which may once have had a lantern. Inside one can see clearly the broken sills of the tiers of previous nest holes, all around the walls, and 27 tiers of nests can be distinctly counted. The basal external circumference is 66 feet 11½ inches, and the internal circumference being 44 feet and supposing each nest was 9 inches wide one can estimate that it once contained over 1000 nest holes. The presence of the sills of previous nests, the appearance of the building

<sup>1</sup> *The Fringes of Edinburgh*, by John Geddie, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Grant's Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 363.

externally with its string course and the landing ledge for doves, all seem to indicate that this has certainly been a dovecote and very probably the baronial dovecote of the adjacent castle. Mr. Russell in his book on Leith has, however, suggested it may have been a kiln for burning the infected clothes of people who had died of the Plague. In 1852 it was used as a boat-house by the Royal Humane Society, presumably to save people foolish enough to fall into the loch intentionally or unintentionally.

#### 7. *Corstorphine.*

This dovecote stands in the grounds of the Marquess of Bute's tapestry factory in the village of Corstorphine, beside Dovecot Road. It is like a gigantic stone beeskep. It is a great squat circular stone columbarium of 86 feet 10½ inches circumference externally, built in the 16th century, and would once have been the pigeon house of the old castle of Corstorphine, the home of the Lords Forrester whose splendid effigies remain in the old parish church near by. It is a strongly built structure whose walls are 3 feet 10 inches thick, and three string courses encircle it at varying levels, the walls being slightly recessed above each course. The narrow entrance is on the north side and is closed by a door which the Marquess has embellished by decorative iron strap work attached to the hinges and extending transversely across the door and cut in the form of branching Scotch thistles. The whole interior wall is covered by 28 tiers of sandstone nests, ascending in converging circles from 1 foot 4 inches above the floor right up to the roof. The nests are 1060 in number, well made and well preserved, and form an impressive example of the stone-mason's art. Pigeons still haunt this cote, entering by six holes in the south wall above the middle course. These holes are rather crudely cut out of a roughly triangular piece of sandstone, set up in a blocked-up window, traces of whose lintel and jambs remain in the wall. They also probably at one time entered by a louvre which would have been fixed over the circular opening in the roof, now closed by glass. The roof is of solid stone slabs. The old potence stone, with its socket for the pole, remains on the centre of the floor of stone slabs. It was interesting to see two jackdaws going in and out of the dovecote while pigeons were doing the same. They appeared to be quite in amity and not at war with one another like the doves and jackdaws at Salisbury Cathedral, which Hudson describes in his book *Afoot in England*.

The famous sycamore tree still casts its shadow over this dovecote. It is said that under this tree Christian Nimmo murdered the second Lord Forrester and people of Corstorphine village used to see on moonlight nights for many years after 'the appearance of a woman clothed in white with a bloody sword in her hand, wandering and wailing near this pigeon house.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 120.

#### (c) RECTANGULAR DOVECOTES WITH LEAN-TO ROOF (with circular lights in the south wall)

#### 8. *Inveresk Gate.*

This dovecote is hidden in the grounds of Inveresk Gate, at Inveresk. It is in a beautiful garden which slopes down to the River Esk. The fine old house stands on the hill above the gardens, and its great windows look out over the green meadows and on the ancient sundial that stands on the lawn. It was the home of the famous Admiral Sir David Milne. The dovecote shows a general decay and its roof and walls are laden with heavy creepers. It is a rectangular two-chambered structure with crowstep gables and faces south. A string course extends on all four walls and a moulded cornice runs below the eaves. Each chamber has an entrance in the front wall with an oval window, cut out of stone, above each. The ovals are set in windows which are square internally. The east chamber has 623 nest holes and the west has 540, making a total of 1163, well made of yellow sandstone. The pigeon entrances are 7 in each chamber, set in a wooden board, two-thirds down the slate-covered roof. The walls are 35 inches thick and the dimensions of the dovecote are 28 feet 3 inches long, 17 feet 9½ inches wide.

#### 9. *Eskgrove.*

The comely villa of Eskgrove is situated in pleasant grounds, shaded by fine old trees, just across the road in Inveresk from Inveresk Gate. It is one of a row of charming old houses in that secluded old-world 'high street' of Inveresk which includes Inveresk Gate, Eskgrove, the 17th century pyramidal house of Halkerston, once a country dwelling of the monks of Newbattle Abbey, and the old house of Inveresk with its Roman remains and ancient stone well.

Eskgrove dovecote is a prominent object, visible to anyone who climbs the steep hill from Musselburgh to Inveresk. It is quite different in appearance from the one at Inveresk Gate although both are of 18th century date. The walls are of the same thickness. It has three string courses but the topmost is only present on the 34-foot-high back wall and extends a short length on each gable. The gables are crowstepped, each gable having only four steps, capped by flagstones. The oval light is in the centre of the south wall above the upper string course. It is a small dovecote of one chamber with only 281 nests, but it is very high for its size. Its dimensions are 17 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 11 inches. The pigeons entered by 10 openings in the slated roof which slopes to the south.

A curious feature is three stone recesses at ground level beside the entrance which is excentric in the front wall. Leny dovecote is the only

other one in our area which has similar outside recesses. I have not seen them described in any book on dovecotes nor their purpose explained. Possibly they were for storing food for the birds.

John Galt lived at Eskgrove for a time and wrote part of 'Rothelan' there in 1823. On 23rd March 1826 he advertised Eskgrove for sale and in the advertisement he refers to his well-stocked pigeon house.

#### 10. *Craighouse.*

The dovecote is almost square, 22 feet 8 inches long by 17 feet 9 inches wide, is single chambered and was built in the 18th century. It is concealed in a shrubbery on the slope of the hill to the north of the old house of Craighouse. It may have been built during the residence of Sir James Elphinstone and Dame Cecil Denholm whose coat of arms is seen over the east door of the old manor house. The entrance is in the middle of the south wall, with an oval window above the string course over it. The roof was laden with ivy on my first visit there so that it and the gables were invisible, but on a later visit in May 1944 much of the roof had fallen in but the ivy was removed, so that the roof could be seen to be made of stone slabs of a beautiful brown colour, and the gables were seen to have nine crowsteps each. This was a concrete proof of Mr. Cooke's statement that nothing is more deleterious to the preservation of these old buildings than a picturesque growth of ivy. The stone slabs on close inspection were seen to have a sparkling glitter of mica in them. It contains 677 nest holes but has been divided into two compartments by a wooden joist floor in the same way as at Eskgrove. Pigeons no longer enter it as it is now a storehouse, but they previously entered by 14 holes in a wooden frame in a dormer window in the south sloping roof.

#### 11. *Liberton House.*

The pigeon house is on one side of the long avenue of elm trees that leads up to the fine old house of Liberton, once the home of Clement Little, advocate, who started the Library of Edinburgh University. Hundreds of starlings wheel and gyrate in spirals above these trees in winter and then 'pack' so that the whole avenue is alive with their curious gurgling note. Yet they do not seem to enter the dovecote for a night's lodging but leave this large and empty cote to a few stray pigeons. There are 1000 nest holes and it seems strange that pigeons don't adopt them.

This pigeon cote is in good repair, being covered by harling all over. An algal growth has adopted this moist harling as a home, so that the entire building has a faint green tinge.

The building is one chambered, and 24 tiers of nests line the interior north wall from 13 inches above the floor to the roof, forming a striking array.

It is 21 feet 11 inches by 19 feet 7 inches and entered by a door in the centre of the south wall above which is a circular light, cut out of two massive pieces of yellow sandstone, whose semicircles meet to form a circle of 14 inches in diameter. The doves enter by two rows of 10 holes in a dormer window in the slated sloping roof. The gables have 13 crowsteps each.

#### 12. *New Hailes.*

A rather black and unkempt-looking building, jumbled up amongst glass houses and potting sheds, is the dovecote at New Hailes House. It is close to the great stables with their porticoed arched entrance and the fine old gardens. It is single chambered, rectangular, 18 feet by 12 feet 2 inches. The walls are of rubble of red and yellow sandstone and have pilaster coigns. The one string course has been removed on the west wall and half the north wall where the walls have been used as the walls of the attached glass houses. Each gable has three high stone steps which have been faced with flat flagstones. The entrance in the centre of the south wall has had a double door, and the heavy outer door remains, made still more secure by a double lock, one over the other. It is exceptional to find a fanlight opening above the door lintel and three circular lights in the front wall, two lateral and one higher in the centre, all above the string course. Each window has been boarded up to form 8-inch-square entrance holes for pigeons. The slate roof slopes to the south and has a central dormer window which has a large wooden projection with entrance holes in front and on the sides. It is uncommon to find entrance holes in the sides of a wooden dormer. They are usually only in front. A wooden shutter closes the front rows of openings.

The interior contains 614 sandstone nest holes and the lowest tier is 3 feet up from floor level. Traces of a previous projecting stone shelf, 6 inches wide, still remain, placed 9½ inches below the lowest tier. It had extended all round as an obstacle to vermin.

The great house of New Hailes was the home of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, the great scholar, lawyer and antiquary. He died here in 1792.

(d) RECTANGULAR DOVECOTES WITH LEAN-TO ROOF  
(entrance holes in dormers but no circular lights)

#### 13. *Ravelston.*

It is a rectangular, two chambered, and large dovecote, situated close to Ravelston House, but cannot be seen well owing to a high hedge. Until recent years the back wall was decorated by three ball finials. The upper string course is on back wall and gables only and unites in front with the cornice. The lower one is present on all the walls, which are of solid sandstone, the larger blocks being bound with smaller stones in the jointing.

The walls are 3 feet 10 inches thick. Each chamber has an entrance in the front wall, and above each entrance is a large open window 34 inches high and 24 inches wide. As each window has a landing ledge they must have been entrances for the birds, which also entered by 2 dormer windows in the south sloping roof. The west dormer alone remains and has 2 arched entrance holes, cut in stone. Fine solid stone slabs cover the roof. Each chamber is square internally, and there are altogether 1436 nest holes.

The internal ceiling of each chamber exhibits exquisite mason work, being corbelled upwards from the summit of the four internal walls in five diminishing rectangles to the opening in the roof which must communicate with the dormer window.

The most interesting point of all is, however, the presence of a stone bath in the floor of each chamber, 55 inches long and 47½ inches wide, for the use of the pigeons. The bath in the west room has, sad to say, been filled in. The provision of a bath in a dovecote goes back for centuries. Varro recommended water being led into the pigeon house, and there appears to have been a bath in the 14th century circular cote at Garway, Herefordshire.

The dovecote was probably built in 1630, about the same time that the wonderful fountain was erected that stands quite near amongst the yew trees of the beautiful gardens of Ravelston House. Possibly the initials G F and J B which are on this fountain (George Foulis, first of Ravelston, and his wife Janet Bannatyne) stand also for the builders of the dovecote.

The Account Book of his descendant, Sir John Foulis, gives some references to the pigeons that were in this dovecote in his day and the prices they fetched, e.g. 'To Craigeruik gardner for 2 pair doves Feb. last 12/-,' in 1694 and on 1st February 1699, 'To ye Garnder (*sic*) Coutts, was in Craigeruik, for 5 pair of doves got 6 & 7 years since 18/-.' On 3rd September 1703, 'To Jamie Gray, hold count for 5 dozen of pigeons, 50 sh. and 29 sh., £3, 19.' One can compare this with the figures given in the Household Expenses of the Bishop of Hereford, Richard de Swinfield, in 1289-90, 24 pigeons 8d. Sir John Foulis in 1703 'pays Jo. Miller, sklaitter, by patrick duncan's hands againe till account for the dowcat at raevells and the Ile at the kirk of Colington £6.' On another occasion he allows a small farmer in Corstorphine to have the 'muck' out of the dovecote on condition that the farmer puts 'muck' of equal value on Ravelston land. This 'muck' had been recognised for hundreds of years as good manure, for in 1339 the monks of Pontoise had four cartloads of dung taken from their dovecotes and put on their farm. Master Fitzherbert in his *Book of Husbandry*<sup>1</sup> in the 16th century states, 'and the dounge of douues is best but it must be layde upon the grounde verye thynne.' Hartlib writes in the *Legacy of Husbandry*, 1659, 'Pigeon or Hen's Dung is incomparable.'

<sup>1</sup> *Pigeon Cotes and Dove Houses of Essex*, p. 113.

#### 14. *Hermitage*.

This large and handsome dovecote is to be found in the pretty Hermitage glen where the Braid burn flows in its deep wooded dell between Morningside and the Braid Hills. It stands on the north and sunny bank of the dell in the vegetable gardens which belong to the Edinburgh Corporation. It has been described by Mr. Cooke in his book as having rare exotic plants from Salonika growing at its doors in 1920. He considers from its ornateness and its walls being only 2 feet thick that it was built in the late 17th or early 18th century when he says a desire for ornament was prevalent. It is a well-preserved large building, being 35 feet 3½ inches long and 18 feet 2 inches broad, built of red sandstone rubble with oyster shells in the mortar, and it has two chambers. It is the second largest in the Edinburgh area, having 1965 well-made and well-preserved nest holes of sandstone. One string course extends on all four sides. Each compartment has an entrance in the front wall, and above each entrance over the string course is a window 30 inches square. Each chamber has a triangular-shaped dormer window, with seven entrance holes, in the 'lean-to' sloping roof. Five elegant stone urns ornament the building, each urn decorated by a Renaissance style of floral wreath carved round it, one at each corner of the back wall, one on the apex of a triangularly raised central portion of the back wall, and one at each corner of the front wall.

Hermitage House came into the possession of the Dicks of Prestonfield in the 17th century and later of John Brown of Gorgie Mill. At a later date it was occupied by Sir John Skelton, the historian. The present house was built in 1785 by Charles Gordon of Cluny. The dovecote has been claimed as the relic of the old castle of the Fairlies of Braid, but this is impossible. It was built at a much later date than that but has at least outlived two houses of Hermitage.

#### (e) RECTANGULAR DOVECOTES WITH RIDGE ROOFS

#### 15. *Malleny*.

The frontispiece of Sir Herbert Maxwell's volume on Scottish gardens gives pride of place to the gardens of Malleny House, Balerno. Those beautiful gardens, 'laid out in the Dutch style,' are surrounded by tall trees which make them a place of quiet seclusion where the splash of a fountain seems to accentuate the quietness. Green lawns surround plots of coloured flowers. Crimson blossoms of rhododendron and dark yew trees almost conceal the old dovecote in the gardens while the adjacent old house of Malleny with its crowstep gables, round tower, and coat of arms of the Scotts of Malleny carved in stone above its door, enhances the ancient beauty of the gardens.

## 184 DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

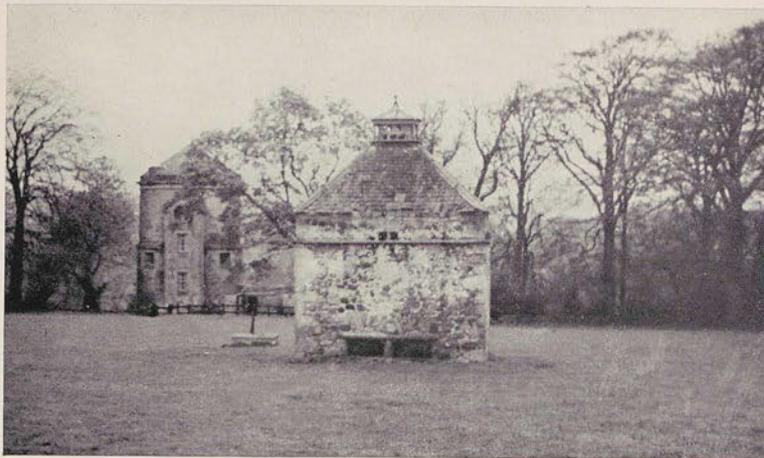
The dovecote is rectangular and one chambered. Its walls are of yellow sandstone and are 40 inches thick. Its entrance in the south wall is at the back, hidden by trees. The dense woods make the interior as dark as a dungeon even though the roof has two small skylights. There are 915 nest holes made of sandstone, and the east wall has a curious recess on its interior side. This recess is covered by a lintel stone and is 5 feet high and 32 inches broad. The gables have each ten crowsteps on each side of the roof, extending from eaves to ridge tile. The floor is of hard, rough sandstones, so closely set and so corrugated on the surface that it resembles solid rock. The pigeons entered by 9 holes in a dormer window which faces north to the manor house, but no pigeons now occupy the dovecote. An interesting feature is that the west gable is united by a long semicircular low stone wall—which partially encloses the open circular gravel space in front of the house—to a 'louping-on' stone.

Malleny is said to have been the property of James VI as a hunting lodge and the name is supposed to be from the Gaelic, *meallanach*, meaning many hillocks. General Thomas Scott, who served under the Marquis of Cornwallis in the American War, and passed through the American lines disguised as a pedlar, while he carried dispatches concealed in the barrel of his spontoon, at one time lived here. He died, aged 96. One can picture him in his latter years mounting his horse at the louping-on stone while the pigeons fluttered around the dovecote and the old house.

Jougs hung at Malleny until the middle of the 19th century, indicating that the owner of Malleny had the right of pit and gallows in the surrounding barony. Lord Fountainhall had his jougs hung on the walls of his dovecote at Penkaet, East Lothian.

### 16. *Foulis Castle.*

A roofless ruin, with good-sized trees growing out of its crumbling walls, represents the dovecote of the old castle of the Foulis family. The ruins of the castle are close to it and so also is the little cottage of the 'Man of Feeling.' It stands amongst the woods, high up above the Water of Leith, in the beautiful grounds of Merchiston Castle School. It resembles Addiston dovecote in having the entrance in the east wall, but it has only one chamber which contains 695 nests. One sandstone string course extends on all four walls. Each gable has eighteen crowsteps, nine on each side of the roof. The dimensions of the dovecote are 23 feet 5½ inches in length and 18 feet 8½ inches in width. The walls are 3 feet 5½ inches thick. The roof has been of stone slabs and the pigeons probably entered by a dormer window. It was probably built in the 16th century when the castle was built.



CRAIGIEHALL



CORSTORPHINE



## (f) OTHER RECTANGULAR DOVECOTES

17. *Nether Liberton.*

This dovecote is known to most people in Edinburgh, as it can be seen from two main roads where they leave the city, one road leading to Dalkeith and the other to Lasswade.

It is the largest dovecote in the Edinburgh area, being 36 feet 9 inches long and 19 feet 6 inches broad, and it has the greatest number of nest holes, 2072 all told. Otherwise it is quite orthodox, rectangular, two chambered, with a lean-to roof sloping to the sun, a single string course, a moulded cornice, and an entrance to each chamber in the front wall. It is not perhaps surprising that each chamber has a double door to each entrance, and the outer doors protected, in addition, by a heavy iron bar, as four thousand pigeons were a rich possession. The walls are only 2 feet 9 inches in thickness.

A panel is present in the centre of the front wall and one would wish to know whose coat of arms it once contained, but all trace of such has weathered away.

Sixteen crowsteps adorn each gable. The roof is covered with pantiles in the upper half and slates in the lower half. It must have looked better when the whole roof was covered by old pantiles of a rich red colour.

Doves still flutter around this cote and enter by 36 holes placed half-way down the roof and by 5 holes in the south wall of each chamber below the eaves.

The pigeon holes are in good condition and are very substantial, made of solid stone, some of the partitions being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide and the sills often as high. They extend from floor to ceiling on all the interior walls and the 25 tiers on the 30-foot-high back wall have an imposing appearance as they rise from floor level up into the darkness below the ceiling.

Mr. Cooke considers it was built four centuries ago and that it was the manorial dovecote of Inch House, which would make it as old as the crypt in the house which has been regarded as the oldest inhabited room in Scotland. The earliest date on the house is 1617 when it belonged to the Winrams, but whether it was one of the famous Winrams who built the dovecote remains a secret. It was no doubt a man of wealth and importance who could afford so colossal a dovecote.

18. *Drylaw.*

The old house of Drylaw, which belonged to the family of Loch for many years, stands in that bit of open country which survives between the bungalows of Blackhall and the new houses of the modern Pilton estate.



UPPER LIBERTON



NETHER LIBERTON

The dovecote is in the middle of an open ploughed field to the north of it and is exposed to all the winds, so that it is now a roofless ruin although the four walls remain. Recent repairs have been done to the front wall, to parts of the string course that extends round it and to one of the entrances. The old iron staples for the doors remain fixed in the stone jambs of both the entrances, as well as the iron catch for the bar that closed the west door.

The building is 26 feet 10 inches long from east to west and 14 feet 1 inch north to south. Oyster shells cling to the mortar in older portions of the wall, and the walls have been harled both internally and externally. Nine good crowsteps adorn each gable. Broken slates lie scattered on the floor, and the roof has been a 'lean-to,' with a slope to the south, and timbered and slated. Probably the doves entered half-way down the roof but all nest holes are now gone. There have been two chambers and each has an entrance in the front wall, 6 feet high and 3 feet 2 inches wide.

This dovecote has one notable distinction. It has an old flat dialstone forming one of the coign stones above the string course. The dial has two faces, one to the south and the other to the west, and the roots of a gnomon are present in each face. The numbers of the hours are carved on the borders of both dials. Lt.-Col. Gordon Dalryell of the Binns has written a book on *The Family of Loch* and at page 144 he states in relation to the sale of Drylaw, 'There was a large stone doocot in a field near the house with a sundial let into one corner'; and there is a drawing of a very similar dialstone, described as being in a garden wall at Drylaw House.<sup>1</sup>

I am afraid this old dovecote will disappear if the new estate extends around it, and I would suggest that when this extension occurs a new public park for the estate should be formed around the old doocot which could be repaired and make a pleasant centrepiece. The park could also enclose the little pond in the adjacent field where a mallard and its mate come each year to form their nest.

#### 19. Ravelrig.

This dovecote is in the centre of a rose garden that slopes down to the Water of Leith, close to Ravelrig House, near Balerno. It is beautifully situated and is covered with roses and creepers.

It consists of one chamber which has been divided into two compartments by a wooden floor, and the nest holes are in the basement only. There are 274 well-made nests of grey sandstone. A string course is present on all four walls, which bends upwards in two right angles on the gables, which have flat sandstone capping and no crowsteps. Pigeons are barred from entry by

<sup>1</sup> Macgibbon and Ross: *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 393.

wire netting over five entrance holes set in the usual way in a board half-way down the slated roof, which inclines to the south. A wooden box with entrance holes projects from the centre of the front wall above the entrance and string course.

The walls are rubble, of black dolerite weathering brown and of grey sandstone. They have been harled and some harling remains on the lower part of the north wall. They are 2 feet 3½ inches thick. The dimensions are about 18 feet 4 inches long by 13 feet 3 inches wide.

Ravelrig is associated with Lord Ravelrig,<sup>1</sup> who became fifth Earl of Lauderdale and Senator of the College of Justice from 1689 to 1710, and with William Dalmahoy<sup>2</sup> of Ravelrig, an officer in the Scots Horse Guards. His son, William Dalmahoy of Ravelrig, married Mary Fraser, daughter of the second Lord Salton by Margaret Sharp, the Archbishop's daughter.

#### 20. Fisherrow.

The garden of the manse includes this dovecote, and the bare walls of the Co-operative Stores prop it up behind. It is a tall narrow building, rather dilapidated. It faces to the east and its slated roof slopes to this cold point of the compass, so that the pigeons must have had a chilly roosting place during an easterly haar. They entered their refuge by holes in a board two-thirds down the roof, but the holes are now absent. A triangular board is fixed, high up on the east wall, opposite a large window which is square internally. In the board are five entrance holes, in two rows, over a stone landing ledge.

A string course remains on the east and south walls. It starts in the landing ledge, rises up in two right angles on the east wall and then continues on the south wall to the wall of the Stores. The rest of it has been destroyed.

The interior is small and extraordinarily narrow and is entered by a door in the south wall through a garden shed. This does not appear to be the original doorway, traces of which are present in a recess in the interior in the west wall; but it was probably blocked up when the Stores were built.

There are 336 nest holes, but all those on the north wall have tumbled down to form a chaotic heap on the floor, where loose oyster shells lie about. Six crowsteps mount up the side of each gable.

It was built in the 18th century, and the adjacent house, now the Manse, is a fine old house which was advertised in 1793 in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* as 'that house at the East end and on the south side of the village of Fisherrow consisting of 7 rooms, garret, kitchen, with garden, pigeon house and offices which belonged to the late Professor George Stuart and now possessed by Mrs. Maclean of Coll. Pigeon house is well stocked.' It was

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *The Family of Dalmahoy*, p. 11.

also advertised in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 1773 as 'at the East end of Fisherrow within the privileges of the Burgh of Musselburgh consisting of dining room, drawing room etc. and again a well-stocked pigeon house, all pleasantly situated on a gravel bottom and convenient for sea-bathing and walking.'

The pigeon house further gave a name to this house, as in 1817 it is advertised as the villa of Dovecot.

An interesting object in the front garden of the Manse is an ornate domed stone building with an outside railed stone stair. It is prettily covered with ivy. It is said to have been the study of the Professor's son.

#### 21. *Kerr's Wynd.*

One finds a tiny dove-cote, off this wynd, concealed behind the historic Tolbooth of Musselburgh, amongst a jumble of old rubble pantiled buildings. It is only 12 feet by 7 feet 7 inches, is much dilapidated, and won't be here long. It contains no nest holes. The roof slopes to the west and is partly covered with pantiles and partly slate. Four arched entrance holes for pigeons are left in a wooden board two-thirds down the roof under the eaves of the pantiles. Remains of an old half-blocked-up semicircular window are seen in the east wall, which has a long sill of yellow sandstone and may have been a landing ledge. The cote could only have been entered by a ladder through the entrance in the south wall, and one suspects only the upper part was a dove-cote. No entrance to the basement is visible.

It had crowsteps at one time but only two bottom ones remain, being in the north gable, and the back wall above the roof has been repaired with bricks. It has been used for other purposes, a window being let into the north wall, and an old flue pipe remains at one angle; but it appears to have been in use as a dove-cote up till 1906 at least.<sup>1</sup> There are two rows of old horse-stalls beside it and it is believed to have belonged to the old Arms Inn which once stood here. It is an interesting little relic of the past.

#### 22. *Pinkie.*

This dove-cote is placed in the great wooded park of Pinkie House, close to the busy public road from Musselburgh to Levenhall, but hidden by the high retaining wall and the surrounding trees.

It is a fine rectangular, two-chambered building, 24 feet 6 inches long and 15 feet 5½ inches wide. Each compartment is almost square inside, 8 feet by 7 feet 2 inches, with the longer diameter at right angles to the longer axis externally. The walls are very definitely recessed above each string course. The lower course is 8 feet up from the ground and is on all

<sup>1</sup> *Picturesque Musselburgh*, by W. C. Maughan, p. 84.

walls and the upper joins the front cornice. The walls are 3 feet 4 inches thick and iron brackets remain in the front wall. Iron hooks often remain in the walls of old dove-cotes by which nets were fixed over the pigeon hole so as to catch the pigeons as they flew out.

Each chamber has an entrance in the front wall. This wall has a most interesting exterior as it has a panel over each entrance. Both panels are square, made of stone with moulded borders. The panel over the west door has carved on it an Earl's crown over a crescent which encloses a cinquefoil, representing the arms of the great Earl of Dunfermline, who largely built the great palatial house of Pinkie. The east panel has a carved monogram of the initials A S and M H for Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, and Margaret Hay, his third wife, sister of the first Earl of Tweeddale and daughter of the famous Lady Hay of Yester, better known as Lady Yester.

A square window opens into each chamber above the string course and above each panel. These were once closed by stones which contained the entrance holes for the pigeons, but were broken by some boys who climbed into the cote. One of them fell in and was injured and taken to the hospital. This reminds me of how, in 1388, a man went into the bell tower of the church at Ensham<sup>1</sup> in Oxford to catch pigeons but fell into the choir and was killed; and how, in the reign of Henry III, a John of Hertford, driving pigeons out of the lantern of Denham Church, Buckinghamshire, let fall a stone on Agnes, wife of Robert de Denham, who was sitting in the church, and on the third day she died.<sup>2</sup>

Another panel is seen in the centre of the front wall, close to the eaves, but the coat of arms it once probably contained has weathered completely away after three hundred years' exposure to wind and rain.

The interior of this dove-cote is as interesting as the outside. There are 1087 fine nest holes, 519 in the east and 568 in the west. The east chamber probably had the same number as the west but its south wall is now bare of nests in the upper part. The arrangement of the nest holes is of interest. They do not reach to the roof, leaving a great open space below the timbered ceiling and above the nest-lined partition wall. What is still more interesting is that each almost square chamber has a potence. Each potence had a ladder of 14 rungs supported on two crossbars and the east one revolves easily, but unfortunately the other is damaged.

The roof inclines as usual to the south, and is covered with Easdale slates, having a skylight in each half.

The panel gives one the approximate date at which the dove-cote was built, as the Earl of Dunfermline married Margaret Hay in 1607 and both their initials are on the monogram. The famous Chancellor Seton died in 1622 and was buried with great pomp in the now ruined church of Dalgetty

<sup>1</sup> Smith, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cooke, p. 123.

on the south coast of Fife. She afterwards married the first Earl of Callendar, and was buried in 1659 below the priest's door in Dalgetty Church.

The carved panels, the double potence in square chambers, and the arrangement of the nests make this one of the most interesting dove-cotes near Edinburgh.

#### 23. *Castlesteads.*

This orthodox rectangular dove-cote of one chamber is amongst trees at the corner of a ploughed field near old Castlesteads House, about one and a half miles from Musselburgh, off the road from Musselburgh to Dalkeith. Its dimensions are 18 feet by 15 feet and it belongs to Dalkeith Palace.

The walls are of weathered pink sandstone and yellow sandstone, and have been harled all over. They are 32 inches thick. A string course, 9 feet up and 4 inches wide, extends round all four walls, and on the gables near the back wall it rises by two right-angled bends. There is an entrance in the front wall which must have been widened for the use of carts, as the lower part of the cote has been used as a shed. A square window closed by vertical iron bars is above the entrance over the string course. A wood floor divides the building into a basement and upper part. There are 525 nest holes with brick partitions which for a decorative effect are made 4 inches wide instead of 2½ inches at regular intervals. The lowest tier is 27 inches from the floor. The bases of the nests are of stone. The roof is of 'lean-to' type, and three-quarters way down is a boarding with about twenty entrance holes. The gables are without crowsteps and the floor is of flagstones.

An advertisement in *Caledonian Mercury*, 21st December 1752, states, 'a tack for 71 years of the Farm of Castlesteads, part of the Mains of Monkstown, presently possessed by Jas. Walker, merchant in Leith, a Close for feeding cattle with a large shade for them and a small pigeon house above the shade.'

#### 24. *High Street, Musselburgh.*

Opposite the gate into Pinkie House there stands a fine old house, once called Fairman's Land and previously used as a residence of the army officers when the barracks were in use near Pinkie in the early 19th century. I was kindly told by the occupant of the house that in an old cupboard an old Shako had been found, presumably left by an officer long ago.

If one passes through a pend below the house into a small yard one sees a small rubble sandstone building, 15 feet 5 inches by 10 feet 10 inches, having a pantiled 'lean-to' roof, sloping to the east, which has obviously once been a dove-cote. It has been divided by a now ruinous wooden floor into basement and upper part. There are no nest holes, and the basement is now a coal store. The buildings on the west side of the yard with dormer

windows, are said to have been stables for an Inn, and the stone steps leading up to the entrance into the dove-cote to have been the mounting stone. Maughan, in *Picturesque Musselburgh* (p. 14), describes it as one of the few remaining ornamented dove-cotes in Musselburgh.

#### 25. *Granton Castle.*

This dove-cote once belonged to Granton Castle, which stood for nearly four centuries in a picturesque position on a rampart of brown rocks close to the shore of the Firth of Forth, near Granton harbour.

It is a small rectangular dove-cote, whose dimensions are 19 feet 6 inches long, 13 feet 11 inches wide, back wall about 20 feet high and front wall 13 feet. It had been two chambered, but the partition wall has been demolished and all the nest holes have been destroyed. The sills of the nest holes remain in the walls, and the size of some of the holes can still be made out. It had contained a total of 880 pigeon holes.

The walls of the cote are of rubble sandstone and there are two string courses. The front wall of each chamber has a window. Oyster shells display their gleaming patina in the mortar of the gable, and each gable has six crowsteps. The roof slopes to the south and is slated. No entrance holes for the pigeons can be seen.

It is now used as a store and has been divided into a basement and upper part by a wooden floor. It is the only relic of the old castle, which was ruthlessly demolished not many years ago, the site of the ancient castle of the Melvilles being now occupied by a market garden.

#### (g) LOUVRED DOVECOTES

#### 26. *Leny.*

This fascinating dove-cote has long survived Leny House to which it once belonged, the dwelling-place of the Young family. It is close to the extraordinary Belvidere Tower, built by Mr. Hope of Craigiehall in the 18th century to house antique busts and marble statues from Italy, but now used as a dwelling-house. It stands on a hill, in the middle of a grass field, above the tower.

It more closely resembles a Herefordshire cote than the usual Scottish type, being nearly square, with a pyramidal roof, topped by a wooden lantern. It is 17 feet by 13 feet 10 inches and built of rubble dolerite and sandstone with oyster and sea-shell fragments in the mortar. The entrance in the west wall has had a double door. The fine old heavy wooden door is studded with rusty nails. The single chamber has 525 nests but originally they numbered 612. Most of them are of sandstone but a few top tiers are brick. The roof is supported on timber and rafters, has many slates loose, and there is an open window at east and west. A broad string course appears

## 192 DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

on all four walls, 11 feet up. The doves entered by two square stone entrance holes in the middle of the south wall just above the string course, and by twenty-three holes in the now dilapidated wooden louvre. This lantern is supported by four neatly turned wooden pillars and surmounted by a metal pole. An iron pulley projects from the base of the lantern, which probably once held a rope for closing the shutters to the louvre openings.

It has two stone recesses at ground level on the outside of the south wall, resting on the plinth. They have the old iron staples by which they could once have been closed by a wooden door.

We can easily date this cote, as 1598 is carved on a small oblong stone in the centre of the north wall below the eaves.

I hope this fine dove-cote will not be allowed to go to further ruin as it is nearly 350 years old, and is worth preserving also as one of the few lanterned cotes left near Edinburgh.

### 27. *Craigiehall.*

This dove-cote is across the river from Leny and is roofless and going to ruin. A picture of it, sketched as recently as 1913, by George Fothergill, shows it with a pyramidal roof and lantern in which there were six entrance holes in two rows to the north and south and four holes in each of the other two sides. It resembled Leny and is a fine example of what Leny will soon be if no repairs are done to it.

It is quite close to the palatial mansion of Craigiehall, built in the classic style in 1757 by Hon. Charles Hope, but now used by the War Department.

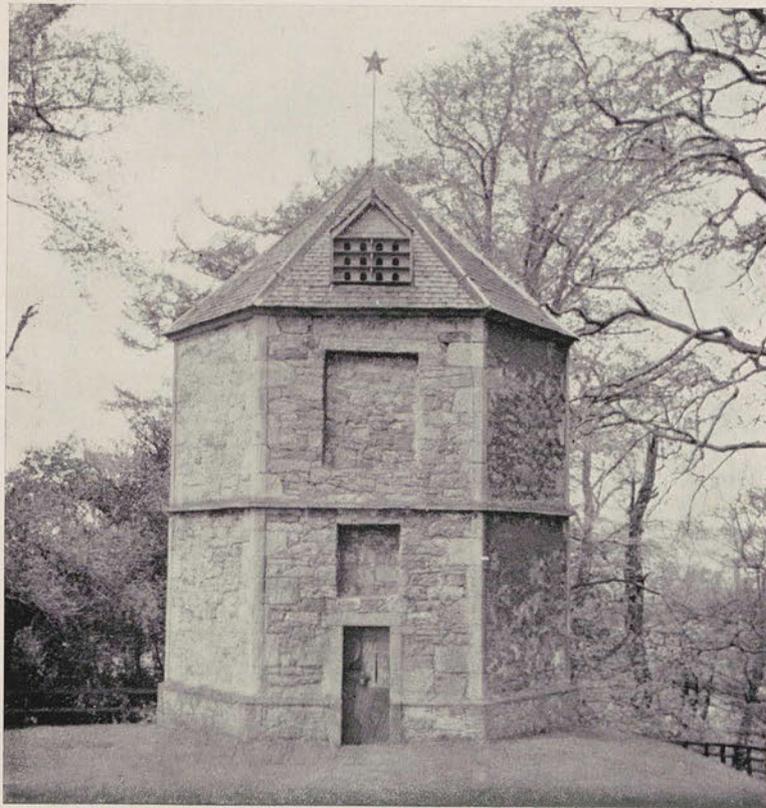
The dove-cote is 21 feet 3 inches by 16 feet and is single chambered. It has a single string course and remains of a circular light in the east wall. Fothergill's drawing shows a similar circle in the west wall. The entrance is in the centre of the south wall. 617 well-made stone nests remain. It is curious that the south wall has a convex curved skew put at each corner, and if it had not been for Fothergill's drawing these would have suggested previous crowstep gables. The old slates that once were on the roof lie broken on the floor, which has a stone flue round it as if the dove-cote had once been used as a forcing house for plants. The doves entered by the lantern and by four or five holes, now blocked up, in the south wall, still traceable, with stone landing ledges.

The date 167- is carved on the west skew put and it is sad to see a venerable old building of the 17th century falling into such ruin.

### (h) HEXAGONAL DOVECOTE

### 28. *Redhall.*

The one hexagonal dove-cote near Edinburgh is the splendid example at Redhall, Slateford. I call it splendid because of the magnificent coat of



REDHALL, COLINTON



arms of the Otterburns on its north wall. It is covered with harling of a red colour and is built mainly with red sandstone, so that one can truthfully call it the red dovecote. It is redder than Redhall House, in whose park it stands in a pretty situation on the top of the side of a little wooded glen whose rivulet falls down over rocks into the near-by Water of Leith.

Each of the six walls is 10 feet 1 inch wide, erected on a sandstone plinth, and recessed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches about 2 feet  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches from ground level. About half-way up between this recession and the eaves is a single string course. The walls are 24 inches thick, but 3 feet thick if nest holes are included.

The entrance is in the south wall and is closed by a solid door of wood which has a double lock of a secret nature, as the keyhole in the lock of the door is completely concealed by an outer bar when the bar is placed in position. This bar is locked by a quaint padlock worked by a horseshoe-shaped lock whose teeth fit into a nail-shaped key which only works upside down. The locksmith took great pains to make an entry difficult.

An almost square empty panel space is above the door, and above it, over the string course, is a blocked-up window.

The north wall is a work of art. A wide semicircular recess of yellow sandstone has been made in this wall below the string course. It has a sill of grey sandstone, and the arch has a keystone with a square stone at the top of each jamb. The coat of arms is above the course. It is a really fine piece of carving and is as good as when it was newly done. A shield is carved on it on which is a chevron between three otters' heads coupé, on a chief is a crescent, and twelve tears surrounding the otters' head in the base. The shield is '*a bouché*' on the dexter side. Two rampant wyverns act as supporters, having barbed tails intertwined, the barbs in the forked ends of the tails and in their strong parrot-like beaks being made of iron, now a rusty red. A vizored helm surmounts the shield and an otter's head as crest. Foliage branches out on each side from the wreath, into trefoil leaves as mantling. The motto of the Otterburns, '*De virtute in virtutem*,' is clearly carved below the shield. They are the arms of the famous Sir Adam Otterburn, Lord Advocate in the time of Mary Queen of Scots. This coat of arms is said to have been removed here from the house when the older house was demolished. It is really a lively bit of sculpture and the wyverns have quite a terrifying look. The otters are a rebus on the family name.

The roof is pyramidal, covered with slates, having a pole on top with a nine-pointed star which shows up against the sky. A dormer window projects from the south side of the roof, having a wood panel with three rows of four entrance holes in each row, and each row has a landing ledge.

The interior is very fine with 757 nest holes, originally 944, in 20 tiers. All the nests are made of wood except the two lowest tiers which are stone. The stone nests are arranged in circles while the upper 18 tiers form a dodecagon. The potence is there and shaped like a lyre, with 12

rungs on each side of the revolving pole. The floor is of solid 3-inch flagstones.

The entrance holes can be closed by pulling the rope attached to the shutter. The rope hangs from the dormer down to the side of the entrance.

The dovecote was built in 1756 by a John Christy at a cost of £40.<sup>1</sup> The barony of Redhall was purchased by George Inglis of Auchendinny in 1755. The old castle stood on the site of the present dovecote, and had been battered by Cromwell's petards. The present house was erected by George Inglis between 1756 and 1761. He was King's Attorney and a legal partner with Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*. It seems therefore that this is one of those instances where the dovecote was built before the house, and it is fortunate that Mr. Inglis salvaged the coat of arms of the famous Sir Adam Otterburn, one of the chief characters in James Grant's novel *Jane Seton or the King's Advocate*.

One wonders if the recess in the north wall ever held a statue or if George Inglis meant to erect one of the King's Advocate there, as he had put his coat of arms above. Did the empty panel above the door ever hold the arms of Inglis of Auchendinny?

## (i) SQUARE DOVECOTES

29. *The Drum*.

The splendid mansion of the Drum near Gilmerton was erected by the thirteenth Lord Somerville from designs by William Adam in the fourth decade of the 18th century. It is a beautiful house decorated by shapely stone urns and balustrades, and has the Somerville arms carved over the entrance whose door opens on to a stone platform at the top of horse-shoe shaped stone stairs. Colonel More Nesbit in his interesting book on the house of Drum, in which he himself lives, states that one of the parks to the east of the house has the name of Dooocot Park. The doocot is gone and no one knows what was its style or appearance.

The present dovecote is in the courtyard of outhouses a few hundred yards south of the house and seems to have been built between 1802 and 1809, so that it is relatively modern. It is not so picturesque as some but has an interesting position, perched on the centre of the roofs of one side of the square courtyard. It is said that dovecotes were sometimes placed in such positions so that the doves would get accustomed to the presence of human beings. The result of the arrangement is that the only access to it is by placing a ladder of some height up to its door in the centre of the south wall. This plan provided the same means of protection to its inhabitants as was provided to the dwellers in many an old Scottish keep.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes for a History of Colinton Parish*, by James Steuart, O.B.E., W.S. (1938), p. 86.

The dovecote has the form of a sloping tower standing up higher than the roofs on each side of it, and the high back wall faces the court while its slated roof faces to the fields on the south side. The gables have flat, inclined flagstones. A small window is on each side of the door. 459 nest holes are present, on all the four interior walls, and their floors are made of brick tiles, their partitions of brick and the back wall of stone covered by cement.

No pigeons now inhabit it but the nine entrance holes are in a board, half-way down the roof.

30. *East Morningside*.

This ivy-covered little dovecote is in the gardens of the late Lord Fleming's house of East Morningside. It is a perfect square 11 feet 6 inches each way externally and 8 feet 3 inches square internally. The walls are only 19 inches thick and have been altered as time passed to adapt the building for other uses. It is now a garden storehouse. 232 nesting places are still *in situ* on the four inside walls, but many have been removed altogether, and they are all at least 6 to 7 feet up from floor level.

There are two peculiarities in the building as a dovecote. The first is that the timber and slate roof inclines to the north, and the second is the unusual site for the dove entrances. These consist of twelve openings in four rows with landing ledges in a wooden frame which is set in a window, cut askew in the angle of the south and west walls.

A little of the park of the old manor house is left, and some of the grand old beech trees cast their shadows over the dovecote. The house retains some of the immensely thick walls of the past and the memory of the novelist, Susan Ferrier, who wrote her famous novel, *Marriage*, when she stayed here,<sup>1</sup> but I trust the pigeons she kept in the old dovecote did not damage her neighbours' peas. Her friend James Wilson<sup>2</sup> wrote to her on 11th October 1824 and in his letter asks, 'Do you poison your neighbours' pigeons to preserve your own peas?' I wonder now who had the nearest dovecote to hers at that time. Quite possibly it was the Merchiston dovecote of which there is the well-known story of an event which happened 200 years before Susan Ferrier's lifetime. It relates to John Napier of Merchiston, who 'bewitched' certain pigeons of his neighbour which had been eating his grain, and he threatened to poind them. 'Do so if you can catch them,' said his neighbour, and next morning the fields were alive with reeling pigeons which were drunk from eating peas saturated with spirits, and were thus easily captured by Napier.<sup>3</sup> The old name for the present Albert Street was Dovecot Loan.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxiv. p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Memories and Correspondence of Susan Ferrier*, by John Doyle, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Grant's Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 37.

31. *Morton House.*

Morton House at Fairmilhead is a typical Adam house but has at the back an older 17th century part with dormer windows. The entrance gate has a pavilion type of cote house on each side of it. Each of them is built of stone, square in form, with roofs covered with blue slates.

The dovecote is in the upper compartment of the cote house on the north side of the gate. It is built of ashlar, sandstone, and volcanic rock and is 21 feet 4 inches each way. The west wall has two windows having rybats and sills of red sandstone. One has a locked wooden door in which are two entrance holes for pigeons beneath which is a small landing ledge of wood. They also entered by six holes cut in a wooden boarding in the south wall.

A nicely moulded cornice of cream-coloured sandstone extends under the eaves of the roof, which is adorned at the apex by a metal pole branching out at the top into wing-shaped metal expansions for ornament.

There are 500 wooden nests within, fitted up on boards. The basement is used as a shed. A great mass of ivy trails over the roof and conceals the wall facing the drive and the front of the house, but rather adorns the cote house. John Hill Burton, the historian, died at Morton House in 1881.

## (j) OTHERS

32. *Edmonstone.*

This dovecote resembles a small medieval church with a spire and buttresses. The great park of the yellow Edmonstone House surrounds it. It is described in the Midlothian volume of the Ancient Monuments Commission as made from the ingle of a 16th or 17th century house, a chimney of rough-cast rubble, in two stages, with moulded cope, on a stack, with a pyramidal finial. I think it must be the only chimney in the country that has been made into a dovecote.

The little 'spire' is at the west end where the gable is recessed up in two stages to the cope, stack, and finial. A small semicircular arched window is present in the lowest stage of the west gable and it is barred like a prison window. Above it in the second stage is placed a wooden projection containing two rows of five entrance holes, and under its triangular hood are three other openings arranged as a triangle. The lower and upper three holes have stone landing ledges while the middle ledge is wood. Additional entrance holes are formed by two round arched openings in stone in the middle of the south wall above the projection of the wall on this side.

A round arched entrance opens into the dovecote in the east gable, and above it is a large arched window. These give this gable the semblance of a small Norman church, and the two buttresses on the south wall enhance this similitude.

Inside there are 366 nest holes of yellow sandstone, very neatly made, and on all four walls. The roof is a fine barrel vault of stone, and the floor of flagstones. The walls are 4 feet 5½ inches thick at the west end and 2 feet 6 inches at east end, and the building is 16 feet 3¼ inches long.

The builder, whoever he was, showed ingenuity in the conversion of one surviving ingle into a *columbarium*, as most persons would have knocked down the single remaining relic of the old house.

33. *Doubtful Dovecote.*

There is an old round building on the summit of the north bank of the Water of Leith, opposite Donaldson's Hospital, in the grounds of St. George's School. It is built of rubble, of basalt, and sandstone. Mr. Geddie, in his article on the Sculptured Stones of Dean,<sup>1</sup> suggested it might have been the dovecote of the old Dean House. Someone suggested to me that it was an old whin mill, and certainly a notice board stood beside it, on which was printed, 'Whin Mill Brae, Private.' It is described as a 'windmill' in an old map of Edinburgh.

It is about 70 to 80 feet in circumference and has an open archway into it, wide enough for two carts abreast. There are sixteen holes in the interior walls of its upper part. Some of them are well made, with shaped lintels and jambs, and some are in a row suggesting joist holes for a wooden floor between upper part and the basement. On the other hand, they are too close together for joists and there are other holes at irregular levels. It is possible this roofless tower has been used as a dovecote in its upper part and as a whin mill in the basement. I think the dovecote for Dean House was not here but in the centre of the field, north of Queensferry Road, opposite Daniel Stewart's College, where a dovecote is shown in Kirkwood's map.

34. *Loretto Dovecote.*

This dovecote has been converted into a Memorial Clock Tower and is scarcely recognisable now as a dovecote. Its broad string course, however, betrays its past use. It stands south of Loretto School within the precincts. Its walls are of rubble, sandstone, and some red volcanic stone. There is a 6-inch-wide string course on all the walls excepting the north. The south wall shows a blocked-up circular light above the course. The original entrance appears to have been in the east wall, but it is now blocked up to hold a stone memorial tablet. The building has a battlemented top with small square turrets at each angle, three intermediate ones on north and south walls, and two intermediate on east and west walls. It is 17 feet 1½ inches by 13 feet.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. i.

198 DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

The east wall has a round clock enclosed in a circle of red bricks, and below the string course a memorial tablet to Allan Ramsay Smith, O.L., Headmaster, 1908-26.

(k) PAST DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

Having described the dovecotes that still exist, it is now appropriate to show where they formerly existed in and about Edinburgh, but have since disappeared. The following list gives the date on which the houses to which they were attached were advertised for sale in the Edinburgh papers, and the paper in which they appeared.

A few additional items are added that were mentioned in the advertisements which relate to the house and the dovecote and which seemed of some interest.

ABBREVIATIONS

(C.M.=*Caledonian Mercury*; E.E.C.=*Edinburgh Evening Courant*;  
E.A.=*Edinburgh Advertiser*)

- Abbeyhill : E.A. 30.7.1775.  
 Baberton : C.M. 11.10.1743.  
 Bankhead : E.E.C. 10.7.1802.  
 Bowling-Green : see Leith.  
 Braehead (Cramond) : C.M. 4.5.1771.  
 Brickfield House : E.A. 2.8.1776 ('also brick manufactory lying between Restalrig and Leith possessed by Deacon Jamieson, mason, Edinburgh').  
 Brunstane : C.M. 7.2.1767 ('mansionhouse, offices, etc., belonged to Andrew Fletcher of Milton, deceased. Garden, with fruit trees, 2 fish ponds and a genteel summerhouse').  
 Bruntfield : E.A. 21.10.1785 ('a country villa commanding beautiful and extensive prospects, Hen and pigeonhouse').  
 Cameron House : shown in Kirkwood's Map, 1817.  
 Carberry : E.E.C. 17.3.1806.  
 Coates : E.A. 15.10.1773.  
 Craigerook : 24.9.1712 (see Wood's *Cramond*).  
 Craigentiny : C.M. 20.7.1765.  
 Curriehill : C.M. 14.12.1751.  
 Dalhousie : C.M. 28.2.1740.  
 Dean : E.E.C. 5.9.1774.  
 Dean Lodge : E.E.C. 15.9.1810 ('Beautifully situated on banks of Water of Leith near Stockbridge, and as the new road to Queensferry is to pass along the side of the ground it may be feued to great advantage. Poultry and pigeon house').

DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH 199

- Grange House : 29.9.1631 (see Smith's *Grange of St. Giles*).  
 Granton, Easter : (see Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, iii. 310).  
 Greenend : C.M. 8.12.1773; also 1789 ('lately possessed by Mr. Gordon Rutherford, apply Walter Scott, W.S., or Rev. Robert Rutherford at Manse of Castletown').  
 Greenhill : (see *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxiv. p. 75).  
 Greenlaw : E.E.C. 18.2.1797.  
 Greenpark : E.E.C. 24.11.1823 ('in immediate neighbourhood of the village of Greenend').  
 Greenside : E.E.C. 25.7.1808 ('one of the most beautiful situations near the metropolis. 10 minutes walk from Shore of Leith and Cross of Edinburgh. A small dovecourt').  
 Hailes : E.E.C. 1.5.1790 ('also hothouse stored with peaches, nectarines and vines, stable for 10 horses, double coachhouse, slaughterhouse, byre for 7 cows : apply to Dr. Deans at Hailes').  
 Hatton : E.A. 4.11.1796.  
 Inveresk House : E.E.C. 4.9.1819 ('lately possessed by Sir James G. Baird').  
 Inveresk (house at East end of) : 1750, belonged to Countess of Stair—prob. Halkerston House.  
 Inverleith : C.M. 2.3.1767.  
 Jeanfield : C.M. 10.1.1785 ('formerly called Stainingflat and Pielflat, in parish of Newbattle').  
 Laverockbank (Trinity) : E.E.C. 20.2.1792 ('hen and pigeonhouse').  
 Leith :—  
     Bowling-Green : 13.9.1786 (for Peter Smith, deacon of the tailors in Canongate, lands now called the Bowling Green, Leith, also lands called the Haugh with garden dovecoat and croft—*Edinburgh Town Council Records*).  
     Links : E.E.C. 23.11.1774 (at east end of Leith Links, lately possessed by Capt. Moutrie. On 9 Sept. 1674 a 'doooot' on the Links of Leith was presented by the Town Council to Sir William Purves of Abbeyhill with power to demolish or dispose of it at his pleasure—*Edinburgh Town Council Records*).  
     Leuchold : E.E.C. 8.4.1769.  
     Logie Green : E.E.C. 18.3.1813 ('House with lawn in front. The beauty of this elegant and restored residence within 7 mins. walk of London Street is sufficiently known').  
     Merchiston : C.M. 1.8.1737 ('possessed by Rankeillor and Dr. Louis. To call at Baillie John Seton, present Treasurer to George Watsons Hospital at his shop in the Luckenbooths who will show them the rental, etc.').  
     Merchiston, Old : E.A. 3.7.1778.  
     Monkton : E.A. 18.2.1780.

## 200 DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

Morningside : E.E.C. 2.1.1806.

Musselburgh :—

Hallis Wallis, on south side of Newbigging : (In 1663 John Buchanan of that ilk served heir to mansionhouse, yard and dovecote of same).

Red House, Mill Hill : E.A. 9.7.1779.

Stoneybank : E.E.C. 21.2.1789.

West Pans : C.M. 22.3.1736.

North side of street opp. the Mill : E.A. 22.12.1780.

Olivebank : E.E.C. 11.1.1810 ('situated on south side of road to Musselburgh').

Peffermill : C.M. 2.5.1758.

Pentland : E.E.C. 26.1.1833.

Pilton : C.M. 13.12.1739.

Plewlans (Queensferry) : C.M. 21.2.1744.

Princes Street, Edinburgh : C.M. 21.6.1784 ('That Lodging or Dwelling Ho. with . . . and pigeon house . . . lately possessed by Miles Thomas under the sign of the Caledonian Hotel. . . . In the *Directory* he is given as a china merchant).

Redford, Gallowlee and Little Fordell : E.A. 2.6.1778.

Restalrig (house opp. old Church) : E.E.C. 4.3.1809.

Riccarton Craig : E.E.C. 12.2.1750 ('poss. by Jas. Cochrane, advocate').

Rosebank : E.E.C. 5.2.1814 ('near Newington').

Roseburn House : C.M. 2.4.1760 ('along with snuff, meal, paper and barley mills').

Rosehall (Gibbets Loan) : E.E.C. 1750.

Rosemount (Corstorphine Road) : E.E.C. 21.2.1801 ('possessed by Lady Maxwell.' In 1803 it is said to be possessed by Lady Belhaven).

St. Catherines : E.E.C. 17.1.1788.

Saughtonhall : C.M. 9.11.1768.

Southhouse (Liberton) : E.A. 28.3.1777.

Stenhouse (Liberton) : E.E.C. 19.2.1789 ('near Liberton, beautiful villa pertaining to Alex. Simpson. . . . A neat small pigeon house').

Stenhouse (Saughton) : see Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, iii. 319.

Wallyford : E.E.C. 20.12.1792 (possessed by Mrs. Colt).

Wheatfield (Piershill) : E.A. 9.1.1810 ('lying near to Jocks Lodge, 32 acres, having a large pond for collecting manure').

Whitehouse (Cramond) : E.A. 28.5.1773.

Woodhall : E.A. 11.7.1775 ('possessed by Will<sup>m</sup> St. Clair of Roslin').

Woodhouselee : C.M. 26.7.1739.

Dovecotes have been put in the past to some strange uses. The dovecote at the Castle of Dalkeith was used in Montrose's

## DOVECOTES IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH 201

campaign as an ammunition dump. James Grant in his *Memoirs of Montrose* (p. 47) writes, 'Rothes and his musketeers captured the Castle of Dalkeith, in the vaults, dovecote and draw well of which he found 48 barrels of powder, 24 barrels of ball, six cart-loads of muskets and two pipes.' We find that a similar use was made of a dovecote near Stirling. On 9th June 1817 'the Guildry of Stirling<sup>1</sup> considering the very alarming consequence that may ensue from merchants or others being allowed to keep quantities of gunpowder in their houses or shops, recommend to the Magistrates to discharge such a dangerous custom and beg leave to suggest to the Magistrates to look out for a proper central place for a powder magazine wherein gunpowder might be deposited with safety, and the Guildry were of opinion that the old dovecote on the South side of the town would be a proper place for such powder magazine. On 8 Nov. 1817 the Magistrates had obtained a plan by Mr. Alan Johnston for converting the pigeon house belonging to the Trades into a gunpowder magazine, the place having been granted by the Trades. The Dean of Guild and his Council are then requested to receive estimates and superintend the business.'

The now destroyed dovecote at Stow was the dwelling place of navvies who were employed on the new Edinburgh to Galashiels road.<sup>2</sup> The rector of Stoke Rivers, near Barnstaple,<sup>3</sup> converted his octagonal cote into an apiary and the owner of one at Buckland-tout-Saints, Devon, made his into a game larder which Mr. Cooke regarded as a reasonable use, as the thick walls provided a building little affected by changes of outside temperature. Mr. Cooke also describes a dovecote called the Round House near Exeter made into a cottage. The old ruined round dovecote at Gunsreen, Eyemouth, has

<sup>1</sup> *Extracts from Records of Stirling Guildry Book.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Story of Wedale*, by Rev. T. Wilson, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *A Book of Dovecotes.*

been used as a granary, as also the square one at Glendoick House, Carse of Gowrie. Another old one at Kilspindie, Carse of Gowrie, was made into a respectable dwelling house and called Ducat House.<sup>1</sup> Those in the Edinburgh area have also been adapted to various uses. The one at Loretto obtained a battlemented top and was made into a Memorial Tower for a deceased Headmaster and it looks very attractive. Others fell to more mundane and humble uses, such as coal stores, garden stores, etc., and although sentiment makes one sorry that these once proud accessories of feudal establishments have lost their manorial functions, at least their inferior functions have fortunately been the means of preserving some of them.

It is a little surprising how few of these old dovecotes are adopted now by pigeons as their homes, although apparently so suited to them, and it is interesting to see how these pigeons, which are in a way semi-wild, stay in the most crowded parts of a city, finding their greatest protection in living close to mankind in the same way as rooks, or the starlings that crowd the trees at Leicester Square at night. They haunt the nooks and crannies of public buildings, churches, libraries, breweries, and grain stores. This habit is not new, for in the *Letters of Theophrastus*, referring to Edinburgh in 1783, he states, 'The Register House is unfinished or occupied by pigeons only.'<sup>2</sup> It is astonishing to see how fearless of motor-cars and trams they are and how they leave their escape from the wheels to a fraction of a second. One sees them doing this in the busiest Edinburgh streets. Unfortunately by their habits they befoul the buildings, and if the Corporation were to adopt the practice of the burghs of 400 years ago, own a columbarium and build it in the city precincts, one wonders if the pigeons would adopt it!

<sup>1</sup> *The Fair Land of Gowrie*, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Grant's Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 119.

William Blake in his *Auguries of Innocence* writes :

'A Dove house filled with Doves and Pigeons  
Shudders Hell through all his regions.'

and I think this would be a good motto for any dovecot.

Finally, I hope that this article may be an incentive to the owners of these old dovecotes in our land to do their best to preserve them as part of our ancient heritage, as so many of them are rapidly disappearing; and I trust that this account of some of them may be useful as a record of them before their final decay.

A. NIVEN ROBERTSON.

## 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.

### 9. MEMORIES OF MORNINGSIDE.

The following excerpts are from a Letter written by Mr. David Chalmers, tenant of Redhall, Colinton, to Rev. Thomas Addis, D.D., for 56 years minister of Free Church, Morningside. The letter is dated from Grand Hotel, Bath, December 1891, and is in the possession of Mr. Daniel Macniven, one of our Club members, by whose courtesy the information it contains is made available.

The writer was a nephew of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, being a son of the Doctor's brother Charles, who was first headmaster of Merchiston Castle. These recollections, from such an authoritative source, form an interesting supplement to Mr. Mair's article in Vol. XXIV. on 'Historic Morningside,' and particularly to the same author's 'Centenary History' of Morningside Parish Church (Edin., 1940).

The writer begins thus: 'Dear Dr. Addis,—My sister wrote to me lately that you had called at Redhall—since I left home in search of health—and that you wished me to furnish you with some memoranda connected with Morningside Church in its origin and earlier stages, more especially referring to events which occurred on or before this month 50 years ago, when you were ordained minister of the Established Church there.'

After referring to Chalmers's Church Extension Scheme, he proceeds: '... If I remember rightly the Dean Church, erected for the then

suburban population of the Water of Leith village, was one of, if not the very first Church opened. . . . I remember Dr. Chalmers preached the opening sermon and the date is fixed in my memory from being the memorable Sunday in June 1837 when there were no afternoon Church services in Edinburgh on account of the very perfect Annular Eclipse of the Sun which I remember seeing so well through smoked glass from Merchiston Castle bartizan. In the latter part of that year (1837) Dr. Chalmers, who had previously lived first at Argyle Square and then occupied for several years No. 3 Forres Street, took a house at 2 Morningside Place where he remained for about a year and he became so pleased with his then quiet country quarters that he fixed on building his later house which he called Churchhill and to which he returned when finished in 1842 from a house at 7 Inverleith Row; he occupied Churchhill for 5 years till his sudden death in 1847. Dr. Chalmers' temporary residence in 1837-8 at Morningside Place naturally suggested to him, in which he was vigorously assisted by many others, the desirability of an Extension Church being erected there as the whole Church-going population of the district, and many beyond, had to travel every Sunday to the Old West Kirk or one of its Chapels of Ease at Gardners Crescent, Buccleuch Street or Newington. . . .'

'... Morningside was at that time a quiet village and villa neighbourhood, where most people could, if they chose, know something of their neighbours high and low, and there were then resident among us several public-spirited gentlemen who became lay leaders in the movement for the erection of the new church and parish. I can well remember their first and subsequent meetings in my father's drawing-room at Merchiston Castle. Their leading and most active layman was George Ross, Esq., Woodburn. He was a younger son and brother of the Ross-shire baronets of Balnagowan and well known in connection with all philanthropic and benevolent associations in Edinburgh, as well as a director of the Bank of Scotland and the like. He took up the Church erection heart and soul, visited it daily while building and contributed by himself and friends largely to its funds. In the Constitution subsequently got from the Assembly the other names in addition to Mr. Ross were:

- (2) Sir John Stuart Forbes, Bart. of Pitsligo and of Greenhill House, where he lived.
- (3) Sir George Warrender, Bart. of Bruntfield House, uncle of the present Baronet.

- (4) Alexr. Falconer of Falconhall, who had been long in India before settling at his princely residence.
- (5) Archd. Anderson, Esq., owning one of the 3 large villas in Bruntsfield Place, a man of great judgment and worth. One of the original Directors of the Commercial Bank.
- (6) Walter Graham, Esq., of Merchiston Lodge, who had retired there from the Civil Service, and whose business talent for details was largely drawn upon for accounts and other Church work.
- (7) Charles Chalmers—my father—who took much interest in the Church and whose large family of Merchiston Castle boys helped largely to fill the new Church, which saved them a long walk to the excellent Dr. Patrick Clason's Church at Buccleuch St., where I attended for 12 years.

I find I was nearly omitting

- (8) Alexr. Thomson, Esq., W.S., of Canaan House, a kind neighbour and very generous subscriber to the Church building.

These trustees were not all members of the Church of Scotland. Two of them were Scottish Episcopalians, Sir John Forbes and Mr. Falconer, and they contributed liberally to the Church funds. Sir John Forbes offered either to give £200 of a subscription or to make over the site on which the Church was on his estate of Greenhill as a free gift. The trustees preferred and gladly accepted the free site instead of burdening the congregation with a perpetual feu.

(Enumeration books for a census of the population of the district and desire of the people for a new Church were issued, and the writer had one assigned to him.)

... I formed a kindly acquaintanceship with that now extinct and rural hamlet Tipperlin. ... James Knox, who had been an eminent land surveyor, occupied the largest and principal house at the south end of the row. ... My youngest brother, James Chalmers, took lessons from Knox in landsurveying, and I recollect we occupied many a summer's early morning in a trigonometrical and geodetical survey of the proposed new parish which was afterwards adopted and confirmed at a meeting of the Presbytery in the new church. ... When Dr. Chalmers joined the Kirk Session, Boroughmuirhead, Merchiston and Tipperlin became his district for visitation as an Elder, and I cannot part with the hamlet of Tipperlin without recalling the spare figure of its patriarch in those days, William Munnoch ... a handloom

weaver. ... I remember there was an early and unsuccessful attempt (since successful) to stop the footpath after passing Tipperlin, and to block up the fine view of the Pentland Hills from the houses and fields beyond the hamlet. ...

... The Committee ... appointed Mr. William Henderson, architect, to draw up plans. He had made the fencing plan for Sir John Forbes' Greenhill property. ... He was also the architect of Trinity Episcopal Church at Dean Bridge, and of several other churches. He afterwards designed Churchhill House for Dr. Chalmers and 7 Churchhill and also Merchiston Castle Bank. The contractors were Mr. William Rae, builder, and Mr. Jas. Watherston for the wood work, whose sons are now large contractors in Edinburgh. ... The only change in the original plan was a "finial" put up on the east gable. This was designed by the architect, and erected in the form of a plain cross. It gave rise to so much criticism, however, among many of the good fashioned Protestants in the neighbourhood that the Committee got it taken down and a Fleur-de-lys erected in its stead. ... The clock which is still in the spire was originally subscribed for and placed in the front of the village school from which it was removed to the Church with the consent of the school trustees. ...

... Some months before the Disruption you and I can remember the meeting held in the Church when Dr. Chalmers took the chair in the precentor's desk and ... produced what was the first collecting book for the Sustentation Fund. ... I am sorry I cannot for the last few years lay my hands on that identical book which was originally ruled, headed and drawn out for use by my father. ... I kept that book as a precious antiquarian relic for long years until it was borrowed from me, I think by my brother—Thomas Chalmers—to show at some sustentation fund meeting, and so it has gone amissing. ...

... The Disruption ... came at last at 18th May 1843, and all the outgoing ministers of old parochial charges ceased forthwith to occupy their old pulpits. This was not the case however at Morningside and the other "quoad sacra" churches, as it was not then clear in law that these churches, built principally by the outgoing party, should be given up without a legal decision. ... When the Wick (?) decision was given, you and your Free Church adherents at once left the church, and failing at first to get the use of the village school the services of one if not two Sundays were held in Dr. Chalmers' own house. He preached (I remember it well) from the flat landing half way up his staircase,

and forms having been brought from Edinburgh and put in the double drawing-room above, and dining-room and study below, with seats on the stair itself and in the lobbies, a goodly sized congregation found room on that interesting occasion to take part in a service and listen to a sermon not to be forgotten. Wm. Bonnar, the eminent artist, had made several coloured sketches preparatory to a large historic picture he intended to paint of that scene. His death put a stop to the picture, but the sketches of various groups remain, and the small rough sketch of the whole interior was bought by me, and now hangs in my house at Redhall. For a few summer Sundays thereafter we got the use of a large tent and erected it in a field now covered with houses and roads opposite what is now Abbotsford Terrace, and near the high road . . . we soon got the use of the schoolhouse, where we worshipped till we got into our new free church in 1844. Our removal from the tent to the schoolhouse was somewhat sudden. After forenoon service in this tent on a windy day . . . some mischievous youths . . . half cut the ropes . . . and it collapsed . . . so we all marched down to the schoolhouse, sent for the key, and continued there till our new church was built.

The only further matter of interest . . . is the building of the 1st Free Church. . . . Wishing to keep as near the village as possible, offers were made to Sir John Forbes for a feu, first on the right hand corner on entering Churchhill Road. . . . This offer was declined . . . and a second was then made for a feu opposite the old post-office at Boroughmuirhead being that now occupied by the United Presbyterian Church off the entrance to the Chamberlain Road, which was not then made. This offer was also declined, and we were led to understand that no feu site on Greenhill Estate would be granted for any Free Church, so further negotiation was closed in that quarter. The next site proposed was that now occupied by a branch of the Bank of Scotland, and partly by the Episcopal Church. . . . The difficulty then was that the level of the proposed ground was so very much below the level of the high road, having been formerly a quarry-hole, and a pond of water which had been partially filled up. . . . As I happened to be on one of the committees for selecting a site I thought I would enquire about the garden ground behind the old Boroughmuirhead House, and which then belonged to a Mrs. Steele and her family, who resided in Morning-side, so I called on the agent, Mr. Peddie, W.S., father of the late Mr. Dick Peddie, M.P. . . . this was soon settled, and the only difficulty

was with the Road Trustees who had then a large depot for breaking and storing road metal . . . declined to give us access through the road metal to the high road, so for a very considerable time we had to find our entrance by the back entrance to the houses near the corner, and walk up behind the wall to the church. We built however the pillars and put up the gate where it now stands, and after some time the late Sir George Clarke, Bart. of Penicuik and M.P. for Midlothian, in driving past saw how things stood, and speedily as chairman of roads allowed proper access by the gate. Mr. James Newlands, architect, afterwards borough engineer for Liverpool, was engaged to make the plans. . . .

' . . . I wish I had been able to be with you to-morrow (17th) to congratulate you on accomplishing your jubilee. It is impossible for you to do more than make perhaps some extract from these old reminiscences. . . . Believe me, Yours sincerely, D. CHALMERS (from Redhall)—now at Grand Hotel, Bath, 16th Dec., 1891.'

#### 10. CONTRACTS FOR TOMBSTONES.

Two samples at least are preserved in the Register House. The first is in the Fraser Collection, and was brought to the Editor's notice by Dr. William Angus. It is in the following terms:

' I S<sup>r</sup> Hugh McCulloch of Piltoun doe hereby oblidge and ordain Mr. James McCulloch my nephew who is to succeid to me to cause build and sett up a decent tomb or monument in the Gray freir Kirk-yard where I am to be interred when God calles me out of this life Like unto Baillie Cheislies or Doctor Youngs tomb bearing my oun and my wifes names & armes with such decent ornaments as is fitting And to erect & finish it and pay the expence of the same within a year after my deceass And if it be found that I have not already remembered the poor by my latter will In that caise I leave to the poore in the good toun of Edinbur<sup>t</sup> five hundreth marks to be payed be the said Mr. James McCullo my executor unto the kirk treasurer for their use In witnes quherof I have subscrivit these presents at Edinburgh the 2 July 1<sup>th</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> eightie eight years befor these witnesses S<sup>r</sup> Hugh Paterson of Bannokburne wreater hei<sup>r</sup>of and Mr. William Lauder wreater in Edinburgh. (Sgd.) HUGH McCULLOCH; H. PATERSONE witnes, WILL. LAUDER witnes.'

Sir Hugh died on 6th August 1688, aged 70; and it is recorded

on the stone that James McCulloch of Pilton, his sole heir, caused erect the monument to the memory and merits of the defunct and his beloved spouse Dame Jean Gibson.

The second example is among the warrants of the Register of Deeds, under date 20th July 1704. It is to the following effect:

'Contract between Jean, Countess Dowager of Sutherland and James Smith, mason, burgess of Edinburgh, whereby the latter undertakes "to erect, build, furnish, and compleatly finish, ane monument or tomb on the burying place in the Abby Church of Holyrudehouse where the corps of the deceisist George Earle of Southerland (of blessed memory) is interr'd, of the demencions, sorts of marble, lame and freestone after mentioned viz., The hail hight of the monument to be nyn foot of measur, and the breadth therof six foot or therby (the projecting of the cornish included) all being of the Corinthian order, finely finished, according to ane draught and scale of the samen of the dait of thir presents subscribed by the saids parties, as the said draught in it selfe will more fully demonstrate, by the scale theron of six foot and ground plott therof, as follous, To witt, The tuo pedestalls wheron is the Trophies of Death, mort head and shank bons, to be of fyne lame from Hamiltone, demensions according to the scale, The Dado betuixt the pedestalls where the Angels head is with the faston of fruit and flours are to be of lame, The sub-bass and bass is to be of fyne freestone from Olivestob, The demencions according to the scale, The moulding for the pannell of fyne whyte marble, The pannell itselke for the Inscription of fyne polished black marble with the inscription fynly cutt, The pillars with their bass and capitalls to be of fyne freestone with the branches of oak with the names of the honorabill branches, The great double coats of armes to be of lame curiously cutt, The tuo Cherub heads on the freus to be of lame, The architraw and cornishes of the forsaid free stone, all of the forsaid order by wignolia"—to be completed by 20th May next (1704); and the Countess is to pay for the same 1000 merks Scots, half at 12th November and the other half on completion of the work. Walter Melvill, herald painter, is surety, and the contract is dated at the Abbey of Holyrudehouse 6th October 1703. (Sgd.) J. W. SOUTHERLAND; J. SMITH, Principal; WALT. MELVILLE.'

The Earl died on 4th March 1703, in his 70th year, and the Countess died at Rosebank, Inveresk, on 5th January 1715. The tomb is on the north wall of the Abbey.

#### 11. NOTES OF A VISIT TO EDINBURGH, 1778.

These are taken from a MS. in possession of Dr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, and kindly made available to the Editor. It is entitled 'Some Cursory Remarks on Various Places seen in travelling begun in July 1778,' and here are some excerpts.

'1778. Lt. Gl. M.<sup>1</sup> came to Edinr. wt. Mr. M-l-l White<sup>2</sup> from London on the 26th of June 1778 by the road through Barnet, St. Albans, . . . and thence to Edinbr. by the way of Kelso.'

#### *Pilrig*

'27th June, they dined at Pilrig, the seat of James Balfour Esqr.<sup>3</sup> It fronts S. easterly, is an oldish House, but good, sizeable and very convenient for living and lodging. It is remarkable for being abundantly *rural* and *pleasant* although within about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile (in a straight line) of the northern skirts of Edinbr. and less than an  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile from the S.W. skirts of Lieth, having the great road between these 2 places at the distance of about 500 yards in its front, with which it communicates by a straight grass avenue between 3 rows of trees on each side and beginning by a gentle descent from the front wall and rail of the garden before the house, with a very good effect to the place; There runs also a pretty patent road (along) behind and on the north side of the house at less than 100 yards from it, but being hid from view partly by a park wall and partly by trees, has not the disagreeable effect that might be expected. It is also to be remarked that before the carriage entry to the house on the east side, there is a short avenue or visto thick beset with trees on each side which gives a good peep of Lieth. Upon the whole Pilrig is happily concealed by planting yet participates of the striking objects about Edr.'

<sup>1</sup> General Robert Melville, LL.D., of Strathkinness (1723-1809), was the elder son of Mr. Andrew Melville, minister of Monimail, Fife, by his wife Helen Whytt of Bennochty. A noted antiquary, he discovered four Roman camps in Angus in 1754. From 1764 to 1771 he was Governor of the West India Islands ceded by France in 1763. He retired from London to Edinburgh in August 1807, and died two years later at No. 133 George Street.

<sup>2</sup> Melvill Whyte was the third surviving son of Dr. Robert Whytt of Bennochty (1714-1766), professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh from 1747, by his wife Louisa Balfour of Pilrig. These 'Cursory Remarks' are in his handwriting.

<sup>3</sup> James Balfour (1705-1795), uncle of John and Melvill Whyte, was professor of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh from 1754 to 1764, when he became professor of the Law of Nature and Nations.

*Inveresk*

' 1778. On the 5th of July, Mr. J. Whyte<sup>1</sup> and Lt. G. M. went on invitation to dine with Mr. D. Rae<sup>2</sup> the advocate. His house is on the N. west end of the elevated ground on which the highest and pleasanter part of this Town stands, and is entered to by a gate (which does not now admit a carriage) on the left hand or Nth east side of the way or street. We walked first through the town to view it which is pleasant and esteemed very healthy being pretty high and on a gravelly soil. There are several genteel enough houses in it, and being considered as a kind of *Montpellier* to Edinbr. there commonly resides here some persons of genteel rank and fortune, at least in the summer season, among whom at this time were Lady Emilia Halkett, Genl. John Stewart, (*blank*) Mr. Rae has a very pleasant neat house, with a semi-circular green plot of a moderate size before it, skirted with young thriving trees which partly conceal the houses of the town, that are too near, but Mr. Rae purposes, after getting a certain high and unseemly one pulled down, to open or at least to cut and crop the trees in the front of the house beyond the green in such a manner as to have a view of the beautiful cultivated country which is on the left or east of the vale that runs up the River Esk to Dalkeith etc. I thought this view might be opened without regard to the abovesaid house which is on the right hand and will be soon concealed by the trees.

His whole plantations consist of about 30 acres of which a considerable part is on the high ground N. eastward from his house, the remainder sloping down to the northward terminates at a high road which divides it from Pinkie House (belonging to the Marquis Tweedale). The beauties of these grounds of Mr. Rae's depend chiefly upon the skirtings of wood and flowering shrubs with which he has inclosed some of his fields and made into pleasant walks in various directions and upon a diversity of ground much frequented by birds especially the blackbird which the humane proprietor does not suffer to be disturbed. The prettiest walk here seemed to be a grass walk running along the top of a bank in a sweeping form from west to east.'

<sup>1</sup> John Whyte of Bennoch, afterwards John Whyte-Melville (d. 1813), was elder brother of Melvill Whyte. He succeeded General Melville in the estate of Strathkinness.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rae, the advocate, was Sir David Rae of Eskgrove (1724-1804), only son of Mr. David Rae, minister at St. Andrews.

*Mill-Bank and Collington*

' July 6th. Mr. John Whyte and I having called in Fountain Bridge on Mrs. Gavin Hamilton<sup>1</sup> (widow) went next about 2 o'clock to Mill Bank, the house of Mr. Jno. Balfour bookseller.'<sup>2</sup>

*Mill Bank*<sup>3</sup>

' The House on the road side, and very small, but an additional building is begun adjoining to the east end, which has been stopt by Mr. George Inglis (of Redhall) the ground landlord, and is now the subject of litigation. The River (or Water) of Lieth passes along the bottom of the banks beyond the Paper Mill buildings and garden about 200 yards or more to the southward of the house. The banks are wooded and very romantick in most places on both sides. Mr. Balfour has some pretty enclosures and along the ridge of the bank westward from the house has made a narrow walk with a thorn hedge on its right side and trees and flowering shrubs. This walk terminates on a small round thatched pavillion situated on a height and commanding very beautiful and striking objects of sight in almost every direction. The descent to the S. from this eminence is by a zigzag road down the face of the planted hill.'

*Collington*

' The House of Sir James Foulis Bart. stands on the hill S.W. on the opposite side of the River, about 400 yards off. We crossed the river on stepping stones. The house is large, and seems to have undergone many alterations since first built, was a post of strength and (*blank*) It has a remarkable back prospect to the Pentland Hills which seem to be about 2 miles south from it. . . .'

Visits were also made to Barnbogle, Hopetoun House, North Ferry, Bennoch, Melville House and Cupar on the way to General Melville's house on Strathkinness estate, then called Craigton now Mount Melville.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Gavin Hamilton (1709-1793) was by birth Helen Balfour of Pilrig and thus aunt of the two visitors. She married in 1732 Gavin Hamilton, son of William Hamilton, principal of Edinburgh University from 1730 to 1732. As a bailie of Edinburgh Gavin obtained some notoriety during the Porteous Riots and the '45.

<sup>2</sup> John Balfour was brother of Mrs. Gavin Hamilton, and had been in partnership with her husband.

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise Kate's Mill. It was destroyed by fire in 1890.

## 12. PORTERS AND TRONMEN.

On 24th July 1694 thirty-one 'workmen, porters and tronmen' in Edinburgh appeared before Bailie Hugh Cunningham in terms of an act of town council dated 13th June, and subscribed a Bond whereby they 'act and oblige themselves' (1) that their ordinary place of residence shall be within the ports of Edinburgh; (2) that every working day they shall wear a white apron, three or four fathoms of 'towes' at their side and the town's badge on their breast, and shall be ready on all occasions night and day (especially in case of fire) to serve the good town, and be discreet careful and faithful in going about any work they may happen to be entrusted with or employed in by any of the neighbours and inhabitants; (3) that they shall pay into a box for the use of the poor of the said society of Porters 6d. scots weekly, to be distributed on the first Monday of May yearly in presence of the youngest bailie; and (4) they shall discover to the youngest bailie those who take upon them to be ordinary workmen porters or tronmen and who have not obliged and enacted themselves as above.

The original or duplicate of this Bond is preserved in the Douglas Collection in Register House.—[Ed.]

## 13. UNRECORDED STONE.

On the back wall of tenement, No. 31 Carnegie Street, immediately above a window on the ground floor, there is built-in an old sculptured stone, of which a sketch is here shown.

The stone is a little over 2½ feet square, and bears what purport to be the heraldic arms of one Thomas Sandilands, with the date 167... underneath. The arms display a bend between two hearts, and seem to be a simplified form of the armorial bearings belonging to some branches of the Sandilands family. It is not now possible to distinguish the tinctures on the shield.

There is reference (*Book of the Club*, vol. xxiv. p. 237) to a Thomas Sandilands, deacon of the wrights and burgess of Edinburgh, to whom the Gallowgreen (top of East Preston St. and Oxford St.) was leased in 1668. He had property in Forrester's Wynd, but there is nothing to connect him with Carnegie Street, which only came into being well

on in the eighteenth century. It can only be surmised that at some time or other the stone was brought from some other place, possibly from the Gallowgreen.



The records show that Thomas Sandilands was twice married, first in 1659 to Jean Robertson (d. 1675), then in 1676 to Catherine (or Christian) Thomson (d. 1697), and he died in June 1699, having buried 8 children. He was survived by one son and three daughters.

The Editor is indebted to Mr. Forbes Gray for pointing out this stone.

INDEX

Abbeyhill House, 198.  
 Abercrombie, Jas., bailie, 107, 118.  
 — Wm., 'outed' minister, 117.  
 Abercromby, Sir Ralph, visits Ainslies of Pilton, 45.  
 Acts of Parliament anent Poll Tax, 92; and dovecotes, 157, 161.  
 Adam, Jas., macer, Court of Session, 107.  
 — Wm., architect of The Drum, 194.  
 — druggist, 124.  
 Adamson (Adamesoun), Alex., 151.  
 Addis, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 204.  
 Advocate, Lord, 2.  
 Aikinhead, David, 119.  
 Ainslie, George, merchant, Bordeaux, buys Pilton, historic ancestry, 39.  
 — George, of Pilton, governor of Scilly Isles, 39-40.  
 — George Robert, eldest son of Sir Philip of Pilton, governor of Dominica, 40; author of *Anglo-French Coinage*, antiquary, one of Crombie's *Modern Athenians*, friend of Scott, 41-2.  
 — Margaret Jane, of Pilton, wife of Lord Doune, afterwards eleventh Earl of Moray, 44.  
 — Sir Philip, of Pilton, 42; purchases part of Craighleith, military career, 39.  
 — Philip Barrington, his reminiscences of Pilton and vicinity; born in St. Andrew Square, career, 43; pen-portrait of Sir Philip, his father, visits to Rocheads of Inverleith, 43; and Drumsheugh, 44-5.  
 — Sir Robert, of Pilton, British ambassador to Turkey, Civil List pension, M.P. for Milbourne Port, baronetcy conferred, numismatist, publishes three volumes of drawings, 40.  
 — Robert Sharp, of Pilton, 40.  
 — Place, origin of name, 44.  
 Aitchison (Achesoun), John, advocate, purchases Drumsheugh, 73.  
 Aitken, John, bookseller, 70.  
 Albany Row, 30.  
 Alexander, Robt., wright, 113.  
 Allan, Michael, Dean of Guild, and Drumsheugh, 74.  
 — Thomas, merchant, nephew of above, 74; and Drumsheugh, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83.

216

Alva, Lord, 86, 87.  
 — Street, building of, 87.  
 Anderson, Archd., original director of Commercial Bank, 206.  
 — Mrs. Agnes Campbell or, 70, 114.  
 — Jas., baker, 115.  
 — Lillias, 12.  
 — William, weaver, 27.  
 Anstruther, Jean, daughter of Sir Philip Anstruther of that ilk, wife of George Ainslie of Pilton, 39.  
 Antiquaries, Society of, 41.  
*Antiquitates Rerickense*, 130.  
 Arbuthnot & Company, 16.  
 Arthur's O'on, Penicuik House, 172.  
 — Seat, 136.  
 Auchendinny, paper mill at, 47.  
 Back Stairs, 135, 141.  
 Baillie, David, apothecary, 113.  
 — Lady Grissel, 103.  
 — James, W.S., 62, 67, 68.  
 Bain, James, feuar of Bainfield, 11.  
 Balfour, Colonel Henry, 36.  
 — James, of Pilrig, 10, 211 and n.  
 — Captain John, 36.  
 — John, bookseller, 213 and n.  
 — Louisa, of Pilrig, 211 n.  
 — & Sons, paper makers, 47, 70.  
 Ballantyne, Helen, 96.  
 Bannatyne, Janet, wife of Geo. Foulis, first of Ravelston, 182.  
 — Club, 132.  
 Bannockburn's 'Land', 97.  
 Barjarg, Lord. See Erskine, Jas.  
 Barabougle, 213.  
 Bassandyne, Thomas, printer, 52, 60.  
 Baxter, —, architect, submits plan for layout of Picardy, 29, 30.  
 Baxters' Incorporation, 71, 72.  
 Bearford's Park, as settlement for French weavers, 8.  
 Beaton, palace of Cardinal, 131, 132, 133.  
 Bedlam, 144.  
 Beeck, Geo., perfumer, 115.  
 Begbie, Patrick, Haddington, 14.  
 Belford Bridge, 72.  
 Bell's Brae, 71, 77.  
 — Mills, 77.  
 Bellevue, 31.

INDEX

Belvidere Tower, 191.  
 Birnie, Sir Andrew, 105.  
 Black Turnpike, 128.  
 Blackfriars monastery, 135; dovecote at, 152.  
 — Wynd, 152.  
 Blacklock, Thomas, 83.  
 Blackwood, Sir Robert, Provost, 90, 109.  
 — Robt., father of Sir Robt., 90, 102, 109, 125.  
 — Wm., merchant, 99, 111.  
 Blair, Robt., schoolmaster, 118, 126.  
 Bleaching, exorbitant prices, 20.  
 Bochart, Francis, silk weaver, 5, 8, 21.  
 — John, 8.  
 — Margaret, 6.  
 Bog's Mill, 47, 70.  
 Bonnar, Wm., artist, 208.  
 Booth Row (Luckenbooths), 97.  
 Borlands, Jas., 124.  
 Boroughmuirhead, 208.  
 Borthwick, Richard, of Falahill, 14.  
 Boswell, Sir A., duel with Stuart of Dunearn, 75.  
 — James, and Drumsheugh, 83.  
 Bothwell, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, 73.  
 — Francis, Provost of Edinburgh, 73.  
 Bower, Geo., weaver, 115.  
 Bowhead, 39.  
 Bowie, —, weaver, 14.  
 Bowling Green, Leith, 199.  
 Braid, mansion of, 64; paper mill at, 66, 67.  
 — Burn, 63.  
 — (paper) watermark, 60.  
 Breusch, Peter, paper maker, 54; printer to James VII at Holyrood, 55.  
 Brewster, Sir D., on Skene's drawings of old Edinburgh, 128.  
 Brickfield House, Restalrig, 198.  
 Bristol Port, 140, 144.  
 British Linen Company, 2.  
 Broughton, I, 9, 21, 73; quarries at, 9; Drumsheugh and, 72.  
 — Hall, 88.  
 — Loan, 2, 9 and n., 12, 29, 31; French settlers at, 8.  
 Brown, Andrew, 64.  
 Brown, Hugh, weaver, 14.  
 — John, of Gorgie Mill, 183.  
 Bruce, Robt., goldsmith, 112, 126.  
 Brunstane, 198.  
 Bruntsfield House, 198.  
 Bryden, Charles, 68.  
 Buccleuch St., Chapel of Ease, 205, 206.  
 Buchanan, Geo., and Sheriffhall, 177.  
 Burden, John, servant, Clerks of Session, 107.  
 Burgh Muir, 73.

Burlaw Court of Leith, 75 n.  
 Burn, Robert, architect, to plan buildings and streets on site of Picardy, 30; offer re property there, 31; pays by instalments, 32; plan for drawing academy, 33.  
 Burnet, Alex., Archbishop of Glasgow, 90, 102, 117.  
 — Sir Thos., H.M. Physician, 117, 126.  
 Burrel, William, barber, 28.  
 Burton, David, glazier, 125.  
 — John Hill, historian, 196.  
 Butchart, Robert, *Skene Drawings of Old Edinburgh*, 127-45.  
 Byres, Sir John, of Coates, 74, 79, 80, 144.  
 Cadell, Wm., paper maker, 47, 70.  
 Cadells & Edington, paper makers, 47.  
*Caledonian Mercury*, 162, 190.  
 Calton, 9, 31; jail, 136; Low, 136.  
 Cambric industry, 17-19; Acts anent, 25-6.  
 Cameron House, 198.  
 Campbell, Sir Colin, of Aberuchill, 101.  
 — Colin, W.S., 106.  
 — General, of Inverneil, 84.  
 Campvere, 58.  
 Canaan House, 206.  
 Candlemaker Row, 7.  
 Candlemakers' Incorporation, 65.  
 Canongate Tolbooth, 135.  
 Canonmills, 136; paper making at, 53, 54, 55.  
 Cant, Christian, wife of Peter Rollock of Pilton, 35, 36.  
 — Ludovic, his 'land,' 97, 107.  
 Cantores, 78.  
 Carlier, Francis, 7.  
 — John, 21, 22, 23, 27, 29.  
 — Thomas, weaver, 6, 7, 21, 22, 23, 25.  
 Carmelite Priory, dovecote at, 153, 172.  
 Carnegie, Sir David, of Pittarow, 99.  
 — St., sculptured stone in, 214.  
 Carnwath, Earl of, and poll tax, 96.  
 Caroline Park, 43.  
 Carrington Church, dovecote at, 153.  
 Carstairs, Robert, W.S., 66, 67.  
 Carse, Clement, weaver, 14.  
 Castle, Skene's drawings of, 134; dove-cote at, 155.  
 — Hill, 135.  
 Castlesteads, dovecote at, 190.  
 Cathcart, Jas., of Carbiston, 120.  
 Cessford's 'land,' 97.  
 Chalmers, Charles, headmaster, Merchiston Castle, 204, 206.  
 — David, Redhall, 204.  
 — Dr. Thomas, and Morningside memories, 204-9.

Chambers, Robt., and Picardy weavers, 2.  
 Chambers's *Domestic Annals* quoted, 53.  
 Charity School, pupils taught spinning, 13.  
 — Workhouse, 140.  
 Charles Edward, Prince, cast of, 41.  
 Charlet, George A., 6.  
 — Jas., weaver, 6, 7, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29.  
 Charter House of Edinburgh, 73.  
 Chenabow, Adam, 7.  
 Chepman & Myllar, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59.  
 Chevalier de Johnstone. *See* Johnstone, Jas.  
 Christie, Christian, 96.  
 — Mary, 96.  
 Christy, John, 194.  
 Churchhill, Dr. Chalmers and, 205, 207.  
 Citadel, Leith, 136.  
 Clark, Alex., merchant, 62.  
 Clason, Rev. Dr. Patrick, 206.  
 'Cleanse the Causeway,' 35.  
 Cleghorne, Thomas, West Pilton, 38.  
 Clerk, Sir James, of Penicuik, 172.  
 — Wm., advocate, 124.  
 Coates, 72, 77, 198; houses called Drumsheugh on estate of, 79; history of lands of, 79-80; feued by Heriot's Hospital to Wm. Keir, baxter, 80; Lady Jane Douglas, 82; Dr. Johnson at, 83; East, 83; estate feued, 85, 87; Skene's drawing of East, 144.  
 Cockburn of Langton, 84.  
 — George, of Pilton, 37.  
 — Henry, *Memorials* quoted, 42, 44, 75, 76.  
 — Wm., merchant, 112.  
 Colinton Castle, dovecote at, 154.  
*Collection of Original Poems*, Blacklock's 83.  
 Colquhoun, John, merchant, 121.  
 Coltridg, 56.  
 Colville of Culross, Alex., Lord, his house at Drumsheugh, 82, 83, 89.  
 — of Culross, Lady, 83.  
 — of Culross, John, Lord, 82.  
 Comiston, dovecote at, 154, 162, 169, 175.  
 — Wells, 54.  
 Commissioner, Lord High, procession, 141.  
 Conleton, Lady, and poll tax, 96.  
 Constable, Archd., and *Reekiana*, 137, 138.  
 Cordiner's Hall, Potterrow, 136.  
 Cormack, John, shipowner, 6.  
 Correction House, 144.  
 Corstorphine, 137; dovecote at, 154, 169, 170, 173, 178.  
 Cowan, Charles, paper maker, 47, 70; *Reminiscences* quoted, 50.  
 Cowgate, Skene's drawings of, 135.

Cowgate, Port, 135.  
 Craig, James, architect, and Picardy, 28.  
 Craigerook, 182, 198.  
 Craigentenny, 198.  
 Craighouse, dovecote at, 170, 171, 180.  
 Craigiehall, dovecote at, 170, 171, 191.  
 Craigleith, part of, purchased by Sir Philip Anshie of Pilton, 39.  
 Craiglockhart, 136.  
 Craigmillar, 136; meal mill at, 54; dove-cote at, 154, 169, 173.  
 Crames, 142.  
 Cramond, 35; paper mill at, 47, 58;  
 — Romans at, 136.  
 Crawford, Wm., of Auchinames, 117.  
 Creech's *Fugitive Pieces* quoted, 47; his 'land' in High St., 142.  
 Creich, Andrew, of Comiston, 175.  
 Crombie's *Modern Athenians*, 41.  
 Cross, Market, 38, 116, 132, 135; Girth, 134.  
 Crosscauseway, Lady Jane Douglas and, 80; buried at Holyrood, 81 n.  
 Crossrig, Lord. *See* Home, David.  
 Cruickshanks, Elizabeth, schoolmistress, 108.  
 Crystal, Hugh, weaver, 115.  
 Cumming, Isobel, schoolmistress, 118.  
 Cummorrig, lands of, 37.  
 Cunningham, Alex., W.S., and Coates, 82.  
 — Bailie Hugh, 214.  
 — Sir Wm., of Priestfield, 7.  
 Daes, Alex., paper maker, 56.  
 Dallas, Chas., vintner, 116.  
 Dalmahoy, Wm., of Ravelrig, 187.  
 Dalry Paper Mills, Water of Leith, 46, 53, 55; contract anent, 56; earliest recorded, 69.  
 Dalrymple, Alex., advocate, 21, 22.  
 — Sir David, Lord Hailes, 181.  
 — David, advocate, 102, 105.  
 — Hew, advocate, 101, 105.  
 D'Assville, Anne, 7, 22, 27; spinning mistress, 13.  
 — Catherine, stamp-master, 28.  
 — Duncan, 27, 28, 29.  
 — John, 7, 14, 21; made burgess, 15.  
 — Nicholas, 6, 7, 26, 27, 28; overtures anent Picardy, 2; articles of agreement with, 3-5; imprisoned by French government, 5; settles in Edinburgh, 7; maintenance of, 8; asks for house for spinning, 11; makes looms, 12, 14; teaches spinning in west country, 12; made burgess, 15; stamp-master of cambrics, 15, 16; looms allotted to, 21.  
 David's Tower, Edinburgh Castle, 155.

Davidson, Yaxly, weaver, 20, 22.  
 Dean, 73, 107; dovecote at, 197, 198;  
 — parish church, 204.  
 — Bridge, 72.  
 — House, home of Nisbet family, 72.  
 — Path, 72.  
 Dellat, Daniel, 25, 27.  
 — John, 8, 21, 23.  
 Denholm, Dame Cecil, 180.  
 Dewar, James, brewer, 67.  
 Dialstone at Drylaw, 186.  
 Dick, Margt., wife of Andrew Creich of Comiston, 175.  
 Dicks of Prestonfield, 183.  
 Dickson, John, candlemaker, 115.  
 Dirleton, Lady, 86, 122.  
 Dolphington, 39.  
 Donaldson, Alex., bookseller, 83, 87, 88.  
 — James, linen manufacturer, 86, 88.  
 — founder of Donaldson's Hospital, 88.  
 — John, 86, 87, 88.  
 Doocot Park, 194.  
 Douglas, Andrew, riding officer, 23.  
 — Archd., 8th Earl of Angus, 174.  
 — Duke of, 80.  
 — Jas., writer to Privy Seal, 125.  
 — Lady Jane, and Coates, 80, 82, 89;  
 — and Chevalier Johnstone, and Peggy Ker, 81.  
 — Lady Margt., 123.  
 — Patrick, secretary to Lord Tweeddale, 68.  
 — Cause, 80.  
 Doull, John, writer, 125.  
 Dovecot Loan, 195.  
 — Villa, Fisherrow, 188.  
 Dovecotes, antiquarian value, reveal national predilections, 146-7; history of old, 147-50; ecclesiastical, 150-3; castle, 154-5; baronial, 156-7; laws relating to, 157-65; superstitions anent, 166-8; architecture, 168-73; description of city and district, 173; circular, 177-8; rectangular, 179; louvred, 191-192; hexagonal, 192-4; square, 194-6; strange uses for, 200-2; motto for, 203.  
 Dowcatt's Land, Cowgate, 152.  
 Drawing Academy at Picardy, 33.  
 Drum, The, dovecote at, 170, 194-5.  
 Drummelzier, laird of, 96, 124.  
 Drummond, Adam, of Binnend, and Drumsheugh, 74, 75 and n., 76, 77.  
 — Elizabeth, daughter of Binnend, and wife of Jas. Stuart (or Stewart), Lord Provost, 74-5.  
 — Geo., keeper of tolbooth, 119.  
 — John, of London, 5.

Drummond, John, of Megginch, 74.  
 — Peter, weaver, 27.  
 — of Blair, 6.  
 Drumsheugh, 44, 45; four mansions bearing the name, district in eighteenth century, 71-2; area in barony of Broughton, divided into two main estates, 72; various owners, 73-4; stone quarries at; Lord Moray's mansion demolished, estate feued, 75; Stanfield's engraving of, 76 and n.; mansions of first Lord President Dundas and Lord Alva in, 78; houses named, on Coates estate, 79; feued, 85; linen factory at, 86, 87, 88. *See also* Mel-drumsheugh.  
 — House, Alva Street, acquired by Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald, 85; house demolished and grounds feued, 87.  
 Drylaw House, 34; dovecote at, 185-6.  
 Duddingston, 136.  
 Duncan, John, baillie, 110.  
 Dundas, Alex., physician, 96, 118.  
 — first Lord President, resides at Drumsheugh, 77, 80.  
 — Robt., of Harvinton, 123.  
 Dunfermline, Earl of, builder of Pinkie House, 189.  
 Dunlop, Alison H., her *Book of Old Edinburgh*, 127.  
 — John C., baillie, acquires Skene's drawings, 127.  
 — Mercer, 127.  
 Dupyne, Nicholas, paper maker, 61, 66, 67; floats Scots Paper Co., 62, 63; mill at Braid, 64-5.  
 Durie family, 38.  
 Dyme, Alexander, 23.  
 Eccles, Wm., physician, 118.  
 Edgar, Patrick, of Peffermill, 54.  
*Edinburgh Advertiser*, 188.  
 — Castle, 41; *Twelve Etchings of*, 144.  
 — *Evening Courant*, 163, 187.  
 — *Notes of a Visit to* (1778), 211-13.  
 Edmonston, Jas., 111.  
 Edmonstone, dovecote at, 170, 196.  
 Elliot, Sir Gilbert, of Stobs, 100.  
 Elphinstone, Sir Jas., of Craighouse, 180.  
 Episcopal Church, Scottish, 85.  
 Erskine, Hon. Andrew, friend of Boswell, 82-3 and n.  
 — Chas., Lord Tinwald, 85-6.  
 — Lady Elizabeth, widow of Alex., Lord Colville of Culross, 82.  
 — Hon. Henry, 86.  
 — James, Lord Alva, house at Drumsheugh, 77, 83.

- Erskine, James, Lord Barjarg, and Drumsheugh, 86.  
 — of Cambus, 87, 89.  
 Esk river, 64.  
 Eskgrove, Lord. See Rae, Sir David.  
 — dovecote at, 179; eighteenth century description of, 212.  
 Exchange Coffee House, 97, 114, 115.  
 — Old, 97.  
 — Royal, 97, 135.  
 Exhibition, Edinburgh (Meadows, 1886), 127.  
 Fairholm, Jas., 104.  
 — John, of Craigiehall, 39.  
 — advocate, 104.  
 — Thos., of Kinglass, buys Pilton, 39.  
 Fairholme's Close, 39.  
 Fairlie, John, of Brunsfield, 36.  
 — of Comiston, 175.  
 Fairlies of Braid, 183.  
 Falconer, Alex., of Falconhall, 206.  
 — Colin, wigmaker, 113.  
 — Jas., of Phesdo, 101, 105, 106.  
 — Sir John, of Balmakellie, 105.  
 Fergusson, Robt., poet, 144.  
 Fernour, Patrick, merchant, 62, 126.  
 Ferrier, Susan, novelist, 195.  
 Fife, Robt., tailor, 121.  
 Finlayson, John, son of Killeith, 36.  
 — Matthew, of Killeith, lawsuit with Rollock of Pilton, 36.  
 — Robt., son of Killeith, 36.  
 Finnie, Wm., tailor, 121.  
 Fire of 1700, 91, 111.  
 Fishersrow, dovecote at, 187.  
 Fishmarket Close, 135, 143.  
 Fives court proposed at Picardy, 29.  
 Fleming, Anne, spinner, 7, 13, 23.  
 — Deskford, 29.  
 — Heber, 7.  
 — Jacob, 7, 25, 26.  
 — Margaret, 6.  
 — Mary, 6.  
 — Robt., owner of *Edinburgh Courant*, 70.  
 Fletcher, Andrew, of Milton, 198.  
 — John, capt. of artillery, 118.  
 Flint, David, Secretary to Board of Manufactures, 4, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 29, 30; keeper of canbrics, 18.  
 Flodden Wall, 140, 141, 155.  
 Flucker, Marion, 94.  
 Forbes of Culloden, Duncan, 6, 91.  
 — Sir John Stuart, of Greenhill, 205, 206, 208.  
 — John, weaver, 14.  
 Ford (Foord), Patrick, M.D., 67.  
 Forrest, Jas., of Comiston, father of Lord Provost, 175.  
 — glazier, 121.  
 Forrester's Wynd, 214.  
 Forth Street, 32, 33.  
 Fothergill, Dr., *Stones and Curiosities of Edinburgh*, 175.  
 Foulis, George, first of Ravelston, 182.  
 — Sir Jas., of Colinton, 213.  
 — Sir John, of Ravelston, 182.  
 — Castle, dovecote at, 184.  
 Fountainbridge, 213.  
 Fountainhall, Lord (Sir John Lauder), 184.  
 Frame, Robert, mason, 11.  
 Francisque-Michel, 1.  
 Frank, John, advocate, 108.  
 Frankland, Wm., 22.  
 French Ambassador's hotel, 135.  
 — Congregation, 7.  
 Galloway's 'Land,' 107.  
 Gallowgreen, 214, 215.  
 Galt, John, and Eskgrove, 180.  
 Garden, Wm., D.D., of Tolbooth Church, 102, 117.  
 Gardner, Thomas, merchant, 19.  
 Garro, Peter, 12, 14.  
 Gartshore, Jas., 'outed' minister, 117.  
 Gatehouse at Drumsheugh, 76, 77.  
 General's Entry, Potterrow, 134.  
 George III, 39.  
 — IV's visit to city, 84.  
 Gibson, Jean, dau. of Alexander Gibson, minister of South Leith, and wife of Sir Hugh McCulloch of Pilton, 37, 38, 122, 210.  
 Girth Cross, 134.  
 Gladstone's 'Land,' 91.  
 Good, Elizabeth, 12.  
 Gordon, Charles, of Cluny, 183.  
 — John, Rotterdam, 6, 16.  
 Gorgie, lands of, offered for weaver's settlement, 8.  
 — Mills, 55.  
 Gourlay, Robt., his mansion, 143.  
 Graham, Walter, of Merchiston Lodge, 206.  
 Grange House, 199.  
 Grant, John, tailor, 115.  
 — Colquhoun, 41.  
 — Jas., *Old and New Edinburgh*, and Picardy weavers, 1, 2.  
 — Robt., writer, 108.  
 — writing master, 125.  
 Granton Castle, dovecote at, 154, 191.  
 Grassmarket, 134, 141.  
 Gravenbrook, Jacob, 13, 23.  
 Gray, Betty, Haddington, 13.

- Gray, Elizabeth, fifth daughter of John, twelfth Lord, wife of Sir Philip Ainslie of Pilton, 39.  
 — W. Forbes, *Notes on the History of Pilton*, 34-45.  
 Gray's Close, 13.  
 Greer, Jas., vintner, 123.  
 Greenhill, 205, 206, 207.  
 Greenpark, 199.  
 Greenside House, 199.  
 Greg, Andrew, surgeon, 13.  
 Grey, Lady Diana, widow of George Middleton of Seton, owner of Drumsheugh, 75 and n.  
 Greyfriars Burial Register, 125.  
 — Church, 136.  
 — Churchyard, 82; burial place of Sir Hugh McCulloch of Pilton, 38, 209.  
 — monastery, 134.  
 — parish, 90.  
 Grieve, John, Lord Provost, 28.  
 Gryther, Pieter, paper maker, 53.  
 Guard House, 135.  
 Guise Palace, 134.  
 'Gushet,' 74, 77, 83.  
 Guthrie, Sir Henry, 120.  
 Hacket, —, physician, 118.  
 Haddo's Hole (St. Giles'), 131, 132, 133.  
 Haero, Peter, paper maker, 53.  
 Hailes, Lord, and Picardy weavers, 1.  
 Half Moon Battery, Castle, 155.  
 Halket, Col., of Drumsheugh, 45.  
 Halket, Lady Emilia, 212.  
 Halyburton, Elizabeth, first wife of Peter Rollock the younger, 37.  
 Hamilton, Chas., son of Bailie Hamilton, 74.  
 — Christian, daughter of Bailie Hamilton, 74.  
 — Duke of, heir male of Douglas family, 80.  
 — Gavin, paper maker, 70; wife of, 213 and n.  
 — Hew, merchant and bailie, of Drumsheugh, 74.  
 — Jas., of Little Earnock, paper maker, 70.  
 — W.S., 106.  
 — John, W.S., 111.  
 — of Muirhouse, 74.  
 — Margt., daughter of Bailie Hamilton, 74.  
 — Wm., weaver, 21.  
 — paper maker, 70.  
 Hangie's House, 143.  
 Harlaw, James, protocol book, 73.  
 Hawthornden, dovecotes at, 148.  
 Henderson, Andrew, tailor, 115.  
 — Malcolm, taverner, 116.  
 — Robt., clerk, White Paper Company, 66, 67.  
 — Wm., architect, 207.  
 Hepburn, Patrick, apothecary, 100, 113.  
 — Robt., of Bearford, 120, 126.  
 Heriot, Alex., schoolmaster, 118.  
 — Bridge, 141.  
 Heriot's Hospital, 72, 134, 140; and French refugees, 1; owners of Picardy, 9; acquires lands of Coates, 80.  
 Hermitage of Braid, 65; dovecote at, 171, 172, 183.  
 Heron's Court, 143.  
 High, John (Joek Heigh), 143.  
 — School of Edinburgh, 84, 118.  
 — St., Musselburgh, dovecote in, 190.  
 Higton, John, merchant, 17.  
 Hills, Benson Earle, actor, 75.  
 Holyrood Abbey, 72, 73, 210.  
 —, 134; printing press at, 55; porch, 132, 134.  
 Holyroodhouse, 41.  
 Home, Archd., paper maker, Dalry, 56.  
 — Cecile, 96.  
 — David, Lord Crossrigg, 91, 102, 106, 124.  
 — Sir Geo., of Kello, Provost of Edinburgh, 90, 91, 101, 110.  
 — George, 102.  
 — Sir Patrick, advocate, 101, 105.  
 — Wm., Unicorn pursuivant, 126.  
 — of Bassenrigg, 108.  
 Home's 'Land,' Forrester's Wynd, 117.  
 Hope Park, 8.  
 Hoppetoun House, 213.  
 Hoppingill, Marion, wife of Clement Maughan, 35.  
 Howison, Thos., schoolmaster, 118.  
 Howletstoun, 37.  
 Hume's monument, Old Calton, 136.  
 — Stables, 141.  
 Hunter, James, of Muirhouse, buys Mel-drumsheugh, 74.  
 Huntly House, 134.  
 Hutton, George, Alloa, 14.  
 — John, paper maker, 47.  
 Inch House, dovecote at, 185.  
 Inchcolm, dovecote at, 153.  
 Inglis, George, of Auchendinny and Redhall, 194, 213.  
 — John, of Auchendinny, W.S., 106.  
 Innerethie estate, 37.  
 Insurance Society, Friendly Fire, 142.  
 Inversok, 212.  
 — Gate, dovecote at, 179.

Inverleith, 43, 73, 122, 199; Rollock of Pilton waylaid at, 36.  
 Ireland, Jean, 96.  
 Irving of Stank, 112.

Jackson, Chas., merchant, 111.  
 — John, Theatre Royal, 28.  
 Jak, John, 73.  
 James IV, 59.  
 — V. bonnet-piece of, 41.  
 — VI, 34, 36; and paper making, 53, 57, 58, 59, 69; hospital, 136.  
 — VII, his printing press at Holyrood, 55.  
 Jamieson, Andrew, merchant, 19.  
 — Deacon, mason, 198.  
 Jericho, house at Drumsheugh, 74 n.  
 Johnson, Dr. Samuel, at Drumsheugh, 83.  
 Johnston, Alex., writer, 111.  
 — Sir Patrick, Lord Provost, 100, 110.  
 Johnstone, Claud, 17.  
 — James, Chevalier de, at Drumsheugh, 81, 82.  
 — William, weaver, 23.  
 Joint Stock Companies, 61.  
 Justice, Christian, wife of John Rollock of Pilton, 37.  
 — Wm., merchant burghess of Edinburgh, 37.

Kate's Mill, Colinton, 70, 213 n.  
 Kay, John, *Original Portraits*, 41.  
 Keir, Wm., baxter, feuar at Coates, 80, 81, 86.  
 Keith, Alex., writer, 100.  
 — Robt., of Fedret, 112.  
 — Bishop, 80.  
 Kellie, fifth Earl of, 82.  
 Kennedy, Katherine, daughter of Gilbert, Lord, 34.  
 — Sir Thos., of Kirkhill, 108.  
 Ker, Colin, weaver, 14.  
 — James, laird of Buchtrigg and Drumsheugh, 82.  
 — John, writer, 14.  
 — Peggy, and Drumsheugh, 81.  
 — Robert, first Earl of Roxburgh, owner of Broughton, 72.  
 Kerr, George, merchant, 67.  
 Kerr's Wynd, Musselburgh, dovecote at, 188.  
 Kersland, Lady, 124.  
 Kincaid, Alex., goldsmith, 113.  
 — Thos., 110.  
 Kincaids of Coates, and Warriston, 79.  
 King, Thomas, weaver, 23.  
 King's Stables, 124.  
 Kinleith paper mill, 47.

Kinloch, Magdalen, wife of Sir Jas. Rocheid, town clerk, 122.  
 Kintore, Wm., of Mounthloan, advocate, 118, 125.  
 — physician, 118, 126.  
 Kirk o' Field, 134.  
 Kirkbrae, 71, 72, 76, 85.  
 Kirkbraehed, 71, 75.  
 Kirkcaldy, Thos., minister, 108.  
 Kirkheuch, 73, 91, 97, 104, 141.  
 Kirkwood's *Plan of Edinburgh*, 79.  
 Knox, James, land surveyor, 206.  
 Knox's house, 134.  
 Kysar (Keysar), Michael, paper maker, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 69.

Lady Yester's parish, 90.  
 Laing, David, wright, 11.  
 Lang Dykes, 71.  
 — Sandy Wood, 44, 75.  
 Lauder, Sir John, Lord Fountainhall, 184.  
 — Wm., writer, 209.  
 Lauriston, Jean Campbell, Lady, 126.  
 — Castle, 123, 136.  
 Laverockbank (Trinity), 199.  
 Law, Andrew, goldsmith, 112.  
 — John, goldsmith, 99, 113, 123.  
 — wright, 94.  
 — Wm., of Lauriston, 91, 122.  
 Lawnmarket, 135.  
 Lawson, George, city treasurer, 110, 112.  
 — John, of the Exchequer, 122.  
 Learmonth, Bailie, his 'land,' 103.  
 — Dr. John, 104.  
 — Thos., advocate, 125.  
 — writer, 96, 104.

Lee, Lady, 101.  
 Leggat, Wm., procurator, 107.  
 Leith, Court House, 134; North, 136; South Church, 136; dovecote on links at, 199.  
 — Street, 12.  
 — Wynd, 136, 140.

Lekpreuik, Robert, printer, 52.  
 Lemans, Gerald, weaver, 22.  
 Leny, dovecote at, 180, 191.  
 Leslie, Geo., bookseller, 113, 114.  
 Lesly, John, weaver, 14.  
 Liberights, James, 21.  
 Liberton, dovecotes at, 147, 170, 171, 172, 175, 180, 185.  
 Liberton's Wynd, 135.  
 Liddell, David, of Lochtullo, granted feu at Pilton, 35.  
 Lind, Alex., of Gorgie, 8, 21.  
 Lindsay, Mr., 2.  
 Lindores, John, third Lord, second husband of Lady McCulloch of Pilton, 38.

Lindsay, Hercules, 'outed' minister, 117.  
 Lindsay, Patrick, Lord Provost, and Picardy, 9, 19.  
 Linen Company of Glasgow, 12.  
 — of Scotland, 2.  
 Lithgow, James, paper maker, 70.  
 — Nicol, maker of paper for Bank of Scotland notes, 70.  
 Lithography, Skene's experiments in, 129, 131.  
 Little, Clement, of Liberton, 180.  
 — Picardy, 2.  
 Livingston, Geo., tailor, 113.  
 Livingstone (Livingstone), George, wright, 67.  
 — James, wright, 67.  
 Lizars, W. H., *Picturesque Views of Edinburgh*, 130, 138.  
 Loch, Sir Henry, 152.  
 Lochend, 136; dovecote at, 154, 169, 177.  
 Lochs of Drylaw, 34, 185.  
 Logie Green House, 199.  
 Loretto School, dovecote at, 197.  
 Lorimer, Geo., *Early Days of St. Cuthbert's Church*, 127.  
 Louis, John, of Merchiston, 14.  
 Luckenbooths, 97, 135, 141.  
 Lyon King of Arms, 84.

McAulay, Archd., merchant, 19.  
 McCulloch, Christian, daughter of James of Pilton, 38 n.  
 — David, sells Pilton, 38.  
 — Ebenezer, 24, 26; to take over management of Picardy, 22; introduces Irish weavers, 23; relieved of Picardy obligation, 25; petitions for assistance, 26.  
 — Sir Hugh, acquires Pilton, knighted, owns lands in Stow parish and estate in Ross-shire, 37; marriage contract, his monument in Greyfriars, 38, 209; bequest to poor, 209.  
 — James, of Pilton, 38, 209, 210.  
 McCullochs of Catholl, 37.  
 McDougal, —, 'Surveyor of Linen,' 12.  
 Macfarlan, Walter, of that ilk, 82.  
 McGill, Alex., architect, 9.  
 Mackenzie, Henry, 'Man of Feeling,' 184, 194.  
 — Sir Geo., his tomb, 136.  
 — James, physician, acquires property in Drumsheugh, 77, 78.  
 — John, merchant, 78.  
 Mackintosh, Duncan, merchant, 109.  
 McKiver, Evander, merchant, 67.  
 McLaren, John, minister, 10.

Maclean, Mrs., of Coll, 187.  
 McLellan, Anna, schoolmistress, 118.  
 — Samuel, bailie, 110.  
 Magdalen Chapel, 82, 135, 144; dovecote at, 152.  
 Maiden, The, 132, 134.  
 Maitland, Chas., of Hailton, 105.  
 Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, 96.  
 Malleny, dovecote at, 171, 183-4.  
 Manes, Denis, paper maker, 62, 63, 66.  
 Mansfield, Lord, 83.  
 Manufactures, Trustees of Board of, their records a true account of Picardy, 2; negotiations with N. D'Assaville, 3; terms of agreement, 3-4; and Picardy ground, 9, 10; and instruction in spinning, 12, 13; lend money to weavers, 16, 17, 18; and cambrics, 19; situation reviewed, 20; efforts to improve industry, 22; two merchants' proposals, 22; their offer accepted, 23; renew contract, 24; petition against illegal trade, 25; change in management, 25; petitioned for assistance, 26; grants discontinued, 27; plan for buildings on site of colony, 28; to sell Picardy ground, 30; accept offer of Robt. Burn, architect, 31, 32, 33; to sell Drawing Academy, 33.  
 Marie, Abraham, 14.  
 — Quentin, 14.  
 Marlin's Wynd, 143.  
 Mason, John, *The Weavers of Picardy*, 1-33.  
 Market Cross, 38, 116, 132, 135.  
 Marshall, Geo., his 'land,' 97.  
 Maughan (Mauchane), Clement, feuar at Pilton, 35.  
 — grandson of above, 35.  
 — James, 'elder of Pilton,' 35.  
 — younger of Pilton, 35.

Maule, Henry, of Kellie, 116.  
 Meadows, Sir Wm., 43.  
 Mealmarket, 123.  
 Meldrumshough (Maldrumshough), origin of name, extent of, 72; various references to, 73; sold to Jas. Hunter, advocate, 74 and n.; later proprietors, 74; Lady Diana Grey and, 75 and n.; Lord Moray owner of, boundaries, 75. See also Drumsheugh.  
 Melville, Walter, herald painter, 210.  
 Melville, John, weaver, 21.  
 — General Robt., discovers four Roman camps, 211 n.  
 — Mill, 47.  
 Menteth, Jas., of Milnhall, 37.  
 Menzies, John, of Cammo, 62, 105.  
 — Wm., city treasurer, 110.

- Merchant Maiden Hospital, 144; spinning lessons at, 13.  
 Merchiston, 137, 199; castle, 205.  
 — Castle Bank, 207.  
 — School, 184.  
 Middleton, George, of Seton, 75 and n.  
 Millbank (Kate's Mill, Colinton), 213.  
 Millholm, near Cathcart, hand-made paper at, 51.  
 Milne, Admiral Sir David, 179.  
 — Jas., architect, 78.  
 — Robt., King's Master Mason, 91.  
*Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*, Chambers's, 138.  
 Mint, 135.  
*Miscellany*, 204-15.  
 Mitchell, Geo., smith, 121.  
 Mitchelson, Robt., notary, 124.  
 Montgomery, Alex., Lord, heirs Pilton, 34.  
 — Major Jas., 122.  
 — John, Master of, owner of Pilton, 34-5.  
 Monzie, Lord, 14.  
 Moray, Francis, ninth Earl of, 39; buys Drumsheugh, tenth Earl demolishes mansion and fous estate, 75, 83; connected with Ainslies of Pilton, 44.  
 — House, 131, 132, 134.  
 — Place, origin of name, 45.  
 Morningside, 200; East, dovecote at, 170, 195; parish church, 204, 207; building of Free Church, schoolhouse, 208.  
 Morrison, Wm., weaver, 23.  
 Morton, Regent, 144.  
 — House, dovecote at, 196.  
 Moesman, Hugh, writer, 162.  
 Mossman, Geo., stationer, 62, 67.  
 Moultrie's Hill, mulberry groves on, 1.  
 Muirhead, Jas., surgeon-apothecary, 99, 100.  
 Muirhouse (Toungs and Forty Acres), 37, 74.  
 Mulderg estate, Ross-shire, 38.  
 Munnoch, Wm., Tipperlinn, 206.  
 Munro, Christian, Inverness, 13.  
 Murray, Alex., of Melgund, 105.  
 — Sir Wm., of Newton House, 174.  
 Murrayfield mills, 55.  
 Musical Festival, 135.  
 Myllar, Andro, 59.  
 Nairn, Jas., merchant and bailie, 67.  
 — John, riding officer, 23.  
 Nantes, Edict of, 1.  
 Napier, Barbara, spouse of Earl of Angus, 174.  
 — John, of Merchiston, 195.  
 Nether Malt Mills, 74.

- Netherbow Port, 135.  
 New Church, 90.  
 — Hailes, dovecote at, 171, 181.  
 — Town, Skene's drawings of, 138.  
 — West Road (Johnston Terrace), 140.  
 Newington, Chapel of Ease, 205.  
 Newland, Deacon, his 'land' in Halkerston's Wynd, 111.  
 Newton House Tower, dovecote at, 174.  
 Nicholson, Bailie, his 'land,' 97, 124.  
 Niddrie, paper mill at, 58.  
 Ninewells, Lady, 122.  
 Nisbet, Gilbert, apothecary, 113.  
 — & Macniven, paper makers, 47, 51.  
 Nisbets of Dean, 73.  
 North Bridge, 136; and Picardy, 31.  
 — Loch, 151, 152.  
 Norvell, Michael, of Boghall, 120.  
 Ogston, Alex., bookseller, 121.  
 Old Back Row, 140.  
 — Drumsheugh House, 77, 78, 79 n., 85.  
 — Kirk parish. See Poll Tax returns.  
 Oliphant, Margt., wife of Wm. Scott of Meldrumshough, 73.  
 Olivestob, 74.  
 Orr, Janet, Cupar, 13.  
 Otterburn, Sir Adam, 193, 194.

- Paper Making, first mills on Water of Leith and Esk, 46; communities there, eighteenth-century mill-owners, 47; old-time process described, 48; improved methods, new raw materials, 49; working conditions, 50; hand-made, 51; effect of printing on, 52; first paper maker, 53; at Canonmills, 54-5; historic importance of Dalry mill, 56-7, 58; earliest record as to, 57; contract with Germans, 58; Scots printing paper, 59-60; watermarks, 60, 62, 66; Scots White Paper Manufactory, 61-3; short-lived venture, 65-6; directors of White Paper Co., new management, 67; local mills, how distributed, 68; early paper makers near Edinburgh, 70.  
 Park, John, 'outed' minister, 108.  
 — Robt., advocate, 108.  
 Parliament House, Skene's drawings of, 135.  
 — Stairs, 142.  
 Paterson, Sir Hew, of Bannockburn, 120, 209.  
 — John, paper maker, 55.  
 Paul, Robert, banker, Drumsheugh, 79 n., 87.  
 Paul's Wark, 136.

- Peffermill, origin of name, 54; dovecote at, 200.  
 Peggy's Mill, Cramond, 47, 70.  
 Peirie, John, H.M. Guards, 119.  
 Penman, Jas., goldsmith, 112.  
 Pesho, Lord. See Falconer, Jas.  
 'Philo Scotus' (P. B. Ainslie), author of *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman*, 42.  
 Phisic Garden, 100, 140.  
 Picardy, French weaving colony, origin, 1, 2; authentic account, 2; skilled French workers, conditions of employment, 3-4; arrival of weavers at Leith, 6; names of five families, 6-7; lodged in Candlemaker Row, 7; various sites for permanent settlement, 8; boundaries, 9; terms of charter agent, 10; houses erected, 11; initial expenditure on village, 12; weavers at work, their enterprise, 12; spinning school, 13; apprentices, 14, 15; trade difficulties, 17; developing cambric industry, 18, 19; colony declines, 20; Dutchmen imported, 20-21, 22; allotment of looms, 21; management of colony by two merchants, 23; Irish weavers introduced, 23; looms increased, results, 24; French competition in cambrics, 25; losses, McCulloch and Tod agreement annulled, 26; further decline, 27; ruinous buildings, 28; new road through colony, 29; buildings and streets at, 30; slow sale of houses erected by Burn, 32; memorial against paying public burdens, 33.  
 — Place, 12, 32, 33; formation of, 30.  
 Pigeon houses as part of estates, 156.  
 Pilrig House, eighteenth-century description of, 211.  
 Pilton (Pylkoun), lands of, 122, 200; mansion burnt, Lords Montgomery of Eglinton early owners, charters, 34-5; granted to Peter Rollock, feued to Maughan, 35; acquired by Sir Hugh McCulloch, 37; sold to Thomas Fairholm of Kinglass, later to George Ainslie, merchant, 39; distinguished members of Ainslie family, 39-46; reminiscences of, by P. B. Ainslie, 42-5.  
 — Lord, judicial title of Peter Rollock of Pilton, 35.  
 — East, 34 n., 37, 38.  
 — West, 34, 37, 38, 43.  
 Pinkerton, Somerville, 29.  
 Pinkie, 212; dovecote at, 173, 188-9.  
 Pitcairn, Dr. Archd., 82.  
 — John, paper maker, 47.

- Pittiedie's 'land,' 97.  
*Playing About*, 75.  
 Polain, Absalom, 23.  
 — Claud, 8, 21.  
 — Mary, 27.  
 Poll Tax returns (seventeenth century), incomplete, 90-1; inception and details, 92-5; rating not too severe, 93; how returns were rendered, 94; variable nature, 95; particulars required, 98; *Old Kirk Parish*, boundaries, 96-7; servants, apprentices, 99-100; maid-servants, 100-3; respectability, 103; lawyers predominate, 104-8; merchants, 108-12; crafts more numerous than merchants and lawyers, 112-15; vintners, 115-16; ministers and physicians, 117-18; schools, 118; widows of gentlefolk, 121; supplementary returns, 124-6.  
 Porteous, Jas., weaver, 23.  
 Porters and Trommen, 214.  
 Potterrow, 136.  
 Pow, Robt., schoolmaster, Leith, 122.  
 Prestonfield (Priestfield), 54.  
 Prestonpans, battle of, 41.  
 Priestfield. See Prestonfield.  
 Princes Street, Skene's drawings of, 137.  
 Principality lands of Pilton, 34.  
 Pringle of Craigend, 108.  
 Proy, Charles, 7, 12, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27.  
 — John, 21.  
 — Marion, 6.  
 Purves, Sir Wm., of Abbeyhill, 199.  
 Queen Street, 30; extended east, 29.  
 Queensferry Road, old, 72, 76, 77.  
 Rae, Bailie, his 'land,' in Conn's Close, 125.  
 — Sir David, of Eskgrove, 212 and n.  
 Ravelrig, dovecote at, 186.  
 Ravelston, dovecote at, 171, 181-2.  
 Redford, 200.  
 Redhall, 204, 208, 213; paper mill at, 70; dovecote at, 169, 171, 172, 192-4.  
 Reedmaker, Chas. P., 6.  
*Reekiana*, Robert Chambers', 138.  
*Reekiana*, Skene's drawings for proposed, 129.  
 Regalia, discovery of, 134.  
 Regent Bridge, 136.  
 Register House, General, 34, 46, 61, 63; as refuge for pigeons, 202.  
 Reid, John, owner of *Edinburgh Gazette*, 70, 99, 114.  
 — Wm., writer, 124.

- Restalrig, 36, 136, 200; paper making at, 55, 70.  
 Richardson, Janet, daughter of Patrick, of Meldrumshough, first wife of Francis Bothwell, Provost of Edinburgh, 73.  
 — Patrick, of Meldrumshough, 73.  
 Roberts, David, R.A., 76 n.  
 Robertson, A. Niven, *Old Dovecotes in and Around Edinburgh*, 146-203.  
 — Daniel, 'outed' minister, 117.  
 — David, treasurer, White Paper Company, 66.  
 — Jas., surgeon, 14.  
 — advocate, 117.  
 — Thos., his 'lands,' 91, 97, 104, 106, 110, 111, 122, 123.  
 — Wm., weaver, 14.  
 Rocheid, Sir Jas., of Inverleith, town clerk, 120, 122.  
 — Janet, daughter of Sir James, town clerk, and wife of David Dalrymple, advocate, 105.  
 Rocheids of Inverleith, intimacy with Ainslies of Pilton, 43, 44.  
 Rollo, Andrew, of Duncrub, 35.  
 Rollock, Christian, daughter of Peter Rollock, the younger, 37.  
 — John, of Pilton, 37.  
 — (Rollock), Peter, granted charter of Pilton, Bishop of Dunkeld and Lord of Session, 35; accompanies James VI to London, attempt on his life, 36; his descendants, 37.  
 — younger of Pilton, 37.  
 Romieu, Paul, watchmaker, 113.  
 Rosebank, 'near Newington,' 200.  
 Rosebery, Archd., first Earl of, buys lands of Coates, 80.  
 Roseburn, 8, 200.  
 — House, 55, 57; formerly mansion of Dalry mills, 58.  
 Rosehall, 200.  
 Rosemount, Corstorphine Road, 200.  
 Ross, George, Woodburn, 205.  
 — John, Inverness, 14.  
 Rowan (Rowane), Thos., 152.  
 Roxburgh, Earl of. *See* Ker, Robert.  
 Royal Society of Edinburgh, 128.  
 Royston, 43, 136.  
 Ruddiman, Thos., 70.  
 — Walter, printer, 70.  
 Russell, Gideon, of Dalry Mills, 56-7, 69; grants lease, 58.  
 — Mungo, father of Gideon, 57, 69; trading activities, 58-9.  
 St. Anthony's Chapel, 136.  
 — Bernard's Well, 75, 136.  
 St. Catherine's, Liberton, 200.  
 — Cuthbert's Church, 71, 79 n., 127, 205.  
 — George's Church, Free, 79 n.  
 — Giles', Skene's drawings of, 135.  
 — Leonards, 136.  
 — Margaret's Well, 136.  
 — Mary's Cathedral, 85.  
 — Roque's Chapel, 136.  
 — Thomas's Aisle (St. Giles'), dovecote at, 152.  
 Saline, Lord. *See* Birnie, Sir A.  
 Sandiland, Robt., merchant, 122.  
 Sandilands, Thos., deacon of wrights, 214-215.  
 Saughton, 55.  
 Saughtonhall, 200.  
 Scheill, Wm., merchant, 110.  
 Sciennes nunnery, 136.  
 Scot, John, printer, 52.  
 — Walter, of Gairdenschall, 8.  
 Scots White Paper Manufactory, 61, 66; changes management, 67.  
 Scotsman letter re 'Ancient Villages of Edinburgh,' 2.  
 Scott, Elizabeth, wife of David Touris, 73.  
 — John, 73.  
 — Margt., wife of John Scott, 73.  
 — General Thos., of Maleny, 184.  
 — Sir Walter, and General Ainslie of Pilton, 41-2; proposes to co-operate with Jas. Skene in producing *Reekieana*, 129-33; plan frustrated, 138.  
 — Wm., owner of lands and houses in the Dean, 73.  
 — wright, 113, 115.  
 — W. R., his *Joint Stock Companies* quoted, 53, 62, 65.  
 — of Greenhill, 108.  
 Scotts of Maleny, 183.  
 Sorymeour, David, of Gartmore, 120.  
 Sculptured Stones and Inscriptions, Skene's drawings of, 137.  
 Sedan chairs, 143.  
 Sellar (Seillar), John, paper maker, 56, 58, 69.  
 Service, Jas., wright, 115.  
 Seton, Sir Alex., of Pitmedden, 101, 120.  
 — John, goldsmith, 100.  
 — treasurer, Geo. Watson's Hospital, 199.  
 Shand, Jas., H.M. Trumpeter, 119.  
 — taverner, 116.  
 Sharpe, C. Kirkpatrick, 137.  
 Shawfields Lodging, Riddel's Court, 127.  
 Sheriffhall, dovecote at, 170, 171, 172, 176.  
 Shiells, Widow, 9, 31.  
 Short, Jas., schoolmaster, 118.  
 Simpson, Wm., paper maker, 47.

- Sinclair, Matthew, physician, 118.  
 Skelton, Sir John, 183.  
 Skene, Jas., of Rubislaw, his drawings of old Edinburgh, history of, artist's career, 127; Sir D. Brewster's tribute to, 128; *Reekieana*, proposed publication, Scott to supply letterpress, 129-30; details, 131-3; project abandoned, 137-138; himself writes MS. to illustrate drawings, 138-9; value of drawings, 139; notes on some of them, 140-5.  
 — Thos., advocate, 102, 105.  
 Skinner, R. T., *A Notable Family of Scots Printers*, 88.  
 Slateford, paper mill at, 70.  
 Slezzer, Capt., and poll tax, 96, 119.  
 Smith, Jas., mason, 210.  
 — John, sergeant, 123.  
 — Susan, Glasgow, 13.  
 Smollett, Jas., commissary of Dunblane, 106.  
 — Tobias, 106.  
 Somerville, Lord, of Drum, 177, 194.  
 — Nicol, writer, 107.  
 South Bridge, building of, 128.  
 Southgate Press, 59.  
 Southhouse, Liberton, 200.  
 Spalding, Jas., flax-dresser, 7, 8, 13.  
 Spence, Andrew, messenger, 107.  
 — David, merchant, 19.  
 — Thos., writer, 62, 67.  
 Spinning school, Gray's Close, 13.  
 Springfield Mill, 47.  
 Spylaw, paper mill at, 70.  
 Stanfield, Clarkson, R.A., his engraving of Drumsheugh, 76 and n.  
 Steedman, Robt., minister, 118.  
 Steele, Patrick, vintner, 116.  
 Steill, Geo., baker, 115.  
 Stenhouse, Gavin, baker, 124.  
 — (Saughton), 200.  
 — Villa, Liberton, 200.  
 Steuart, Archd., assumes name of Douglas, 80.  
 — Sir John of Grandtully, 80.  
 Stevenson, Jas., advocate, 121.  
 Stewart, Archd., Lord Provost, and Drumsheugh, 21, 86.  
 — General John, 212.  
 — Margt., wife of Gideon Russell, Dalry Mills, 56.  
 — Robt., clerk of the Bills, 107.  
 Stirling, Sir Jas., Lord Provost, 30.  
 — Mary, second wife of Peter Rollock the younger, 37.  
 Stone, unrecorded, 214-15.  
 Storer's *Views in Edinburgh*, 130, 138.  
 Strachan & Cameron, paper makers, 47.  
 Stuart, Prof. Geo., 187.  
 Stuart, Jas., Lord Provost, 75.  
 — of Dunearn, W.S., 75.  
 Sustentation Fund (Free Church), origin of, 207.  
 Sutherland, Geo., Earl of, his tomb at Holyrood, 210.  
 — Jas., keeper of Physic Garden, 100.  
 — Jean, Countess Dowager of, 210.  
 Suttie (Suittie), Geo., 106, 124.  
 Swan, Robt., printer, 94.  
 Symmer, John, merchant, 125.  
 — Robt., H.M. Lifeguard, 125.  
 Tailors' 'land,' 124.  
 Tarbet, Geo., Viscount, 101, 119, 120.  
 Taverners, 116; women, 102.  
 Telfer Wall, 144.  
 — Thos., builder of Dean Bridge, 72.  
 Temple Lands, Grassmarket, 141.  
 Tennent, Andrew, taverner, 116.  
 Tennis court, Holyrood, 134.  
 Teviot Row, 144.  
 Thomas, Miles, china merchant, 200.  
 Thomson, Alex., W.S., of Canaan House, 206.  
 Tinwald, Lord. *See* Erskine, Charles.  
 Tipperlinn, 206, 207.  
 Tod, Jas., writer, 108.  
 — Wm., 24, 26; and management of Picardy, 22; introduces Irish weavers, 23; relieved of Picardy, 25; petitions for assistance, 26.  
 Tolbooth Church, 117.  
 — of Edinburgh, 67, 134, 142.  
 — parish, 90.  
 Tombstones, contracts for, 209-10.  
 Touris, David, gives infentment of 'Meldrumshough,' 73.  
 — of Garmeltoun, Sir George, 56.  
 — John, of Inverleith, 56, 73.  
 Towers, Sir David, 101, 123.  
 Town Council, 12, 99, 102, 109, 118; act anent purchase of Picardy, 9 n.; suggests Picardy be disposed to them, 30; objects to sale of Picardy, 31; memorialised by Picardy proprietors, 32; and paper making, 55; and quarries at Drumsheugh, 74.  
 — Wall, Telfer extension, 144.  
 Traquair, Christina, Countess of, 39.  
 Trinity Church, Dean Bridge, 207.  
 — College, 136, 142; public washing place near, 101; dovecote at, 151-2.  
 Tron parish, 108; kirk, 135, 142.  
 Tronmen, 214.  
 Trotter, Jas., writer, 123.  
 Twelve Apostles, Cowgate, 135.

- University Library, 180.  
 Urie, Andrew, 'outed' minister, 117.  
 Usher of the White Rod, 84.
- Vaus, Robert, corn mill in Drumsheugh, 73.
- Waits, Town, 114.  
 Waldegrave, Robt., King's Printer, 59.  
 Walker, Barbara, of Coates, 77, 78, 84.  
 — Mary, of Coates, 77, 78, 84, 85.  
 — Sir Patrick, of Coates, 84, 87.  
 — Wm., of Coates, buys property at Drumsheugh, 78, 79, 83, 84.  
 — John, ale-seller, 116.  
 — & Co., paper makers, 47.  
 — Trust, 84-5, 87.
- Walkers of East Coates, their mansion, 79.  
 Walkinshaw, Clementina, 120.  
 Wallace, John, merchant, 121.  
 — Prestonpans, 14.  
 — Sir Wm., supposed portrait of, 41.  
 Warrender, George, Lord Provost, 110.  
 — Sir Geo., of Bruntsfield, 205.
- Warriston, Kincaids of, 79.  
 Washing place, public, 101.  
 Water Gate, 134.  
 — of Leith, 55, 64, 69, 71, 72, 75, 76.  
 — supply, 91.
- Waterston, Robert, *Early Paper Making near Edinburgh*, 46-70.  
 — Wm., 'outed' minister, 117.
- Watson, John, merchant, 123.  
 Watt, John, of Roshill, 100.  
 — vintner, 116.  
 — Robt., merchant, 100.
- Weaving industry. See Picardy.  
 Weigh House, 127, 135.  
 Weir, Jas., of Tollcross, and Drumsheugh, 78.  
 — Dr. T. G., sells Old Drumsheugh House, 78.  
 Well House tower, 134.  
 Wemyss, Sir John, of Bogie, 122.  
 West Bow, Skene's drawings of houses in, 128, 135.
- West Bow Kirk. See St. Cuthbert's.  
 — Port, 134.
- Westby, Wardell, 86.  
 Weston, Elizabeth, widow of John Fairlie of Bruntsfield, and second wife of Peter Rollock of Pilton, 36.  
 Whatman, Jas., the second, 60.  
 Wheatfield (Piershill), 200.  
 Whin Mill Brae, 197.  
 White Horse Inn, 135.  
 Whyte, John, nephew of Jas. Balfour of Pirig, 211 n.  
 — Melvill, 211 n.  
 Whyte-Melville, John, of Strathkinness, 212 and n., 213.  
 Whytt, Robt., of Bennoch, Prof. of Medicine in Edinburgh University, 211 n.
- Wightman, Provost, 8.  
 Wilkie, Hugh, weaver, 14.  
 — John, tailor, 116.
- Wilson, Sir Daniel, *Memorials of Edinburgh* quoted, 1, 2.  
 — John Clark, 44; *Lands and Houses of Drumsheugh*, 71-89.  
 — Wm., writer, 107.
- Windmill (Crosscauseway), 80.  
 Winrams of Liberton, 185.  
 Wishart, John, of that Ilk, 122.  
 Witchcraft, 174.
- Wood, Alex., surgeon ('Lang Sandy Wood'), 44.  
 — Marguerite, *Edinburgh Poll Tax Returns*, 90-126.  
 — Capt. Robt., 119.  
 — Thos., Broughton, his lands, 9, 12, 31, 75.
- Wood's *History of Cramond* quoted, 34.  
 Workhouse, spinning taught at city, 13.  
 Wrightshouses, 137.  
 Wylie, —, bailie, 121.
- Yester, paper mill at, 63, 66, 67.  
 Yorkston, Mungo, goldsmith, 100.  
 — Thos., goldsmith, 111.  
 Young, Sir John, of Leny, 105.  
 Youngs of Leny, 191.

## APPENDIX

THIRTY-SIXTH, THIRTY-SEVENTH  
AND THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC.

## REPORT OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 8th February 1944.

The Right Hon. Lord Provost William Y. Darling, C.B.E., M.C., Hon. Vice-President of the Club, presided.

The Thirty-sixth 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 the honour to submit its Thirty-sixth Annual Report. It records with deep regret the death of eleven members during the year, one of whom was the Honorary President, The Most Honourable the Marquess of Ailsa. When Earl of Cassillis he joined the Club shortly after its foundation in 1908, and until 1938—when he removed from Edinburgh to reside in Culzean Castle—was a regular attender at the Club Lectures and Excursions. Those who were privileged to know his Lordship will retain pleasant memories of his kindness, and his desire to assist in furthering the interests of the Club. As Honorary President he gave loyal and constant support to the members of Council.

Mention of the services of the late Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., may also be permitted. A member since the inception of the Club, Mr. Sanderson served on the Council at various periods, and many members will recall two lectures which he gave—one in 1930 on the William Cowan Collection of *Early Maps and Engravings of Edinburgh*, and the other in 1932 on *Portraits in Mezzotint after Scottish Artists*, a subject on which no one was so well qualified to speak.

It is gratifying to learn that Mr. Sanderson has bequeathed his valuable collection of pictures and engravings of Edinburgh to the Public Library, thus providing for members of the Club a means of extending their knowledge of Old Edinburgh.

The customary summer excursions were well attended.

On the evening of 24th May 1943, at Ravelston, Mr. R. T. Skinner told the story of the old quarries of Ravelston and (by kind permission of Mr. and Miss Stuart Clark) led members through the gardens with the interesting relics of the old mansion.

At Restalrig on 26th June, the Rev. R. B. Notman was at once host and historian of the church and its predecessors—the twelfth-century Chapel, the fourteenth-century Church and the fifteenth-century Collegiate Church. Fragments of these older fabrics were explained by Mr. James S. Richardson.

Craigmillar Castle, which by the courtesy of Lady Mary Gilmour was visited on 7th July, had its various architectural features described by Mr. Richardson.

Of this winter's programme of Lectures, the first, 'The Memorials of Hope Park,' was given by Mr. Forbes Gray on 27th November; the second, 'The Office of Lyon in Scotland,' will be delivered in the Goold Hall on 5th February by Sir Francis J. Grant, K.C.V.O., LL.D.; and the third, 'The National Library of Scotland and its Manuscripts,' by Dr. H. W. Meikle, C.B.E., on 11th March.

The Council is indebted to the various contributors to Vol. XXIV of the Book of the Club, of which a copy ought now to be in the possession of every member who has paid at least two yearly subscriptions since 1940. Contributions to Vol. XXV are already being received by the Editor, who will be glad to receive more from members who have made researches into any aspect of Edinburgh history. The Editor will also welcome suggestions for articles.

Besides the long monographs members are reminded of the 'Miscellany' section which may provide scope for those who have not opportunity for writing lengthy articles.

During the year three members resigned and fourteen were admitted. The Roll is at the maximum.

In view of the enhanced costs of printing and binding, the Club will either have to increase the annual subscription or extend the Roll of members. The Council recommend that the Roll be increased to admit of 400 individual members, the subscription in the meantime remaining unchanged.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1943

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS
I. Funds at 1st January 1943:—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£250 0 0	
In Bank on Current Account, . . . . .	36 17 6	
	£286 17 6	
II. Subscriptions:—		
Year 1943—		
Due 326 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£171 3 0	
" 29 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	15 4 6	
	£186 7 6	
Less—In Arrear—		
3 Members and 1 Library, . . . . .	2 2 0	
	£184 5 6	
Add Subscriptions in arrear paid and Subscriptions paid in advance—		
1941—2 at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£1 1 0	
1942—17 at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	8 18 6	
1944—20 at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	10 10 0	
	20 9 6	
		£14 12 10
		39 11 6
		8 8 0
		11 14 1
		£350 0 0
		70 19 7
		420 19 7
III. Extra Payments for Volume 24, . . . . .	204 15 0	
IV. Old Volumes Sold, . . . . .	3 3 0	
	0 10 6	
	£495 6 0	

The Cost of Printing, Binding and Issuing Volume XXIV amounts, approximately, to £450, and still falls to be paid.

A. A. MIDDLETON, Hon. Treasurer.  
C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., Hon. Auditor.

EDINBURGH, 7th January 1944.—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1943, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

## REPORT OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 6th February 1945.

The Right Hon. John I. Falconer, Lord Provost, Hon. Vice-President of the Club, presided.

The Thirty-seventh 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 regrets to record the deaths of twelve members during 1944. Mr. James Smith, M.I.E.E., one of these members, gave considerable service to the Club alike as a member of its Council and as a contributor to the Book of the Club. In his *Story of Craigentenny*, in Vol. XXII, Mr. Smith has given what is probably the only reliable account of the remarkable Edinburgh Quaker family of Miller. The material for his narrative he obtained from various descendants in England. Mr. Smith further contributed to Vol. XXIII, the *Story of Piershill*.

In the summer of 1944 there were evening excursions to St. Patrick's Church off the Cowgate which, built in 1791 as an Episcopal Chapel, still holds the three fresco paintings of Alexander Runciman (1736-1785). From the Church members walked to St. John's Hill where, in the garden behind his Sealing Wax Factory, Mr. Waterston told of such distinguished residents of the Hill as Professor John Hutton 'the father of Geology,' Professor John Robison, the Balfours, famous as divines, physicians and botanists, and Sir James Crichton Browne and his brother, John Hutton Balfour Browne, K.C.

The second excursion comprised a visit to the Magdalen Chapel and a visit to Greyfriars Churchyard. In the Magdalen Chapel Mr. W. Forbes Gray told of the various episodes associated with the building from 1541, and Mr. James S. Richardson described its pristine appearance with the hospital—long ago demolished—on its west side, its doorway on the west, its altar and other appurtenances. Some

heavy showers of rain unfortunately drove many from Greyfriars. Those who remained were informed by Mr. H. M. Paton of the differences between the legendary account of the Covenanters' prison there and the documentary history: while Mr. J. S. Richardson pointed out tombstones remarkable for their sculpture, etc., and mentioned that the coats-of-arms now dimly seen were once gloriously resplendent in the vivid colours and metals of heraldry.

The third outing was to the twelfth-century Church of Duddingston. There the Rev. W. Serle, B.D., its Minister, kindly acted as host, and after giving a résumé of its history and of some interesting parishioners of former centuries, he conducted the party round the Manse garden with its memories of Sir Walter Scott and his friend, the Rev. John Thomson, Minister of Duddingston. Mr. Richardson described the alterations that had been made on the fabric since medieval days.

Of the winter programme of Lectures the first was given on 27th January by Dr. Douglas Guthrie who described 'Medical Aspects of Old Edinburgh.' The second, which will be given on 24th February by Mr. R. Butchart, F.L.A., the City Librarian, will deal with 'James Skene's Water Colour Sketches of Old Edinburgh,' and the third, by Dr. A. Niven Robertson, on 24th March, will be on the 'Old Dovecotes in and about Edinburgh.'

On the chief work of the Club, the compilation of the 'Book,' the Editorial Committee make the following Report:—'Sufficient articles have been offered to justify the hope that a new volume may be forthcoming about the end of the present year. The contents will be of a more miscellaneous nature than those of the last two volumes, for while there are studies of particular localities, such as *The Lands and Houses of Drumsheugh*, by Dr. J. Clark Wilson, and *Notes on the Lands of Pilton*, by Mr. W. Forbes Gray, there are articles on the *Picardy Weavers' Settlement*, by Dr. John Mason; *Early Papermaking in Edinburgh*, by Mr. Robert Waterston; *Old Dovecots in and about Edinburgh*, by Dr. A. Niven Robertson; *Poll Tax Returns at the end of 17th Century*, by Dr. Marguerite Wood. There is also the *Miscellany*, a continuation of the new feature introduced in Vol. XXIV.

'An unavoidable circumstance of the hour is the considerable interval between issues of the Book of the Club, and the Committee appreciates the patience exercised by members in this matter. There are three factors which operate in connection with the production of a volume. First, congestion in the printing and publishing trade, owing

to war-time demands, shortage of staff, scarcity of paper, etc. With their customary courtesy Messrs. T. & A. Constable have hitherto endeavoured to meet the situation with sympathy and consideration, and it is hoped that difficulties will again be satisfactorily smoothed out. Secondly, increased costs of production mean either an increase in the yearly subscription or an increase in the number of members. This latter expedient was adopted at the last annual meeting, and the result has been eminently gratifying. It is desirable that volumes should be of a reasonable size, not so thin as to spoil the appearance of the series; but it is hoped that two years' finances at the present membership will cover the cost. Thirdly, although one or two members have at considerable inconvenience and the sacrifice of much of their rare leisure devoted time and talent to provide articles for another volume, there has not been as yet much response to the reiterated appeals for new writers of articles. There are some contributors who, as is well known, have done far more than their share in providing material for the Book; and however willing they may be to come to the rescue and co-operate in making a success of the volume, it is unfair to encroach further on their liberality when there must be many fellow members who have knowledge, even specialised knowledge, of certain features of Old Edinburgh, its arts and crafts, trades and professions, *et omnia*, and have a pen sufficiently facile to express that knowledge. And if the thought of a lengthy article scares them, surely many members have titbits and items of interest which could find a place in the *Miscellany*, which accepts anything from a dozen lines to a couple of pages or more. The Editor renews his invitation to members old and new to make some contribution, long or short, so that the day may be long postponed when the Book of the Club must die out for lack of support. With a view to aiding them in their choice and decision, it is intended in the forthcoming volume to print a list of subjects connected with Old Edinburgh upon which further light may be thrown, and for which there is in many cases some material already collected which can be made available to potential contributors. The Editor and the members of his committee will be only too glad to guide and assist enquirers in this direction.'

It only remains to mention that as a result of the decision made by the members at the Annual Meeting on 8th February 1944, to extend the Roll to 400 individual members, that limit has been reached.

It is gratifying that only one member resigned during the year.

**Old Edinburgh Club**

**ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER**

For the Year ended 31st December 1944

**RECEIPTS**

I. Funds at 1st January 1944:—	
In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£350 0 0
In Bank on Current Account, . . . . .	70 19 7
	£420 19 7
II. Subscriptions Received:—	
368 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£193 4 0
29 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	15 4 6
	£208 8 6
Less 20 Subscriptions paid in advance, . . . . .	10 10 0
	£197 18 6
<i>Add—</i>	
3 Subscriptions in Arrear paid, . . . . .	£1 11 6
17 Subscriptions paid in advance, . . . . .	8 18 6
	10 10 0
	208 8 6

*Note: 2 Subscriptions remitted without giving name or address. 6 are in arrear.*

III. Extra payments for volumes sold, . . . . .	15 4 6
IV. Bank Interest Received, . . . . .	3 17 11
	£648 10 6

**PAYMENTS**

I. Cost of Production and Issue of Volume 24, and other Printing and Stationery, . . . . .	£470 3 0
II. Postages, Hall Rent, Sundry Outlays, . . . . .	10 0 0
(Including Income Tax, 1943-44, £1, 5s.)	
III. Funds in hand at 31st December 1944:—	
In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£100 0 0
In Bank on Current Account, . . . . .	68 7 6
	168 7 6

A. A. MIDDLETON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 10th January 1945.—I have examined the Intronsmissions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1944, 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.*

**REPORT OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB**

THE Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 27th February 1946.

The Right Hon. John I. Falconer, Lord Provost, Hon. Vice-President of the Club, presided.

The Thirty-eighth 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 the honour to submit its Thirty-eighth Annual Report.

During 1945 the Club has added ten new members while it has lost two members by resignation and four by death. The Roll now comprises 363 individual members and 29 libraries.

The summer excursions were well attended. On 16th May 1945 a visit was paid to the Exhibition in the Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, where Mr. James S. Richardson narrated the facts associated with such Edinburgh relics as two finely carved stones of 1540—one from a building in the Lawnmarket, the other from the vicinity of the Netherbow; two mid 19th century paintings of the city—formerly hung in the House of Dean; an 18th century pulpit from Parliament House used by the Crier—and sometimes wrongly called John Knox's pulpit; Deacon Brodie's sword stick; and the chair and the Court of Session gown of Sir Walter Scott.

On the evening of 20th June an exceptionally large company assembled in the gardens of Swanston Cottage, where Mr. J. M. Bowman, M.Inst.C.E., F.R.S.E., occupier of the cottage, vividly described the incidents associated with the house and its surroundings—the home of R. L. Stevenson, whose father and mother were its tenants from 1869 to 1880. The Queen Anne and rose gardens were traversed: the gargyles and finials that once decorated the Hie Kirk of St. Giles were shown, while the rooms of the cottage with relics of R.L.S. and his nurse were examined.

The historic 17th century George Heriot's Hospital School was visited on 25th July when Mr. William Carnon, the Headmaster, and Mr. William Gentle, Headmaster emeritus, addressed the company in turn on 'The Influence of George Heriot on the School To-day' and 'The History of the Founder and of the School.' Among the items of historical interest shown was a letter to Heriot from Anne, Queen of James VI., requesting the loan of a large sum of money.

Among the apartments visited were the Council Chamber with its unique table and with its ornately carved mantelpiece; and the Chapel, memorable by reason of its rich stained glass windows and finely carved ceiling and walls.

The lectures arranged for this winter are:—On 13th March in Goold Hall, 'Architecture of Old Edinburgh,' by Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., Vice-President (Mr. James S. Richardson will read the lecture for Mr. Kerr, who is unable to be present); and on 27th March, 'Edinburgh in Lord Provost Drummond's time,' by W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E. Mr. Stanley Cursiter, R.S.W., Director, described the Scottish pictures in the Scottish National Galleries on Wednesday, 20th February.

With regard to the Book of the Club the Editor reports that while conditions in the printing trade still interfere with the rate of progress and cause the issue of a volume to fall behind schedule, every effort is being made to get Volume XXV into the hands of members during the early spring. Its contents are as follows:—

1. The Weavers of Picardy, by John Mason, M.A., Ph.D.
2. Notes on the History of Pilton, by W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E.
3. Early Paper Making near Edinburgh, by Robert Waterston.
4. Lands and Houses of Drumsheugh, by John Clark Wilson, M.D.
5. Edinburgh Poll Tax Returns, by Dr. Marguerite Wood.
6. Skene Drawings of Old Edinburgh, by R. Butchart, F.L.A.
7. Old Dovecotes in and around Edinburgh, by Dr. A. Niven Robertson.
8. Miscellany.

The Editorial Committee is indebted to those members who have so unselfishly devoted time and talent to the preparation of papers, and extends a cordial invitation to all members, old and new, who are interested in any aspect of Old Edinburgh to share their knowledge with fellow members by contributing an article or giving a lecture. A short

list of subjects suitable for research is subjoined, by way of guidance, and many other fields of study will occur to lovers of Auld Reekie. The pages of the Miscellany are likewise available to receive old Letters, etc., descriptive of urban life and personalities, or brief notes on any relevant subject.

*List of Subjects suitable for Treatment*

Crafts, Trades and Professions; Domestic Service; Events and Notable Incidents; Foreign Settlers in Edinburgh; House Accommodation and Letting; Markets and Fairs; Market Gardening; Monuments and Memorials; Reminiscences and Diaries; Sanitation; Shops and Booths; Shows, Pageants and Tableaux; Societies, Clubs and Coteries not hitherto noticed; Sports and Games, Competitions, etc.; Street Names, urban and suburban; Taxation; Traditions and their Trustworthiness; Transport; Union Canal; Wells and Water Supply.

Information on many of the above subjects is available in the Edinburgh Room of Edinburgh Public Library, where there is also deposited a fine collection of Note Books compiled by Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1945

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS
I. Funds in Hand 1st January 1945 :—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipt, . . . . .	£100 0 0	
In Bank on Current Account, . . . . .	68 7 6	
	£168 7 6	
II. Subscriptions Received :—		
359 Members at 10s. 6d., £188 9 6		
29 Libraries at 10s. 6d., 15 4 6		
	£203 14 0	
Less 17 paid in advance 8 18 6		
Add—	194 15 6	
5 Arrears paid, £2 12 6		
14 Prepaid subscriptions 7 7 0		
	9 19 6	
III. 1 Volume sold, . . . . .	204 15 0	
	1 1 0	
	£374 3 6	
		£29 2 2
		11 5 0
		3 13 6
		330 2 10
		330 2 10

A. A. MIDDLETON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 14th January 1946.—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1945, 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

### 1944-1945

*Honorary Patrons*

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL  
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

*Honorary President*

THE HONOURABLE LORD ST. VIGEANS, LL.D.

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*Honorary Editor*

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WILLIAM ANGUS.  
HENRY W. MEIKLE, C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt.

*Honorary Auditor*

C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., 4A York Place.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### LIST OF MEMBERS

*Surviving Original Members marked \**

AIKMAN, J. S., 43 Jeffrey Street.  
Ailsa, The Most Honourable The Marchioness of, Culzean Castle,  
Ayrshire.  
Alison, Arthur, J., K.C., 46 Heriot Row.  
Allan, Mrs. Alicia, 6 Castlelaw Road, Colinton.  
Allan, Mrs. C. A., 40 Park Road.  
Allan, Eric, M. A., 40 Park Road, Leith.  
Allan, F. H., 33 Inverleith Gardens.  
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Leny House, Muthill, Perthshire.  
Anderson, Mrs. Arthur, 29 Montpelier.  
\*Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 11 Forres Street.  
Anderson, W. J., 24 Blantyre Terrace.  
\*Angus, William, LL.D., 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., 12 Viewforth Square.  
  
BAIKIE, WILLIAM, 23 Blackwood Crescent.  
Balfour, Miss Marie, Edinburgh Public Library.  
Balfour-Melville, Evan W. M., D.Litt., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.  
\*Barrie, John A., 11 Lady Road.  
Barrie, William, c/o Miss Balfour, 18 East Preston Street.  
Bartholomew, John, M.C., M.A., 12 Duncan Street.  
Birrell, J. Hamilton, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.G.S., 51 Lauderdale  
Street.  
Blackie, V. Grant, 7 Hatton Place.  
Blair, Hugh A., C.A., New Club, Princes Street.  
Bonar, John J., W.S., Eldinbrae, Lasswade.

## OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

15

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.  
Bucher, Mrs. Beatrice, 17 Mayfield Gardens.  
Burness, William, Queen's Avenue, Blackhall.  
\*Burnett, Rev. Will, B.D., 17 Thorn Lane, Roundhay, Leeds.  
Burnside, Rev. John W., M.A., 19 Carriagehill Drive, Paisley.  
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 Edinburgh University Library, per James Thin, 54 South Bridge, Edinburgh, 1.  
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## CONSTITUTION

- I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'
- II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.
- III. The membership of the Club shall be limited to three hundred and fifty. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, countersigned by a proposer and a seconder who are Members of the Club. The admission of Members shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have full discretionary power in filling up vacancies in the membership as these occur.
- IV. The annual subscription shall be 10s. 6d., payable in advance on 1st January. Any member whose subscription is not paid within four months from that date may be struck off the Roll by the Council.
- V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Editor of Publications, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes. Representatives to such Committees may be appointed from the general body of Members. At meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and at meetings of the Council seven.
- VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.
- VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.
- VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and the Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and the Auditor for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall hold stated meetings in April and October, and shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club. Papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear. Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual Meeting of the Club. Notice of any proposed alteration must be given in writing to the Secretary, who shall intimate the same by circular to each Member not less than seven days prior to the meeting. No alteration shall be made unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present at the meeting.

## CONTENTS OF PREVIOUS VOLUMES

### VOLUME I

- PROVISIONAL LIST OF OLD HOUSES REMAINING IN HIGH STREET AND CANONGATE OF EDINBURGH. By BRUCE J. HOME. *With a map.*
- THE EMBALMING OF MONTROSE. By JOHN CAMERON ROBBIE.
- THE PANTHEON: AN OLD EDINBURGH DEBATING SOCIETY. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- SCULPTURED STONES OF OLD EDINBURGH: THE DEAN GROUP. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*
- THE BUILDINGS AT THE EAST END OF PRINCES STREET AND CORNER OF THE NORTH BRIDGE: A CHAPTER IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH. By WILLIAM COWAN.

### VOLUME II

- EDINBURGH AT THE TIME OF THE OCCUPATION OF PRINCE CHARLES. By WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE. *With illustrations.*
- THE FLODDEN WALL OF EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations and a plan.*
- THE COVENANTERS' PRISON IN THE INNER GREYFRIARS YARD, EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations.*
- THE CANNON-BALL HOUSE. By BRUCE J. HOME. *With illustrations.*
- THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH: II. THE WEST-END AND DALRY GROUPS. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*
- AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SURVIVAL: THE WAGERING CLUB, 1775. By JAS. B. SUTHERLAND.
- AT THE BACK OF ST. JAMES'S SQUARE. By JAMES STEUART. *With illustrations.*
- EDINBURGH STREET TRADERS AND THEIR CRIES. By JAMES H. JAMIESON. *With illustrations.*
- OLD CELLARS AND RELICS DISCOVERED DURING THE EXCAVATIONS FOR THE NEW CHAPEL AT ST. GILES' CATHEDRAL. By FRANCIS CAIRD INGLIS. *With illustrations.*
- STATUES OF JUSTICE AND MERCY, FROM THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE. By THOMAS ROSS, LL.D. *With illustrations.*

### VOLUME III

- THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH. By SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms. *With illustrations.*
- THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations and a map.*
- AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRIDAY CLUB, WRITTEN BY LORD COCKBURN, TOGETHER WITH NOTES ON CERTAIN OTHER SOCIAL CLUBS IN EDINBURGH. By HARRY A. COCKBURN.
- THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH: III. MISCELLANEOUS. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*
- THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT SQUARE: BEING AN HISTORICAL NOTICE OF THE SOUTHERN PRECINCTS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. GILES, EDINBURGH. By RALPH RICHARDSON. *With an illustration.*
- LADY STAIR'S HOUSE. By THOMAS B. WHITSON. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME IV

- GEORGE DRUMMOND: AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LORD PROVOST. By WILLIAM BAIRD.  
*With a portrait.*
- THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH: IV. WRYCHTIS-HOUSIS. By JOHN GEDDIE.  
*With illustrations.*
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS (First Article). By JOHN A. FAIRLEY. *With illustrations.*
- AN OLD EDINBURGH MONUMENT NOW IN PERTHSHIRE. By THOMAS ROSS, LL.D.  
*With illustrations.*
- THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDLY CONTRIBUTORS OF RESTALRIG. By Rev. W. BURNETT.  
*With an illustration.*
- RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND RESEARCHES AT HOLYROOD. By W. T. OLDRIEVE. *With plans.*

VOLUME V

- SAINT MARGARET OF SCOTLAND AND HER CHAPEL IN THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.  
By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations.*
- THE SITE OF THE BLACK FRIARS' MONASTERY FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY. By WILLIAM COWAN. *With illustrations.*
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- MOUBRAY HOUSE. By ANDREW E. MURRAY. *With illustrations.*
- LETTERS FROM JOHN BONAR TO WILLIAM CREECH CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF THE SPECULATIVE SOCIETY. By Rev. HENRY PATON.

VOLUME VI

- DAVID'S TOWER AT EDINBURGH CASTLE. By W. T. OLDRIEVE. *With illustrations.*
- THE INCORPORATED TRADE OF THE SKINNERS OF EDINBURGH, WITH EXTRACTS FROM THEIR MINUTES, 1549-1603. By WILLIAM ANGUS.
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.

VOLUME VII

- THE HOLYROOD ORDINALE: A SCOTTISH VERSION OF A DIRECTORY OF ENGLISH AUGUSTINIAN CANONS, WITH MANUAL AND OTHER LITURGICAL FORMS. By FRANCIS C. EELES. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME VIII

- THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL, COWGATE, EDINBURGH. By THOMAS ROSS and G. BALDWIN BROWN. *With illustrations.*
- THE VISITATION OF THE COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH IN 1690. By R. K. HANNAY.
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- JOHN WESLEY IN EDINBURGH. By W. FORBES GRAY. *With illustration.*
- THE ANCIENT REGALIA OF SCOTLAND. By W. MOIR BRYCE.

VOLUME IX

- INCIDENTS AND DOCUMENTS, A.D. 1513-1523. By R. K. HANNAY.
- SHIPPING AND THE STAPLE, A.D. 1515-1531. By R. K. HANNAY.
- EDINBURGH ENGRAVERS. By JOHN C. GUY. *With illustrations.*
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- THE SEDAN CHAIR IN EDINBURGH. By JAMES H. JAMIESON. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME X

- THE BURGH MUIR OF EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE.

VOLUME XI

- MAP OF EDINBURGH IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By HENRY F. KERR.  
*With map.*
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- SHELLEY IN EDINBURGH. By WALTER EDWIN PECK (M.A., Columbia). *With illustrations.*
- ON THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE. By R. K. HANNAY.
- THE TAILORS' HALL, COWGATE. By THOMAS ROSS, G. BALDWIN BROWN, and W. FORBES GRAY. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME XII

- NOTES ON THE NAMES OF THE CLOSES AND WYNDYS OF OLD EDINBURGH. By CHARLES B. BOOG WATSON.
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- THE MAPS OF EDINBURGH, 1544-1851. By WILLIAM COWAN.
- MEASURED DRAWINGS OF LAWNMARKET AND CASTLEHILL MADE BY THOMAS HAMILTON, ARCHITECT. By F. C. MEARS. *With plates.*

VOLUME XIII

- THE BUILDING OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE. By R. K. HANNAY and G. P. H. WATSON. *With illustrations.*
- BEARFORD'S PARKS. By WILLIAM COWAN.
- LIST OF OWNERS OF PROPERTY IN EDINBURGH, 1635. By CHARLES B. BOOG WATSON.

VOLUME XIV

- A NOTE ON HUNTLY HOUSE. By WILLIAM COWAN.  
 THE OLD TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH. By HENRY F. KERR. *With illustrations.*  
 THE CANONGATE CRAFTS: AN AGREEMENT OF 1610. By ANNIE I. CAMERON.  
 MYLNE SQUARE. By the late IRVINE A. STIRLING.  
 THE SCULPTURED STONES OF THE 'ROYAL MILE.' By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*  
 THE GARDENS OF THE CASTLE. By C. A. MALCOLM.  
 SOME INNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By JAMES H. JAMIESON. *With illustrations.*  
 REMINISCENCES OF A TOWN CLERK. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by  
 W. FORBES GRAY.

VOLUME XV

- THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF THE BURGH, 1554-1589. By MARGUERITE WOOD.  
 THE SANCTUARY OF HOLYROOD. By HUGH HANNAH. *With plan.*  
 SCULPTURED STONES OF THE 'ROYAL MILE': II. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*  
 THE OLD INFIRMARY AND EARLIER HOSPITALS. By ROBERT THIN. *With illustrations.*  
 THE BURLAW COURT OF LEITH. By DAVID ROBERTSON.  
 THE MELVILLE MONUMENT. By W. FORBES GRAY.

VOLUME XVI

EXTRACTS FROM BANNATYNE CLUB PUBLICATIONS:

INTRODUCTION. By W. FORBES GRAY.

TEXT:—

- A DIURNAL OF OCCURRENTS, 1513-1575.  
 JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH, 1573.  
 HISTORIE AND LIFE OF KING JAMES THE SEXT, 1566-1596.  
 DIARY OF JOHN NICOLL, 1650-1667.  
 HISTORICAL NOTICES OF SCOTISH AFFAIRS, 1661-1688. By Sir JOHN LAUDER  
 of Fountainhall, Bart.  
 SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH, 1689.

VOLUME XVII

- SIR DANIEL WILSON: THE MAN AND HIS WORK. By HUGH HANNAH. *With portrait.*  
 'COCKPEN HOUSE,' CASTLEHILL. By H. A. COCKBURN.  
 SCULPTURED STONES OF THE 'ROYAL MILE': III. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With  
 illustrations.*  
 ST. PAUL'S WORK. By MARGUERITE WOOD.  
 GABRIEL'S AND OTHER OLD ROADS. *With map* compiled by HENRY F. KERR.  
 CHARLES II. STATUE, PARLIAMENT SQUARE. By E. J. MACRAE.  
 THE INCORPORATION OF CANDLEMAKERS OF EDINBURGH, 1517-1884. By W. FORBES  
 GRAY. *With illustrations.*  
 THE GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE. By HENRY M. PATON. *With plan.*

VOLUME XVIII

- EARLY GOLF AT BRUNTSFIELD AND LEITH. By C. E. S. CHAMBERS. *With  
 illustrations.*  
 STATE CEREMONIALS IN EDINBURGH IN THE OLDEN TIME. By FRANCIS J. GRANT,  
 C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.  
 THE BARONY OF CALTON: PART I. By HENRY M. PATON.  
 GEORGE IV. BRIDGE AND THE WEST APPROACH. By DAVID ROBERTSON. *With two  
 maps.*  
 INCORPORATION OF CORDINERS OF THE CANONGATE, 1538-1773. By C. A. MALCOLM.  
*With illustrations.*  
 NOTES ON LANDS OF HIGH RIGGS, DRUMDRYAN, AND TOLLGROSS. By JOHN SMITH.  
*With illustrations.*  
 THE QUARRYING OF SALISBURY CRAGS. By W. FORBES GRAY.

VOLUME XIX

- THE HAMMERMEN OF THE CANONGATE: PART I. By MARGUERITE WOOD.  
 SOCIAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By JAMES H. JAMIESON.  
*With illustrations.*  
 THE BARONY OF CALTON: PART II. By HENRY M. PATON. *With illustration.*  
 BONNINGTON: ITS LANDS AND MANSIONS. By JOHN RUSSELL. *With illustrations.*  
 THE MUSICAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH AND ST. CECILIA'S HALL. By W. FORBES  
 GRAY. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME XX

- THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF THE CANONGATE. By H. M. ANDERSON. *With plan.*  
 DALRY HOUSE: ITS LANDS AND OWNERS. By JOHN SMITH. *With illustrations.*  
 THE MAGISTRATES AND MASTERS OF LEITH. By DAVID ROBERTSON.  
 THE HAMMERMEN OF THE CANONGATE: PART II. By MARGUERITE WOOD.  
 AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RIDING SCHOOL. By W. FORBES GRAY. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME XXI

- GENERAL INDEX, VOLUMES I-XX. Compiled by W. FORBES GRAY.

VOLUME XXII

- THE ROYAL EXCHANGE AND OTHER CITY IMPROVEMENTS. By W. FORBES GRAY.  
A NOTE ON THE HOPETOUN MONUMENT. By W. M. PARKER. *With illustration.*  
THE EDINBURGH CHARITY WORKHOUSE, 1740-1845. By ARTHUR BIRNIE. *With illustration.*  
EASTER AND WESTER CROFTS OF BRISTO. By JOHN SMITH. *With illustrations.*  
THE INCORPORATION OF THE TAILORS OF THE CANONGATE. By W. H. MARWICK.  
MEDICAL QUACKS IN EDINBURGH IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.  
By ROBERT THIN.  
THE BUILDER OF PILRIG HOUSE. By JOHN RUSSELL. *With illustration.*  
THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH—I. By F. C. MEARS and JOHN RUSSELL. *With illustrations.*  
THE STORY OF CRAIGENTINNY. By JAMES SMITH.  
PETER WILLIAMSON'S BROADSIDE. By WILLIAM J. HAY. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME XXIII

- THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH: PART II. By F. C. MEARS and JOHN RUSSELL.  
*With maps.*  
GLEANINGS FROM SCOTTISH EXCHEQUER REPORTS. By W. FORBES GRAY.  
THE STORY OF PIERSHILL. By JAMES SMITH. *With illustration.*  
THE NEIGHBOURHOOD BOOK. By MARGUERITE WOOD.  
NOTES ON AN OLD LAWSUIT ABOUT DUNDEE MILLS. By HENRY M. PATON.  
*With sketch-plan.*  
ST. LEONARDS LANDS AND HOSPITAL. By the late JOHN SMITH and HENRY M. PATON.  
LORD KAMES AND THE NORTH BRIDGE. By THOMAS McCRAE. *With plans.*

VOLUME XXIV

- DIARY OF GEORGE SANDY, APPRENTICE W.S., 1788. By CHARLES A. MALCOLM.  
*With illustrations.*  
HISTORIC MORNINGSIDE: LANDS, MANSIONS AND CELEBRITIES. By WILLIAM MAIR.  
*With map and illustrations.*  
THE BORE STONE. By HENRY M. PATON.  
'ALL THE STATELIE BUILDINGS OF . . . THOMAS ROBERTSON'—A BUILDING  
SPECULATOR OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By MARGUERITE WOOD.  
THE LANDS OF NEWINGTON AND THEIR OWNERS. By W. FORBES GRAY. *With map, plans and illustrations.*  
LANDS OF ST. LEONARDS: SOUTHERN SECTION. By HENRY M. PATON. *With illustrations.*  
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MISCELLANY. *With illustration.*

Printed in Great Britain  
by T. and A. CONSTABLE LTD.  
at the University Press  
Edinburgh

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Tin  
Aug. 9, 1946.

