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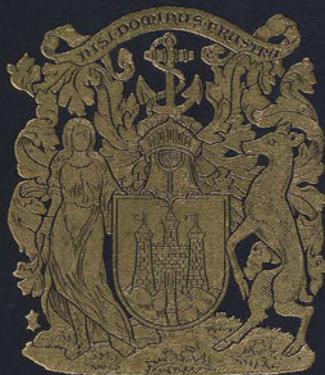
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OLD EDINBURGH CLUB



THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Issued to Members  
January 1953

[736]

THE BOOK OF THE  
**OLD EDINBURGH**  
**CLUB**

TWENTY-EIGHTH VOLUME



**EDINBURGH**

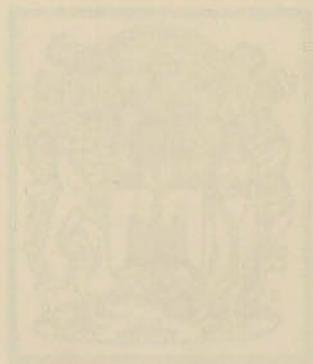
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**1953**



THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH  
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TWENTY EIGHTH VOLUME



EDINBURGH

PRINTED BY T. AND A. LEITCH, LTD.  
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1928

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## THE MINUTES OF THE TRADES MAIDEN HOSPITAL

By

Rev. Edwin S. Towill, B.D., B.Ed., F.S.A.Scot.

THE Trades Maiden Hospital, or more correctly 'The Maiden Hospital founded by the Craftsmen of Edinburgh and Mary Erskine,' is comparatively unknown to our citizens, or is confused with its sister institution the Merchant Maiden Hospital, which has become the Mary Erskine School. Yet for two hundred and fifty years the institution of this name has continued in the midst of our city to fulfil the original terms of its benefaction by maintaining and educating daughters of the citizens. That today it remains, with John Watson's School, as the last of the old hospitals to survive changing conditions, would alone give its records a certain importance, but they are valuable also in that they provide a firsthand picture of life in a Scottish charity school in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and at the same time show something of the decline from power of that interesting institution, the Conventry of Trades.

The Trades Maiden Hospital was one of the earliest of the hospital or charity schools which formed a distinctive feature of education in the eighteenth century both in England and Scotland. In the former country the movement gave rise to such famous institutions as the Blue Coat School; in our own land it has left us the great merchant schools and similar endowed seats of higher education.

The Reformation struck grievously at Scottish education, as much of the patrimony of the ancient Church which had been earmarked for educational endowment disappeared into the pockets of a rapacious nobility. When the reformers attempted to lay the foundations of a new educational system

in the Book of Discipline, the Privy Council refused it the sanction of law, and many of its provisions remained unrealised until last century. In the landward parishes elementary education was fairly well provided for, but the towns suffered most, as, with the increase of population, the burgh grammar school and the few parish schools were quite inadequate for the needs of the children. Not until the nineteenth century was the State ready to accept responsibility for education, and into this gap of some three hundred years stepped a remarkable group of private benefactors whose generosity provided schooling for a large group of poorer children.

In 1623 the George Heriot endowment set an example for benefactors whose names are remembered in our schools today—Mary Erskine, George Watson, James Gillespie, Jean Cauvin, John Watson, James Donaldson, William Fettes and Daniel Stewart. It is significant that, with the exception of the French teacher Cauvin, all these were of the wealthy burgh class which since the Reformation was all-powerful in civic life; significant also that their bequests were for the children of 'decayed or deceased burgesses,' guild freemen of the city. They were in no way charity schools in the later sense of that word as schools for the 'depressed poor.'<sup>1</sup> It should also be noted that these were all 'hospital schools,' boarding and clothing the pupils as well as providing education. Indeed, the terms of some of the bequests indicate that the idea of education was secondary to the provision of home and maintenance. As time passed, however, and the educational standard in the hospital schools was raised, and as, for girls, education elsewhere was expensive and limited in scope, the demand for admittance came from those to whom maintenance was not the major necessity. The social status of the hospitals tended to rise until, during last century, there was a move to

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *Hist. Edin.*, 1847, quotes Dr. Guthrie as saying that if he had his way he would turn every hospital in Edinburgh into a Ragged School.

change the name from The Trades Maiden Hospital to 'Rillbank Institution for Young Ladies.'

#### THE FOUNDATION OF THE HOSPITAL

The Trades Maiden Hospital owed its existence to the rivalry between the merchants and the trades or craftsmen of the city. The story of the growth and decline of these bodies has been told elsewhere. In 1661 the merchants, particularly the cloth merchants, consolidated their position against the rising power of the various trades by securing a charter for the Company of Merchants of Edinburgh. Membership dues of the company were set aside, as was customary, for charitable purposes, and the new body assumed as one of its duties the supervision of charity for its members.

Thirteen years after its foundation the Merchant Company was called upon to undertake the administration of one of its largest benefactions when notification was made that one Mary Erskine, relict of James Hair, druggist in the High Street, had mortified 10,000 merks, to be administered by them 'for the maintenance of burgh children of the female sex.' They appealed for public subscriptions to augment the bequest through 'the fund for the lasses,' and within three years opened 'The Maiden Hospital, founded by the Merchants of Edinburgh and Mary Erskine.'<sup>1</sup>

The foundation by their rivals of this female counterpart to Heriot's stirred the Incorporated Trades to action. By the year 1704 they had gathered funds, obtained Town Council support, purchased a suitable house and opened their

<sup>1</sup> At first situated in Bristo, just outside the Port, the Merchant Maidens later moved to the handsome classical building which stood at the foot of Archibald Place. When the Infirmary was built on the site of George Watson's Hospital, the boys moved into this building and the girls moved again to the Hopetoun Rooms at the West end of Queen Street, where they remain today under the title of the Mary Erskine School.

own hospital school.<sup>1</sup> Three years later, before the dissolution of the last Scottish Parliament, both the new schools were regularised by Acts laying down suitable constitutions.

After this Act had been passed, Mary Erskine, who had assisted the merchants so liberally with their school, came forward and donated such a large sum to the Trades Maidens that she was given the title of co-foundress, and it was decreed that in perpetuity two governors should be chosen from the family of Erskine—a connection which, in the person of the Earl of Mar and his representatives, has been maintained until this day. Thus arose the strange situation of two different girls' schools, with almost identical titles, both looking to Mary Erskine as foundress.

The rights of presentation to the hospital were in the hands of the various Incorporated Trades, each of which paid a levy towards the funds, and of the Society of Surgeons which from the first had associated itself with the Trades in this matter. Preference in presentation had to be given to daughters or granddaughters of guild burgesses. In addition, certain private benefactors, as well as Mary Erskine and her successors, were given presentations and could present any girl who was 'an object of charity.' The hospital was to be administered by a board of governors consisting of the deacons of the various incorporated trades, two members of the Erskine family and certain others, with the Deacon Convener as preses.

The matron or governess was appointed for life, or until marriage, to 'take care that scholars and servants be brought up in the fear of God.' She was to 'catechise the scholars in the principles of the Christian reformed religion and to correct them for faults when occasion requires.' She had to renew annually an oath of loyalty to the governors. Under her direction a schoolmistress was 'to teach the children to read,

<sup>1</sup> Maitland gives 1701 as the date of the first suggestion to endow a hospital for girls. The relevant minute of Town Council is May 3rd, 1704.

work stockings, lace, coloured and white seams, spinning, carding, washing and dressing of linens, dressing of meat, cleaning of house and all sorts of needlework and other ordinary household thrift, and, if she can, to teach also writing, arithmetic and the common parts of vocal music.' Perhaps they doubted if such a versatile lady could be obtained for 'if she cannot do all this they will provide an honest man for some part of the day.' Serving women completed the staff, although much of the work was done by the girls as part of their training.

The school was at first housed in a building on the west side of the Horse Wynd, a narrow vennel running from the Potterrow Port to the Cowgate. Maitland suggests that this was an existing building which had been purchased by the Conventry for this purpose. The Act of 1707 envisages the building of a new house on the same site. Colston states, without giving authorities, that 'the building was erected about the year 1740,' but a minute of 1840 records 'the present house is now 136 years old.' The first extant minute (1739) mentions 'the new building,' and certain masonry and joinery accounts are passed by the board about that date.

The west gable of this building, whether new or merely restored from an older fabric, formed the east side of the newly formed Argyle Square, its east gable was facing the old Horse Wynd.<sup>1</sup> The building, with the whole square and wynd, was cleared to make way for Chambers Street and the Museum.

Unfortunately the minute books before 1739 are missing. The book now marked 'one' begins with the governors' prayer, which was used at all meetings, and then follows the first minute, headed

'Maiden Hospital, 5th January 1739, being the Anniversary meeting

<sup>1</sup> Reid's plan of the new South approaches clearly marks the hospital, and Hamilton and Burn's plan shows its proposed demolition—both plans are in O.E.C. volume 18. Grant gives a good woodcut of the old hospital, and Colston a passable sketch. Ogilvy's painting of the hospital and grounds hangs in Ashfield.

of the Governours and Donators of said hospitall appointed by the Statute.<sup>1</sup>

William Mitchell was convener, and the provost was among those present. The entry continues :

'The which day the Treasurer and Clerk reported to the Governours and Donators present that agreeable to an Act of their last sederunt, they had received from Mr. Broun their late clerk's mother, all the Bookes and papers belonging to the Hospitall which she could lay her hand upon at that time, and that she had promised to deliver to them any other that should afterwards be found.'

Later in the same year :

'Robert Campbell, merchant, delivered the principall and originall copy of the Statutes of the Hospitall which had been wanting for a long time, and that none of the Governours knew where the samen was.'

This would indicate that upon their entry into the new building the governors were making an effort to collect the records of the previous forty years. Probably they never recovered the earlier minute book, and as the Conventory minutes of the same period are missing, our record of these interesting years is slight.<sup>1</sup>

From this date, however, there is an unbroken record of governors' meetings and of committees from which the material for this paper has been extracted. It has not been our purpose to study these minutes for the information they contain on various modifications to the original constitution—which would be of interest only to the governing body—nor to record the various purchases and sales of land—although much of the history of Bruntsfield district and the Union Canal lie hidden in them—nor have we read them for the interesting light they throw on the decline from power

<sup>1</sup> Also missing are the old chest with its deeds and documents and the original benefaction boards, also all the matron's record books which would have thrown more intimate light on daily life in the school.

of the Incorporated Trades. Rather have we sought from them some light on the administration of, and the life within, a girls' charity school over the last two and a half centuries.

These books give a new sense of values to the historian who opens them ; there is no mention here of the golden or the silver age of Modern Athens ; Ramsay, Mackenzie, Jeffrey, Cockburn, Brougham, even the great Dundas are never mentioned. Wars go by unnoticed—the only reference to the '45 is as 'the late disturbance in this city' which had interfered with the governors' meetings. But here at first hand is the simple story of girlhood told against the background of developing civilisation and changing years.

It will be convenient to divide our study of the minutes into three sections corresponding to the periods of occupation of Argyle Square, Rillbank House and Ashfield.

#### ARGYLE SQUARE : 1739-1855

We have already quoted from the first extant minute of the governors' meeting. Thereafter there is a note of a meeting of The Committee of Nine, which has throughout the history of the hospital acted as a convener's or executive committee. For some years it met in the old Goldsmith's Hall, while the governors met within the hospital itself. They were summoned to meetings by the officer of the hospital, and were fined for non-attendance. They annually reappointed the matron and schoolmistress, discharged the treasurer of his accounts and set up visiting panels, whose duties were laid down in a prescribed formula which is repeated year by year in the minutes.

Only once during the school's history was there a suggestion that lady visitors might be co-opted, but the deacons felt themselves qualified to superintend the details of running a girls' school, down to the selection of 'new stayes'—an event which occurred only once in several years. In more

weighty matters they showed diligence, seeking for land in which to invest their capital. In 1742 they entered into negotiations with James Hamilton for the purchase of the estates of Wrightshouses, thus beginning a connection with the Bruntfield district which has lasted until today; it is said that at one time the girls were popularly known in the city as the 'lasses of Wrightshouses.' This land included the sites of the future canal and rubber works.

The Convenery early entrusted the Blue Blanket to the custody of the hospital, and in 1743 there is a record of money accruing to the school from a fine imposed some twenty years earlier on Deacon Brounhill for 'a foolish attempt to carry off the blue blanket from the convener.' In 1755 there is mention of the old custom of the magistrates wearing velvet coats. These had been replaced by a gold chain and medal, and the sum given annually to the Deacon Convener for the purchase of his coat was commuted for a payment of £30 which was passed on to the hospital.

#### *Education.*

Apart from the appointment of the schoolmistress and suitable visiting teachers (often young men proceeding to the ministry), there is little mention in early minutes of the actual education of the girls. The curriculum consisted of reading, spelling, English, writing, arithmetic and music—which probably meant little more than that after eleven years' study<sup>1</sup> the girls left the hospital reasonably literate. A great deal of their time was devoted to helping in the house, sewing, mending and what would be called today 'vocational training' as preparation for domestic duties as wives or maids. The early matrons and schoolmistresses do not seem to have been possessed of broad culture or great educational ability, and teaching methods were primitive and wasteful of time.

<sup>1</sup> Under the original statute girls were admitted between the ages of seven and twelve and remained until eighteen. The age of leaving was later lowered by a year.



Photo

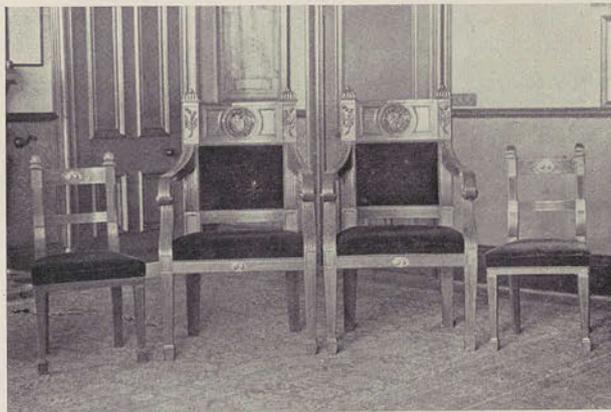
THE TRADES MAIDEN HOSPITAL, CIRCA 1854

E. S. Torvill

From the painting by James Ogilvy now hanging in the Board Room at Ashfield (see p. 30). Probably painted from the windows of a tenement adjoining the present W. College Street; a fragment of the Flodden Wall is seen on the left; the garden at the rear of the hospital occupies the foreground, while behind it are the houses and gardens of Argyle Square.



Wooden plaques with the arms of the  
Wrights and Masons (above), and of  
the Hammermen of Canongate (right)  
(see page 31)



Part of a set of nine chairs of Mary's Chapel, the two large chairs for the deacons  
of the Wrights and of the Masons. Now in the Board Room at Ashfield

In 1762 the governors had a meeting with the girls at which several of the latter read and sang. It was resolved that this should be held annually, and from it sprang both the yearly examination by the governors, which lasted into the latter part of last century, and the annual party, which still continues today. Next year, however, the governors found the standard of English deficient, and ordered that for reading the school should be divided into three classes—the first to study words of one syllable, the second words of two syllables and easy pieces from the New Testament, and the third to read words up to seven syllables.

In 1743 they decided to teach more girls to spin and purchased wheels and accessories; in 1769 they decided to teach lacemaking 'as this was extremely fashionable and would provide an occupation for the girls on leaving, as they were finding difficulty in getting employment.' Only later did the hospital, like similar institutions, become a training ground for prospective governesses; in these early days the object was to send them out to some trade, including probably a fair percentage into service.

In the English charity schools less was thought of education than of the profit which would come to the school from the sale of needlework and other crafts, and while this never became customary in Scottish schools there is at least a suggestion of it in a minute of 1780, when the governess was reprimanded by the governors because the work done by the girls brought in eight pounds less than in the previous year. Ten years later we find the governors recommending that hairdressing be taught, as some of the girls leave to become ladies' maids and need proficiency in this art. In 1793 the teaching of samplers was discontinued, as it was taking too much time from other subjects. Hairdressing was not a success, or fashions were changing, for next year the hairdresser was paid off and mantua and staymaking were proposed in its place. In 1784 they instructed the governess that,

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'at all times when her health will permit she attend the fleshmarket herself in order to purchase butcher meat for the use of the hospital on the best terms she can, and that she will carry some of the older girls with her in order to instruct them in that useful branch of their education.'

From the beginning of the nineteenth century we note that the governors begin to take a much greater interest in the girls' education. They were affected by the growing popularity of the Lancastrian system<sup>1</sup> and in 1807 recommended that the older girls might teach the younger and so save the cost of a second schoolmistress.<sup>2</sup> At the same time they made a thorough revision of the curriculum, insisting on a better grading of the subjects already taught, *viz.* writing, arithmetic, geography and English language and grammar, and suggesting that it might be widened by the inclusion of French (which took place in 1826) and music (which had dropped out and was reintroduced in 1813). In 1816 dancing was introduced and a new floor laid in the schoolroom to make this possible; Madame Rossignoli, who also taught the Merchant Maidens, became the first visiting teacher of this subject. They considered that their present governess was not qualified to put this curriculum into effect, and advertised for a new one.

At the same time an effort was made to improve the religious instruction within the hospital. It had been their practice to appoint a chaplain, who might be one of the city ministers or a divinity student. They now suggested that 'Mr. Porteous, the chaplain, did not have the talent of communicating religious instruction to the children in such a way as to impress it on their minds.'

<sup>1</sup> The Quaker Joseph Lancaster developed a monitorial system by which a large number of children could be taught by a small number of teachers. There were several such schools in Edinburgh; Cockburn mentions one on the slopes of the Calton Hill, while Rector Pillans introduced a modification of the system into the High School.

<sup>2</sup> In 1762 they had made an experiment in this line by appointing Elizabeth Dick, one of the older girls, to assist in teaching.

While enquiry was being made Mr. Porteous passed to a sphere beyond the problems of imparting scripture to a maiden hospital, and the governors debated whether it would not be better to combine the offices of chaplain and teacher so that 'they might secure the highest talent, which they did not consider they had in the past been able to obtain.' Enquiry was made of John Woods (the famous educationist of the Sessional School) but as he had no names to suggest they continued their present teacher with the Rev. Dr. Gairdner as chaplain.

The governors took this opportunity to lay down more definite instructions not only about religious instruction but about the whole time-table, which we now see (1832) for the first time:

- 7-8 a.m. At the first hour in the morning the chaplain is to conduct family worship, every person in the house to attend, and afterwards select portions of scripture are to be read under the direction of the chaplain.
- 8-9 Sewing.
- 9-10 Breakfast and recreation.
- 10-12 Writing and arithmetic.
- 12-2 p.m. Sewing, dancing, instrumental music and composition.
- 2-3 Dinner and recreation.
- 3-5 English, reading, grammar, geography and history.
- 5-6 Recreation.
- 6-7 Preparing lessons for next day.
- 7-8 Supper and recreation.
- 8 p.m. Family worship conducted by the chaplain.

For the older girls more advanced composition and the keeping of accounts is recommended, with extra lessons for those intending to become governesses. It was customary for one girl to read aloud during the long periods of sewing, and as some of the books selected were considered unseemly, it was decided that the readings should be censored by the chaplain. It was also suggested that the tedium of sewing might be relieved by singing, and that, when finances per-

mitted, book-keeping and French might be introduced—the latter subject having apparently been started and dropped. Later, occasional lectures in history and chemistry were given. The annual examination by the governors was at the same time revised.

'The 1st division exam. was to consist of English, reading, grammar, orthography, etymology, explanation and composition.

The 2nd division exam. of arithmetic and geography.

The 3rd division exam. of drawing, music and French.'

As early as 1758 a library had been formed in the school, financed partly through the fines levied on the deacons for non-attendance at meetings, and in 1846 books on astronomy were purchased. Then, as now, some subjects tended to become for a brief spell fashionable, and the deacons were not behind in providing instruction in such subjects until after a few years others came to take their place.

Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, we find the curriculum established on a broad basis, and the governors increasingly aware of their responsibilities. They are now making provision not so much for future serving girls as for potential governesses—a profession which drew largely upon the hospital schools and which continued to attract many of the girls until the advent of ladies' colleges in the last quarter of the century closed this door.

#### *Discipline.*

In the early minutes considerable space is devoted to questions of discipline. While the constitution gave the matron power 'to correct them for faults when occasion requires,' any major misdemeanour was referred to the governors who could hold over the delinquent the threat of expulsion and loss of benefits. In 1750 they warned one Jean Smith that if she did not behave they would 'expose her to utter misery and ruin.' One of the first minutes records that

'On being informed that severall of the girls in the Hospitall were guilty of gross crimes and misdemeanours, called before them Janet Davidson and having examined her, she acknowledged that she, in company with some others, had broke up the chest of Agnes Simpson, one of the girls in the Hospitall, and took out of it a Bible which she tore; that she also took some of the silks belonging to the Hospitall and used them for her own private advantage, and that this is the third publick fault she had been guilty of and acknowledged. She was reprimanded for the other two with a certification; the committee also called before them Elizabeth Hutton and having examined her, she acknowledged that she broke up a press in the Hospitall, at least that she got a key from one of the other girls with which she opened the press and took four shillings out of it, which she afterwards laid back, being discovered by one of the children, and further acknowledged that she had made use of some of the hospitall's silk for her own private work, and that this is her second fault for which she has been corrected and for which she has been reproved.'

It was resolved that while 'the two girls mentioned in the report deserve to be extruded out of the Hospitall and deprived af all benefit thereof' yet this step would not be taken if they showed good behaviour in the future. When extrusion took place, as it did upon occasions, it was a solemn affair; two years later Agnes Inglis, who had been before the magistrates for theft and reset, confessing that she had stolen shifts, stockings, stays, mutches, aprons and napkins (handkerchiefs), was extruded:

'in consequence quher of the governours, schoolmistress and hail girls and servants being called to appear in presence of the governours, the sentence was read and Robert Wight, officer, by order of the governours, took the said Agnes Inglis by the hand and led her out of the Hospitall. Thereafter the Convener, agreeably to the appointment of the governours, gave most proper and suitable instructions to the girls to beware of all vicious practices and showed them what would be the naturall consequences of these and such like habits.'

While on such occasions the deacons could show severity, they were usually ready afterwards to give the delinquent a second

chance. Upon a petition from the Baxters, whose presentee she was, Agnes was forgiven and received back.

In 1743 two girls who went to Dalkeith without leave and remained out of the hospital all night were ordered 'to stand at the back of the rest of the girls in the hospital during the whole time of dinner, and to be fed with bread and water only for that meall in presence of the Deacons.'

In 1757 a major controversy arose which was to drag on over several years, and in which, strangely enough, church attendance was blamed for indiscipline. It appears that after the foundation of the hospital the girls first attended Lady Yester's Church, but for some years before the trouble arose they occupied a loft in the Greyfriars, opposite to that which was occupied by the Merchant Maidens. When, in 1757, the New Church<sup>1</sup> was opened the girls were transferred there for a limited period to assist in the better singing of the psalms. The board became sharply divided on the wisdom of this move, and Deacon Langlands protested that it was

'unreasonable to do anything they would not put their own children to. Their poverty, instead of using them with more freedom, should engage the governors to be more circumspect and careful to prevent anything that may hurt their characters or prejudice their education. It may have a tendency to raise in them false and foolish ideas of their own importance.'

He went as far as to say that they might as well send them to the stage or 'other musical meetings, which he believed

<sup>1</sup> Which was this church which is always referred to in the minutes only as 'The New Kirk'? Buccleuch Chapel of Ease was opened in this year, and the walk to it via the Potterrow would fit in with the objections that they had to pass through a bad locality. On the other hand, there is a much later mention of a connection with New North, and the present West St. Giles congregation (which continues the rump of the New North which did not leave at the Disruption) would claim an older connection with the Maidens than 1892, at which date they began to attend that church on moving into Ashfield. The Churches attended regularly by the hospital since its inception were Lady Yester's (to some date before 1740); Greyfriars, with spells at the New Kirk, until removal from Argyle Square in 1855; Newington (1860-1892); West St. Giles (1902 to date).

was attempted with the Merchant Maidens.' As a result of his protest the girls were withdrawn and returned to Greyfriars. But the matter was not finished, for the magistrates had prepared a loft for them in the New Church, and asked that they might return there. Deacon Langlands again protested, alleging that the walk to the New Church was having a bad effect on their morals and that it had led to the girls meeting with

'insults and abuses, rude, riotous attacks made on the house, throwing in at the door of wicked lascivious letters and the sending of the City Guard to protect the house.'

Feeling in the controversy was now running high, and Dr. Doig replied for the majority of the governors that

'among forty or fifty girls, many of them in their teens, one may find as many constitutions, of which some may not be severely virtuous.'

They protest that the disturbances have nothing to do with the New Church, and point out that even from Argyle Square to the Greyfriars many dark vennels have to be traversed. They maintain that the situation at the latter place of worship had become impossible, for at a recent service the rivalry between the Merchant and Trades Maidens had become so acute (due apparently to the number of ribbons being worn in their bonnets) that when one hospital sang the other remained silent, and during the sermon they were overheard making remarks about one another's beauty and dress. They conclude that, as 'one hospital, especially of girls, is enough in conscience for one kirk' they will adhere to their resolution to remove them. Thirty-seven years later they asked for their former seats in Old Greyfriars back again.

The locality in which the hospital was situated was not of the best, and the governors were often troubled by the undue attention paid to their maidens by the younger lads of the town. In 1766 both they and the governors of the sister hospital prosecuted sundry trades' lads for gathering about

the doors of the hospitals. Thirteen years later they complained of mischief between Watson's Boys, the Merchant Maidens and their own girls. Again, three town boys came over the dyke at night and the convener of the Watchmakers was ordered to find and prosecute them.

Discipline over the older girls was always difficult, and in 1771 they fixed the upper age limit at 17 instead of 18 in an effort to make control easier. In 1796 several of the older girls sent a letter to the governors complaining of their treatment; unfortunately we do not have the terms of the complaint, but the governors called a special meeting to consider it—and decided to rebuke both girls and staff:

'The governors in the most serious matter deliberated thereupon and were unanimous in considering that the harmony and welfare of the hospital depended upon strict subordination—that those girls who had subscribed the letter to the governors were highly to blame and in consideration whereof it was moved that they should be called in and examined and peremptorily desired by Convener Braidwood . . . to behave and conduct themselves with obedience and respect to those under whose care they were placed and strictly enjoined not upon any account whatever to enter into any combination among themselves, and it was likewise proposed and agreed that Mrs. Howe the governess and Mrs. Rattray the schoolmistress be called in and admonished by the governors, agreeable to the tenth section of the laws—which was done accordingly.'

The following year they received a letter of complaint from Mr. Archibald Young, complaining that his daughter had been ill-treated by Mrs. Howe; as a result of this Mrs. Howe resigned through indisposition and Mrs. Rattray was discharged. Three years later five of the senior girls were expelled for insubordination, and on this occasion they refused to receive them back into the house.

#### *Uniform.*

The distinctive uniforms became so closely associated in the popular mind with their various schools that in England

several of them became known by their colours, the Blue Coat School, the Grey Coat School, etc. The original colour for the Trades Maidens was blue, and law XIV of the statutes reads:

'each at their entry must be decently apparelled, at the sight of the governors and treasurer; and when that apparel is worn, their apparel afterwards is to be all of one piece, without distinction of persons, and as plain as may be, and all of one colour, and with such mark as the governors shall appoint; but when they go out of the hospital at 18 years of age, they are to be clad in new apparel, distinct from what they did wear in the hospital.'

In 1743 the governors drew up 'Rules for the Establishment of Cloathing,' which ordained:

1. That each girl be allowed a new gown of orkney stuff every year and a pair of new stayes every two years, the choice of the colour of the gown to be left to the governors.

2. That each girl be furnished with four petticoats in four years, viz. a miln'd (?) sarge petticoat and a pleaden petticoat once in two years, and that each girl be provided with five shirts (shifts ?) in two years, viz. two the one year and three the next year and alternately in time coming.

3. That each girl be provided with three coarse linen mutches each year and with two finer for Sabbath days each two years.

4. That each girl be allowed two white aprons each two years and a Bengal apron each year which is afterwards to be turned into pocket napkins.

5. That each girl be provided with two white napkins each two years and with one coloured napkin each year.

6. That each girl be furnished with two pair of stockings and three pair of shoes each year, and likewise with a pair of gloves each year.

7. That cloaks of blue cloth be provided for the girls, their wearing on Sundays, which cloaks shall be the property of no particular girl but shall be given out to the children by the governess as she shall see fit.'

If a girl died her clothing was not to be removed by the relatives but retained for the use of others, an extremely dangerous practice in view of the number of deaths from

what would now be considered infectious or contagious diseases.

The distinctive hospital dress was not popular with the girls, and there are continual complaints that the uniform regulations are not being observed. When this matter is raised in 1771 the Skinners and Furriers rather illogically blame the influence of the New Church. Seven years later there is a regulation that the girls must keep their clothes properly mended, and the older girls get black silk handkerchiefs and the younger ones bibs. On Heriot's Day each girl was given a new set of ribbons. In 1790, as the result of a complaint that the better-off parents were providing a more expensive type of headdress, it was ordained that all girls should wear 'a round beaver hatte,' with no additional ribbons. The governors inspected patterns of hats from the Bonnetmakers, and ordered a model at six shillings, with threepence 'King's Duty,' Deacon Thomas Tibbetts to make one for each girl.

Much of the clothing was made by the staff and girls from materials purchased, and the account books give some indication of the change in the purchasing power of money then and now. The shoes were supplied by a contract which included repairing.

#### *Health and Hygiene.*

The minutes furnish many indications of the simplicity of city life in the eighteenth century; many public facilities which are now necessities for the private dwelling, and more so for a public institution, were scanty or non-existent. In 1742 the Treasurer acquainted the governors

'that there was no cistern in the Hospital for holding any quantity of fresh water, which was a great inconvenience and occasioned the family to be frequently straitened for water, especially when there was a scarcity of it, which would in a great measure be prevented by a proper cistern or reservoir . . . they appointed the Treasurer to

provide a sufficient cistern and charge the price thereof to the yearly accounts.'

In 1774 a sick room was first established. In 1798 there is the first mention of a water closet. Gas was first introduced in 1833.

As a result of the primitive conditions and the lack of facilities for isolation, epidemics were frequent. In 1741 it was reported that there were 'not enough beds to separate the sick from the whole,' and the practice of sleeping two or three to a bed continued until the end of the nineteenth century. In November 1831 cholera broke out in the city, and there was a suggestion that if it became epidemic the children might be housed in the Merchant Maiden Hospital and their house given for the sick. The hospital doctor stated that if this were done he could not say when it would be safe to reoccupy it, and the request was refused, while the committee were given powers to isolate the girls if necessary. 1836 saw a serious outbreak of scarlet fever, and the next year one of typhus. In 1851 fever resulted in the death of one girl.

These are but a few of several references to the epidemics which took their toll of city life, and the hospital, being situated within the closely built-up area of the old town, could not hope to escape. The consequences would probably have been even more serious had not the governors from the earliest times provided a hospital doctor, an office which was occupied by a succession of conscientious physicians, such as the three Doctor Woods, father, son and grandson, who between them held this post for exactly one hundred years (1781-1881).

The doctor had control over the girls' diet, concerning which there were frequent complaints. In 1795 the governors made a thorough investigation into diet and cleanliness, and resolved to purchase knives, forks and tin dishes for the girls' use; pewter utensils gave place to stoneware in 1831.

In 1829 the *Caledonian Mercury* published a letter which made serious allegations against the governors for the treatment and general health of the girls.<sup>1</sup> Deacon Wood called the attention of the board to the statements made and the Committee of Nine were called upon to report. After going into the matter this committee reports that the statements can only have been made from ignorance, prejudice or malice. They have enquired of former staff and pupils, who have affirmed that conditions were good, and they note

'the kindly, affectionate and judicious treatment which the young and interesting community under their charge receive. . . . The hours of employment and recreation seem well allotted both to advance the purposes of education and to preserve the health of the pupils, and no restraints are experienced which with due regard to the safety and morals of the young people could well be avoided. . . . instead of the harsh treatment and severe punishment by strict confinement which has been so wantonly and unfoundedly alleged, the most severe punishment inflicted has been the privation of a holiday, and even then the offenders have been permitted to see their friends at the hospital or to amuse themselves . . . in full liberty within the house or in the playground . . . past pupils retain a vivid and grateful recollection of the happiness and contentment which in common with their companions they enjoyed while inmates of the institution.'

One charge had been that of high mortality, and to this the governors replied that while numbers varied in different years, there had been only nineteen deaths in the last twenty-nine years, four of which occurred in one year, and during ten years there were no deaths. The fact that they could look with complacency on this death rate in a hospital of

<sup>1</sup> The letter, signed 'Humanitas,' called attention to lack of exercise—'not allowed more than an hour daily for air and exercise and that in the confined and small plot at the back of the building. They are kept in the school locked in for hours together at their tasks in a small compartment. The slightest fault is punished by close confinement, and indeed they are treated more like the inmates of a house of correction.' The letter suggests that deaths are too numerous. Constructively, it suggests more exercise, backs to the school forms, and a married matron. (*Caledonian Mercury*, Nov. 30, 1829.)

less than fifty girls gives some indication of the lower expectation of life a hundred and twenty years ago.<sup>1</sup>

While the governors had made what they considered a sufficient reply to the public allegations, five years later they were shaken from their apathy when a girl, Elizabeth Mac-Lauchlan, died under distressing circumstances in a dormitory. Not only was the room completely unventilated, but there was no means of communication with the staff after the girls had been locked in for the night, and the cries for help had gone unheeded. It was resolved that ventilators be fitted and that spar doors might be placed in such a position near the head of the stairs that the matron's and school-mistress's rooms would be included. In the end they found it more economical to fit a system of bells between the dormitories and the staff rooms.

At the same time they recommended more open-air exercise. When walks on the Meadows were suggested there was some opposition and the matter was delayed. Five years later the suggestion was brought up again on a motion that the girls might be allowed to walk out on two days of the week, but in the meantime the inmates had to be content with the limited playground of the hospital.<sup>2</sup> The truth was that, in spite of the comparative spaciousness of Argyle Square, the old wynds which surrounded the hospital provided no healthy environment for a boarding school, and as Heriot's occupied almost the only open and high ground within the city walls, the time was ripe for removal to one of the suburbs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1789 the governors complained that too much money was being spent on funeral expenses for girls who died while inmates of the hospital. In the nineteenth century the hospital received, as benefactions, lairs for burial in both Newington (Preston St.) and St. Cuthbert's burying grounds.

<sup>2</sup> In 1826 the governors agreed to procure proper bathing quarters at the seaside for such girls as require sea bathing, but there is no indication as to whether this was ever carried out. In 1831 backs were first fitted to the forms.

<sup>3</sup> A minute of 1744 deals with special provision for girls who leave the hospital blind, maimed or disabled, and there are several very sad cases specifically mentioned.

*Staffing.*

Many of the governors' problems were concerned with staffing difficulties. Many of the early matrons gave long and satisfactory service, even if they were not culturally fitted to provide education of any very high standard, but occasionally there were lapses on the part of matron or schoolmistress, and often disputes between them which were reflected in the general discipline.<sup>1</sup>

Complaints of ill-treatment by the matron were sometimes received, but seldom were the allegations specific enough for action to be taken. In 1774 Janet Spence complained that her daughter, Blair Spence, had met with 'ill-treatment in sundry particulars,' but the accusation was dismissed as ill-founded. We have already referred to the girls' own letter of protest in 1790 and the complaint of Mr. Young in 1797. In 1807 it was reported that Mrs. Cowden, the governess, and Mrs. Blair, one of the schoolmistresses, could not agree. The Committee of Nine reported that they had met, and in presence of the girls had read the hospital rules, but immediately they had left the building Mrs. Blair attacked Mrs. Cowden in front of the girls. When they again called the two persons before them

'a conversation took place between the ladies which was neither very honourable to themselves nor respectful to the committee.'<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes it was the visiting teachers who proved troublesome. The original constitution had given powers to the governors to employ visiting teachers, and as the curriculum widened it became necessary to make increasing use of such supplementary staff. In 1843 they made inquiries

<sup>1</sup> The terms matron and governess are synonymous, while schoolmistress is used for the subordinate upon whom most of the actual teaching devolved.

<sup>2</sup> They decided that the governess was not qualified to put into operation the new curriculum which they drew up at this date, and looked for a better fitted person. The following year Mrs. Cowden became insane while still in the hospital.

into the conduct of Mr. Arthur, chaplain and visiting teacher. The Committee of Nine reported

'that his impudence did not extend beyond kissing several of the girls. But upon the whole he appeared to be deficient in that dignity and decorum becoming a teacher. . . . The effect of his presence upon the girls caused giddiness and levity.'

As a result, Mr. Arthur resigned. The following year the French teacher, Mons. GueSSION, left suddenly without fulfilling the period for which he had received his salary. The governors endeavoured to trace him, but had to let the matter drop when they discovered that he had left Peterhead on a whaling vessel.

In 1836 the governors note with some surprise that the matron's account books contain items of spirits, porter, ale and wine, against which some protest as objectionable and out of character with the aims of the hospital; they suggest that tea should be provided at the expense of the hospital. The fault here would appear to be that the matron was not moving with the times, for tea had not been the regular drink of her predecessors, and in 1778 it had been agreed that the hospital beer, in which presumably girls and matron shared, should be bottled.<sup>1</sup> Tea apparently did not agree with her, for the following year the same items reappear and the matron leaves the hospital, perhaps to seek an institution where the old habits survived and the old beverages could be consumed without interference. The following year the governors decreed that there should be no spirits at the annual party given to the children.

In 1840 the governors decided that in the appointment of a new matron consideration should be given to those able to teach, especially French and music, and from this date the character of the office changed from the more homely

<sup>1</sup> In 1780 it was decreed that the girls were 'to drink tea with the matron at her expense.'

figure of the early days to the more cultured and dignified Victorian headmistress.

*The Last Years at Argyle Square.*

Before passing from the Argyle Square period of the hospital's history certain matters arising in the later years may be mentioned. As we have noted a change in the girls from the less sophisticated maiden who drank porter from a pewter tankard to the young lady in training for a governess, and in the matrons from the homely eighteenth century figure, often a widow with few qualifications except her homeliness, to the cultured headmistress, so we gradually detect a change in the governors. They are less frequently referred to as Deacons, because the authority of that office was diminishing with the dying power of the Convener. They are no longer the simple tradesmen, masters of a few apprentices, who ruled the city in the eighteenth century, but are becoming the substantial business leaders of the nineteenth century. Their opinions are couched in more ponderous if less quaint phrasing; their controversies, if no less keen, are conducted more politely.

In 1812 the governors made a purchase which was to be of some value to them in the future. As a token of appreciation of the services rendered to the hospital by Dr. James Hamilton they commissioned David Raeburn to paint his portrait. Dr. Hamilton replied in a letter:

'Gentlemen,

The portrait for which you did me the honour some time ago to request me to sit to Mr. Raeburn is finished and at your disposal. I embrace the present opportunity of making my acknowledgement to you for this flattering mark of your attention, which I own I received not without hesitation, but with a feeling that I ought not to withhold myself from your wishes.

But this is not the only instance on your part which calls for expressions of gratitude on mine. In early life I experienced the countenance and support which has been manifested towards me

during a course of many years by successive appointments to be one of your number in the administration of the affairs of the excellent institution under your care. If in this situation I have had the opportunity of contributing to the welfare of your hospital and you are pleased to think that I have done so, I beg to say that in this respect I conceive myself to have only discharged my duty and I regret that my ability has not kept pace with my inclination to have been more useful.

I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of all your favours, and I am, gentlemen,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

20 March 1812.

JAMES HAMILTON.

The portrait was sent to London for engraving, and Dr. Hamilton presented to the hospital a drawing and painting table. In less prosperous days the governors were able to sell this painting for a considerable sum.

The last years at Argyle Square saw the introduction of a system, known as outboarding, which has lasted until the present time. By 1853 certain of the incorporations felt that the time had come for radical changes in the constitution, and the Convener of the Baxters submitted a motion

'that the young persons under the charge of the governors should live in the houses of their parents and attend in the hospital as a day school for their education only, with an allowance for board and lodging.'

This motion is of considerable importance as it represents the first indication of the rising tide of dissatisfaction with the hospital system, which thirty years later was to change the whole character of these institutions, leaving the Trades Maidens as one of the few to continue on the original lines. After investigation the committee reported:

1. That they felt they did not have the necessary powers.
2. That even if they had, it would not be desirable.

But they thank the convener for raising the matter, as it has led them to realise that 'the hospital does not now afford

the inmates all the advantages which the benevolent founders contemplated.' They suggest that the age of admission might be lowered by one year, and that at 14 the girls should cease to live in and should board with their parents, with suitable supervision until they reach the age of 17, and that they should attend the hospital on Sundays and go to church with the younger girls. They feel that after 14 the children do not make good progress, partly because the funds do not permit music, French and drawing to be taught at the hospital's expense,<sup>1</sup> and partly because

'the children, owing to their seclusion for so long a period, are deficient in knowledge of the world, unaccustomed to society, and consequently unfitted for taking part in the ordinary affairs of life.'

They estimate the annual cost of maintenance of a girl as £7, 10s. with £3, 10s. for clothing. This report was submitted to the incorporations and the patrons for their consideration.

In November of the same year the committee reported on the result :

'All incorporations have sent in returns except hammermen, skinnners, furriers and waulkers ; eight approved generally of the report, viz. surgeons, goldsmiths, bakers, cordiners, websters, bonnetmakers, fleshers and the society of barbers. The incorporation of Tailors consider some change in the present system to be required, but would prefer the adoption of a rule whereby all the children would leave the hospital at 15, receiving an outgoing of £10 in place of the present £5.11.6, and that their connection with the institution should then cease. The Incorporation of Wrights and Masons disapprove of the proposed change being made imperative and recommend the enactment of a rule giving the governors power to deal with any special case in which the parents may wish to remove a girl before seventeen. Of the private patrons only two answered, the Earl of Mar, who holds six presentations, disapproving of any change, and William Weyms approving.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the beginning of the nineteenth century funds had been low and economies effected by reduction of staff.

<sup>2</sup> Two years later they inquired into the position of the Earl of Mar. By the

As the opposition to the more radical proposal was considerable the governors adopted a *via media*, passing a regulation allowing parents to ask for girls over fourteen to live at home. It was reported that six had taken advantage of the offer—one governess, one teacher, and four learning millinery and mantua work. After two years' trial the Education Committee of the board reported on the outboarding system. Seventeen girls had taken advantage of it, of whom nine were learning dressmaking or millinery, three teaching, five studying at home for teachers or governesses and taking some classes in the hospital. They had sent out a questionnaire concerning the effect of outboarding on these girls, and all the answers except one had been favourable. In the case of Jessie Forbes, her father wrote :

'She prepares her French exercises, writing, knitting, and sewing and improving her fancy works. At times, but very seldom, she amuses herself. Her behaviour towards her brothers and sisters is becoming and exemplary and is very dutiful and obedient towards me. The new system has a tendency to brush off that bashful, reserved and awkward deportment too common in the inmates of similar institutions.'

But one of the teachers complains,

'the girls cease to be one family, they are better dressed and look of a superior class—the outdoor girls talk during class.'

As a result of the report the governors decided to continue the outboarding system but to make more stringent regulations. The girls were to be allowed to go to business only if

act of foundation he was not *de facto* a governor, but had the right of appointing two governors, of whom he might name himself as one ; but as he had not exercised his right of nomination they could see no occasion to send his lordship calling notices to the meetings : however, 'considering his lordship's peculiar temper' they decided not to contest the matter. On the dispute over the title in 1866 both the Earl of Mar and the Earl of Kellie claimed the presentations to the hospital, which the governors held over 'until the two earls had settled between them.'

their English education was well grounded. They recommended that those taking posts as governesses should remain in the hospital, as 'the education is good enough for that.' The demand, however, for outboarding began to fall away until, in 1855, the Treasurer reported that there was only one girl taking advantage of the provision, and

'a scheme which seems to offer such advantages has met with little encouragement.'

The main problem before the governors in the first half of the nineteenth century concerned the building, which had served them for a hundred years. Not only was the fabric dilapidated but the district in which it was situated was rapidly deteriorating. As early as 1805

'The Committee of Nine stated that it perhaps might be attended with very great benefits to the institution if a new hospital was built upon the lands of Wrightshouses, and the present hospital and the area connected therewith sold.'

In 1819 there was some talk of the purchase of the hospital by the college, and in 1830 a second approach was made. The governors were still reluctant to move and two years later obtained plans for improving the building, and introduced gas lighting. The unfortunate death of Elizabeth MacLauchlan, mentioned above, and two serious epidemics caused them further disquiet, and in 1836 their Finance Committee reported that

'it cannot be lost sight of that the Hospital itself is now a very old building, standing in need of repair, year after year of course greater and greater. It becomes the governors, therefore, promptly and seriously to consider whether a new building shall be erected in their own grounds or some substantial repairs made on the present one.'

Their finances, however, had become badly depleted, partly through an expensive Court of Session action, and funds for rebuilding were not available. Next year they

turned down a proposal to advertise the building for sale. In 1840 they reported :

'that as the present house is now 136 years old and constantly requiring repairs which in its decayed state cannot be made on it, and consequently that the safety of the numerous inmates is very questionable, which was the second time proven last Monday, when a large piece of the flooring in the East bedroom broke down when one of the children was walking on it, by which her leg might have been broken, from which it is quite evident that it is necessary for the governors to take adequate measures for building a new house . . .'

A year later they protested unsuccessfully against the city building a funerary next to the hospital, and from this date they seem agreed that a move would have to be made from the district. In 1850 they declined an offer of £2000 for the house, but two years later decided to offer the property to the Museum at £5000. In March 1854 at a special meeting, the Treasurer intimated that the government was willing to acquire the property at Argyle Square as the site of a National Museum, and to offer the sum of £5000, which was above its real value. Dr. Lyon Playfair was to negotiate with the governors on behalf of the government. The board readily accepted this offer, and took immediate steps to acquire new property, thus bringing to an end their long connection with the Horse Wynd and Argyle Square.

#### RILLBANK HOUSE : 1855-1892

The assets of the governors were insufficient to allow them to erect a new hospital, so they made an offer of £3250 for Rillbank House 'situated at the foot of Meadow Walk, an excellent dwelling house and containing nearly four acres of ground.' This property stood to the east of what is now Sylvan Place, on the site of the present Hospital for Sick Children, bounded by the Meadows on the north, and on the south by Sciennes Road, then known as Sciennes Loaning.

After certain substantial alterations had been carried through the hospital was opened and the governors met there for the first time on September 10th, 1855. On this occasion John Clark, the Treasurer, stated :

'The former residence was not left with[out] a pang of regret on the part of a number of its inmates both old and young. It cannot be doubted, however, that Rillbank is a most eligible site. . . . The governors have greatly improved the external appearance so that now it presents to the eye a very chaste and graceful architectural structure. The internal arrangements are also judicious and convenient. The lobby and staircase are peculiarly handsome, the schoolrooms are capacious and well proportioned in their dimensions, the dormitories are spacious lightsome and well ventilated. . . . The institution will possess singular advantages for carrying forward its chief and ultimate design, namely, to train and educate the daughters and grand-daughters of our decayed fellow craftsmen in the paths of learning and virtue, fitting them for the right discharge of their duties in after life, and, by the blessing of God, for a happy immortality.'

A Christmas fete, or party, was held to celebrate the new era, at which Sinclair, the officer, took the part of Father Christmas—the first mention of this festive figure. At the same time Mr. James Ogilvy's painting of the old hospital was purchased for £40, and the old benefaction boards were rehung in the new building.

#### *Convenery Relics.*

This move from the old hospital made the governors conscious of their long history, and during their period at Rillbank they acquired many of the relics which are now preserved in the governors' room of the present building. As the various incorporations ceased to be active they offered their relics for safe keeping to the hospital, and there were also several gifts from private donors. For the purpose of record these may be briefly detailed here as they appear in the minutes :

1854—'The Town Council having presented the convenery with the chair hitherto occupied by the conveners in the council room, a new one having been substituted in its place more in accordance with the style of furniture in the room, the meeting unanimously resolved to present the old chair to the hospital to be kept by them in the governors' room and to be used in all time by the conveners or preses at their meetings.'

1861—'There was laid on the table an old Bible, having on its title-page the name of Mary Erskine, and understood to be in her handwriting. Mr. Thos. Johnstone, a member of Mary's Chapel, had received this valuable relic from a descendent of the Mar family and begged to present it to the hospital.'

1862—'Mr. Steele asked the governors to accept the gift of an old coat-of-arms of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Canongate, which had at one time been placed up in the Canongate Church and having it with him he exhibited the same.'

1869—The Lodge of Journeymen Masons offered to furnish a handsome glass case for the preservation of the ancient Blue Blanket of the Convenery, and it was proposed to place it in the board room. The Convenery intended to enclose the smaller flags belonging to them in a similar case.

1870—Messrs. Watt, of California, who had presented a case for the Blue Blanket, were met while on a visit to this city, and thanked.

1878—A copy of the decalogue, which had been presented to the Incorporation of Skinners and Furriers two hundred years ago, was given to the hospital.

1890—St. Mary's Chapel gave a permanent loan of nine old carved chairs belonging to the Incorporation.

1892—Mary's Chapel handed over a snuff mull and a Breeches Bible, and Mr. Kirkwood gave an antique mahogany table with a glass top for the preservation of relics.

1895—(While in Ashfield) Mary's Chapel Incorporation presented for custody an oval wood tablet on which had been inserted the silver badge of the Incorporation's officer and silver buttons of his livery, also a coloured wood carving of the Arms of the Incorporation and a large marble slab on which the Incorporation's arms have been sculptured.

*Life and Routine.*

Life in the new hospital went on much the same as it had done in the more cramped quarters of Argyle Square. There were considerable drainage improvements going on in the Meadows during the first years at Rillbank, and some building of the new streets around the hospital. In 1860 it was decided that

'in future the children and mistresses be not required at New North Church and that they attend Newington Church because of the distance in the winter . . . that Newington Church was now erected into a parish church and provided with an excellent minister so that in this respect they would not suffer from the change.'

Some governors suggested New Greyfriars, as one of the City Churches, but the move to Newington was made and the girls continued to worship there until 1892, when it was decided to apply for sittings in Grange Parish Church, as being nearer to Ashfield; as the requisite number of sittings could not be obtained there they took seats in West St. Giles, with which congregation they have retained their connection until today.<sup>1</sup>

The forty years' occupation of Rillbank was not an easy period for the hospital governors; they had to face the rising tide of disquiet about the whole institutional system, and to seek, within their limited resources, to modernise their educational facilities. In addition, their young charges, under the conditions of greater freedom, seemed determined to make things more difficult for them. The more they were treated as Victorian young ladies the more they continued to act as rather naughty girls, and much of the governors' time was occupied in drawing up regulations or dealing with specific

<sup>1</sup> The writer, minister of Newington, met an old lady who had worshipped regularly at that church as one of the Trades Maidens. The minutes record the receipt of tickets for the governors on the occasion of the introduction of the organ in 1873 and the forwarding of five pounds donation from the hospital towards its installation.



RILLBANK INSTITUTION

*From Colston's 'Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh.' The present Royal Hospital for Sick Children occupies the site*



ASHFIELD, GRANGE LOAN, FROM THE SOUTH: THE PRESENT TRADES MAIDEN HOSPITAL



Carving on the great chair of the Fleshers, or Butchers,  
bearing the date 1708



Chairs now in the Board Room at Ashfield: left, chair of Mary's Chapel: right,  
chair formerly used by the Deacon-Convener of Trades in the old Council Chamber  
(see page 31)

cases of indiscipline. In 1858 the governors made new household arrangements :

1. A record to be kept by the matron and teachers of all the girls who have during the month received punishment, the faults and the penalty inflicted being stated. Also of the position each girl has maintained in the class during the month.
2. That a certificate be given to each girl on leaving, setting forth character and proficiency.
3. Failing the parents or guardians it shall be the duty of matron and treasurer to look out suitable situations for leavers.
4. Intimation of all complaints to go to the Treasurer.
5. A record of absences to be kept.

At the same time they suggest that botany excursions might be conducted by the English teacher, and that Sabbath evening exercises should be limited to one and a half hours.

About the year 1860 there are several cases of indiscipline on the part of the older girls. Helen Stevenson, who had been confined for previous misconduct, used her period of confinement to break up the piano, and the governors write to her father in London to recover part of the damages. Barbara Wilson has to be confined for roughness to the younger children and her brother forbidden to come about the house in the rude way he has done. One of the deacons demands an inquiry into the death of his daughter who had been a foundationer. In September 1862 the clerk read to the governors nine sets of new rules which had been prepared by the treasurer :

1. Rules for the matron.
2. Rules for the servants.
3. Rules for the outgoing girls.
4. Rules as to punishments.
5. Rules for the relations and guardians.
6. Rules as to holidays.
7. Rules for the girls.
8. Rules as to clothing.
9. Rules as to baths.

If these rules had been engrossed in the minutes or otherwise preserved they would have given some information on life within the hospital at this period. As punishment by confinement had led to many complaints the governors may have decided to change their methods, for at the beginning of the following year the account book carries the item 'To Andrew Watt, for leather straps, 2s.' Nor can this have been very successful for within eighteen months the Committee of Nine are asked to enquire into the whole question of discipline. No report was forthcoming, perhaps because the committee was busy investigating a particular case of indiscipline, of which we may give a fuller account.

'A meeting of the Committee of Nine was called in consequence of certain irregularities having occurred amongst the children in the hospital. It appeared that certain of the girls had for some weeks past been exchanging letters with boys residing in the neighbourhood, and that on the evening of Wednesday May 25th three of them, *viz.* Helen Lapsley, Helen Hutton and Mary Jane Murray had secretly left the hospital between nine and ten o'clock in the evening and did not return till between twelve and one o'clock the following morning. That immediately upon receiving this information he (the convener) with the treasurer and clerk, had made a full investigation into the whole circumstances and after examining the matron, governesses and three girls, had found that the report was perfectly true. The girls had been in the habit of meeting with boys of about their own age at the place where the building operations in front of the hospital are going on and where the hospital's ground is separated from the new buildings by a slight fence only, that these meetings have been followed by the interchange of letters, and that on the night in question the three girls had slipped out of their bedrooms unknown to the matron and governesses and had escaped by the backdoor and did not return until after twelve o'clock. The statement of the girls is that the interchange of letters had been discovered by the governesses and that they had gone out in the hope of meeting the boys to put them on their guard, that they had gone from one street to another where the boys resided but did not meet with any of them, and that after wandering about the streets they had returned to the house to which

they got admission by climbing to the top of the portico and entering by a window on the staircase. It transpired that the girls had been in the practice of procuring candles and getting up during the night to write their letters. It thus appeared that there had been a system of deception practised for some time and he could not help coming to the conclusion that there had been a want of proper care on the part of the matron and governesses in not regularly seeing the children undressed and in bed before retiring to rest. He left it to the committee, but thought it would not be necessary to remove any of the girls from the hospital or to make any change in the matron or governesses. He considered the conduct of the children, whilst very blameable, to be one of those foolish outbursts which will occasionally occur amongst young people through thoughtlessness without any bad motive; that the letters received by the girls (and which he laid on the table) were evidently the production of children and contained nothing objectionable in a moral point of view; upon the whole he thought that a solemn admonition to the girls, accompanied by a warning that any further misdemeanour would be followed by expulsion, would be the best course to follow and that a letter be sent to the matron and governesses.'

This was done, the windows were made secure and the wall was heightened, but soon afterwards the matron resigned 'because of family arrangements' and the resignation of the governess was demanded. Certain complaints of ill-treatment and particularly of detention continued, however, and five years later a new committee was again asked to report on discipline. In addition, there were now complaints about the dietary, particularly concerning the Friday pudding. Although the doctor denied the significance of these complaints, two girls were withdrawn in 1870 because of the diet, and as a result the menu was revised:

'breakfast consisted of porridge and milk; lunch of bread; dinner included beef on three days, fish pie and roast meat with potatoes on six days (? sixth day) and soup or pudding; tea of bread or rye loaf and milk with marmalade or syrup on Sundays; supper of bread and milk in summer, coffee or cocoa in winter.'

After this date complaints become less frequent. In 1873 they inquire why a girl, Christina Steele, went home after only one week in hospital, but her mother replies that the girl's only objection to the school was 'that she could not see her mamma as often as she liked.' The last complaints were four years later, this time of alleged uncleanness.

On the credit side, the governors did much at Rillbank to make life happier for the girls, and the account books show how they introduced modern improvements. In 1881 an early type of gas-cooker was introduced, and four years later sewing-machines were bought for the older girls. In 1888 croquet sets were purchased—and elastic chest expanders. A number of magazines and *The Daily Review* were taken.

In 1870 they decide to use the word 'institution' instead of hospital—but only in reports, and for several years the prize list is headed 'Rillbank Institution.' Other suggestions were that the school might be called 'The Rillbank Educational Institute' or 'The Trades Maiden Educational Institute,' and we may be glad that these names did not in the end displace the old title.

In 1875 the governors recommended certain alterations to the house, including a new dormitory, but it was not until 1884 when the schoolrooms were disused that it was possible to have enough dormitory accommodation to allow each girl to have her own bed.

#### *Educational Changes.*

Much of the space in the minute books of the Rillbank period is taken up with attempts to alter the old hospital system to suit the changing conditions of the times. With the development of specialised secondary education it became increasingly difficult for a small hospital school to provide adequate facilities for senior girls. Other institutions, much more liberally endowed than the Trades Maidens were, either willingly or under pressure from the Educational Commis-

sioners, changed their character. The minutes indicate that opinion was often so divided that the whole future character of the hospital hung upon one or two votes. For a time the board was divided into two parties, the reformers desiring powers to make very radical changes and the conservatives seeking to retain its original character. The latter party found that the most effective way of stultifying motions for change was to remain absent from meetings and thereby reduce the number present below that needed for a quorum. For this reason there were no annual meetings in 1864 and 1865, and in 1866 the minute states

'The gentlemen above convened, having waited a quarter of an hour after the hour appointed for a meeting, separated, there not being present the statutory quorum of 17.'

The compromise which emerged from the controversy both preserved the hospital character of the school in line with the original intentions of its founders, and at the same time allowed of sufficient alteration to satisfy the government commissioners and prevent compulsory changes being forced upon them.

In 1862 the governors received word of the proposed commission to revise all educational endowments, and held conference on the subject with the Merchant Company and other similar hospitals. The same year Deacon Moir called attention to the disadvantage under which the children laboured from not having a government certificate and proposed that the girls who intended to follow the profession of teachers should be allowed to attend one or other of the Normal Schools. It was agreed that such children should attend the Normal School of the Established Church for one year. At the same time rules which would widen the rights of presentation were proposed, but could not be carried as the opposition withdrew and created no quorum. The governors obtained a report from the Lord Advocate on their powers of

altering the rules to allow any girl to be presented, and as a result resolved that, failing any eligible girl seeking nomination, any other might be accepted.

In 1863 the Educational Committee of the governors considered a remit 'to consider and report on the education and upbringing of the girls.' They reported:

'that considerable changes in the present system are desirable, but would require further consideration . . . however, having regard to the working of the rule of 1844 giving leave to girls to leave the hospital on arriving at the age of 14 for the purpose of learning some trade, were unanimously of the opinion that it had not acted so beneficially as it would have done had it conferred full powers on the governors to fix and determine what girls should be boarded out, and it would be highly expedient that in future all girls should leave the hospital at the age of 14 for the purpose of learning dress-making or other suitable employment, with the exception of such girls as have shown talents likely to qualify them for being governesses. They further recommend that on each child reaching twelve, the Education Committee should ascertain from teachers whether she has shown such talent and application as would justify the governors in educating her to be a governess, and where she has not shown any special fitness her education should be confined to English, writing, arithmetic and drawing, and her parents notified to look out for a suitable occupation.'

The next year the committee adds that with the best education in the hospital they are unable to compete with highly educated young ladies who fill situations as governesses and whose education is not usually completed until 20 or 21 years, therefore they recommend generally educating the girls not as governesses but to some trade such as dress-making. Those needing higher education would be better in a Normal School, and those of decided ability in a private school. In 1867 the committee made a determined attempt to bring the syllabus up to date, suggesting that:

1. There should be three classes for the English department, with promotion on progress and not on age.
2. That the two top classes should be taught by a specialist.

3. The youngest classes to be taught by one who makes elementary teaching his business: he shall be under the specialist, who shall also direct the governesses.

4. There should be another teacher for writing and arithmetic.

5. There should be a proficient governess to reside in and assist the present governess as tutor, also to do the sewing and be in charge of the girls.

6. German, French, drawing and piano and vocal music and dancing to be as at present.

7. Worship and religious knowledge to be taken by the matron.

8. The matron meantime to teach the Sunday evening class.

9. They should employ a respectable middle-aged servant as nurse.

Within a year the committee present another report, on the advisability of throwing open the hospital to day-girls:

'As the hospital system is costly, as George Watson's governors about 20 years ago obtained an Act authorising the admission of day-scholars, and as after experience they found the arrangement to work well, as the same system has been adopted by Heriot's and the Merchant Maidens—they resolve to admit day-pupils on the following conditions:

1. That it in no way affect the rights of patrons or the ordinary rules of the hospital.

2. That girls be (a) such as have the right to be elected to the hospital, (b) daughters of burgesses, (c) any others—all between the ages of 11 and 14.

3. That they remain until 17 and pay 5 guineas per annum, and two for music, with lunch included.<sup>1</sup>

The committee considered that under rule 21 and appendix 24 they had powers to act, but the governors decided not to adopt the report until fuller consideration had been given to the question. In 1869 the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act became law, and the governors decided to take advantage of it, bringing forward a scheme which included such far-reaching changes as using Rillbank entirely as a day-school,

<sup>1</sup> There is one instance during the Argyle Square period of a fee-paying girl. The legality of this was not at the time questioned.

boarding out their foundationers, enlarging the buildings, purchasing the private rights of presentation and altering the constitution of the governing body. A provisional order was framed, but when the Lord Advocate presented it to the Solicitor-General the latter considered many sections to be incompetent, and no action was taken.

In 1876 they requested H.M. Inspector to visit the school and report. He reported that the discipline was good, as was the proficiency in all subjects. He considered, however, that there was lack of a definite time-table and that classes were too small.<sup>1</sup> He further suggested the appointment of a headmaster.

Upon reception of this report the committee reported to the governors:

1. That fee-paying day-pupils be admitted.
2. That a headmaster be appointed.

The governors delayed the first recommendation, as they had not ascertained if they were legally entitled to put it into practice, but proceeded to carry out the second recommendation. In 1877 Mr. Robert Henderson was appointed at a salary of £250 per annum.

It became obvious, however, that the two recommendations stood together; without the addition of day-pupils the school was too small to make a headmaster an economic proposition. Three years later another special committee set up to investigate the situation presented the governors with two alternatives: 1. Turning the hospital into a fee-paying school with boarded-out foundationers, or 2. Providing only boarding facilities for their foundationers and sending them out for their education to some other school such as one of the Merchant Company schools.

An active minority, led by Deacon Leggatt, favoured the

<sup>1</sup> This was a common charge against hospital schools in the nineteenth century, since when educational opinion has changed and small classes sought after.

first course, but the majority of the governors inclined to the second alternative. The Headmaster of George Watson's Ladies' College reported that:

'The whole of the girls could be received into the Merchant Company school at George Square. Forty nine girls of the average ages of those at present in the hospital could be educated there at a cost of £331. For attending to the girls and supervising the preparation of lessons in the evening he suggested that a matron and one governess would suffice.'

The governors acted on this report, the headmaster and two resident governesses were dispensed with and the girls were sent to George Square. Within two years, however, in 1882, Deacon Leggatt's alternative proposals secured a majority on the board, and the Education Committee drew up plans for turning the hospital into a day-school; their report stresses that:

'A tutorial staff should be appointed sufficient for the instruction of pupils in school in contradistinction to the now prevalent practice of merely giving out and hearing lessons in school and practically throwing the labour of instruction upon the parents or relatives of the children at home.'

They even decided to advertise for staff and pupils, and drew up a scheme which they submitted to the Educational Commissioners. In 1883 they were asked to appear before the commissioners, but by this time the view of the governors had swung back again and they opposed the draft scheme which was laid before them. In 1886 Crown Counsel decided that many of their endowments were outwith the Act of 1882, and the commissioners indicated that they intended to take no action.

The scheme for turning the hospital into a large fee-paying school was then finally dropped and the practice which they had begun in 1880 of sending the girls out to school was retained.

It is interesting to note that the two Mary Erskine founda-

tions, the Merchant and the Trades Maidens, whose history to this date had been along similar lines, adopted different alternatives, the former losing its hospital character and becoming a large fee-paying day-school, the latter retaining its boarding facilities but sending out its girls to other schools for their education.<sup>1</sup>

#### ASHFIELD: SINCE 1892

In 1889 the governors were approached by the board of George Watson's Ladies College to see if Rillbank House might be sold to them. The governors agreed to sell at £12,000 if the Merchant Company would set up another day-school there which their own girls could attend and if they could procure a suitable site for a new hospital. The Company decided that the price was too high and negotiations proceeded no further. In the same year the governors saw the plans for the new school which the School Board proposed to erect next to the hospital in Sciennes Road.

In 1891 the governors received a letter from the directors of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children as to the sale of Rillbank, as the Royal Infirmary desired their present property for extensions. The overture was declined by one vote, but they were again approached by the same body with an offer of £15,000. The governors asked £17,500, a figure which was accepted by the Infirmary and Sick Children's Hospital only after a year's hesitation.

In 1892 the hospital moved into Ashfield, at the corner of Grange Loan and Blackford Hill Avenue, which had been purchased from Mr. Henry Younger for £7000. Mr. T. L. Sawers was commissioned to paint Rillbank, the painting to be set in a carved wooden frame from which the previous owner had removed a family group. They also decided to

<sup>1</sup> The 1844 rule for outboarding remained in force under the new arrangement. The headmaster of George Square reported in 1890 that when girls were boarded out at 14 their interest in their lessons diminished.

have a catalogue prepared of the blackboards which hung on the walls of Rillbank with a record of benefactors.<sup>1</sup>

During the early years at Ashfield the girls continued to receive their education at George Square, but there were reports that they were behind the other girls in the school in progress. More girls were placed on the outboarding allowance. In spite of the monies received from the sale of Rillbank and the reduction in staff due to giving up the educational side of the work, the governors found expenses too heavy, and in 1901 decided that

'to limit expenditure on education without impairing its efficiency all the girls in the hospital receiving primary education should be sent in future to James Gillespie's School.'

For several years the senior girls continued to attend George Square, until finally they were all removed to James Gillespie's. Today many of the girls still attend this school, but a number are accommodated at the non-fee-paying schools of the Edinburgh Education Committee.

Ashfield continues to house the hospital, and the modern schoolgirls who are the Trades Maidens of today bear little resemblance to the maids of the beaver bonnets and blue cloaks who traversed the vennels from Horse Wynd to Greyfriars Church, or to the Victorian young ladies of Rillbank Educational Institute. But in the regulations many of the old customs and phrases survive, and there are still evidences of the connection with the convener—the board room with its relics of the incorporations, the wall-boards with the names of deacons who played their part in its history, and the Christmas party and prize-giving attended by the Deacon-Convener with his ancient chain of office.

<sup>1</sup> A record of these boards, which have now disappeared, was engrossed in the minutes. One entry reads: 'In remembrance of Miss Marion Wight, who being educated in this institution repaid the benefits received by a faithfull and efficient discharge of the duties of Matron for a period of twenty years, and in token of gratitude bequeathed a sum of one hundred pounds sterling to the funds in 1867.'

JAMES RONALDSON  
BAKER, TYPEFOUNDER, PHILANTHROPIST, AND  
HIS CONNEXIONS IN AND AROUND EDINBURGH

A REVIEW of *The Specimen Books of Binny and Ronaldson 1809-1812*, which appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 13th March 1937, provided an interesting clue to the identity of a family whose tombstones are to be seen in the ancient churchyards of Colinton and South Leith. Andrew Binny and James Ronaldson, both natives of Edinburgh, established themselves in Philadelphia in 1796 and, according to the reviewer, the Columbiad Club of America has 'rendered a valuable service to students of typographical traditions' by the publication of this volume, for the firm of Binny and Ronaldson 'cut . . . a number of book and jobbing romans and italics including, in 1797, the first dollar mark ever made in type for the American trade . . .'

The partners were not the first Scots to enter the American typefounding trade, as in or about 1786 another Edinburgh man, John Baine, had joined a grandson in his business in Philadelphia. But the interest of their achievements for British readers lies in the fact that despite the influence exercised by Benjamin Franklin and his son-in-law in favour of French typography, 'English traditions not merely maintained themselves but, in the hands of the two Baines, Binny, Ronaldson, Lothian, the two Bruces and Lindsay may be seen imposing themselves upon the rapidly expanding American printing trade' until 'finally, the Scottish romans and italics established themselves as the national style of early twentieth-century America.'

This link between the printing trade in Edinburgh and

JAMES RONALDSON AND HIS CONNEXIONS 45

Philadelphia has not hitherto been the subject of study locally, so that the following account of James Ronaldson and his family may prove to be of some interest to antiquarians.

James Ronaldson (1769-1841) was the fourth of the seven children of William Ronaldson (1738-1817), baxter, burghess and guild brother of Edinburgh, and his wife Marion Cleghorn (1734-1825), a daughter of John Cleghorn in Blinkbonny, whose family tombstone may be seen in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard. William and Marion Ronaldson are buried at Colinton, and the stone marking their grave was 'reset by their surviving sons James and Richard of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in Oct. 1840.'

William Ronaldson appears to have lived at Damhead House, Gorgie, in comfortable circumstances. He came of farming stock which is traceable back to a David Ronaldson in Paiston, Ormiston, whose wife, Helen Dickson, 'deceisit 8 Merche 1632.' William himself, 'lawful son (and eighth child) of Archibald Ronaldson tenant of Peastonburn,' was apprenticed to Andrew Hardie, baxter burghess of Edinburgh, 'in his art of Baxtercraft for five years with a fee of £13, 10s. sterling' on 28th November 1753. An earlier member of the same family, George Ronaldson, was apprenticed to James Hunter, baxter, Edinburgh in 1687. There appear to have been many openings for sons when farmers, millers, butchers, and bakers were all members of a family group, and their business interests and ties of relationship bound them together in a manner unknown to the loosely knitted and mainly rootless society of today. William Ronaldson's uncle James, and cousin, George Ronaldson, farmers at Dodridge, appear briefly in connection with tree planting in the 'Letters of John Cockburn of Ormistoun to his gardener 1727-1744.'

Small portraits of William and Marion Ronaldson, although having no pretensions to being considered as works of art,

survive to present pleasing likenesses of an elderly couple in late eighteenth century Edinburgh merchant society. Unfortunately no portrait of their son James is known.

In 1791, for reasons now obscure, James Ronaldson first visited Philadelphia, and having, apparently, been favourably impressed by the prospects in business offered by that city he went to reside permanently there early in 1794. For close on two years he carried on a 'biscuit bakery,' until his premises were destroyed by fire in 1796. At this time, however, he met Mr. Andrew Binny with whom he had been acquainted in Edinburgh, and entered into partnership with him in the establishment of the first permanent type foundry in the United States on 1st November 1796. James Ronaldson furnished the greater portion of the capital and assumed control of the financial side of the business while Andrew Binny, a practical type founder, who had carried on a similar business in Edinburgh, contributed his tools, stock of metal and types, and took charge of the manufacturing department. A prosperous business resulted from the partnership, and, to quote James Ronaldson's own words, 'the importation of foreign type ceased in proportion as the productions of Binny and Ronaldson increased and became known to the printers throughout the United States.'

In 1806 the firm came into possession of the typefoundry tools and materials which Benjamin Franklin had brought from France. They had become the property of William Duane, a nephew of Franklin and an intimate friend of James Ronaldson, who offered to *lend* the tools to his friend's firm but, on examining these, James Ronaldson was so much impressed by their excellence that, fearing lest Mr. Duane should change his mind, he 'immediately borrowed a wheelbarrow and personally conveyed those he had selected to the foundry.'

In 1815 Andrew Binny retired from the firm and James Ronaldson continued the business until 1823, when he resigned

in favour of his younger brother, Richard, also a burgess of Edinburgh, who had joined him in Philadelphia after some years spent in running a jeweller's business in Edinburgh.

James Ronaldson was honest, just and upright in all his actions, and of a philanthropic nature which was spiced by certain quirks and oddities. He established the first Soup Kitchen in Philadelphia (Southwark district), was a founder of the Scots' Thistle Society, a Master Mason of Lodge No. 1 in Edinburgh, and while holding the office of president of the Louisville Canal recommended Mr. J. Edgar Thomson, a brilliant young civil engineer, to the management of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Before the foundation of the Franklin Institute 'there existed in Philadelphia a select body of mechanics, mechanical engineers and others skilled in mechanics who had for many years a perfected organisation which merged into the Franklin Institute with James Ronaldson as its first President, in 1824. This office he held continuously until his death in 1841.' He contributed to the support of the Institute and was a generous subscriber to the Pennsylvania Hospital, while his interest in the Model Schools established by his friend Thomas Lancaster in the Southwark (soup kitchen) district was such that he was accustomed to interview and enquire personally into the progress of each of the 300 boys in the schools.

In addition to his type foundry, James Ronaldson owned and operated the Hillsburgh Mills, fifteen miles from Philadelphia, which were engaged in spinning cotton yarn. To this enterprise he added a weaving department wherein were made blue-and-white jeans. Not content with this the versatile James Ronaldson set up a china manufactory, apparently in Philadelphia, and we read 'in 1808 Binny and Ronaldson made yellow and red tea sets at their works in South Street. . . . From 1808-1818 their works were known as the Columbian Pottery and they manufactured Queensware. It was their products which drew the encomium of

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Dr. Mease who referred to the ware as being equal to Staffordshire.'

Before closing our account of the varied activities of this forgotten son of Edinburgh, reference must be made to Ronaldson's Philadelphia Cemetery which he owned and laid out in 1827 for 'the interment of his friends and deceased human beings other than people of colour,' and 'to give people in moderate circumstances opportunity for burial within their means.' Certain lots in this cemetery were made free for poor deserving people of any creed, while a large double lot was to be used for and occupied by 'friendless Scots' who might die in the city. Nor was this all. James Ronaldson was not the man to neglect any aspect of the matters he took in hand for, in speaking of his original plan, he says he 'wanted to erect within the enclosure of the Philadelphia Cemetery a dwelling house for the keeper or grave-digger on one side of the gate, and, on the other side a house uniform with that of the grave-digger's; this house to have a room, provided with a stove, couch, etc. into which persons dying suddenly might be laid, and the string of a bell put into their hand, so that if there should be any notion of returning life, the alarm might be rung, the keepers alarmed, and medical help procured.'

He exercised his talents for horticulture in laying out the cemetery and built near by a row of single, brick houses with high marble steps, which was known as Ronaldson Row, occupying the corner house himself that he might overlook his cemetery. One peculiarity of the construction of this row of houses was that each doorway and steps were built at the right front end of the house, each being separate and alone. He explained that this was done in order 'to prevent tattling women from gossiping on the door-steps.'

James Ronaldson was a ready writer and produced many essays on political economy, against the issue of paper money and its use. Politically he was a Whig, which may have been



DAMHEAD HOUSE, GORGIE

one of his reasons for leaving Edinburgh, and favoured a high protective tariff. He was a friend of President Andrew Jackson who offered him a position in his Cabinet, but this Ronaldson declined after a lengthy correspondence. A friend of his Edinburgh days, John Scott, chemist, of St. Patrick's Square, Edinburgh, appointed him sole executor to transfer the sum of three thousand dollars to the Franklin Fund, Philadelphia. Unmarried himself, James Ronaldson persuaded his brothers John and Richard, and a sister, Janet, to join him in Philadelphia. Later, nephews from Leith also went to America.

Over the Gothic entrance to one of the early nineteenth-century family burial grounds in South Leith churchyard is the name Ronaldson in old English lettering. The tablet within gives interesting information as to the family of Archibald Ronaldson (1767-1832), flesher in Leith, burghess of Edinburgh, and elder brother of James, the Philadelphia biscuit baker and typefounder. It is possible that Ronaldson's Buildings and Ronaldson's Wharf in Leith take their name from this family, who were prominent in trade there in their day, but as there were also some seafaring Ronaldsons in the Leith of that time, who were quite a separate family, this is by no means certain. Archibald Ronaldson must have retired from the active management of his business in his middle years for the obituary notice in the *Courant* names him as 'farmer at Saughland.' It was at this farm, where his eldest son, William, was engaged in farming in 1829, that the funeral urns mentioned on p. 165 of the 1892 edition of the Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland were found at Blacklaw Knoll. Young William Ronaldson came to a tragic end with his wife and their four children in a boiler explosion aboard the river steamer *Lady of the Lake* at Quebec in 1834.

Here ends this account of the history of an obscure but active Scottish family compiled from information given by

tombstones, parish registers, testamentary registers, rolls of apprentices and burghesses, *Edinburgh Courant*, Edinburgh marriage register, the Historical Catalogue of the St. Andrew Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia Encyclopaedia, etc., to which any other new information would be a welcome addition.

M. TAIT.

AN ADDITION TO  
LAING'S CHARTULARY OF ST. GILES

WHILE it might seem that the *Chartulary of St. Giles*, edited for the Bannatyne Club by David Laing, was the last word on the early records of that church, there is among the Edinburgh muniments a small volume apparently unknown to him. A slim vellum-covered volume, labelled in a comparatively modern hand *Chartullary of St. Giles for annualrents and obits*, contains some matters not mentioned in Laing's book.

The title is only partially correct. The *Chartullary* apparently is a record kept by or for the prebendaries of St. Giles not only of annualrents and obits, but also of affairs of the chapter, cases before the Official of Lothian and dispositions of their property. Two of the more important entries, however, were known to Laing from other sources.

It is one of the difficulties of old records that the first of a series seldom, if ever, is found. This particular volume is no exception. It is improbable that the chapter kept no account of their proceedings. It is obvious that the volume is not complete. The list of obits certainly is not so, as even the slightest comparison with Laing can show. Since the earliest date is 1500 and since the book closes in 1579, it may be that slackness in the administration of church affairs, a portent of the Reformation, was accountable for the miscellany found in it. One thing is certain—it was the last record kept by the chapter.

The *Chartullary* begins with an act of 26 April 1500, possibly re-enacted from an earlier date since, while it purports to be signed by the prebendaries, it has no names attached. It runs 'The quhilk day the prebendis cheptourlie



gaderit for the maist pairt decernis and ordanis that thair salbe fra this day furth foure prebendaris in the senzie and alo that thair sall na lewis be grantet except infirmitie or ellis to pas furth of the sonn eftir the tenor of the statutis maid thairupon and the licence to be gewin be the provest and president in his absens or ellis the eldest in the queir conforme to the fundatioun and this act to be observit and kept for the weill and uphald of godis service subscrivit with our awing handis.'

Later in the volume the affairs of the prebendaries occur again. Under the date 31 January 1553/4 is found the report of a quarrel between two. Sir Henry Loch, sacristan, had 'greatly and heavily' offended Sir John Simpson, prebendary, by many injurious words—unfortunately omitted—in presence of the whole brethren. Loch was enjoined to ask forgiveness and to deliver to Sir William Gray 15s. to be used as Sir John and the rest of the chapter thought fit. Also he was bound over not to offend any of the chapter again under pain of doubling the fine. The promise and the fine were to prove no deterrent. A footnote to the act states 'quhillk soum he doublit and payit quher he drew the quhynpear to Schir Edward henrison in the organe loft upoun the Nativitie day of our lady in anno Liiii<sup>o</sup> and XVS mair because of the falt maid to the cheptour.' That offence probably was the consequence of an episode only a fortnight after the quarrel with Simpson. The president and brethren then found that Sir Edward, by bringing a complaint against Loch had offended him with injurious words and must ask forgiveness and pay 3s. to Sir William Gray, to be used at the discretion of the brethren. Still, from the middle of January to the 8th September was surely a long time to bear malice.

The actual annualrents recorded are not found in Laing's volume. Three, however, show gifts of lands later included in larger gifts. For instance, two separate gifts made by Sir

Adam Otterburn, Town Clerk, Provost and diplomat in 1525 and 1527 are repeated in his long charter of 1535, already printed. Of the rest, all unprinted, the first seven, dating from 1528 to 1534, are extracted from John Foular's fifth protocol book. These are followed by eleven taken from his fourth book, dating from 1510/11 to 1527. Then, after a few charters of a later date, come copies of four protocols from the book of Henry Strathauchin, dated from 1500 to 1516/17, extracted and collated by Vincent Strathauchin. Henry's books are not extant.

These annualrents follow the usual formula, yet some of the names of persons and descriptions are interesting. For instance, the protocol of 8 June 1528 mentions a property near the Netherbow. A note, added later, describes it as 'betwixt the bowis,' a phrase found elsewhere and never explained. A theory has been advanced that the original Netherbow lay further west than the later one, but it is fantastic to imagine that two ports existed at the same time.

Two annualrents were payable from lands in Blackfriars Wynd. Sir George Coats, chaplain, describes his land as on the west side of the wynd between the lands of the Earl of Morton and of Walter Chapman, he who was the King's printer. On the opposite side lay the land of George Gibson between those of Sir John White, chaplain, and Alan Mosman, first named of a notable family of goldsmiths.

After the book came into the keeping of the Town Council marginal notes help to identify properties described in the protocols and show how quickly property changed hands. Alexander Tennent, probably a relation of Mungo, the Provost, had property near the present Advocate's Close, but in less than fifty years it had become 'Mr. Gilbert Grottis hous.' The tenement of Alexander Rynd, east of Lord Borthwick's tenement, after about the same time, was described as in Gillespie's Close. The tenement of David Knox, between those of Simon Dowell and Archibald Preston,

was identified as lying in Knox's or Pearson's Close, one of those now obliterated by the City Chambers.

Inserted between the protocols of Foular and Strathachin is a feu charter by Sir Edward Marjoribanks, prebendary of Craigerook, to William Adamson, burgess, and Janet Napier, his wife, of the lands of Craigerook, formerly belonging to George Kirkcaldy, brother of James Kirkcaldy of Grange, King's Treasurer. It is dated 19 June 1542 and was signed by the whole chapter, whose consent to the deed was necessary. Including the provost, Mr. Robert Crichton, and the curate, David Young, there were seventeen signatories. Sir William Gray and Sir Edward Henrison, named in 1554, already were prebendaries. Sir Henry Loch was not.

Following Strathachin's protocols comes the Register of anniversaries or obits. It is incomplete as it stops at the month of October. The list cannot possibly represent all the anniversaries which were due to be celebrated and there is no indication as to how the selection was made. Two later lists give the annualrents belonging to the High Altar and to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, both printed in the St. Giles Charters. It might be suggested that these obits had been assigned to some particular but unnamed altar. They cover dates from 1444 to 1538. Only one is listed for January, that of Alexander Elphingston; one in February, for James Barron; two in March, for Sir David Rannyk, chaplain; and Katherine Yair; one in April, for Sir George Coats, chaplain. In May there were five, for Margaret Finlayson, John Marjoribanks and three chaplains, Sir Thomas Flucar, Mr. John White, prebendary of the altar of St. Sebastian, and Sir Thomas Maxwell. In June there were two, for Andrew Hervye and Andrew White; in July three, of which one, for Sir John Kers, is incomplete, with James Wight and Robert Russell. August had four obits, Sir William Brown, Margaret Rynd, Alan Windysetts and Thomas Brown. September had two, John Bisset and Patrick Heriot, and October three,

John Foular—not the notary of that name—Mr. William Foular, a kinsman, since payment for the two obits came from the same land, and Sir Robert Hopper, chaplain.

The oldest anniversary was that of Alan Windysetts who died on 13 August 1444. He left an annualrent from John Pardovan's land which provided 3s. for candles, 2s. for the bells, 12d. for the candlesticks, clerk and bellringer and 13s. 4d. to the canons. Mr. Robert Russell, who died on 31 July 1494, left an annualrent of 33s. 4d. to be distributed as follows: 10s. in bread and money to twenty worthy poor, 3s. for candles, 2s. for bells, 12d. for the candlesticks, clerk and bellringer and 7s. 4d. to the canons. The two Foulars who died on 28 and 31 October 1503 left 20s. each for their obits. The distribution of the money was similar to that of Windysetts, except that they left 8d. to the collectors in addition.

Margaret Rynd, whose obit was on 9 August 1505, left one of the largest sums noted, £5. She explained in detail how she wished the sum divided. For the cross, candles, torches and singing boys she allotted 5s. 8d.; for the thirty chaplains not of the choir—*extra chorum*—15s.; 3s. for the great bells; for the candlesticks and clerk 12s.; and 4d. to the bellringer. She left 52s. for doles, 6s. to the Grey Friars, 4s. to the hospital in St. Mary Wynd, 16s. to the canons and 32s. to the collectors for their labours.

The largest sum was left by Sir Robert Hopper, the ratification of whose mortification is in the *St. Giles Charters* (pp. 218-24). The ratification is dated 29 March 1527 and Sir Robert died on 8 October 1528. The sum of £7, 10s. was divided much in the usual way with doles to the Grey Friars, the hospital of St. Mary Wynd and the chapel of St. Ninian outwith the burgh.

In the year 1555 three cases are recorded which were brought before the Official of Lothian dealing with the payment of annuals on lands which had been destroyed by the

English in 1545. It was in reality a simple matter, for the Parliament of 1551 had enacted what deductions fell to be made from annuals payable from ruined properties and the time limit beyond which such deductions should cease to be valid. There were three grades of deductions: the 'annueller' of a burnt land who made no contribution towards rebuilding was to lose a sixth part of the annual; the feu annueller a fifth part and the 'tope' annueller—presumably the original holder—was to lose one fourth. Also, if the owners of burnt lands or tenements had not repaired their property within two years after the date of the act, the annuellers might have recourse to law for payment.

In terms of this act Sir Walter Haliburton and Sir George Manderston, collectors for the prebendaries, on 10 March 1555/6 made an agreement with Humfrey Rollock, tutor and grandfather of Agnes Elphinston, and his wife, Agnes Tweedie, for the arrears of an annualrent of 20s. in arrears since the burning of the town. It was eleven years since the money had been paid, but only £7 was due, showing that four years had elapsed since the burning of the property, but that it had been rebuilt within the time limit prescribed by the act. Of the £7 due 'the saidis collectoris with consent of the cheptour giffis iii lib. XVS. to by the Vs. that suld be deducit be reason of the actis.' The calculation of the deduction seems to err on the side of generosity, but presumably the collectors knew what they were about. In future Rollock engaged to pay the full amount due.

After this agreement comes the copy of a tack granted by the Provost, President and prebendaries to Laurence, Master of Oliphant, on 27 July 1551 of the teind sheaves of Dumbarry, Pottie and Moncreiff. The cautioners for Oliphant were John Sandilands of Calder, George Tours of Inverleith, John Serymgeour of the Myres and Patrick Barroun of Spitalfield. The tack duty was £180 Scots payable at the terms of Candlemas and Beltane. There is nothing unusual in the

wording of the tack, which was to be registered in the books of the Official of Lothian. Among the witnesses were Francis Tennent, Provost of the Burgh, and Patrick Tennent of Cairns. The transaction was completed by the *monitio* of the Official to the parties concerned as to observing the terms of the tack. The members of the chapter are given, and, if there were a full attendance, it appears that their numbers had shrunk. In 1542 the chapter numbered seventeen. In 1551 there were fourteen, counting the provost and including Sir Henry Loch, Sir John Simpson, Sir William Gray and Sir Edward Henrison.

The story of the tack is taken up in the *St. Giles Charters* (pp. 269-72). On 21 January 1561/2 Laurence, then Lord Oliphant, was defender in a case brought by the provost and prebendaries for his refusal to pay the tack duty. Sir William Murray of Tullibardine alleged on his behalf that the College Kirk of St. Giles was 'ane commoun kirk and that all commoun kirkis within this realme are assumit to our said Soueranis and the fructis thair of ordanit healelie to be brocht and applyit to thair use.' Sir William, Controller of the Royal Household, stated that he had charged Lord Oliphant to pay the money to him and that the noble lord was in danger of being poided for a double payment if the appeal were allowed. The ingenious plea was in vain. The Lords of Council upheld the claim of the chapter and ordered payment to be made to them. On this occasion thirteen of the chapter, including the provost, Master James Clephane, are named, only three, Loch, Gray and Henrison, having been concerned in the tack.

The next entries in the manuscript are similar to two in the *St. Giles Charters*, giving the endowments of the High Altar and that of St. Mary the Virgin. Their only new interest lies in the marginal notes which have been added, one set in Latin and the other in Scots. These refer solely to changes of ownership in the lands from which the annual-rents were payable. Those in Latin probably were added

before the kirk annuals passed from the possession of the chapter. Those in Scots, being in a rather later hand, may have been added after Queen Mary's charter donated the kirk lands and revenues to the Town. Unfortunately few of the notes throw much light on the position of properties in the Town. The land of John of St. Michael under the Castle wall on the south side of the High Street has the note '*et nunc est terra domini de Innerleyth*'—that is High Riggs, much later acquired by the Town. The land of John Dee in Booth Row is described as '*terra uxoris Lytill*' and later as 'William Littells land quher his hous is,' thus dating the note at or near the time when William Little, provost of Edinburgh, lived. George Lauder's land is described as 'the land abone the entres of the flesche mercat.' Among the endowments of the Virgin's altar the land of Christian Maltmaker is noted as James Brown's in the cunzie nuik—that is at the head of the Cowgate opposite the Greyfriars. The land of the successive Alexander Napiers, provosts, was, we learn, situated 'at the bow heid.'

Before all the pages of the book were used, its usefulness had ceased. The last entry records the Council's assumption of their new acquisition: '25 July 1579 the quhilk day at command of the Counsall this buke of annuellis contening twenty four writtin lewis deliverit to John Johnsoun collectour (signed) J. Guthrye.' Why the Council had waited for ten years after the granting of their charter of the Kirklands remains a matter unsolved. Possibly they had to wait for the death of the last prebendary.

MARGUERITE WOOD.

#### ST. JOHN STREET : AN EARLY CIVIC IMPROVEMENT \*

ST. JOHN STREET, which takes its name from the ancient Cross which stood in the Canongate, is distinctively associated with an early attempt at civic improvement, an effort of a group of enterprising citizens to depart from the time-honoured rule of having their habitations amid the squalor, inconvenience and lack of privacy of the Royal Mile, and to find new homes where domestic life could be cultivated with a sense of decency and refinement. Yet St. John Street was hardly a palliative from the congested state of the Old Town. 'Long after the Canongate had been deserted by its courtly occupants,' writes Charles Cowan in his *Reminiscences*, 'St. John Street was tenanted by not a few both of the rural and city aristocracy. From its being a private street—"No thoroughfare"—it was a quiet, cheerful locality, and was guarded by an ancient seneschal in faded uniform who . . . barred all entrance to carriages and carts, except for the use of the residents.' The Street Porter, of whom much will be said later on, lived at No. 1, a 'common stair,' says Cowan but the Minute Book of the proprietors make it clear that there was last century a Porter's Lodge. It was a building apart, as there is an entry about repairing the roof.

While James Brown was rearing the north side of George Square, a row of substantial, heavy-looking tenements was being erected on the east side of St. John Street. This was in 1768, that date appearing on a lintel at a rear entrance.

\* This Paper by Mr. Forbes Gray was the last contribution from his pen, sent to me less than a week before his death on 12th May 1950.—Ed.

eminently their concern. Families of this sort controlled the property and insisted upon refinement and gentlemanlike bearing as indispensable passports to their social class.

Yet, setting aside the commercially-minded and the aristocratic, the professional class was predominant. Two eminent judges found St. John Street an attractive suburb, and settled there—Lords Monboddo and Eskgrove, two personages who adorned the Bench of the Court of Session (see the writer's *Some Old Scots Judges*). Monboddo, whose family name was Burnet, was a forerunner of Darwin, and proclaimed in the eighteenth century that the monkey was our common ancestor. When the colonel in *Guy Mannering* informs Pleydell that the supper-hour will be anticipated, the latter gaily expresses his delight, and remarks 'I am of counsel with my old friend Burnet. I love the *cæna*, the supper of the Ancients.' The allusion is to Monboddo's custom of entertaining his friends to what he called 'learned suppers.' These took place fortnightly in St. John Street. Here of an evening would gather as choice a company of intelligentsia as could be found anywhere. The supper had all the variety and abundance of the chief meal of the day. The table was strewn with roses, in imitation of Horace at his beautiful home among the Sabine Hills. Similarly the master of the feast would garland his flasks of excellent Bordeaux. And as the sumptuous feast proceeded he would unbend to a select and admiring company and discourse with wit and vivacity on some of his pet theories. The colloquial fare was as substantial as the repast.

Burns resorted to Monboddo's house, the attraction being the senator's daughter upon whom he heaped superlative praise in the 'Address to Edinburgh':

Fair Burnet strikes th' adoring eye,  
Heaven's beauties on my fancy shine,  
I see the Sire of Love on high,  
And own his work indeed divine.

Miss Burnet's early death at the Braid farm impelled Burns to try something more ambitious, and after several months' 'hammering,' he produced a fine elegy of seven stanzas. Even 'Clarinda' was forced to acknowledge the bewitching beauty of Monboddo's daughter. To 'our Sylvander' (*i.e.* Burns) she wrote: 'Miss Burnet sat just behind me. What an angelic girl! What felicity to witness her "speak softly and sweetly smile. . . ."'

The other juridical representative, Lord Eskgrove, lived during the later years in St. John Street and died there. At times he seemed to rival Monboddo in eccentricity. Lord Cockburn, who knew him in old age, describes him as of medium height but bent and withered and walking with a slow stealthy step—something between a walk and a hirple. 'The voice was low and mumbling, and on the Bench was generally inaudible for some time after the movement of the lips showed that he had begun speaking.' 'It is unfortunate,' adds Cockburn, 'that without an idea of his voice and manner, mere narration cannot describe his sayings and doings graphically.' Cockburn's sketch, not wholly unprejudiced, tends to show that a queerer or more ungainly person never sat upon the Scottish Bench. Eskgrove (or Sir David Rae, as he was then) died in 1804. A few months before his death George III, curiously enough, created him a baronet. Eskgrove had no relish for 'learned suppers' and was as innocent of metaphysics and theology as he was of good government. One slender link bound him to letters. He edited the poems of William Hamilton of Bangour, whom he had intimately known. It was a task beyond his powers but he sheltered himself behind the appraisal of the *Caledonian Mercury*, which, with marked extravagance, proclaimed Hamilton 'in language, sentiment, and numbers a poet little, if at all, inferior to a Dryden, an Addison, or a Pope.'

At the beginning of the nineteenth century St. John Street was still the abode of fashionable and illustrious people.

Apart from Lord Wemyss, the superior, who dwelt in a large, roomy mansion, there was living at No. 3 the Rev. Dr. Brunton who, in the glorious days of pluralities, held both a pastoral and an academic office. He was minister of Old Greyfriars and then of the Tron Church, combining this with the Hebrew professorship in Edinburgh University. The author of a Persian Grammar, he died so late as 1854. He was the husband of Mary Brunton (1778-1819), novelist, who resorted to this vocation as the best means of procuring 'admission for the religion of a sound mind and of the Bible where it cannot find access in any other form.' Her first novel *Self-Control* was published anonymously in 1811, with a dedication to Joanna Baillie. One of the readers of *Self-Control*, Jane Austen, was critical and not without justification, for while the novel displays keen discernment and a gift for delineation the plot is loosely constructed and the style formal. Still, *Self-Control* was a success; the first edition was sold within a month. In 1814 there emanated from 3 St. John Street another novel entitled *Discipline* and Mrs. Brunton was writing a third when she became ill of fever, from which she did not recover. *Emmeline*, the unfinished book, was to have been the first of a series of domestic tales. A biography, accompanied by her two novels and the fragmentary one, together with a selection from her letters, was published by her husband.

At No. 4 resided Mr. Phillips, one of the Commissioners of Customs in Scotland. He may have been a colleague of Adam Smith, who would pass the top of St. John Street on his way from his house in Brown's Close to his office in the High Street. Alexander Cowan, the father of Charles, author of the delightful *Reminiscences* of St. John Street, lived at No. 5. He was the founder of the paper-making firm at Valleyfield, Penicuik. His house was the favourite rendezvous for the many distinguished people Edinburgh then contained, not least Sir Walter Scott and sundry members of the Ballantyne family.

Several interesting stories are told of the 'Great Unknown,' and passages from the unpublished *Waverley Novels* were read by James Ballantyne, whose printing works were at the top of the Canongate. A rubber at whist between Ballantyne and his wife, 'a clever, lively little woman,' and the Cowans was a frequent evening amusement. The Ballantynes were in St. John Street in force. There was his brother John, and his nephew Alexander, who resided at No. 14. The latter, says the author of the *Reminiscences*, 'had the talent to discourse most exquisite music from a penny whistle.' He was the father of John Ballantyne who became an artist in London, and of the better known R. M. Ballantyne, who wrote books of travel and adventure for boys, mostly dealing with his experiences when employed by the Hudson Bay Company.

When a boy at the High School, Charles Cowan remembers a group of friends, not more than fifteen, meeting on successive evenings at his father's house. The members of this company included Duncan Cowan and his wife from Moray House. Cowan is referred to in the imaginary conversation between Scott and Captain Clutterbuck in the Introductory Epistle to the *Fortunes of Nigel* as 'honest Duncan.'

And in St. John Street towards the beginning of last century Hay Donaldson, W.S., Scott's attached friend, resided. He had a grey pony, named Dumble, out of respect for Dandie Dinmont. A native of Haddington, where he lived in an ancient house with a roundel in Sidegate, he was the son of Donaldson the Town Clerk, while his mother was a daughter of a man who was both Provost and Postmaster of Haddington. In 1802 Hay Donaldson became a Writer to the Signet. He was the confidential solicitor of Sir Walter Scott, who describes him as 'a sound and true Pithite' (politics), 'and though a very gentlemanlike and indeed accomplished man, goes little into society, is extremely temperate, and dedicates his time almost entirely to his

business.' When Scott's brother died in 1816 Donaldson, at Scott's request, looked over his papers to see if there was any testamentary provision, but found none. Donaldson also legally managed the affairs of the Buccleuch family. On the occasion of the death of William Erskine, Lord Kinnedder, Donaldson (Lockhart tells us) wrote an 'affecting sketch,' which was supplemented by Sir Walter and printed for private circulation. Six weeks later, 30 September 1822, Donaldson also passed away and Scott conveyed the mournful news to Daniel Terry. 'Now, Hay Donaldson has followed him' (Lord Kinnedder), 'an excellent man, who long managed my family affairs with the greatest accuracy and kindness.'

St. John Street had some remarkable denizens during the Scott period. A list covering the years 1812 to 1818 is given by Charles Cowan. At No. 6 lived Andrew Bogle, Secretary of the Royal Bank. Next door dwelt Mrs. McLeod, widow of the chieftain of St. Kilda. At No. 8 the Countess of Hyndford, a venerable and rather eccentric lady, rich in recollections, for she was ninety when she died. The Ballantynes, of course, were at No. 10, while a second batch occupied No. 14. Nor must we omit the name of Richard Cooper, the line engraver, who taught many apprentices their trade, not least Sir Robert Strange, at the mention of whose name a whole world of Jacobite recollections crowds in upon one. Strange doubtless had many opportunities of seeing Prince Charles Edward, for whose cause he diligently worked, professionally as well as in other respects. In 1745 Strange produced a coloured engraving of the Prince which is reproduced in Vol. II of our publications and is accounted a fairly accurate presentation of the Prince in his halcyon days. Moreover, it is said to be the only authentic portrait of the Pretender done in Scotland.

After the collapse of his School of St. Luke, Richard Cooper opened what he called a 'Winter's Academy,' which proved most serviceable to young artists, cheap at any rate, the fee being half a guinea. Cooper built for himself a rather

pretentious house in St. John Street, consisting of three storeys, and reckoned one of the earliest buildings to be erected there. Cooper and Strange's workmanship can also be seen in the first edition of the *Edinburgh Medical Essays* (1733) and in some of the Ruddiman publications. Cooper's memory is preserved by 'Cooper's Entry' in the Canongate. Here his art school was situated. Strange's studio was in Stewart's Close.

A later list of occupants states that No. 1, the tenement immediately behind the Canongate, was the home of Sir Charles Preston, Bart., of Valleyfield; renowned for his gallant defence against the American general, Montgomery, when Major of the Cameronians. In No. 3, formerly Professor Brunton's house, resided Lord Blantyre, whose estate of Lethington (now Lennoxlove) near Haddington was factored by Gilbert Burns, the younger brother of the poet. No. 5 was the town house of the Earl of Dalhousie, who was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for five successive years. In No. 8 resided Andrew Carmichael, the last Earl of Hyndford, and No. 10 was still the home of James Ballantyne where the hospitable printer read, says Lockhart, 'snatches of the forthcoming (*Waverley*) novel and whetted, while he seemed to gratify, their curiosity (*i.e.*, of his listeners) by many a shrewd wink and mysterious hint of confidential insight into the literary riddle of the age.' Lockhart graphically describes these gatherings at which Lord Kinnedder, Sir William Allan, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, and George Hogarth, W.S., the father-in-law of Charles Dickens, were usually present. In this house Mrs. Ballantyne died in 1829.

Other residents of St. John Street in this resplendent time were Dr. Gregory, who became illustrious through his famous Mixture; Sir John Dalrymple, whose relations with Dr. Samuel Johnson are recorded in the history of George Square; and Sir John Stewart of Allanbank.

On the west side, having a gable to the street and a pleasant garden on the south, stood, as already mentioned, the residence of Lord Wemyss, the superior. His brother, Lord Elcho, was attainted after Culloden. Lady Betty Charteris, of this family, occupied another house further south, on the same side. She had a romantic if melancholy history. Being thwarted in an affair of the heart, she lay in bed for six-and-twenty years, till removed by death. Another well-born lady of St. John Street was Dame Margaret Sinclair of Dunbeath. Born in 1794 she was old enough to have seen and known many who followed the Prince in the Forty-Five. 'Old maiden ladies,' she declared, 'were the last real Jacobites in Edinburgh.' Lady Sinclair was a regular worshipper at the Episcopal chapel in the Cowgate (St. Patrick's), and as the last representative of the Jacobite ladies never failed to close her prayer book and stand erect, in silent protest, when the prayer for the Hanoverian king was read. Early in life Lady Sinclair removed to Picardy Place and an adventure which she used to relate evinces the difference of social customs, then and now. Once, when she was returning from a dance, the bearers of her sedan chair had their bonnets blown off and were obliged to run after them: whereupon the Duke of Argyll and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, who escorted her, seized the spokes of the sedan chair, and carried her home. 'Gentlemen were gentlemen in those days,' she was heard to remark, somewhat irrelevantly. In 1821 she married Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Dunbeath and for fifty years thereafter her home was at the House of Barrock in Caithness, where her good offices to the poor were gratefully remembered. After her husband's death, Lady Sinclair returned to Edinburgh. 'I am the last leaf in the outmost bough and want to fall where I was born,' she was wont to say. She had her wish—interment in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood.

## II

The earliest recorded meeting of the 'Gentlemen Proprietors and Occupiers' was presided over by Alexander Henderson, who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1823 to 1825. A shrewd, business-like man, Henderson lived in St. John Street, and his dominating personality soon placed him at the head of affairs. Consequently he is prominent in the Minutes, and his premature death was a great loss to the body of proprietors. Much space is taken up with reference to a bleaching green that extended a considerable way on the west side, between the mansion of Lord Wemyss and the Holyrood Road. The site is now partly covered by the premises of the Old Kirk, recently taken over by the Teachers' Training College.

Provost Henderson proposed that it would conduce to the comfort of the inhabitants if it were enclosed with an iron fence and equipped with a water supply. His idea was that each family residing in St. John Street should contribute to the upkeep of the green, which had been presented by Lord Wemyss, each proprietor having a key so constructed as to open also the water pipe. An 'invisible iron fence' would cost about £20 which could be erected at an additional cost of £11. Henderson's proposal was agreed to, each proprietor promising to contribute his share, which was three guineas. Any absent proprietor refusing to contribute would receive no key and be excluded from the use of the green.

Various meetings were subsequently held at which the management of the green was discussed, while very definite instructions were issued to the Street Porter. The instructions were approved, and as printed copies accompanied the Minute Book they are here reproduced. The Green Regulations, dated April 1827, are as follows:—

The privilege of enclosing and using St. John Street being held only during Lord Wemyss's pleasure, and the right of it being given

by his Lordship to the Feuars of St. John Street, but only to those who contribute their share of the expense of the enclosure, a committee of the Contributors has been named, and they have made the following Regulations :

1. Each proprietor inhabiting a house in the Street shall pay three guineas for a key of the Green with the number of his house on it, and every tenant inhabiting a house there shall pay half a guinea until his landlord shall pay three guineas, when the tenants' annual payment shall cease.
2. No person shall be allowed to enter the Green with these keys, except the contributors and their Families and Servants.
3. No person shall leave either of the doors unlocked in going out or in.
4. No carpets shall be beat before 8 o'clock in the evening except Saturdays till ten o'clock forenoon, and at no other place but on the south-east corner of the Green within the line that shall be drawn.
5. Servants, when in the Green, always carry keys as their passport respectively, and shew them to the Porter, or any other Servant, when he or she demands them.
6. The Porter of the Street shall be entitled to demand a sight of the keys, and look after all intruders who have no right.
7. The Porter is to be under the management of the Committee, and if he does not enforce the Regulations, he is liable for the penalties himself.
8. Whoever transgresses any of these Regulations, whether Contributors or their Servants, shall pay 2/6 for every instance of breaking through these Rules, and that sum shall be paid to the Porter, and brought by him to the Secretary of the Committee.
9. A new Committee shall be appointed annually from the Proprietors, with full powers to enforce the above Regulations.
10. Every person who receives a key is to subscribe a copy of the Regulations held by the Committee, and to unite with them in enforcing the Regulations held by the Committee, and particularly explain them to their children and servants, making them aware that the penalty will be exacted, and children and others going over the fence are to pay double penalties.

And to show that the Street Porter was not an unimportant

person, special rules were drawn up for him, dated 6 July 1827 :

That the Porter shall on no account leave the Street for the purpose of carrying Messages, but be in constant attendance from 6 o'clock in the morning to 9 at night in Summer, and from 8 o'clock morning to 4 evening in Winter.

That he shall sweep the Street at least once every day, and when not so employed he shall be generally walking up and down in it to prevent Children and Idlers from lounging on the Stairs, destroying the Fence, and in any way annoying the Inhabitants, and also for the purpose of preventing Carts, Carriages, etc. from passing through the Street, except those to the Proprietors' houses.

That he shall particularly enforce the Bleaching Green Regulations. The Committee have also thought it right to order that only Children under ten years of age shall have access to the Green, as it is found that the Games introduced by the older ones, such as Bows and Arrows, Clubs, and Wrestling render the Green useless for the purpose for which it was originally intended, and is attended with considerable danger to the younger Children. The Committee hope that this last Regulation will be particularly explained by Parents to their Children, and the young ones cautioned against doing injury to the Green, otherwise they will also have to be excluded.

As is evident from the Minute Book, the green played an important, one might almost say a central part in the affairs of St. John Street. The Regulations were stringently enforced, while the movements of the Street Porter were persistently watched and his duties towards defaulters punctiliously discharged. He had certainly a very long and tiresome day. A continuous oversight of St. John Street—cleaning and watching—for fifteen hours was an ordeal of uncommon severity at which officials of the present day would stand aghast if not openly rebel.

Another point brought out by the Regulations is the strict privacy of St. John Street. No carts and carriages, other than those of the proprietors, were to pass through it. St. John Street was not a public thoroughfare ; the dignity and

respectability of the street and the quietude of the inhabitants were of primary importance. Indeed St. John Street was so select that there seem to have been at one time gates at either end. For many years the feuars and tenants had contributed so that the street might be cleansed, good order preserved, and vehicular traffic reduced to a minimum.

If the Committee decreed long hours for the Porter, during which he must not leave the street, they generously conceded that on Sunday forenoons he might worship in the Canongate Church. This decision was arrived at on 4 May 1829; and at a meeting in June 1830 there was another concession—this time to Mr. Walker, surgeon, who was allowed to pass along the street with his gig, *on payment of 10/6d. per annum*. Furthermore women were not allowed 'to go into the areas' to wash clothes.

At another meeting, a fortnight later, several letters were read from Mr. Trotter (no connection of the Mortonhall family) relative to the use of the green. Despite the trivial nature of the complaints, Trotter insisted that the Regulations should be altered. After examining the correspondence, the meeting decided that there had been no 'abuses' and they saw no reason for altering the Regulations, except that referring to the beating of carpets. Consideration was then given to an infringement by Joseph Spence, coach wright. He had erected workshops, vents, etc. which rendered necessary an immediate interference of Lord Wemyss to prevent disagreeable measures on the part of the proprietors who were 'annoyed by the said nuisance.'

The Street Porter seems never to have been far from the thoughts of the proprietors, who bountifully presented him with what was termed a watch coat, so that he might be sworn as a day policeman.

Trotter appears to have been a nuisance, and regret was expressed that Lord Wemyss should be troubled periodically with complaints 'exceedingly frivolous,' besides not being

according to fact. 'Mr. Trotter is literally alone and singular in his opinion among all the inhabitants and strangers who have seen the street.' And the meeting was more surprised at Trotter's complaints, seeing he refused to contribute towards the upkeep of the street and green.

By and by the proprietors were perturbed by St. John Street being made a public thoroughfare, and it was recommended that exclusive use should be assigned all owners of property there. Accordingly the privilege of thoroughfare granted to the Edinburgh and Leith Building Company was discontinued, a move that was probably dictated by the street being 'much out of order' and needing thorough repair which would involve every proprietor paying three guineas annually instead of one.

The main business of the meeting in February 1851 was the Street Porter, who had not been attending to his duties. The 'universal feeling' was that if his services were not retained St. John Street would be reduced to even a lower grade than the Canongate. There was therefore impressed upon all the inhabitants the 'absolute necessity of keeping on a Street Porter.' His wages, however, would be 8/- instead of 9/- per week. But this sum was more than they could afford, and the matter was compounded by 'an immediate payment of 6/- from each occupant of the main doors and 3/- from common stairs.'

On 11 May 1855 a committee was appointed to ascertain from the Water Company 'the terms on which they would permit a water pipe to be placed in the Green for the convenience of servants watering clothes' and also 'to consider the propriety and necessity of having a chain placed at the end of the Street (Holyrood Road) to prevent carriages having no right to pass through the Street, and to disturb the inhabitants.'

In November 1858 a special meeting considered a breach of the Green Regulations by Dr. Middleton. He refused to

pay the penalty of 2/6d. but persisted in using the green. After Dr. Middleton had been heard in his defence, the meeting unanimously confirmed the Treasurer's action, and ordered the Regulations to be strictly enforced. Next month the Rev. Charles Teape, rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Holyrood Road, was made Treasurer.

By this time the Regulations of the Green were considered too strict, and after consulting the ladies, it was resolved to modify them. The time for carpet-beating was extended to twelve o'clock on Fridays and Saturdays, and for two weeks before the Servants' Term in May and November. During this limited period carpets might be beaten every day when there were no clothes on the green. Still, the dignity and respectability of St. John Street was maintained.

In 1859 a notice prohibiting carriages was affixed to boards at both entrances to the street, while the vacant ground on the west side was enclosed and planted. The attention of the proprietors was also directed to the sub-letting of houses, a matter which vitally affected the welfare of the locality. So important was this regarded that a committee was appointed to confer immediately with the inhabitants generally. It was also to consider the desirability of applying to the Moray Free Church for access to the bowling green on their property. Another transformation was hinted in a proposal by Sir John Cowan of Beeslack, who lived at No. 19. Sir John explained that the ground adjoining his house was long occupied by his father, Alexander Cowan, Valleyfield Paper Works, Penicuik, as a charity school. But the site had been appropriated by the Edinburgh and Leith Brewing Company, and the pupils had to relinquish their playground. He was therefore desirous of continuing the school, which had been a family care for many years, and requested the consent of proprietors, so that it might be continued on the west side. Lord Wemyss had signified that if this was unanimously obtained, he would approve. But the proposal would mean

the appropriation of a portion of the green, which would be adverse to the original feuing plan, and the request was not granted.

But there was more serious business ahead. A proposal submitted by Mr. Ford, the chairman, intimated that the Road Trust Board were willing to undertake the charge of St. John Street as a public thoroughfare, in accordance with the Act of Parliament, 1862. The Board's surveyor at the same time recommended that the carriage-way should be relaid, the neighbourhood having become so populous towards Dumbiedykes Road that the traffic was likely to be much increased.

Apart from the fact that the inhabitants would bear the cost, amounting to £318, the proposal was revolutionary inasmuch as the character of St. John Street would be entirely altered. What had been a strictly private thoroughfare with a Street Porter in charge would now become an ordinary channel of communication and the respectability would be swept away. Property in St. John Street would depreciate, while the noise would be disturbing.

The period, however, had arrived when St. John Street had to be modernised. The entrance from the Canongate was to be 13 feet wide and of sufficient height to allow carriages to pass, while the roadway was to be 40 feet broad. This astounding proposal led the committee to resolve upon immediate action. A deputation waited upon the Board and stated their objections. The Board promised to consider the matter. Nevertheless the re-causewaying and the opening up of St. John Street as a public thoroughfare went forward.

In face of an Act of Parliament the inhabitants could do nothing to avoid their fate. But they continued to administer the affairs of the street until 1869 when, on 23 December, what appears to have been the last meeting was held. At any rate there are no entries in the Minute Book subsequent to that date. Nor do we hear any more of the Street Porter.

W. FORBES GRAY.

CONVOYS TO THE TRADE ON THE  
EAST COAST OF SCOTLAND

I

AT the close of the seventeenth century Scotland's economic condition was very uncertain, but she was resolutely setting about the task of improving her industries and establishing new ones. Her foreign trade had almost disappeared on account of successive wars, not of her choosing. In the reign of Charles II she suffered on account of the wars with Holland as a great deal of her trade was with the Dutch, and after the Revolution, as a result of England's war with France, her French trade suffered, and her ships were very much harried by French privateers coming close to the coast. Scottish trade with the Colonies was forbidden, and the failure of the Darien scheme was an economic disaster to the country as a whole.

Her trade was with England and with those parts of Europe with whom she had traded for centuries, *viz.* Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Northern Germany, Holland, Belgium and France, and was chiefly from the towns on the east coast. She exported linen, woollen stockings, coarse cloth, hides, oats, fish, salt, coal and live-stock, and the ships coming home brought lint, flax, timber, wines, silks and other fine materials. Glasgow merchants carried on a profitable, though illegal, trade in tobacco with the Plantations in the West, but it was not until some time after the Treaty of the Union that Glasgow's great trade with the West began in ships built in her own port.

The protection of the shipping trade from enemies was a great concern of the Convention of Royal Burghs whose records show continuous measures taken for its safety, the burghs themselves fitting out armed ships at their own

expense in difficult times.<sup>1</sup> The staple port was Campvere in Flanders, established there since 1578, and the States of Zealand were prevailed upon, by the threats of the merchants to go elsewhere, to furnish convoys to the ships coming to the staple port in times of war. In 1676, when the staple contract was renewed, a clause was inserted stipulating the provision of a convoy to the ships belonging to the Scots Nation in time of war, 'a well furnished man of war, one or more if need be, that may freely go out in convoy of the ships belonging to the Scots nation to any place or places within the river of Forth or any other place in the Kingdom of Scotland, and there to stay and attend for the space of 14 days for bringing back the said ships or others to this port.'<sup>2</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century, however, Campvere's importance had also declined and the merchants were ignoring more and more their staple obligations, which, although granting trading privileges to them, restricted their freedom of trade, and were seeking other ports. Complaints also frequently were made of the inadequacy of the convoys provided.<sup>3</sup>

In 1694 when French privateers were harrying their coasts, the Convention offered to furnish 150 seamen and pay their wages for four months' time if the Government would furnish 3 ships of sufficient force, two of them to guard the east coast and one the west.<sup>4</sup> In 1696 the Scottish Parliament commissioned three men-of-war to protect the shipping, two of them, the *Royal William* and the *Royal Mary*, on the east coast, and the third, the *Dumbarton Castle*, on the west coast. Their respective captains were Edward Burd, John Boswell and George Lyon, and the ships were manned by seamen and soldiers. The ships were built in London.<sup>5</sup> They were laid

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, Vol. 1, pp. 27, 28, 31, 242-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 352, 700.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 180, 429-430.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> See *The Old Scots Navy*, by James Grant, LL.B., printed for the Navy

up a year later when the Treaty of Ryswick was signed, but four years later England was again at war with France in the War of the Spanish Succession, which only ended in 1713 with the Peace of Utrecht.

During the summer of 1703 the *Royal Mary* was commissioned to protect Scots shipping between the Firth of Forth and Orkney, under the command of Captain Thomas Gordon. The *Royal William* was not available as it had been lent out in February of that year to James Gordon, merchant in Edinburgh, and other merchants joined with him, for a trading voyage to the East Indies,<sup>1</sup> and during the winter of 1703-4 the *Royal Mary* was lent to her captain for a trading voyage to Italy with a cargo of salmon and herring.<sup>2</sup>

The two frigates were again commissioned in 1704, and in 1705 the *Royal William* was outrigged by the Queen's command at the expense of the Royal Burghs,<sup>3</sup> under the command of Captain Thomas Gordon, and Captain James Hamilton was posted to the command of the *Royal Mary*.

At the Treaty of the Union in 1707 the three frigates, *Royal William*, *Royal Mary* and *Dumbarton Castle*, were absorbed into the English Navy, when the *Royal William* and the *Royal Mary* were renamed the *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*, as there were already ships in the English Navy with the same names. They were placed on the new establishment as fifth and sixth rates and they were at once employed as a standing convoy to the trade between Scotland and the Nore.<sup>4</sup> The Royal Navy now became responsible for

Records Society. (MS. in Register House of *Royal William's* pay-book from 1st April 1696 to 1698 records 147 men on board.)

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers (Scot.)*, *Warrant Book*, Vol. XVIII, No. 708.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, No. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *R.C.R.B.*, Vol. 4, pp. 382-4.

<sup>4</sup> The *Edinburgh* was sunk at Harwich for a breakwater in 1709. Captain Gordon served in the Royal Navy until February 1716. On 1st June 1717, he took service under Czar Peter the Great in the Russian Navy in which he reached the rank of Admiral and became Governor of Kronstadt. He died on 17th March 1741. The *Glasgow* served in the Channel from 1708 to 1712. She was

protecting Scotland's coasts and her merchant ships, and the next year Admiral Sir George Byng was in northern waters when the French ships were scattered in an attempted invasion on behalf of King James.

By this time the burden of her wars on land and sea had compelled France to reduce her Navy, but her seamen were encouraged to carry on a war of privateering, ships being loaned and sold for this purpose. Britain's shipping was constantly in danger, not only from attack on long voyages, but from privateers lurking near the coast and attacking the coasting trade. Although Scotland had now the right to trade overseas with the English Colonies, for some time after the Union her trade was still chiefly from the towns on the east coast to the countries of Western Europe and the Baltic. In July 1708 the Convention of Royal Burghs complained to Prince George of Denmark, then Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, that many of their ships had been taken of late by French privateers 'who do very much abound upon our coasts, and any little trade we have is thereby rendered so precarious and uncertain that we must earnestly beseech that for the future the convoys and cruisers who are to guard our coasts may be ordered to call at the several harbours and ports from the Firth of Forth to the Orkneys on the east part, and from the Isle of Man to the Clyde on the west part, and take such ships as may be therein under their safe conduct and convoy. . . . We entreat your Royal Highness in your great wisdom would be pleased to consider that seeing a great part of our trade is only from one harbour here to another, that therefore some ships of a small force would be of great use to protect us. . . .'<sup>1</sup> It may have been the result

sold on 20th August 1719 for £115. Captain James Hamilton was appointed from the *Glasgow* to the *Lark* on 20th December 1707. He died in the West Indies on 22nd December 1708. The *Dumbarton Castle* was captured on 26th April 1708 by a French privateer. Mathew Campbell, her Captain, died at Leith in 1723.—*The Old Scots Navy*.

<sup>1</sup> *R.C.R.B.*, Vol. 4, pp. 456-7.

of this petition that some time about April 1709 the command of all Her Majesty's ships in North Britain was conferred by the Lord High Admiral upon the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, then Sir Patrick Johnston,<sup>1</sup> as was recorded at a meeting of the Committee of the Convention of Royal Burghs held at Edinburgh on the 12th April.<sup>2</sup> The Burghs had not been whole-hearted in their support of the Union and this favour may have been given as a gesture of conciliation.

It is evident that the Lord Provost was given considerable powers, as, although the Admiralty directed Her Majesty's ships to Scotland, their captains received their orders for the sailing of convoys directly from him. All the maritime burghs on the east of Scotland and Berwick sent their requests for convoys to him, as also did the merchants themselves and the masters of ships.

## II

Copies of letters passing between the Lord Provost or his Depute, the senior Magistrate, Bailie Brown, and Mr. Josiah Burchett,<sup>3</sup> Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the maritime burghs, from January 1710 to January 1712 on the arrangements for the convoys, and sailing orders to the captains of Her Majesty's ships have been preserved in the City archives.<sup>4</sup> These, being pieced together, show the method of convoy on the east coast from Berwick to the Orkneys and Shetland, and the protection of the trade to the south and east.

In February 1710 Her Majesty's ship the *Sheerness*, (Captain Bloys)<sup>5</sup> along with the *Glasgow* (Captain Massie),

<sup>1</sup> He was one of the Commissioners who went to London anent the Union.

<sup>2</sup> *R.C.R.B.*, Vol. 4, pp. 478-9, 488.

<sup>3</sup> He began as Clerk under Samuel Pepys, and was Secretary to the Admiralty from 1698 to 1742.

<sup>4</sup> Macleod's Bundles.

<sup>5</sup> Built at Sheerness 1690, 5th rate, 354 tons, 115 men and 32 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 434. Captain Bloys was made captain of the *Swan* 1697. He died 9th August 1720.—Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, Vol. III, p. 162.

was in Leith roads with the trade ready bound for London, but at the request of the Provost of Dundee time was taken for the *Sheerness* to go to the river mouth there to bring two ships to the Firth to join the others. On the 27th of the month her captain was again asked to delay as several merchants had ships laden with wheat and other merchandise ready to sail to London in his convoy 'but they are at present neip't but will get out in two days.' One such was in Dunbar harbour, and the captain was asked 'please give such a signal that when you pass Dunbar the ship there may safely come out and know you from the enemy.'

This same convoy was able to pick up the trade from Berwick. Word came too late for the *Sheerness* to be instructed to stop at the harbour of Berwick where there were ships also laden with wheat for Newcastle, but as the convoy had to put back to Holy Island this gave the ships in Berwick the opportunity to join them there, as was reported by the Mayor of Berwick on the 13th March.

On 9th March 1710 the following sailing orders were given from Bailie Brown to Captain James Stewart,<sup>1</sup> commander of the *Greyhound*<sup>2</sup> then in the Firth: 'There being application made by several both merchants and ship-masters craving a convoy to the Orcaes<sup>3</sup> and being informed that there are several vessels in the harbours of Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, Fraserburgh and Cromarty that lie there for want of a convoy some whereof bound for the northward and others for this Firth you are therefore hereby directed with all convenient speed and without loss of time, wind and weather serving to proceed from Leith Roads to Cromarty. There

<sup>1</sup> Captain James Stewart, after nearly 34 years' service, was promoted Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1742, Vice-Admiral in 1743 and Admiral of the White in 1747, and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet in 1751. He died in 1757.—Charnock, Vol. IV, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Built at Portsmouth 1672, 6th rate, 184 tons, 75 men, 16 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> Orkneys.

you are to ship your ballast and immediately thereafter to proceed with the Trade to the Orcaes and to take from this Firth such of the trade under your convoy and protection as shall be in readiness and crave the same. As also without loss of time to return from thence to this firth and to bring such of the trade under your convoy and protection as shall be in readiness but you are both in your going and returning to call at the respective ports before mentioned and to lie in each of their respective roads 12 hours the same consisting with the safety of Her Majesty's ship and trade and no otherwise. In order that the whole trade may be duly apprised the signal you are to make both in going and coming is the putting the Cross of your flag lowermost and firing of one gun.' This signal was later changed to a blue ensign on the foretop-masthead and the firing of three guns at a minute's distance, and, when notifying the magistrates of the ports of the arrangements, Bailie Brown informed them on the 17th March that Captain Shillie of the *Mermaid*<sup>1</sup> having arrived in the Firth, he would proceed with Captain Stewart for the better safety of the trade. On the 25th, however, it was reported to Mr. Burchett that the convoy to the north were all put back by contrary winds and were now in the roads, as also Captain Gray of the *Squirrel*<sup>2</sup> who had come with the trade from Tynemouth.

In the meantime orders had been received from the Admiralty that the *Mermaid*, *Greyhound* and *Squirrel* were to be used for convoying the recruits raised in Scotland for the service of the regiments in Flanders, and they were to be ready to embark at Leith on the 1st of April. Bailie Brown in his reply asks that the *Squirrel* may be spared to

<sup>1</sup> Frigate of 40 guns. Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 54. Her Captain was promoted Captain 1707, retired 1722.—Charnock, Vol. III, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Her Captain was promoted Captain of the *Winchelsea* 29th April 1705.—*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 310. 6th rate of 20 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 131.

convoy the ships to the north while the other two proceed with the troops, 'for if the 3 men-of-war shall go with the recruits to Holland then these 40 sails cannot proceed to the northward nor the victual ships come to the southward until the men-of-war return from Holland which may be a considerable time and will be a great discouragement and loss to our trade.'

On 16th March a request was made by some merchants of Edinburgh that since there were '8 or 10 sails of ships load with herrings and fish, stockings, cloths, leather and salt, all the products of this country, and of a very considerable value' it was very necessary that they should have a convoy to Gottenburg, the ships being bound for several ports within the Sound. These were given the protection of the troop convoys which, however, were not ready to sail until the 17th April when the following sailing orders were sent to Captain Shillie of the *Mermaid*: 'the *Mermaid* . . . and the *Greyhound* to proceed from Leith roads with all conveniency and without loss of time to Helvoks Sleuce in the mouth of the Maas and to take under your convoy and protection the whole transports with the recruits bound hence for Holland as also all other trade that shall crave your protection to Holland. And you are to return from thence to Leith Roads without going in if it can be possibly avoided, without loss of time. You are likewise directed that if it can consist with the safety of Her Majesty's ships and transports under your convoy to give the necessary directions to Captain Stewart to call at Berwick or at least to make a signal and to take from thence several ships that lie there ready laden bound for London and that he see them to the bar out of danger of the enemies ships.' (The Mayor of Berwick on the 14th April had written to the Lord Provost enquiring about the convoys to the south. Their trade had been ready to sail for a fortnight but dared not stir out of the harbour as the coast swarmed with privateers, one of which, carrying only one gun and about

50 men, had been for the past eight days off the harbour and had taken a ship from Eyemouth with fish, linen, etc., off Holy Island, and another day, at the same place, had 'rifled a Dane.')

The *Squirrel*, as desired, was evidently left free to proceed with the trade to the north, as on 25th April Captain Gray reported that he hoped to have a wind to carry him to the north the next day, and on his return with the trade to the Firth he wished to cruise for eight or ten days between the May and Sandhope.

On the 11th May Mr. Burchett reported that the *Mermaid* and the *Greyhound* were returned to Yarmouth on the 6th inst. after convoying the troops and that they might be expected at Leith the first opportunity of wind and weather. On 26th May the Captain of the *Greyhound* at Queensferry was given instructions to proceed from Leith roads to Gottenburg, taking with him such ships as were in readiness, and, on reaching Gottenburg, to lie there for three days and bring back any of the trade ready to come home. This instruction brought forth a protest from the *Greyhound's* captain that he would not be ready as his ship was only half-fitted: 'I find neither the merchants nor you consider how long ago since it is since this ship was fitted nor in a dock.'

The *Squirrel's* convoy to the north had not reached Cromarty by the 10th May when the merchants and ship-masters addressed the following letter to the Lord Provost: 'We have lain here in this road of Cromarty now near a month and always waiting the convoy And now that all our loadings are heating and in a perishing condition and upwards of two thousand bolls put ashore here on the links And of necessity all must be put ashore here immediately; otherways will be lost. And besides that Sabbath days night last there came an express here giving an account that there is two French privateers in the mouth of this Firth who have taken the

Dutch doggars<sup>1</sup> put the men ashore and sent the ships for France . . . There is upward of 30 sail in this Road and as many more in other parts of the Murray Firth besides what is in Fraserburgh and Peterhead.'

The *Squirrel* was back in Leith roads on the 12th June when Bailie Brown informed her captain of a request made on the 30th May from David Maitland, the Laird of Soltra, brother to Lieutenant-General Maitland<sup>2</sup> on whose behalf he was writing. The latter had bought 1500 bolls of meal for the use of Her Majesty's garrison at Fort William which was to be shipped aboard several barks at the harbours of Portsoy, Speymouth and Inverness, and on to Cromarty, from whence he wanted a convoy the length of the Sound of Mull as he had heard 'there is great hazard of french privateers betwixt the Lewis and the Sound of Mull.' Permission was granted by the Admiralty, and the captain of the *Squirrel* was directed to proceed to Cromarty for this service, taking with him such ships as might be bound for the northward. He was to make no stay at Fort William but immediately to return and call at the Orkneys, Cromarty, Fraserburgh, Aberdeen, Montrose and Dundee for the ships bound for the Firth of Forth, staying a tide or two in each of them in order that the trade might be duly apprised of his coming. Captain Gray, however, deemed it not consistent with the safety of his ship to go as far as Fort William but only as far as the Lewis Islands, they being 'then out of danger of the enemies privateers.' It is possible that he was also requested to call in at Peterhead on his return journey to pick up the Earl Marischal at Invergie who had written to the Lord Provost wishing to be taken under escort. He wrote: 'I have been ill of late with a scurvy which is very stubborn. I design to go for the Bath but can travel no way but by sea so must entreat your Lordship to order if possible the first convoy to stop at

<sup>1</sup> A vessel something like a ketch used by the Dutch as a fishing boat.

<sup>2</sup> Governor of Fort William.

Peterhead some few hours till I came down in their return.<sup>7</sup>

On the 8th of June Mr. Josiah Burchett informed Bailie Brown that a petition had been received from several (English) merchants concerning ships coming from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands of great value. They, having no convoy, would come north about, and the Admiralty wished the ships under the Lord Provost's direction to cruise in the trade way of these ships, and, should they come into Orkney or any ports of Great Britain, two men-of-war were to be appointed to convoy them in safety to Newcastle.

Sailing orders were given on the 20th June to Captain William Collier<sup>1</sup> of the *Mermaid* that he should proceed to Kirkealdy and there lie one tide and take the trade bound for the north, particularly those bound for Zetland, and call at Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen and Fraserburgh, and that he should go as far as Lerwick in Zetland, then to cruise in the north roads and in the trade way of the ships coming from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, but if he did not meet with them by the 20th July he was to return, calling at the ports of Fraserburgh, Cromarty, Aberdeen, Dundee and Leven for the trade. For a signal he was to put out a white flag at the foretop-gallant-masthead and to fire a gun to the leeward.

Meanwhile the *Sheerness* and *Glasgow* had arrived by the 15th July in Leith roads to take the Virginia ships under their protection as far as the Nore.

The *Squirrel* had not yet returned but by the 22nd the *Greyhound* was back in the Forth and Captain Stewart reported as follows on his cruise to Gottenburg<sup>2</sup>: 'The 25th of last month arrived at Gottenburg, the 30th sailed from thence

<sup>1</sup> In place of Captain Shillie. Captain William Collier was appointed Captain of the *Mermaid*, 10th May 1710. He died 1736.—Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, Vol. IV, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 83.

with what ships were then ready and bound to this firth, the 12th of this month the wind blowing hard westerly put into Clove Harbour in Norway, the 17th June sailed from thence and this day parted with the ships off the May bound into the Firth and to the northward so now shall take a small cruise along the coast though have entirely lost my last cleaning being now foul, afterwards shall endeavour to return to Leith Roads.' The *Greyhound* was directed on the 7th August to proceed to Kerstoun<sup>1</sup> in the Orkneys, and as great a length further as safety permitted with the ships bound to the northward, calling at the usual ports of Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen and Fraserburgh, and on his return to call at Cromarty and the above ports on their way to the Firth of Forth. On the 19th August Bailie Brown wrote to the Magistrates of Aberdeen to forward a letter to Captain Stewart of the *Greyhound* informing him that he had heard from the merchants who had come from Virginia, New England and West Indies that they were at present lying at Corston<sup>1</sup> in the Orcades and that he was to proceed there without loss of time, and to bring them under convoy to the Firth.

The *Squirrel* and the *Mermaid* had by this time returned and gone to Newcastle for victualling, but they too had received orders to go in quest of these ships.

While the *Glasgow* and *Sheerness* were waiting in the Firth to convoy the ships coming from Orkney to the south they were directed to proceed to Montrose to bring the trade from there, and to look out for the privateers which were about that coast. A small privateer had taken four barks, two of which were sent to Calais laden with victual from the north, another ransomed and the fourth was sent in for the ransom. Bailie Brown wrote to Mr. Burchett on the 22nd August 1710: 'I had this day several express giving an account of our coast being infested with privateers for there

<sup>1</sup> Korston or Corston.

were seven barks taken off Montrose last week besides some others from other places. One privateer had this day the impudence to come close to Dunbar and to discharge several canon of bullets of which weighed 4lb weight and a troop of dragoons being there the Captain caused the dragoons fire sharp at the privateer but to no purpose. However I found it my duty to advise Captain Chamberlain of the *Ruby*<sup>1</sup> thereof more fully being the only man-of-war in our Firth at present.

The Virginia ships must have been escorted safely south by the *Glasgow* and *Sheerness* as no more is heard of them, but the Lord Provost reported to Mr. Burchett on the 16th September that 'the *Squirrel* is in company with the *Mermaid* and their cruise is out so that I expect their return to this firth in a few days. *Greyhound* is cleaning at present.' Captain Collier of the *Mermaid* had reported on his return from the north that on the 30th August while in the Orkneys he had an account from a 'Hollander' that upon the 29th he had met with two French men-of-war of 54 and 64 guns, cruising W.S.W. 8 leagues from the Isles of Barra and Rona. They had then taken 'two English West India men, a Dutch Greenland man and another Dutchman bound to Lisbon with corn.' They put sixteen British and six Dutch prisoners on board the Hollander, and these prisoners reported that the French had a month longer to cruise.

The *Greyhound*, having been cleaned, was given orders on the 18th October to proceed to Holy Island and cruise for 6 or 8 days between there and Redhead, near Montrose, and adjacent ports, in quest of privateers which were then reported near the coast, but the captain replied that he had no provisions to venture anywhere to sea. The *Squirrel* had already reported that she had to go to Shields for victualling, and on 14th October Bailie Brown wrote to Mr. Burchett of the

<sup>1</sup> 4th rate of 50 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 278.

disappointment occasioned by the failure of the victualling agent at Leith, whose contract had expired, to supply provisions, which necessitated the ships going elsewhere. The *Mermaid* was also lying in the Firth at that time for want of provisions. The agent later consented to supply both the *Greyhound* and the *Mermaid* with 14 days' provisions, but by his failure to supply the former with 3 months' provisions the trade to Gottenburg were forced to sail without a convoy, and two or three of the ships were taken by privateers.

On 6th November Mr. Burchett informed the Lord Provost that Her Majesty's ships the *Monmouth*,<sup>1</sup> *South Sea Castle*,<sup>2</sup> and *Royal Ann Galley*<sup>3</sup> were ordered to cruise on the coast of North Britain for the security of the fleet expected home from Russia, and on the 9th December the Mayor of Berwick reported that 'there lies now at Holy Island two Russia ships the Captains whose names are Westgarth and Heron have been with Lieut. General Main and myself and informed us that their cargoes are valued at 12000 ( ) and one of them belonging to the Queen being stores for the Dock at Portsmouth they dare not stir without convoy being of little or no force.' Two ships laden with wheat for Holland and other small vessels bound for Newcastle were also in need of a convoy. Captain Bloys of the *Sheerness* was directed to call at Berwick Bay and the Holy Island for these ships and the signal was to be a blue ensign at the maintop-mast-head and five guns.

The privateers were particularly active at this time. The Magistrates of Crail on the 4th November reported a privateer of six guns off Crail which took a man out of one of the fishing boats. From Montrose came the following letter dated the 14th November: 'A small privateer commanded by Dalyiell

<sup>1</sup> 3rd rate of 70 guns.

<sup>2</sup> Frigate of 40 guns.

<sup>3</sup> 40 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 54 *et seq.*

appears daily off our harbour and puts a stop to all trade here and this day has given chase to a bark belonging to this place which is yet in hazard and we are daily expecting several ships from Norway and other places. . . . The Magistrates of Dundee wrote on the 9th December: 'We thought fit to advise you that this coast is infested by a French privateer who was in our river on Thursday night and lay there for a considerable time so that no ship bound for our town can escape her for she cruises off and on here waiting for the ransom of a small barque which cannot be paid, the people being so poor, and there being three ships belonging to our town lying in the firth of a considerable value bound here we entreat the favour of your Lordship to order a frigate to see them about to our River which will be a very singular favour done to our town.' Captain Collier of the *Mermaid* was directed to see them in safety within the water mouth of Dundee.

At the end of the year there was a complaint from 22 masters of ships lying in several ports within the Firth of Forth, and a petition for a convoy to Rotterdam or the length of Yarmouth roads. Their ships, fully laden with lead, lead ore, salmon, herrings, etc., bound for Holland under convoy of the captain of the *Sheerness* had been forced back by contrary winds and bad weather, and had been obliged to put into harbours, not being able to ride out in the open sea. The captain of the *Sheerness*, finding the wind seemed in his favour, suddenly gave the signal of sailing 'and sailed at least six hours before we could have water to carry us out of the harbours and when it was not possible to come up with him.'

It was always difficult in time of war to man the ships of the Navy with trained seamen. Bounties were offered to attract them, but there were never sufficient volunteers as it was much more profitable to serve in the merchant ships. The result was that men had to be driven in by the press-

gang, and suffered much hardship and discontent. During the Dutch wars Charles II levied Scots seamen from the sea-coast burghs for the English Navy, but the Minutes of the Privy Council of Scotland of 6th March 1693 record a letter from the King in which it is stated that 'for the further security and encouragement of free trade of that our ancient Kingdom we have ordered a rule to be made in our Admiralty of England to be published in the Gazette, that no press-master shall have power to press or seize any seamen aboard any ships belonging to Scotland, whereby they will be in great safety for the future.' The press-gang methods, however, were evidently in force in Scotland in 1710 as will be seen from the following letter from Mr. Burchett of the 24th July: 'I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that Captain Collier, Commander of the *Mermaid* has complained to Their Lordships of the disorders that have lately happened at Leith and the resistance that has been made on board several ships in the road, which came from abroad, when his officers came to them to procure men, and I am likewise on this occasion to acquaint you that the *Mermaid* and other ships are appointed for the security of the coast and trade of North Britain, and if some method be not found to furnish them with men when they are in want, there will be a necessity to call them off.' The Lord Provost thereafter sent a circular letter to all the maritime burghs<sup>1</sup> acquainting them of the threat to take the cruisers off and 'hoping for the continuance of the men-of-war upon this Station you will bestir yourselves and procure two or three able-bodied seamen for their use . . . the design hereof being to keep the ships on this station and to prevent impressing of men which unavoidably will happen if not speedy remeid be had thereto. . . .'

<sup>1</sup> Borrowstounness, Queensferry, Burntisland, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Prestonpans, Crail, Anstruther (Easter and Wester), St. Andrews, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, Inverness, Fraserburgh.

A forthright reply from Mark Stark of Bo'ness was thus: 'Your silence as to what encouragement they (the seamen) are to have puts a stop to me in making a proposal to arrive upon terms . . . about three weeks ago they impressed about Leith road the number of 12 seamen from aboard a few ships belonging to this place that came from Holland . . . yet notwithstanding there shall be none who shall more cheerfully contribute according to my power to answer the ends of your just demands when you are pleased to let me know the terms that I am to propose to any seamen whom I can find voluntarily inclined to serve aboard of these frigates.'

On 5th January 1711 the following letter was sent to the respective Captains and Commanders of Her Majesty's Ships on the coast of North Britain, through the Lord Provost, at the Admiralty's command: 'The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty being informed by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh that it is now the season of the year for small meal, coal and peat barks to go along the coast to and again from Leith the most of which do not bear above one master, two or three men and a boy, it is the directions of their Lordships that you do not impress any of the persons which shall be employed in any of the said vessels.'

Josiah Burchett in his *Nautical Transactions* records that by 1711 the French fleet had suffered so many defeats that it was no longer a power in itself, but it was employed as privateers to annoy the trade.

From the foregoing account of the ships serving the North Britain Station during the year 1710 it will be seen that five of Her Majesty's ships were at the service of the Lord Provost, viz.: the *Sheerness* and *Glasgow* for the trade to the south, the *Mermaid* and *Squirrel* for the north, and the *Greyhound* for the east trade, but in April of 1711 the Committee of the Convention of the Royal Burghs in Scotland complained in a letter to Her Majesty 'that though three ships are appointed to be convoys, two only have been here

for many months past, and these two have lain for the most part in Leith road, so far within land that small privateers have come up the Firth almost in their view and made prizes, insulting at the same time the shore and calling for supplies, both of provisions and even pilots, on pain of military execution.' They record that their trade is discouraged for want of small frigates to clear their coast which is now more infested with privateers than at the beginning of the war, and they submit it to Her Majesty's consideration that two more small frigates of 16 or 20 guns be added for convoys to their trade, to receive orders from the Provost of Edinburgh. They also remind Her Majesty that the pressing of seamen in Scotland before the Union was not done by any of her Royal ancestors and it should be gone about with greater caution.<sup>1</sup>

On the 8th May the Magistrates of Crail wrote to the Lord Provost that 'for these eight days and upwards there hath been about six privateers hath infested our coast after a most insolent manner and have since hovered about us and for the most part have ridden at anchor at the Island of May and have entirely robbed it to that degree that they have left the inhabitants of the Island nothing, yea they have either taken or slain the only horse of the island which they have to draw up the coals to the Island. Our strait is such that not only traffic coastways betwixt this and Anstruther is wholly blocked up but also our fishing is entirely gone and fishing boats being put ashore by them this day our case being such that in our memory it hath not been paralleled. We earnestly and humbly entreat your Lordship will be pleased to order the Alborough man-of-war<sup>2</sup> to come down and give chase to those little brazen-faced rogues and at least but disappoint their impudent insolence and free us from their insulting arrogance.'

<sup>1</sup> *R.C.R.B.*, Vol. IV, pp. 517-19.

<sup>2</sup> 6th rate of 24 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 278.

On the 25th May the Magistrates of Aberdeen wrote: 'Our merchants have complained mightily for the small concern that is taken to protect their trade with the frigates appointed for this Station for within these eight days we had two ships taken, the one bound for Virginia and the other to Norway. . . . And yesterday and this day there were three french privateers cruising in our bay, two of them appeared to be ships from 20 to 24 guns and the third a broad-sterned doggar of 4 guns and 50 men.'

Captain Thomas Ekings<sup>1</sup> of Her Majesty's ship the *Alborough* was given directions on the 9th May to sail to Kerstoun in Orkney where there were several ships laden with wines and tobacco 'which are of great value and will yield considerable sums to Her Majesty for the duty of these goods.' He was to stay there a tide or two and on his return to call at the ports of Cromarty, Aberdeen, Montrose and Dundee. The signal to be used was the firing of one gun to the leeward and a blue ensign at his ensign staff.

Captain Collier of the *Mermaid* was directed on the 4th July to convoy the trade from Leith roads to Gottenburg, after which he was to cruise for the space of fourteen days between Orkney and Shetland, and on meeting with any of the Virginia or East India ships he was to take them under convoy to their ports.

A month later the Lord Provost reported to Mr. Burchett that the *Mermaid*, *Diligence*<sup>2</sup> and *Nightingale*<sup>3</sup> were all returned from their cruise of the Orkneys, and had brought under their protection several ships coming from the West Indies and one from Guinea, all bound for the south. On

<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Ekings was dismissed from the Navy in 1704 but shortly afterwards was received into it again. He was dismissed for the second time in 1712.—Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, Vol. III, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> 6th rate, built at Woolwich 1692, 79 tons, 35 men, 10 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> Frigate, 24 guns.—*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 58.

their arrival at the Firth the *Stromboli*<sup>1</sup> and the *Glasgow* took over their protection and were also directed to take over the trade lying in Berwick harbour and at Holy Island. The *Mermaid* was in need of sails and cables and the *Nightingale* and *Diligence* in need of provisions for which, lacking money and credit, they had to go elsewhere to be provided.

On the 16th August the Lord Provost was informed that the *Greyhound* was being removed from the North British Station and Captain Howard of the *Flamborough*<sup>2</sup> was to take her place.

In November the following orders were sent to the Lord Provost for communication to the respective Captains of Her Majesty's ships appointed to convoy the colliers to and from Newcastle: 'You are hereby required and directed if and when you shall be at Leith with the ships you command you shall be informed by the Lord Provost or the chief magistrate at Edinburgh, that any of the enemy's privateers are on the coast, to proceed with the ships under your command in quest of them, provided you shall judge that it may be no great hindrance to you in convoying the colliers from Newcastle.'

On 3rd November Captain Thornton of the *Ferret* sloop informed the Lord Provost that he had arrived in Leith roads and was to take his orders from him. He was asked to go to Inverkeithing roads with the ships which were come from the East<sup>3</sup> and see their quarantine carried out.

On the 8th January 1712 Captain Howard was directed by the Lord Provost to proceed the length of the May where a privateer was reported to be awaiting a ransom from James Bruce, master of a Brigadoon.<sup>4</sup>

This is the last letter concerning convoys before the war

<sup>1</sup> Fireship built at Blackwell 1690, 260 tons, 45 men, 8 guns.—*Ibid.*, II, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> 6th rate of 24 guns.—*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> From Gottenburg, Danzig and Stockholm, with cargoes of iron, deals, tar and flax.

<sup>4</sup> Brig or brigantine, a two-masted square-rigged vessel.

ended with the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, when the *Flamborough* was given orders by the Admiralty to oblige ships which had come from places affected by the plague to perform quarantine. The Lord Provost protested that the *Flamborough* was not given her orders through him, to which the Admiralty replied 'there was not the least disrespect meant to your Lordship in the alteration of the orders to the Captains of Her Majesty's ships in North Britain. In time of war it was believed necessary for the service that Captains and Commanders should be put under the direction of the Governors abroad and Mayors at home in such places where ships were ordered to cruise, etc., but now they are all under the immediate direction of the Admiralty and no orders given to any Captain whatever to follow the orders of any Governor or Mayor. . . .'

Correspondence between the Admiralty and Sir George Warrender, Lord Provost, during the year 1715 when Swedish privateers necessitated the use of convoys to the Baltic and Norway, is also extant in the City's archives, as also the orders to His Majesty's ships which were sent to cruise in the northern waters before and during the Rising of 1715 by King James. These are printed in the *Warrender Letters 1715* (Scottish History Society). The Lord Provost had not then had delegated to him the powers which he previously held of giving directions to the captains of the convoy ships, but on being informed by the Admiralty of the sailing of these ships he notified the maritime burghs, and made the arrangements between them and the captains. The *Glasgow*, under Captain William Lloyd, was once more in commission for convoy service and the frigate *Port Mahon*, under Captain William Haddock, was sent in July 1715 to cruise in Scottish waters. She was joined in September by the *Royal Ann* Galley, the *Pearl* and the *Queensborough* for the safety of the coast during the Rising, under the command of Captain James Stewart.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 81.

### III

The next batch of letters concerning convoys covers the period of the wars with America, Spain, Holland, and France, from 1777 until 1815, during which time Britain had to disperse her navy far and near.

Scotland's economic condition had now completely changed. 'Power,' machinery, and her own applied skill had revolutionised industry, and the latter half of the eighteenth century was a time of great prosperity for her. More and more she was importing raw materials and exporting manufactured goods. The trade to the West, which had given rise to Glasgow's growth, was in full swing when the war with America in 1775 dealt it a severe blow.

Quick sailing American privateers were numerous and sailed over the Atlantic and did much damage on our coasts, as also did the French privateers, for France joined with them in 1778.

In 1777 and again in 1778 the Town Council of Edinburgh made representations to Mr. Philip Stephens,<sup>1</sup> Secretary of the Admiralty, for the protection of the trade on the east coast, and in October 1779 they appealed to the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, 'reflecting on their unprotected situation when the squadron of Paul Jones appeared before their harbour,'<sup>2</sup> that a ship of 50 guns, a frigate and two sloops might be stationed in the road of Leith during the continuance of the war, and that the commanders might be instructed 'to pay particular attention to such authentic intelligence as may occasionally be communicated to them by the Magistrates of Edinburgh.' A month later the Lord Provost was informed that the armed

<sup>1</sup> Later Sir Philip Stephens, Secretary from 1763.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this, see *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 40, p. 509.

ships<sup>1</sup> the *Princess of Wales*, *Leith* and *Three Sisters* would be used solely for the purpose of protecting the Scots trade 'between the Nore and Leith Road and thence to Buchanness or at least the Bay of Aberdeen,' and that their commanders were directed to advise with him as to the time of their sailing and returning.

In March 1780 the Provost of Dundee complained that their traders were alarmed at the small force of vessels to sail as convoy with them to the Nore. He stated 'they reason that the strength of the convoy for protecting should in some degree be proportioned to the value of the trade to be protected and judging of the whole from their own interest that goes with this convoy which amounts to £40,000 sterling they conclude that the convoy . . . is too small.'

The *Alfred*<sup>2</sup> under Captain Collins now supplied the place of the *Princess of Wales* which was paid off, and in June 1780 the *Three Sisters* and the *Alfred* were directed by the Admiralty to convoy the trade to and from the Baltic.

Captain Rothe in the armed ship *Leith* was in the meantime cruising between the Isle of May and the mouth of the Tay in search of a French privateer which had captured several vessels. She was reported to have 20 guns and 130 men and that 'the *Leith* was near within gunshot but the privateer got out oars and outsailed her.'

On the 26th July the Provosts of Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee and Montrose were informed that in 4 or 5 days the *Leith* would sail to the northward to bring back all the trade and sail with it to the Nore, and on the same day the Provosts of Bo'ness, Glasgow and Dunbar were asked to advise the trade to get their vessels round to the Forth as soon as possible. The signal advised by Captain Rothe was 'a Red Ensign at

<sup>1</sup> These were merchant craft brought into or hired for the Navy, and armed with small guns.

<sup>2</sup> 3rd rate, 74 guns, 600 men.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 245.

the foretop-gallant-masthead with a white pennant over it and a Dutch Jack at the mizzen-top-masthead with the ship's proper colours hoisted with one gun.<sup>1</sup>

The merchants of Montrose on the 5th August wished a convoy to their ships going out for flax, hemp, etc., as also the merchants of Dundee who feared for their outward-bound ships to St. Petersburg, Riga and other parts in the east country, but they were informed that no ship was then available.

The Provost of Aberdeen on the 23rd September 1780 sent notification that the *Duc d'Estisac* privateer had that afternoon resumed the station she had some weeks ago at that place, that she came so near that the sailors and pilots at Peterhead were positive of her identity.<sup>2</sup>

Captain Collins on the 30th September 1780 complained of the conduct of his convoy which sailed from Leith road: 'On the 6th inst. the wind blew hard at South with a great swell from the eastward, and the convoy were very much dispersed owing to their not paying due attention to my signals and instructions, by which means I was not able to collect more than 25 of the convoy during my passage, but on my arrival at this port (Elsinore) found them all arrived safe except the *Neptune Brig* belonging to Dysart, Thomas Spittle owner, and John Mitchell, Master, which was taken by the *Chanlieu*, privateer of Dunkirk, mounting 14 pounders and 80 men on the 19th inst. I likewise found the *Lily and Janet* sloop of Airth, Wm. Matson, Master, was taken by the above privateer 40 leagues to the eastward of Buchanness and ransomed for 500 guineas (which sloop sailed without convoy.'

On the 23rd October Captain Hercules Wyborn (*Three Sisters*), Captain Peter Rothe (*Leith*) and Captain David Collins

<sup>1</sup> See List of Ships in Captain Rothe's convoy, appended.

<sup>2</sup> She was taken from the French in 1781.

(*Alfred*) were made Burgesses and Gild Brethren of Edinburgh 'for their services to the Scots trade.'<sup>1</sup>

In December Great Britain declared war on Holland and an additional burden was thrown on her navy. Spain had joined with France against Britain in 1779, and Russia, Sweden and Denmark, neutral powers, had agreed jointly with the United Provinces to protect their commerce at sea. Britain was thus faced with the gigantic task of preventing her enemies' ships from leaving their ports and of guarding their trading routes as well as her own.

According to the *Scots Magazine* of 24th February 1781<sup>2</sup> orders were sent to Aberdeen for the immediate embarkation of three companies of the Sutherland Fencible Regiment for the protection of Shetland against invasion by the Dutch; and on the 19th March Captain Rothe sailed from Leith roads in the *Leith* with the convoy for Shetland which was to stop at Aberdeen and 'take the troops from there.'<sup>3</sup>

A letter to the Lord Provost on the 2nd April from Captain Fairfax of the frigate *Artois* announced that he had arrived in Leith roads for the trade bound to Elsinore and meant to sail very soon, and the *Scots Magazine* records<sup>4</sup> that the *Belle Poule*<sup>5</sup> and *Berwick*<sup>6</sup> (under Commodore Keith Stuart)<sup>7</sup> arrived in Leith road, 'with the *Calonne* privateer, Luke Ryan Commander, which they took the morning of the 17th near the mouth of the Firth of Forth. She had been only six days from Dunkirk, and had taken one prize, which she ransomed for 300 guineas. The crew, about 240 in number, were sent next day to Edinburgh Castle.' This privateer must have been one of three which, as the Mayor of Newcastle

<sup>1</sup> *Town Council Records*.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 43, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> Taken from French in 1780, 240 men, 36 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> 3rd rate, built 1775, 600 men, 74 guns.

<sup>7</sup> Born 1739, posted Captain 1762, Rear-Admiral of the Blue 1790, Vice-Admiral of the Blue 1794, later White, died 1795.—Charnock, Vol. VI, pp. 471-3.

reported to the Lord Provost, had held up the *Nancy* of Aberdeen 2 leagues distant from St. Abb's Head on the 16th April. She was the *Tartar* frigate of Dunkirk, mounting 36 guns and 250 men, and had ransomed the *Nancy* for 300 guineas. Within an hour another French frigate had come alongside the *Nancy* but left her on being told that she had been ransomed, and about an hour after, yet another French vessel had overtaken her, which also left her alone.

'In April, May and June, a great fleet collected in Leith road waiting convoy for the Baltic. The *Artois*<sup>1</sup> with upwards of 100 sail arrived in the end of April. Ships were joining them every day from different parts of England and Scotland. On June 10, Admiral Hyde Parker<sup>2</sup> (with a squadron) arrived from Portsmouth, which place they left on the 3rd. They had 120 sail of merchant ships under convoy, which with those formerly in the road, exceeded 500 sail.

'On the 23rd June a fleet which left Jamaica on 17th March, arrived in the road, under convoy. . . . The *Suffolk* of 74 guns, with ten more of the Jamaica fleet, which had been left at the Orkneys, arrived on the 24th. . . .

'The fleet for the Baltic sailed on the 27th June, under convoy of the *Artois*. Admiral Parker with the fleet under his command accompanied them. They had formerly made four attempts to sail, in three of which they were put back by the wind shifting, and once they were ordered to return, as it was imagined a fleet was lying in wait to intercept them.'<sup>3</sup>

The Lord Provost during May received many accounts of

<sup>1</sup> 5th rate, 280 men, 40 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Hyde Parker, posted Captain 1748, Rear-Admiral of the Blue 1778, of the Red 1779, Vice-Admiral of the Blue 1780, drowned 1783.—Charnock, Vol. VI, pp. 83-90.

<sup>3</sup> *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 43, p. 329. On the homeward-bound journey from the Baltic with the trade, Parker encountered a Dutch squadron and a battle followed. The Dutch drew off, and Parker, whose ships were severely damaged, did not pursue, and arrived with his convoy safe.

privateers in Scottish waters: from Aberdeen, where a captain of a ship reported that he was chased off Stonehaven, and a large privateer was seen off Dunstanburgh: Peter Brown, master of the sloop the *Jean* of Easdale, was taken off Portsoy by a privateer belonging to Dunkirk, commanded by François Cotton, named the *Boulogne*, 'carrying 16 carriage guns and 16 swivels, 140 men, cutter rigged and painted black, having a tree painted on her stern with green and white.' He was ransomed for 100 guineas and the privateer had another 300 ransomers on board: from Dysart the Provost wrote that a ship of Dysart, along with one belonging to Alloa, had been taken by the *Fearnought* cutter, privateer of Dunkirk, William Fall, commander. The master and crews, except four boys, were carried on board the privateer, which later chased a sloop into Dunbar Bay and exchanged a few shots with the Fort there and then came to anchor westward of the island of May, where, having seized two fishing boats, the captains of the Dysart and Alloa boats with their men were set ashore at Crail. This Captain Fall was one of the most notorious of pirates. He fired on the town of Arbroath and sent on shore some of his men with a demand for £30,000 sterling, which was refused, despite his threats of firing the town.<sup>1</sup> The description of the privateer was that 'she mounts 18 guns of six and four pounders, and one stern chaser, a 12 pounder, which fights three Ports.'

Convoys in August and December took ships southward as far as the Nore.

At the beginning of 1782 His Majesty's ships *Cleopatra*<sup>2</sup> and *Perseus* were convoying the trade and protecting the coast along with the *Alfred* and *Leith*. Although the war with America was over, and the fighting had died down in the Atlantic, enemy ships were still harrying the coasts.

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 43, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> 5th rate, built 1779, 222 men, 32 guns.—Charnock's *History of Maritime Architecture*, Vol. III.

On 24th April 1782 the Provost of Dundee wrote as follows, 'This day a representation was made to me by our merchants that the convoy appointed on the service of protecting the trade to London was the *Alfred* armed ship, and that from this port alone three vessels were to take the benefit of that convoy worth at least thirty thousand pounds sterling. It must at first sight strike your Lordship that so considerable a share of this, the commerce of this country as will likely sail with this convoy would if it could be possibly obtained require a stronger convoy than the *Alfred* alone, considering the too well grounded reports of enemies' ships in the very tract they must take. . . .' Captain Collins informed the Lord Provost that the *Leith* would sail with the *Alfred* as convoy, but from his intelligence of the Dutch fleet being in the north seas he would remain in Leith roads until he received further instructions. On the 13th July Mr. Philip Stephens wrote to the Lord Provost that the Dutch fleet sailed from Texel on the 9th, and requested his Lordship to make the fact known to the trade upon the coast in order to guard against a surprise from the enemy.

In 1789 the French Revolution began and on 1st February 1793 the Republic declared war on Great Britain and Holland. The Royal Navy at that time was first in the world; that of France was not then very formidable, and Britain's immediate task at sea was to try and bottle up the French fleet within their harbours, and to watch that none escaped. The blockade, however, was not always closely kept and some of her ships did escape.

In the spring of that year the *Sheerness*<sup>1</sup> convoyed the trade to the Baltic, bringing back the homeward-bound vessels. The next year, in July, the merchants and underwriters in Edinburgh and Leith addressed a petition to the Lord Provost representing the imminent danger to which the trade in the North Sea was exposed from the strong squadron

<sup>1</sup> 5th rate, 300 men, 44 guns.—*Ibid.*, Vol. III.

of French ships of war in these seas, and requesting him to take the measures necessary to warn the trade from the Baltic not to sail from the Sound without a convoy. The *Kingfisher*,<sup>1</sup> then in the Leith roads, was sent to do this service.

The same month a report was received from the captain of a ship the *Riach* of Leith, which was captured 30 miles off Sumburgh Head by the *Bellona* French frigate of 40 guns, which had in company with her another 40 gun frigate, two 36 gun frigates, two sloops of war and a cutter brig. Sixteen Frenchmen were put on board the *Riach* in order to carry her into Bergen, but later the mate and another man forced nine of the Frenchmen into a boat and secured the other seven, and they then proceeded to the southward and arrived in Bressay Sound.<sup>2</sup>

The commander of the *Kingfisher* on her return from the Baltic reported the capture of the *Chaser* of London which was returning to London with upwards of 1800 barrels of oil after fishing for 21 months in the South Sea. She had left the coast of Brazil at the end of February and on the 19th July she was captured by a French national brig, the *Fraternité de L'Orient*, mounting 12 carriage guns, 18 pounders, and 6 swivel guns, 3 pounders, about 6 leagues off Foula Island on the west coast of Shetland. The captain of the French ship put on board the *Chaser* a prize master and seven French sailors in order to carry her into Bergen and left the deponent (the second mate), a carpenter and a boy on board, also two Jersey men who had been prisoners on board the French ship. When all hands were called on deck to put about the ship, 20 leagues to the westward off the coast of Norway, they had managed to overcome the Frenchmen, whom they put below and took possession of the vessel and brought her safe to anchor in the north bay of Peterhead.

By the spring of 1795 France was master of all the

<sup>1</sup> Sloop of 16 guns.

<sup>2</sup> Off Lerwick in Shetland.

countries of west and north Europe. The collapse of Holland forced the British army to evacuate. One after the other of the countries which formed the Grand Alliance made their peace with France, and Britain stood alone against an entire hostile continental coastline. The help of Holland's navy and Spain's navy were lost to her; worse still they were used against her. The strain on the Royal Navy was very great, as, in addition to extending the blockade and patrolling the coastline, the Navy had now to protect the vital trade routes to the Baltic, to the Mediterranean, and to every part of the world.

There are no letters in the Town's archives concerning convoys during 1795 and 1796, but correspondence during 1797 and 1798 shows that the *Brilliant*, *Circe*, *Venus*, His Majesty's sloop *Hound*, and the armed ships *Pomona*, *Tysi- phone*, *Stork* and *Raven*, the *Lord Hood*, *Wright* and *Sally* were all engaged in convoying the trade from the Forth to the north and south, and to the Nore, Hamburg and the Baltic, or in protecting the coast of Scotland. The command of the fleet in the North Sea was under Admiral Adam Duncan<sup>1</sup> who wrote to the Right Honourable Thomas Elder, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on the 25th February 1797 as follows: 'Having ordered His Imperial Majesty's ship the *Venus* to take charge of the first convoy bound to the Baltic and directed her captain to acquaint you when she will be ready to perform that service, am to request your Lordship will make the same known to the different towns on the North coast and to acquaint the merchants etc. that although I cannot promise to furnish them with convoy for every two or three ships, as requested by the merchants of Dundee, yet I shall endeavour to accommodate them whenever a sufficient number are collected. . . .'

<sup>1</sup> Made Captain on 24th September 1761, and advanced to Rear-Admiral, became Vice-Admiral in 1793 and Admiral of the Blue in 1795. For his victory at the battle of Camperdown he was created Viscount Duncan of Camperdown. He lived at No. 5 George Square, Edinburgh. Died 1804.

Notice of the sailings of convoys came direct from the Admiralty or from the captains of the ships, and the Lord Provost advised the different ports to rendezvous in Leith roads. Notice was also inserted in the newspapers and a copy sent to the keeper of the Leith Coffee House.

Privateers were again reported about the Scottish coast. The *Mary Ann* of Perth coming from Gottenburg with iron and deals was taken in June 1797, 25 leagues off St. Abb's Head by the *Vengeur*, cutter of Calais (14 pounders, 70 men). In August a sloop was captured off Cairnbulg Head, near Fraserburgh, by a lugger, mounting four guns—a low, black vessel—which later captured another two sloops. The same month a letter from the Provost of Kirkwall notified that the lugger privateer, the *Lion* of Dunkirk, Captain Cardon, commander, 'mounting 3 carriage guns, and 2 swivels besides small arms for the Ship's company,' was seen daily off the east coast. Her crew, which originally consisted of 70 men, had been reduced to 29, owing to the captain having distributed the others among the nine prizes he had captured since leaving Dunkirk three weeks previously.

The shattering of the Spanish fleet at the battle of Cape St. Vincent in February 1797, followed by Duncan's victory at Camperdown in October of that year over the Dutch, and Nelson's victory over the French on 1st August 1798 at the battle of the Nile, was compensation for the fact that the Royal Navy could not successfully blockade the enemy in her own ports. The French fleet had received such a blow that it sent renewed hope to all the countries still under the French oppression.

In August 1799 a large expeditionary force from England was carried safely to invade the Dutch coast, and in September the Russians, Britain's allies by Treaty, joined them, but by November the much depleted and defeated force were back in England, and the victorious Napoleon Bonaparte was now dictator and hero of France.

Britain was still all-powerful at sea, but in November 1800 the Tzar of Russia placed an embargo on all British ships in Russian ports and persuaded Norway, Sweden, Prussia and Denmark to revive the armed neutrality policy used against her in 1779. This threat to her Baltic trade, with its all-important exchange of grain, timber, and naval stores, was serious. The combined navies of France and Spain were shut up in Brest and a close watch was kept by the Navy on all the harbours of France, but the strain was terrific.

There is only one letter dated 19th November 1800 concerning a convoy for the trade assembling in Leith roads which was bound to the Elbe.

Thanks to Nelson's strategy at the battle of Copenhagen the Danes suspended their alliance with the Russians and in May 1801 the Russians raised the embargo. Once more Napoleon was to realise that he could not defeat Britain at sea.

An armistice was signed in October 1801 between France and Britain, but war broke out again in May 1803, and immediately the Royal Navy was at her posts, blockading the enemy's ports, and those of her satellite states, a task which was never relaxed, while at the same time keeping her sea routes open. With the renewal of the war the Government passed an act requiring merchant ships to sail in convoy and to obey the naval officer commanding.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1804 the Admiralty wrote to the Lord Provost that for the convenience of the merchants two hired armed vessels would be provided for the purpose of convoys to Tonningen, and a regular alternative convoy service was provided there and to the Baltic every fourteen days. The final convoy for the season was on 22nd November.

This convoy service was re-opened in February 1805 and on the 27th March the following letter was received by the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Parliament*, Geo. III, cap. 57.

Lord Provost from Admiral Vashon<sup>1</sup> on the *Roebuck* in Leith roads: 'The departure of the convoys last season was regulated as nearly as possible to the times of the new and full moons at which periods the vessels could always get out of the harbour and immediately after the departure of one convoy advice was sent to the Lord Provost of the time fixed for the next to sail. This is the plan I propose to pursue as far as I am able during the present season, and I have to request your Lordship will be pleased to impress on the minds of the merchants and ship owners the necessity of having their ships ready by the days appointed.'

From 1805 to 1810 there were intimations of regular convoys to the Baltic and Tonningen, and convoys were also sent to the Nore, Gottenburg, Archangel, Heligoland and the Island of Walcheren, and during this time there exist only two reports received of privateers, one attacking smacks off Newbiggin, Northumberland in February 1808, and the other, in November of that year, of a sloop being captured between Stonehaven and Aberdeen when Rear-Admiral Vashon wrote to the Lord Provost that H.M. Sloop *Spitfire* had been directed in quest of the privateer brig. He adds: 'I am in hopes she will be fortunate enough to fall in with her, but if not I think she can hardly escape as two or three of His Majesty's cruisers under my command are now in that neighbourhood.'

The Navy's task was still tremendous as the Emperor Napoleon's power mounted in Europe. The coastline to be watched was so long that it was impossible to prevent some of the enemy's ships escaping to sea. There was constant danger of invasion. The distant ports and sea routes from which Britain's foreign and colonial trade came had to be

<sup>1</sup> James Vashon, Rear-Admiral of the White 1804, of the Red 1805, Vice-Admiral of the Blue 1808, of the Red 1810, Admiral of the Blue 1814 and of the White 1821.—Laird Clowe's *History of the Royal Navy*, Vol. 5, p. 39. He was granted the freedom of the City of Edinburgh, 19th October 1808.

guarded. However, by 1811 the tide was turning against Napoleon and it was to sweep on until his defeat at Waterloo.

In October 1813 Vice-Admiral Otway<sup>1</sup> from the *Nightingale* in Leith roads informed the Lord Provost that two large French frigates 'which probably escaped from the Scheldt or Texel during the late easterly gales' had been seen, and it seemed by the course they steered that it was their intention to go northward, and he apprehended danger from them to the convoy for Gottenburg now on the point of sailing.

In February 1814 Rear-Admiral Hope<sup>2</sup> informed the Lord Provost that a convoy would be furnished from Leith and Longhope Sound<sup>3</sup> to Elsinore on the 9th of March and in future a convoy would sail on the third day after the new and full moon during the remainder of the season.

A year later Rear-Admiral Sir William Hope announced that the first convoy for Elsinore and the Baltic would sail from Leith roads on the 26th February.

With the Treaty of Paris in 1815 the long war with France had come to an end, and the last of the letters concerning convoys is dated 17th March 1816 when Rear-Admiral Hope wrote to the Lord Provost that 'in pursuance of directions from my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty no more convoys will be permitted to sail from any of the Ports within my command until further orders.'

HELEN ARMET.

<sup>1</sup> William Albany Otway, Vice-Admiral of the Blue. He received the freedom of the City of Edinburgh on 27th October 1813.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Johnston Hope, posted Captain 1794, Rear-Admiral of the Blue 1812, of the White the same year, and of the Red in 1814.

<sup>3</sup> In the Orkneys.

## LIST OF SHIPS AND VESSELS UNDER CONVOY OF H.M. ARMED

Ship's Name	Master's Name	Owner's Name	How Rigged
Montrose Smack	Wm. Crawl	James Mitchell	Sloop
Elizabeth	Wm. Nairn	Mich. Beverage	Brig
Success	Alex. White	Alex. White	Sloop
Antelope	Thos. Brown	Thos. Brown	do.
Dispatch	John McCha	John McCha	do.
Ambassador	Dav. Thomson	Geo. Adam	do.
Ranger	Wm. Donald	Ninian Johnston	do.
Diligence	John Moncur	James Gibbons	do.
Fancy	Saml. Sacker	Thos. Bullison	Brig
Betsy	David Boyd	John Hardy	do.
Atholl	Chas. Archer	Thos. Stewart	Sloop
Clementina	Thos. Brabner	Wm. Gibbon	do.
Mary and Betty	Frazer Smith	Wm. Groat	do.
Lady Janet	Thos. Smith	Hugh Smith	do.
Nancy	John Taylor	James Grindlay	Brig
Endeavour	Alex. Aitken	Thos. Paddon	do.
Peggy	James Johnston	Thos. Johnston, Senr.	Brig
Rose and Thomas	Geo. Stewart	James Johnston	Sloop
Active	Geo. Wighton	Thos. Marshall	do.
King George	Wm. Marshall	Wm. Marshall, Senr.	Brig
Farmer and Janet	John Stewart	John Stewart	Sloop
Star	Jas. Ritchie	Jas. Ritchie	Brig
Race Horse	McK. and Ramsay	Hunter and Smith	do.
Admiral Rodney	Edw. Dawson	Alex. Graham & Co.	Ship

SHIP THE *LEITH* PETER ROTHE, ESQ., COMMANDER.

(UNDATED)

Where from	Number			Loading	Whither Bound
	Guns	Tons	Men		
Montrose	—	70	7	Bale Goods	London
St. Davids	—	140	9	Coals	do. (not yet got orders)
Dundee	—	90	6	Bale Goods	do.
do.	—	96	7	do.	do.
do.	—	70	7	do.	do.
Aberdeen	—	90	6	Stone and Merchandise	do.
do.	—	120	9	do.	do.
do.	—	100	8	do.	do.
St. Davids	—	100	5	Coals	Westbeach (Wisbeach)
Leith	—	160	9	Coals and Merchandise	London
Perth	—	110	7	Bale Goods	do.
Aberdeen	—	60	5	Coals	do.
Stromness	—	60	5	Coals	Lynn
Carron	—	70	5	Coals	Lynn
Borrowstouneness	—	120	8	Merchandise	London
do.	—	150	8	Merchandise and coals	do.
do.	—	140	7	Coals and Merchandise	Rotterdam
Limekilns	—	100	7	Coals	do.
Perth	—	80	6	Bale Goods	London
Leith	—	200	9	Coals	do.
Alloa	—	90	5	Coals and Bottles	do.
Leith	—	160	8	Coals and Merchandise	do.
do.	—	80	7	do.	Gibraltar
do.	12	160	20	Stone and Bale Goods	St. Kitts

ICE HOUSES OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND  
NINETEENTH CENTURIES IN  
EDINBURGH AND THE LOTHIANS

I

**M**OST people know that the majority of owners of old baronial houses possessed a dovecote, but that they also, in many cases, owned an ice house, is not so generally known. They used the ice house for the preservation of food, and for keeping wines cool throughout the summer.

In our pride of modern methods, when every small pre-fabricated house has a refrigerator, we are inclined to forget that our ancestors had the means of keeping food in a fresh state. In nearly every large mansion, ice was available for that purpose. The ice was not made by artificial methods, as it is now, but the ice or snow of winter was preserved, during the summer, by a form of natural insulation in the ice house, which was erected in the grounds of the mansion, and, for convenience, near to the dwelling-house.

Dovecotes are frequently mentioned in old charters, but there is singularly little record of ice houses in old manorial documents, in books descriptive of manorial life, or in general literature. An ice house did not have the feudal glamour of a dovecote. While, however, the latter went out of use about the end of the eighteenth century, ice houses remained in use till the middle of the nineteenth century, when artificial methods of making ice became known, thus rendering ice houses unnecessary. Some were, however, in use till an even later date.

*History.*

Rugge's *Diurnal* states that 'ice houses were built in Upper Saint James's Park, London in October 1660, as the mode is in France, Italy, and other hot countries, for to cool

wines and other drinks for the summer season.'<sup>1</sup> Old plans show that these ice houses were situated in what is now called the Green Park. They remained there till the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1665, His Majesty's ice pit was at Greenwich, on the side of the castle hill. It was 'steened' with brick, and was not quite so wide at the mouth as those in Saint James's Park.<sup>2</sup>

Boyle, in his *New Experiments and Observations touching Cold* written in 1665, quoted Evelyn the diarist as stating that 'to condense snow, they laid clean straw on the grate at the bottom of an ice pit, and then beat the snow to a hard cake, one foot thick. They then laid straw and snow alternately till the pit was full. Finally straw or reed was put over all, and the door kept shut, and some preserved a circle of trees about the pit.'

Sir Robert Strange, the engraver (1721-1792), wrote a book called *Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its Environs*. In this book he states:

'Snow is a monopoly that produces a revenue for the Pope. The use of snow or ice to cool liquors is, no doubt, in hot climates, an agreeable luxury. The Romans make use of it, and perhaps the reader will not be dissatisfied to know the simple method by which they preserve it. On this dry plain, they dig pits without any building, about fifty feet deep and twenty five feet broad, at the top, in the form of a sugar loaf or cone. The larger the pit, the snow, no doubt, will preserve better. About three feet from the bottom they commonly fix a wooden grate which serves as a drain, if any of the snow should happen to melt, which would otherwise stagnate and hasten the dissolution of the rest. The pit, thus formed and lined with prunings of trees and straw, is filled with snow, which is beaten down as hard as possible, till it becomes a solid body. It is afterwards covered with more prunings of trees, and a roof is raised in the form of a low cone, well-thatched with straw. A door is left at the side, covered likewise with straw, by

<sup>1</sup> *Old and New London*, Vol. IV, page 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of Architecture*, 1892, Vol. IV.

which men enter and cut the ice, for such it becomes, with a mattock. A row of shady trees may well be planted round the pit to protect it better from the sun. The quantity daily demanded is carried to Rome, in the night time, in carts well covered with straw. It is found by experience that snow, when pressed down, is not only colder but preserves longer than cakes of ice taken out of ponds or ditches.<sup>1</sup>

Presumably, when he writes of a door covered with straw, it may be inferred that he is referring to a passage covered with straw.

William Cobbett possessed original ideas on the question of building ice houses. In his book called *Cottage Economy*, with sub-title 'Instructions for erecting and using ice houses after the original Virginian manner,' he wrote :

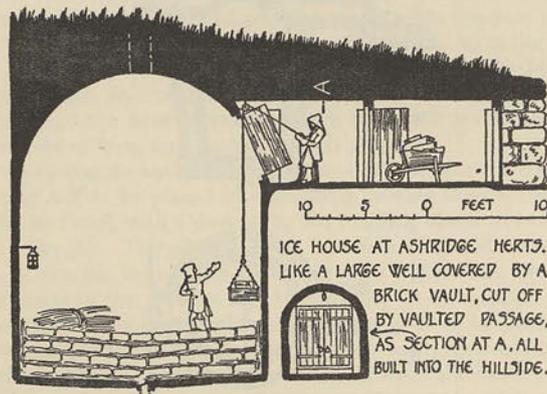
'In England ice houses are generally underground, and always, if possible, under the shade of trees, the opinion being that the main thing is to keep away heat. Heat certainly should be kept away but moisture is the great enemy of ice, and how is this to be kept away, underground or under trees? Abundant experience has shown that no thickness of wall and no cement will resist moisture. Wherever moisture enters, ice melts. Ice houses should be constructed to be as dry as possible. Drains or gutters are too slow. An ice house should stand on a place open to the sun and air. It should be on a spot from which water runs in every direction. It is not to be built of bricks, stone, mortar, or cement, as all are affected by moisture. Wood will not do as it imbibes heat. It ought to be made of straw, with wooden posts, plates, rafters, and laths. The walls should be made of straw, supported on stakes.' In his plan there was an inner circle (B) of 15 posts, nine feet high, and an outer circle (C) of 24 posts five feet high, and a passage (E) between the two circles, with outer and inner doors. The instructions were as follows :—'The floor within the inner circle of posts is made of wooden logs, placed criss-cross, and diminishing in size upwards, and closer at the top. On the top are placed dry twigs, and on them dry heath. The top of the bed is seventeen inches from the floor. The passage is four feet long, and two feet wide,

<sup>1</sup> Nora K. Strange, *Jacobean Tapestry*, page 96.

and the straw walls between B and C are four feet wide. The inner door is to be of hurdle and straw, having a sheepskin with the wool on, on one side. The outer door is to be covered with sheepskins. The passage, in hot weather, may be filled with straw; [and] there is to be a gutter all round for catching rain drops.'

*Methods Adopted in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.*

In *History of Everyday Things* it is stated that ice was taken from ponds and lakes, and stored underground in a



Drawing of an ice house, taken from Quennell's *A History of Everyday Things in England*.

dark vault, cut off from the outer air by three doors in the entrance passage. Thus the ice was insulated and remained frozen until it was wanted in the summer. 'There was an ingenious arrangement, by which, with sloping doorways, a pulley wheel was fixed in the brick wall of the passage, so that it could be used by means of a rope, to lower ice into or raise ice up from the ice pit.' (See diagram.<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Quennell's *History of Everyday Things*, 1733-1851.

An old form of ice house was a well, several feet deep, dug out of sloping ground or against a bank. The bottom of the well was made to slope towards a sunken drain, which was covered by an iron grating to permit water from the ice to drain quickly away. A dip in the drain or a bend in the pipe prevented air from entering the bottom of the well. Ice was

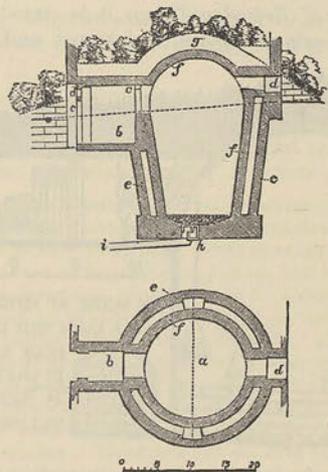


Fig. 1.

Sketch of Bailey's ice house.

filled in from an opening in the dome, which had to be carefully closed.

A good form of ice house was one recommended many years ago, by Mr. Bailey, gardener at Nuneham Park, Oxfordshire. In this case, 'the well is ten feet six inches wide at the base, and three feet wider at the top. The walls are hollow, the outer wall being of rough stone, and the inner dome of

brick. On the top is a mound of clay and soil planted with shrubs and trees, to keep the surface cool in summer. The drain, which carries off the water, has a trap on it. The porch or lobby has an outer and an inner door, which have apertures to get rid of condensed moisture that would waste the ice. These doors should be opened every night, and closed in the early morning. It is important to secure dryness of soil, an enclosed atmosphere, compactness of the ice, and exclusion of air. The ice is to be broken fine, and closely rammed. The outer wall can be made of puddled clay.' (See diagram.)

'A less expensive way than the above was to make an ice stack on sloping ground, near to a pond, the ice being beaten small, rammed down, and worked into a cone, fifteen feet high, on a base of twenty seven feet, and covered with three feet of fern, and having a ditch all round.'<sup>1</sup>

According to another writer, 'ice required when in damp or clay soil to be placed in a building, having double floors, walls, and roof, with a passage to the building of ten to twelve feet in length. The pit is to be an inverted truncated cone, as this allows the ice to drop closer together. There are two to four doors in the passage and two are not to be open at the same time. The first section of the passage is to be packed, sometimes, with barley straw in rope-net bags, and the third section is to be always so packed. In all cases the drain is to be thrice trapped, one trap having an iron grate with perforated zinc, to keep out insects and vermin when food is kept. There are two methods of filling the pit, one for ice used in confectionery, the other for rough ice. In the first case, the ice is pounded as small as possible, straw laid on it, then ice, and then the ice is sprinkled with a gallon of water containing a pound of salt. This is repeated till six inches of ice has formed. On this, the rest of the pounded ice is rammed in a body, and occasionally sprinkled with water. The other

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1881.

method is to pack ice closely in a nest of straw, and repeat till the pit is full. Ground ivy is grown on the top of the mound, which covers the well. Some consider that trees are not advisable as they prevent evaporation.<sup>1</sup>

It was considered that a domed well, thirteen feet six inches deep, five feet in diameter at the bottom, and thirteen feet in diameter at the springing, would hold a hundred loads of ice, which was enough to supply a mansion for a year.

## II

I do not think that ice houses have been classified, but I venture to suggest two methods for those in the Edinburgh area: *either*, by situation, thus:

A. Those built above ground under a natural mound, as at Oxenfoord and Mortonhall;

B. Those built above ground under an artificial mound, e.g. Ratho Park and Pinkie;

C. Those built under ground and under a natural mound, as at Niddrie Marischal;

D. Those built under ground and under an artificial mound. There is an ice house of this class at Edmonstone, and perhaps at Loretto. The former ice house at Hatton may have been of this type;

E. Those built into a bank or hillside. This form is common in this area, e.g. at Hermitage, Newbattle, Calder, etc.

or by form, thus:

A. Domed or globe-shaped pits, as at Hermitage, Edmonstone, etc.

B. Circular chambers, such as are present at Mortonhall, Ratho Park, etc.

C. Rectangular chambers, as at Oxenfoord, Niddrie Marischal and Gilmerton.

D. Tunnel-shaped chambers, as at Drum.

E. Doubtful Structures.

The latter classification is here adopted.

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Architecture*, 1892.

## A. GLOBE-SHAPED OR CUP AND DOME ICE HOUSES.

*Hermitage House.*

This ice house is within the wooded grounds of the mansion. It is situated some distance up the south bank of the Braid Burn, and the entrance, concealed by trees and shrubs, is closed by an iron gate and is about fifty inches wide and five feet in height. A passage way with stone walls and a roof of stone slabs, sloping like a penthouse, extends north to south for four feet six inches, then bends at a right angle into an inner passage, which extends eight feet, under the earth. This passage has stone walls and an arched roof of narrow red bricks. The entrance to it is in the form of a pointed 'Gothic' arch of stone, and the checks for a former door are seen in the jamb stone on either side. There is a sudden and dangerous drop down into the ice chamber at the inner end of this passage, where it opens directly into the pit under a pointed arch, the arch extending inwards over the pit to join to the arched domed ceiling of the chamber. This inner passage is thirty one and a half inches wide and five feet six inches high. The checks for a former inner door are seen in the side walls at the inner entrance to the pit.

The ice well consists of a double cup. The walls of the ice chamber have a slight curve on them, concave towards the interior, and are made of narrow red bricks. These walls form the lower cup. The brick ceiling of the pit is dome-shaped forming an upper inverted cup. The depth of the pit is deceptive. It looked about fourteen feet deep from the floor of the passage but it measured seven feet six inches in depth. There is no opening at the apex of the dome so that the pit is completely dark. The floor and walls and ceiling are quite dry. The floor is circular, and about ten feet in diameter.

*Edmonstone House.* (Illus. p. 128.)

The ice house at Edmonstone House is situated a few

yards to the east of the ruined stables, and has survived the mansion itself.

The entrance is in a curved retaining wall and faces north. It is forty two inches wide and seven feet seven inches high, and the lintel is an oblong block of sandstone. The wall rises two feet above the lintel.

The ice pit is a fine piece of masonry. The floor is cup-shaped and the ceiling is domed, forming a globe-shaped cavity, partly under and partly above ground. The walls and ceiling are of red and brown ashlar sandstone, pointed with black coloured mortar. The interior is entirely free of any moisture.

The mound of earth heaped over the chamber is cone-shaped, rising to a sharp point, and is shaded by a growth of shrubs. The circumference of the base of the mound is about sixty paces.

The circumference of the interior of the pit, at its maximum, must be about sixty feet, and the depth of the pit from the threshold of the inner door is twelve feet, and the total height of the interior about twenty two feet.

*Newbattle Abbey.*

The ice pit is situated about 200 yards from the house, under the trees on the south bank of the River Esk. A stone bridge formerly crossed the stream at a spot exactly in line with the entrance to the ice house.

The ice well is built back into the steep bank. An ornate Renaissance arch of stone leads into a small courtyard in front of the entrance. The court is twelve feet long from north to south, and is eight feet five inches from east to west. It is enclosed by stone walls and is roofless.

The archway is nine feet wide and six feet high. The keystone of the arch is a block of stone in the form of a fluted volute, and there is a fluted Doric pilaster on the wall on each side of the arch. The frieze over the arch is ornately carved.

It has a series of triglyphs, with carved panels between each set. The outermost panel presents a carving of a 'sun in splendour.' The panel next to it has a monogram of letters which appear to be L. R. J. I. The panel adjoining it has carved on it a unicorn's head facing a boar's head. The monogram is repeated in the next panel, and the outermost panel bears a gyronny of four. The top of the archway wall is flat, and carries on the centre a large Renaissance stone vase, which holds fruits carved in the form of pears, grapes, and apples. At each end there has been a similar vase but, in each case, only the decorative base of the vase remains.

The outer entrance of the passage to the ice pit is in the east wall of the courtyard. It is about four feet from the ground, and there is a stone bracket on the wall on each side of, and above, the entrance. On the under side of each bracket, facing downward, is the carved stone head of a cherub. Above the entrance is an oblong recess from which a former panel has been removed. The top of the wall is in the form of an arch. The brick-lined passage to the ice pit is nine feet eight inches long, six feet four inches high, and forty inches wide. It has had a door at each end.

The walls of the cup-shaped pit and the ceiling of the dome are made of red brick. The arch of the inner entrance is extended inwards to meet the curve of the ceiling of the dome, in the same way as at Hermitage and Edmonstone. The depth of the pit from the threshold of the entrance to the bottom is about eight feet, and the height of the interior globe-shaped cavity must be about sixteen feet. From surface indications we can roughly estimate the interior of the ice house to have a circumference of forty eight feet, and a diameter of about twelve feet.

*Calder House.*

The ice house lies about two hundred yards north of the mansion, and the ice pit has been excavated in the north

slope of the hill on the summit of which the mansion stands.

The entrance, as is usual, faces north. It has a round arch, is forty three and a half inches wide, and seven feet high to the top of the arch. There is a wall two feet wide on each side of the entrance, with a pointed apex. The outer walls of the passage to the ice pit are visible on each side for a length of ten feet, before disappearing into the bank. They are five feet six inches high. The arched soil above the pit extends fourteen feet back, before it joins with the slope of the hill. The passage is built of ashlar stone. It is seven feet three inches long, six feet high, and three feet six inches wide. The outer end is closed by a wooden door, and there is a check in the walls for a former door fifteen inches from the inner end of the passage.

The pit is an orthodox globe-shaped chamber of cup and dome, and is built of bricks. The inner entrance arches inwards in line with the curved ceiling of the pit as at Edmonstone. The depth of the pit is seven feet eight inches from the top of a brick wall which blocks the inner entrance to a height of four feet. The chamber is absolutely dry within.

#### *Penicuik House.*

A long ha-ha wall runs along the south side of the lawns which lie in front of the stately but ruined mansion of Penicuik House. The stone-faced entrance wall of the ice house is situated in the central part of this wall. The entrance is closed by a wooden door. It is forty two inches wide and four feet four inches high, and has a lintel of one block of stone which is five feet long and ten inches high.

The passage into the ice pit runs in a northerly direction under the ground, which is higher on the north side of the ha-ha wall than on the south side, where there is a large level grass field. The passage is twelve feet six inches long, and the

walls are of rubble sandstone. It is forty two inches wide and is four feet four inches high for a few feet inwards, but for the rest of its length it is about a foot higher. The ceiling of the passage is arched. At the inner end of the passage there is a step up to the threshold of the pit, and beyond the step is a sudden drop vertically into the pit. The iron staples of the hinges of the inner door are seen, and the lintel, jambs, and threshold of the inner entrance are all checked where they fitted the door.

The ice pit is a chamber of the cup and dome variety. The inner entrance has the same form as at Newbattle, that is to say, it arches inwards a few feet over the well to join with the under side of the domed ceiling. The domed ceiling, the walls of the cup, and the floor are constructed of ashlar courses of sandstone, which curve in diminishing circles to the centre of the ceiling, and in the same way to the centre of the bottom of the cup. There is an iron hook in the centre of the ceiling, but no sign of a hole. From the floor of the passage to the foot of the pit is about ten feet, and the interior circumference of the pit is about sixty feet. The height is about seventeen feet.

The soil, as is usual, is heaped over the dome of the chamber, and the circumference of this artificial knoll is sixty two paces round, and along the top of the knoll from north to south is twenty one paces.

The interior of the pit is quite dry, but there was a smell of putrefaction on entering the passage, as four dead rabbits, which had run in at some former time, had dropped into the pit, and died there of starvation.

Mr. Ross, factor to Sir John Clerk, who kindly allowed me to see the ice house, told me that he had heard from a former forester, who died ten years ago, that he had, in his time, filled the pit with ice, and he did not like the job. There is an artificial pond near the mansion from which ice could be got.

*Prestonhall House.*

The ice house is situated in a beautiful position on the east bank of the Tyne Water, where the river flows in a pleasant wooded valley between the parkland policies of Oxenfoord Castle and those of Prestonhall.

The ice house has been excavated at the top of the river bank and has been insulated by a circular artificial mound of earth, heaped on the top of the dome, in the usual way. A number of young trees grow on the mound.

The outer entrance is on the north side. It is six feet four inches high, and three feet one inch wide. The wall, in which the entrance is, extends four feet four inches on one side of the entrance and nine feet one inch on the other side, and it is about nine feet high, at its highest, where the top of the wall rises in an arch over the entrance. The wall is built of rubble sandstone. There is a lintel of one block of sandstone over the entrance. The inner entrance is of the same dimensions as the outer.

The arched passage is brick-walled, and is six feet five and a half inches high, and forty five inches wide. It extends inwards fourteen inches, then widens for a distance of seven feet seven inches, and narrows again for fourteen inches before the inner entrance. Its length is nine feet eleven inches. There is a door at each end. The lintel of the inner entrance slopes in the manner shown in Quennell's book, the object of the slope being that the ice blocks could rest on it before they were lowered into the pit.

The ice cavity has walls of red brick, and is constructed in the orthodox form of a cup and dome, or it may be described as an 'inverted truncated cone.' The depth from the threshold of the inner entrance to the bottom of the pit is nine feet four and a half inches, and the circumference of the well is, at its maximum, about forty feet.

The circumference of the base of the mound is forty paces around, and the length on the top is eighteen paces.

*Ravelston House.*

The ice house, situated in the woods on the north side of the green lawn, which extends in a semi-circle in front of the entrance to the mansion, has been excavated in the side of a wooded bank.

The narrow entrance passage is built of rubble gray sandstone. It is seven feet seven inches long, and is about thirty inches wide and six feet high. The roof is flat, and made of sandstone.

The outer entrance is closed by a wooden door. It is five feet high and twenty six and a half inches wide. The dimensions of the inner entrance are the same. There are checks in the wall for a former inner door. There is an iron hasp in the wall about the middle of the passage on one side, so that there may have been a third door in the centre of the passage. There is a small oblong recess in the east wall of the passage. The lintel of the outer entrance consists of one block of sandstone. The outer wall arches above the lintel to a height of four feet and extends twenty two and a half inches on each side of the entrance.

The dome and cup of the ice cavity are made of rubble sandstone. There is a wooden floor, level with the floor of the passage, which forms a roof to the cup below it. The height of the dome above the floor is about seven feet, and the depth of the cup from the floor to the bottom of the pit is eight feet. The maximum circumference internally is about twenty feet. There is a recess in the east side of the dome.

The soil is heaped up over the dome to form a conical ivy-covered mound, which is about forty paces round at the base. On the mound there is a great growth of ivy, and some nettles. A rowan tree, an elder tree, an elm tree, and a tall sycamore tree grow on the summit, giving shade to the ice house below them.

This ice house is singular in that the passage opens to the

south, that is to the sunny side. It is noteworthy that Gwilt<sup>1</sup> suggests that an ice house should face south east so that the morning sun may expel the damp air which is more prejudicial than warmth.<sup>1</sup>

*Merchiston Castle School.*

The ice house lies deep in the woods of Colinton Dell, close to the east bank of the Water of Leith. Its cup is under the ground of the sloping bank of the river, and the dome is above ground level. The outer entrance faces north. It is thirty six and a half inches wide and five feet high. The wall extends twenty five inches on the west side of the entrance, and twenty inches on the east side. The lintel is a block of sandstone, and extends downwards a few inches at each end.

The passage is four feet long, and is made of rubble gray sandstone. The checks of the former outer door face outwards, while the checks of the former inner door face inwards into the pit, so that the outer door swung outwards and the inner door formerly swung inwards into the pit. The passage has a flat ceiling of stone. The passage and inner entrance are of the same dimensions as the outer entrance. On the west side of the entrance wall, part of the circular wall of the dome is visible. It has been four feet thick, equal to the length of the passage. The rest of the wall of the dome is concealed by the soil of the mound.

The depth of the cup is six feet from the floor of the passage, and the dome from the floor of the passage to the highest part of the arch is about five feet in height. The walls consist of about thirty six courses of rubble dark brown sandstone, those in the cup being about ten inches high, while those in the dome diminish upwards. The diameter of the pit is about nine feet, and the greatest circumference is roughly twenty nine feet.

The dome is covered by an artificial conical mound of

<sup>1</sup> Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture*, page 1297.

soil, thirty six paces round at the base, and twelve feet high. The mound has a growth of ivy, fern, raspberry bushes and garlic on it. A tall elm tree and two small sycamores also grow on the summit of the mound.

This was the ice house of the former house of Colinton.

*Inveresk House.*

The ice house of old Inveresk House is situated close to the east end of the churchyard of Inveresk parish church. It is beside the ancient sundial of 1727, on which are the initials O. C. (Rev. Oliver Colt, minister of Inveresk, who dwelt in Inveresk House).

The ice house is excavated in the hillside on which the parish church stands. It is interesting in that the brick wall which surrounds it is octagonal in shape, each section being eight feet six inches wide. The outer entrance faces north. It is six feet high and forty inches wide, and is closed by a wooden door. The lower part of the entrance is blocked by a stone wall. The passage is six feet five and a half inches long. The ceiling of the passage is of brick and arched. The walls are made of red brick. The inner entrance is thirty seven inches wide and five feet six inches high, and the stone jambs and lintel are checked for a former inner door.

The north wall containing the entrance extends thirty two inches on the west side and thirty inches on the east side. It is seven feet five inches high at the entrance, with a stone coping.

The depth of the cup of the pit is six feet from the floor of the passage; and the height of the dome from the floor of the passage is nine feet. The walls of the cup and dome are made of courses of red bricks. The diameter at the bottom is twelve feet, pit circumference thirty six feet, and there is a scarcement around the bottom of the pit about a foot high. About halfway up the wall there are joist holes, where a wooden floor had been.

At the base of the dome, opposite the entrance, there are two holes, one of which retains an old wooden ventilating duct leading down vertically to near the foot of the pit. There is a third ventilating hole on the west side of the dome base, and the drain pipe, which ventilated the pit at this hole, is still visible on the top of the mound over the dome. It has a right angle bend at its exit. There is no evidence of a drain in the bottom of the pit, but the pit is absolutely dry.

The dome is covered by the usual mound of earth, on which grows a wealth of ivy, and some elm shrubs. There is a record of this ice house in 1794.

*Dalkeith Palace.*

The ice house is situated about two hundred yards from the mansion, and on the west side of the south drive. It has been built under the tree-covered ground on the top of the steep sloping bank of the North Esk.

The entrance faces east, is six feet high and four feet wide, is closed by a wooden door, and has a lintel of one block of sandstone. The stone wall extends twenty six inches on the north side of the entrance, and seven feet six inches on the south side. The latter wall acts as the east wall of the second passage to the ice house.

The ice house is entered by four passages, if we call the entry a passage. The entry runs from east to west, and is short. Its inner end forms the outer end of the second passage, and the south wall of the entry is only about a foot and a half long from the entrance to where it bends at a right angle to become the east wall of the second passage. The second passage is at right angles to the entry, is forty six inches wide, seven feet six inches high, and is seven feet four inches long from its far end to the south wall of the entry; but it is eleven feet four inches in total length. It runs north to south. Its walls are of stone and its stone ceiling is flat. The third passage is at right angles to the second, is at the



ICE HOUSE AT NIDDRIE-MARISCHAL



ICE HOUSE AT EDMONSTONE

far end of the second passage, and runs from east to west. Its walls and ceiling are similar to those of the second passage. It is eight feet ten inches long, forty six inches wide, and seven feet six inches high. The mound above these passages is twelve paces long from north to south, and seven paces wide from east to west. It is covered with ground ivy and shaded by holly trees.

The fourth passage is at right angles to the third, and had a door at its entrance. It extends eight feet in a north to south direction. At its inner end there is an opening in its east wall, which leads down by six stone steps to a long semi-circular passage, which extends, deep below the ground, around the east and part of the south side of the ice pit. There was a former door at this entrance to the semi-circular passage which cut it off from the fourth passage. The fourth passage itself extends straight on, beyond the opening to the circular passage, to end at the threshold of the great ice pit. This innermost far section of the fourth passage is about four feet six inches long, and it had an outer and an inner door, with a length of three feet ten inches between the doors. The total length of the fourth passage is therefore twelve feet six inches. It is three feet eight inches wide, and seven feet six inches high. The opening at the threshold is in the form of a great pointed arch, projecting over the pit, the side walls of the arch being curved on their upper surface to blend into the under side of the dome of the pit.

All the passages have walls of stone, and their ceilings are made of great slabs of sandstone, placed transversely over the passages. The outer end of the innermost section of fourth passage is now partially blocked by a wall, at the site of the former door. This blocking wall does not reach to the ceiling, and by means of a small ladder it is possible to see over it into the ice chamber. If one shouts over the wall, the great ice chamber echoes back the voice with an eery resonant note.

The ice chamber is a colossal globe-shaped cavity, built of stone, with a domed ceiling. It is quite dry inside. The walls must be over four feet thick. There is a circular opening at the apex of the dome, which opens upwards into a stone shaft, that opens out to the ground above the pit. The shaft is beautifully made, and is circular. It is somewhat vase-shaped and has near its exit a surrounding narrow stone shelf, on which was formerly placed a round wooden cover. It is five feet in depth, and is now covered at ground level by two heavy iron slabs, to prevent persons falling into the pit. The ice was thrown into the pit through this shaft. The depth from ground level to the bottom of the pit is thirty three feet six inches, so that the depth from the threshold of the entering passage to the bottom must be about eighteen to twenty feet.

We have now to describe the semi-circular passage around the pit. The six steps leading down to it have stone walls on either side, the curved wall on the inner side being five feet in length, and the outer wall seven feet six inches long in the curve. The width of the steps is three feet one inch. The passage is blocked up, at its far end, so that it only surrounds part of the pit. Its inner curved wall is twenty six feet long, and its outer wall is thirty four feet long. The inner wall is studded with iron nails, on which possibly game was hung, when ice was stored in the passage before its final removal. The circular passage has two circular convex-faced corbel courses on each wall, supporting the flat ceiling of stone slabs. There are at intervals three small square recesses at the base of the outer wall, which bend at a right angle as they proceed into the wall; possibly ventilating outlets. The passage is six feet six inches high to the lower corbel, and about seven feet seven inches in total height. It is five feet seven inches wide.

When the shaft was opened above the dome, a warm 'steam' was seen rising up from the pit, and the light from above lit up the pit, so that on looking into the pit over the

blocking wall, the rays of light radiated down into the pit like a veil of gauze. It reminded one of the Pantheon at Rome, on a small scale.

This is the largest globe-shaped ice chamber which we have seen in the area under review. Judging from the length of the semi-circular passage, which extends around less than half the circumference of the pit to a length of twenty four feet, the circumference of the pit within must be roughly fifty feet. There is a circular patch of grass-covered ground above the pit, of forty paces in circumference.

The ice was taken from a pond in the policies of the palace, near the river, and not far from the Montagu bridge. The pit must have held a great mass of ice, which was supremely insulated by the thickness of the walls, the length of the four passages, and the presence of four doors which shut out the warm outside air.

This huge ice pit is a marvellous piece of stone masonry, and is well worth seeing. It is said to have been in use as late as the year 1914.

#### *Craigiehall.*

The ice pit of Craigiehall is situated on the east side of the long avenue which, fringed with handsome rhododendron bushes and secluded in wood, leads to the mansion from the lodge near Cramond Brig. It is not far from a picturesque, sinuous pond, in the woods, from which the ice was probably taken, but those who carried the ice to the mansion from the pit had a walk of about a quarter of a mile.

The chamber is excavated in a steep bank.

The entrance faces to the north east, is round-arched, and is now dilapidated. It leads into a straight passage nine feet long, thirty seven and a half inches wide, and five feet ten inches high, which had two doors. The walls and the round-arched ceiling of the passage are of red brick. They are nine inches thick, the length of one brick.

The walls of the cup and dome are also of red brick, and have been built in the English bond, a row of stretchers alternating with a row of headers. The cup is six feet two inches deep, and the maximum circumference is approximately thirty feet. The height of the chamber is about nineteen feet. There is no opening in the dome.

The mound over the pit is seven paces long, and is fifty six paces round the base. There are many big stones incorporated in the soil of the mound, which is artificial, and the shrubs on it have been cut down.

*Loretto School.* (Illus. p. 136.)

There is at the entrance to the School an artificial mound which resembles the orthodox covering of an ice house. It is eighty two paces in circumference at the base, twenty paces in length along the top, and tree-covered. A straight stone passage runs into and under the mound. This site has, for a long time, been popularly associated with that of the chapel of Our Lady of Loretto; but it may have been used as an ice house.

The entrance to the passage faces north-east. It is five feet six inches high and thirty eight inches wide. It is set in the central part of a stone wall which extends outwards at a lower height on each side. The wall assists in supporting the lower part of the front of the mound in the same way as the entrance wall of an ice house supports the mound of many an ice chamber.

Over the entrance is the pediment of a dormer window said to have come from Pinkie House. On this pediment is carving in the form of strap work, along with the date 1647, and a coronet and monogram. The entrance is closed by a wooden door, from which six steps lead down into the passage, which is twenty four feet long. The walls of the passage are of ashlar sandstone and the stone ceiling is round-arched. There is no exit at the far end of the passage into the mound,

so that, without excavation, it is impossible to say whether there may exist an ice pit under the mound.

On the left-hand side of the passage there are fourteen recesses, arranged in two series of seven. They are separated by narrow brick partitions. Each recess is two feet six inches high, and measures three feet to the wall. The passage was used as a wine cellar, and the recesses are said to have been made to hold barrels or casks of wine. Human skulls and other human bones were found, in 1831, under the mound. A few years later more bones were unearthed, and a gold cross and chain. In 1939, when digging for the erection of an anti-air-raid shelter, behind the mound, still more bones were found. All this suggests that there was a burial ground here, possibly connected with the old chapel of Our Lady of Loretto, or the bones may be connected with the slaughter at the battle of Pinkie, or they may even be prehistoric, in which case the mound may have originated in a round barrow, but it is all problematical.

Dr. Moir, of 'Mansie Waugh' fame, wrote that in the ceiling of the passage there was inserted a strong iron bar with an oaken pulley attached to it, which supports my very tentative suggestion that the mound perhaps conceals an ice house, because pulleys were frequently fixed to the arch of the inner doorway of the passage of an ice house, in order to pull the ice up from the deep ice pit.

The grounds of Loretto House were laid out by Capability Brown with an artificial pond, from which ice could have been procured.

I am much indebted to the headmaster and the lady secretary of the school, who sent me copies of past numbers of the *Lorettonian* containing much of this information.

*Hatton House.*

On the 1907 Ordnance Survey map of the grounds of Hatton House an ice house is shown, twenty yards west of

the wester of two pavilion summerhouses situated one at each end of the terrace wall on the south side of the mansion. There is now no trace of an ice house, but only a round low mound of earth, with a basal circumference of sixty two paces. Possibly, if the mound were excavated, a globe-shaped ice pit would be revealed. There is no trace of a former passage. It is however represented, on the map, as a rectangular building.

[Before leaving the subject of globe-shaped ice houses, it must be understood that although we have described them as under ground, they are all built in such manner that usually about two thirds is below ground, and the upper third or dome is above ground, covered by the mound.]

#### B. CIRCULAR ICE HOUSES.

##### *Mortonhall House.*

The ice house is situated in the policies behind the mansion. The mound is one hundred and fifty two paces round at the base, and fifty paces in circumference on the top. The summit is twenty six paces long from east to west. A stone wall supports the mound on either side of the entrance, which is on the west side.

The chamber is entered by a passage seventeen feet six inches long, three feet seven inches wide, and six feet high. The passage, walled with sandstone, leads directly to the circular chamber, and the outer end has a door. At the inner end was a double door, so that the passage had formerly three doors, and the chamber was thus well insulated. The central passage, some feet before it enters the chamber, divides into two lateral passages of the same height and width as the main passage. These meet again and form a circular gallery around the chamber of twenty two paces in length. Four

vertical openings lead from the gallery into the chamber, each having a shallow shelf on the gallery floor.

The central chamber is circular, has a domed ceiling and is made of bricks. The floor, with a circumference of thirty feet and diameter of eleven feet, is about three feet below the floor of the gallery. The chamber is lit by a small conical vent opening to the outside soil through the ceiling. A small duct opens from a shallow recess on the outer side of the gallery, to the upper surface of the mound, and another small duct gives light to the junction of the north side passage with the gallery.

This ice house is a well-constructed piece of work and made a good air-raid shelter during the war. The mound appears to be natural, but may be partly artificial, and many trees grow on its summit.

##### *Ratho Park.*

The ice house is about one hundred and fifty yards to the northeast of the mansion, now a golf house. It is behind the old dove-cote, and is hidden amongst the trees which grow by the canal bank. It looks somewhat like the round dwelling of a prehistoric age as they are represented in pictures, or like the native hut of the tropics, which reminds us of a sentence in *Froger's Voyages*, 1698: 'Their huts are of a round figure and cannot be better compared than to our ice houses.'

The wall enclosing the circular chamber is built of stone, and is externally forty five inches high. The circumference at the top of the wall is sixty four feet. The wall is doubled about a foot down from the top and the circumference is there seventy two feet. The thickness of the wall is thirty three inches on top, and where it is double it is forty five inches thick.

Above the wall, the earth is heaped above the domed roof of the chamber into the shape of a cone, which has a slope of eleven feet in length from the apex to the top of the wall.

A small tree grows on the top of the mound, and if we liken the cone to a cap, the tree is its decorative tassel. The earth is heaped against the wall all round, so that only a foot or two of the wall is visible at the top.

The entrance to the chamber is in the east side, and the passage is now only thirty three inches in length. The wall is of stone. The east wall of the passage is splayed a little so that the outer entrance is forty four inches wide, and thirty four inches high, and the inner entrance, where there is a vertical drop from the passage into the pit, is forty inches wide, and thirty four inches high. It is necessary to bend one's body to get in to the pit. There is a heavy oblong lintel above the outer entrance. The former passage was eight feet nine inches long, as shown by measuring the broken-down wall of the former outer end of the passage. The large lintel of the original outer entrance of the passage is seen lying on the ground. There must have been formerly two doors.

The drop from the floor of the passage to the floor of the pit is three feet eight inches. The wall of the circular dark pit is made of black whinstone, and is five feet six inches high from the floor to the base of the domed ceiling. The circumference of the chamber is forty five feet six inches. The dome is beautifully made of bricks in 32 parallel courses. The floor of the pit is of earth, and is fourteen feet six inches in diameter. The height of the chamber, at its highest part, is about twelve feet.

There has formerly been a round hole in the ceiling through which ice was thrown into the pit, but the hole is now blocked up.

*Pinkie House.* (See illustration.)

The ice house is situated on the south side of the wood-surrounded park of the policies, and the old dovecote is on the north side. It is a round building, and entirely above ground.

The entrance is in its north side, and is six feet high and



ICE HOUSE AT PINKIE



ICE HOUSE (?) AT LORETTO

forty three inches wide. The lintel is one long stone with a stone weather-boarding above it. The stone wall on each side of the entrance is twenty one inches wide from the jambs of the entrance to the angle of line of the outer side of the wall of the passage. There has been an outer door and another door was three feet eight inches along the passage, which closed up against a check, made by narrowing the passage an inch or two on each side. In the narrower part there are signs of former bars having been across the passage. The floor of the passage is on the same level as the floor of the chamber. This is an unusual feature. The flat ceiling of the passage rises by two steps upwards at the inner entrance, which is seven feet high, and forty three inches wide.

The interior of the ice chamber is circular, with a brick wall covered with plaster, designed to imitate ashlar stone. The wall from the floor to the base of the dome is seven feet high and twenty nine inches thick. The ceiling is a low dome of encircling courses of plastered brick. There is an opening to the outside air on the south side, the sill of which is thirty one inches from floor level. The opening is forty inches wide internally, and thirty five and a half inches wide externally, being splayed. The frame of a door remains in the opening. A similar opening is present on the east side. The internal circumference of the chamber is forty two feet six inches, and the external is sixty feet.

From the remains on the south side of the ice house there appears to have been a second wall of stone, two feet three inches wide, surrounding the chamber wall, with a circular passage forty one inches wide between the two walls. This passage was roofed by solid slab-stones in two courses, one above the other. These stones sloped pentwise upwards to the brick wall of the chamber. There is a circular projecting cope all round the top of the chamber wall. The circumference of the grassy mound over the chamber is about forty five paces at the base.

The floor of the house is of earth, and in the centre is a square depression which probably once led to a drain for the water of the melted ice. This is the only ice house in which I have yet seen any evidence of a former drain.

*Bruntsfield House.*

The ice chamber is situated in the grounds of the house, and about a hundred yards distant from it.

The entrance, about five feet three inches high, is on the north side, and there is, under the soil, a straight stone passage about eight feet long, which had one or perhaps two doors.

The cup is about ten feet deep, and made of whinstone. There is a well-made domed ceiling, and the pit was quite dry inside. The height of the chamber is about eighteen feet.

The mound of soil is artificial, and in its present state fifteen feet long, and sixty seven paces round at the base.

I am indebted to Mr. Buchan, who lives in the lodge, and has been in the ice house within the last few years, for the description of the ice pit, and for the figures which are only approximate.

*Dundas Castle.*

The ice house, large and well built, and closely resembling that of Mortonhall, is situated near the west end of the Lily Loch, which lies hidden in the dense woods on the southern fringe of the castle policies.

The entrance, facing north east, is six feet five inches high and forty one and a half inches wide. A brick wall extends twenty feet ten inches laterally on each side of the entrance, and at each side of the entrance is a window twenty inches wide and forty inches in height.

The entrance opens into a vestibule, which is sixteen feet

long from east to west, forty three inches wide, and about seven feet high. The outer passage to the vestibule is thirty five inches long. The inner central passage leads to the ice pit from the centre of the farther wall of the vestibule, and is eight feet three inches long. It is in line with the outer central passage. The entire length of the central passage from the outer door to the inner entrance to the pit is therefore thirty five inches, plus the width of the vestibule forty three inches, plus the length of the inner passage eight feet three inches, totalling fourteen feet nine inches. There are checks in the inner passage for two former doors, one at its entrance and the other two feet from the pit. There have therefore been three doors shutting off the ice pit from outside air.

A lateral passage leads off from each end of the vestibule. Each extends straight backwards for eight feet three inches, and then the two passages unite after forming a dark gallery or circular passage round the pit. Each lateral passage is forty five inches wide until it encircles the pit, where each is forty seven inches wide. The ceilings of the vestibule and of the straight parts of the side passages are flat, and made of stone slabs. The ceiling of the circular passage is of brick and slightly arched, and decorated with stalactites. There is a check for a former door to each lateral passage.

There are five alternating recesses in each wall of the circular passage, each facing a space of plain wall, and each has a stone shelf on which the ice was probably laid temporarily. Each recess is curved in the line of the wall, and is five feet four inches high, and thirty inches wide. The circular passage is forty four feet in length, and has a floor of stone slabs.

The ice pit is built of encircling courses of red brick, from bottom to the top of the domed ceiling. There is at the apex a round opening of stone, and each lateral passage has a small oblong ventilating opening in the ceiling. The pit is filled

with refuse, so that it is impossible to state its original depth, but it is nine feet high from the passage floor to the top of the domed ceiling. There are no openings from the gallery into the circular pit, as at Mortonhall. The interior was perfectly dry.

There is a small plug hole on the under side of the lintel of the innermost entrance to the pit, from which possibly a pulley hung for raising ice out of the pit.

There is a mound of deep soil above the dome, with a luxuriant growth of elder trees and other shrubs on it. A lady who lives near informed me that she remembered the ice being taken from the Lily Loch, and being carried to the ice house.

#### C. RECTANGULAR ICE HOUSES.

##### *Oxenfoord House.*

The ice house is situated in the beautiful parklands of the castle, on the east side of the long drive from the north lodge.

The builders of the ice house selected a low natural mound for their site. A number of firs, sycamores, and other trees adorn the top of the mound. The ice house is at the east end of the mound, and the soil has been artificially raised over the former roof of the ice chamber.

The entrance to the ice pit is in the east side. It is five feet one inch high, and thirty nine and a half inches wide. The abutting stone wall is thirty nine inches wide on the south side of the entrance, and forty one inches wide on the north side.

The entrance passage is the same width as the entrance for twenty one inches inwards, then it widens to six feet two inches for a distance of seven feet, narrowing again to an inner entrance twenty four and a half inches short of the opening into the pit. The inner entrance is five feet one inch high, and thirty nine and a half inches wide, and has a check

for a former inner door. The walls of the passage are of rubble sandstone, and the ceiling is arched. The height is six feet three inches. There were formerly two doors, one at the outer and the other at the inner entrance.

The ice chamber is rectangular, being twenty six feet and a half long, and fifteen feet eight inches wide. The walls are of rubble yellow sandstone. The roof of the chamber is almost completely destroyed, but a part of it remains at the west end. There the roof can be seen to have been formerly made of parallel courses of blocks of yellow sandstone, which ran from east to west. It is one foot thick, has been of arched form, and has had over it one foot of soil. There has been a layer of cement, a few inches thick, between the top of the roof and the overlying soil. The walls of the chamber are ten feet high, but the chamber has been about fourteen feet high below the highest part of the arch of the roof.

The circumference at the base of the mound formerly heaped over the pit (or as the woman at the lodge called it, the 'ice clamp') is forty two paces round. The external walls show a foot above ground at the east end of the pit. There are traces of an outer wall projecting from the outer end of the passage on the south side.

##### *Niddrie Marischal House.* (Illus. p. 128.)

The situation of the ice pit is beside the Niddrie Burn, and to the east of the mansion. The chamber is hidden under a mound on the top of which grow eight or nine elms and a holly bush. The mound is fourteen paces long on the top from north to south, sixty two paces round at the base, and about five feet high.

The entrance is on the north side, and is forty two and a half inches wide, and four feet ten inches high. It has a lintel of one block of sandstone, and solid stone jambs. The wings of the entrance wall are of rubble stone, and curve forwards on each side.

The ice pit has no passage and the threshold is immediately behind the outer door. The chamber is built at an angle of forty five degrees to the line of the door, and is rectangular in form, with both ends rounded at the interior corners. The walls are of scarlet brick for a few feet inwards, and then of rubble sandstone. The brick ceiling is round-arched, and has a square recess near the north end.

The ice pit is about seven feet wide, twenty one feet long, and fifteen feet in height. It is ten feet deep from the threshold of the entrance to the bottom of the pit, which is as dry as a bone.

The chamber was placed at an angle so that the warmer air outside was deflected from the ice within, and the radiation from the warm outer door did not spread directly into the pit.

#### *Gilmerton House.*

The ice house of the former Place of Gilmerton is a vaulted stone chamber which is the basement of a two-storeyed old farm building, situated to the north of the old ruined manor house, the former home of the Kinlochs.

The ice chamber is a dark vault, built of rubble sandstone. It is roughly eighteen feet from east to west, and fifteen feet wide from north to south. The walls are forty one inches thick. The entrance in the east wall is forty two inches wide, and six feet high. The ceiling is an arched vault of stone, with a square hole in it. There is an upper storey over the vaulted ceiling which is entered by an outside stone stair. The chamber is now used for storing farm manure, and I am told it was in use as an air-raid shelter.

This unorthodox ice chamber was probably not built for that purpose, but is an old vaulted chamber that was adapted for use as an ice house by the former inhabitants of the Place. Adjacent to it is a much larger vaulted chamber which is called the dungeon.

#### D. TUNNEL CHAMBERS.

##### *Drum House.*

The ice house lies in the woods about two hundred yards north-east of the mansion, and to the west of a quarry which has been excavated out of the Carboniferous rocks near by.

The builders of this ice house made use of a quarry fissure in the rocks, and roofed the rock chamber by means of a stone arch. The ice chamber is thus a large subterranean tunnel open at both ends. The upper surface of the arch is covered with soil, raised in an arch shape so that it resembles a 'long barrow.' The north and south walls are mainly formed of strata of rock, which is largely sandstone with a stratum of dark shale at the bottom. The strata dip to the west. The upper part of the walls is formed by the arch of hewn sandstone which is two feet thick. The tunnel is about twelve feet wide, eighty feet long, and twenty four feet high. Rain water drips through the ceiling on to the floor of the ice chamber.

##### *Herdmanston House.*

The ice house excavated in the south bank of the River Tyne, lies close to the ruined mansion of Herdmanston. The old dovecote is on the opposite side of the stream.

The entrance wall of the ice house faces north and is built of gray sandstone. It is nine feet three inches in length, and five feet five inches high, rising to six feet over the arched entrance, which is about seven feet high, and three feet wide. It is closed by an iron grille gate. It leads into a long round-arched tunnel, built of sandstone, which extends across the level land beside the river, to end in the high sloping bank.

The outer end of the passage is two feet deep in water, and a large drain pipe runs down the tunnel. The convex raised roof of the tunnel forms a long mound reaching to the

bank. At the near end of the passage, the stones forming the arch of the roof show through the soil. The arch of the passage forms a curved grass-covered mound, twenty nine paces long, which extends from the back of the entrance wall to the slope of the bank, so the tunnel must be about fifty feet in length. As it was impossible to enter the tunnel, I cannot say whether the dark end of the passage ends in a pit. It did not appear to do so.

The great mansion is derelict. At the farm offices there is a fine coat of arms on the wall, dated 1647, with the initials of the Sinclairs on it. Beside the ice house stands the old 13th century stone-roofed chapel of the Sinclair family.

#### E. UNCLASSIFIED AND DOUBTFUL ICE HOUSE.

##### *Amisfield House, Haddington.*

There is a square building which stands north of the site of the former mansion of Amisfield. It is on the bank of the River Tyne, beside a weir. It is marked as an ice house on an Ordnance Survey map. It does not resemble an ice house, but it may have been used as one. It has certainly been used as a pump house. The roof is a low dome, covered with soil.

The building is of the local purple volcanic rock, and is sixteen feet square. It is divided into two compartments. The south section has a double-barrel vaulted roof. It is seven feet seven inches wide. Below the dilapidated floor there is a stone basement, full of water. At the base of the partition wall there remains the lower half of an iron cylinder, in which the axle of a former water wheel turned. The other end of the axle passed out through an opening in the outer wall. A lady, who dwells in the old offices near by, now converted to dwellings, remembers the wheel.

The north section has an arched roof of brick. It is forty four inches wide. The water lade ran through the base of this chamber from west to east.

### III

#### *A General Survey of the Ice Houses.*

From the foregoing descriptions it will be seen that considerable ingenuity was employed in the erection of the ice houses. The builder's main object was to erect the ice house in such a manner that melting of the ice would as far as possible be avoided, and that purpose was secured by following certain lines in the building.

The entrance to the ice house was most frequently on the north side, so that the sun did not shine on the entrance, or on the door, and when the latter had to be opened warm air was not admitted to the ice pit.

The entrance led into a dark passage of varying length, so that any air that did enter had to pass along the cold dim passage or passages before it reached the surface of the ice. A bend in the passage as at Hermitage helped to deflect the air before it reached the inner end of the passage; or as at Niddrie, the chamber itself was placed at an angle to the entrance for the same object; and the ice house at Dalkeith Palace had even three bends in four passages.

The ice was further protected by the presence of a door at each end of the passage; one door could always be left shut. Mortonhall passage had three doors, and at Dalkeith there were four.

In every case insulation of the ice chamber was secured by soil of varying depth being over the roof of the ice pit, sometimes as an artificial mound, as at Pinkie and Ratho, or as at Oxenfoord, Niddrie and Mortonhall, where the ice chamber is beneath a natural mound. Trees grew or were planted on the mound, and kept the top of the ice chamber cool by their shade. In most cases the passage has also been insulated by a layer of soil above it.

The insulation of the chambers built into a bank or hill-

side is almost perfect, especially where the lower two-thirds or cup of the ice pit is subterranean, and the dome protected by soil. Where the cup is under ground the insulation is better than if the floor (as at Ratho or Pinkie) is at ground level.

Dryness of the interior is another desirable necessity. Where the ice pit was in the side of a bank, the water drained off down the bank. The brick or stone masonry of the globe-shaped chambers has been most skilfully done, for, although the chambers were made over a century ago, in not a single case has any moisture been found in the interior. Tunnel-shaped chambers may have the advantage, if need be, of a through draught from end to end.

The dark globe-cavity chamber is quite awe-inspiring when one looks down into the deep cup, feebly lit by an electric torch. If one is unaware of its existence it can be dangerous, and one owner discovered this just in time. The passage and pit were hidden in a dark wood by trees and shrubs, and a call for help might be unheard owing to the passages.

At Invermay, in Perthshire, there is an ice house under ground, over which a round game house has been built. There is a similar arrangement at Raith House, Fifeshire, where there is a uniquely built game house over a large ice chamber. There game transferred from the ice chambers could still be kept cool in the dark round game house above the pit; and by ingenious windows in both these places, the game house was kept extraordinarily cool even on a warm summer day.

*Ice Houses of Former Times in Edinburgh.*

In the late Mr. Boog Watson's Notes from Edinburgh Town Council records, there are several references to former ice houses in the city. On 9 November 1768 a lease was given to Mr. Trotter of a piece of ground at the side of the North Loch for the purpose of erecting an ice house to store ice cream. On 7 November 1770, Messrs. Steele and Finch, confectioners, were allowed to build an ice house on the

north side of Calton Hill, from rubbish thrown out by John Horn and others at Greenside on the west side of the hill. On 5 September 1781 George Montgomery, having fitted up a shop in Princes Street, craved leave to build an ice house at the foot of Calton Hill, near to that of Messrs. Steele and Finch. It was to be of the same size, and was on the road to Greenside. Permission was granted at a yearly rent of 2s. 6d.

In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 30 November 1785 there is an advertisement of Lauriston House with garden and park, possessed by Mr. Robertson, printer. The house had twelve fire rooms, a cold bath, pantry, catacombs, and an ice house.

Mr. Boog Watson's Notes for 11 August 1790 mention part of the High Riggs called Crichens Gardens on the road leading from Mr. Moncrieff's ice house to the Twopenny Custom. Under date 7 December 1791 he mentions a complaint made by Mr. Trotter in relation to the ice house which in 1768 is described as 'next to the property of William Tod,' and which in 1791 is described as 'the ice house built north of Milns Court, twenty two years before, and costing £100.' The site in Milns Court agrees with the previous description of it as being on the North Loch side. This is the only case in which we are given the cost of building an ice house. Mr. Trotter's complaint was that Mr. Tod for some time had thrown down great quantities of earth, and covered the ice house with it, in order to make a road to his house. Mr. Tod replied that he could not keep the earth from the ice house, and added that, if Mr. Trotter chose to clear the vault, he would find the convenience of hurling the ice down the slope easier than before, and a man could easily make a foot road to it in a few hours. We would have thought that the addition of earth to the top of his ice house would increase its insulation, and we suspect that Mr. Trotter possibly got his ice from the North Loch, when it was frozen, in which case the cleanliness

of Mr. Trotter's ice may be doubted. The result of the dispute is not available. However, we find that on 13 February 1793 £40 was granted to Messrs. Trotter and Maxton, confectioners, North Bridge, towards building a new ice house in place of the one on the Mound, if it be built on lands of the Calton Hill belonging to the city, for which he was to pay a yearly rent of one shilling.

In the year 1794, James Waddell and Francis Davidson, confectioners, were granted a feu charter of ground for an ice house at the foot of Calton Hill; and on 6 September 1797, James Waddell, confectioner, North Bridge House, Miln Square, obtained the feu of the ice house at the west end of Calton Hill built by Messrs. Steele and Finch thirty years before. On 4 November 1807 an ice house at Bellevue, Edinburgh, is valued at £25.

It is evident that our late 18th century forebears did not lack for plenty of ice cream at the confectioners' shops of Edinburgh, and in Skinner's *The Trained Bands of Edinburgh* it is stated (p. 9) that on 25 August 1780 the Trained Bands met Sir Laurence Dundas and the City Magistrates, when thirty two people sat down to a most elegant and superb entertainment of two complete courses, and a dessert of ices.

From Ainslie's map of 1804 we find that there was an ice house close to the 'Mud Isle,' near Katherine Street. In a map of Edinburgh and District, 1885, an ice house is noted in the grounds of Dreghorn Castle, in a position to the north-west of the mansion. I was informed at Dreghorn that the ice house was destroyed over fifty years ago. Ice was taken from a pond now silted up to an ice house in the banks of the stream.

On a recent visit to Eskgrove House, Inveresk, I was informed that there had been an ice house in the grounds many years ago.

In the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 16 June 1812 there is an advertisement of Shrubhill House, Leith Walk, which states,

'House enclosed in two acres of ground, belonged to the late Lady Maxwell, and added to by the late Duchess of Gordon, having a cellar with catacombs, and an ice house.'

When large mansions were advertised as being for sale or to let, in the newspapers of 1750 to 1850, it is seldom that ice houses were mentioned as valuable assets to the mansion. Dovecotes are often mentioned. But the following are mentioned in *Edinburgh Evening Courant* :—

18 October 1794. 'The house of Robert Colt, Inveresk, having a well constructed ice house, also a garden with hot walls for forcing peaches and nectarines.' So heat produced the fruit, and the ice house preserved it, if need was.

29 February 1816. 'Mansion of Grovemount, formerly called Whistleberry, one and a half miles south east of Bothwell Bridge. An ice house.'

12 May 1817. 'Villa of Wellshot, two and a half miles from Glasgow. Ice house in the grounds.'

27 September 1819. 'Estate of Rockville, East Lothian, with stable for 14 horses, bakehouse, and ice house.'

19 April 1794. 'The mansion of Darnhall, with hot house, ice house, and pigeon house.'

6 April 1805. 'The house of St. Catherines, in the parish of Libberton, of ten fire rooms, with garden of two acres, with hot house, and ice house.'

4 December 1820. 'Tenement of land in Wick containing an ice house, behind the old schoolhouse.'

November 1809. 'Two ice houses to let. Two large ice houses situated at the north end of Montrose Bridge, with a range of buildings adjoining, erected by Colonel Thomas Hall, excellently adapted for fish curing.' We read much, in the present times, of the use of ice for preserving fish, but it would seem that the above-mentioned ice houses at Wick and Montrose were used for that purpose one hundred and fifty years ago. Incidentally we may note in the Letters of George Dempster of Dunnichen that he considered that he was the

first person in Scotland to suggest ice for the transport of fish from Scottish ports.

This use of ice for the preservation of fish on transport does not appear to have been approved by all persons. We read in Peter's *Letters to his Kinsfolk*<sup>1</sup> that the author dined in Ambrose's Tavern, Edinburgh, with Mr. Wastle, and that he took particular notice of the salmon which his host assured him came from the Tay. Peter then said that he could scarcely have believed that the salmon was the real product of the river, unless Mr. Wastle had confirmed the statement, and added that the Tay salmon one sees in London loses at least half of its flavour, in consequence of being transported there in ice.

The ice houses which were in use for the preservation of salmon are in a different category from those connected with mansion houses. They are found along the coasts of the Moray Firth, Cromarty Firth, and the east coast of Scotland. A very large tripartite one is at Teaninich House, East Ross-shire, and there is an ice house in the town of Cromarty which is still in use for the preservation of the salmon caught by the fishermen.

It is pleasant to picture our ancestors enjoying their sumptuous dinners in these old mansions, and finishing the repast with ice cream, cold even in hot summer time, because of the handy ice house. Perhaps some of them were bored however like Kate Coventry 'with those solemn, silent, stupid dinners, with the dark oak wainscoting, and the servants gliding about like ghosts at a festival in Acheron,' and felt as she did, 'What a relief it would have been even to have a clownish footman spill soup over some one's dress, or ice cream down some one's back to break the monotony of the entertainment!'

I trust that no reader of this description of ice houses will feel as Mr. Barrington did, when he wrote in *Philosophical*

<sup>1</sup> Peter's *Letters to his Kinsfolk*, Vol. 2, page 197.

*Transactions*, that 'the very name of ice house almost strikes me with a chill!'

A. NIVEN ROBERTSON.

*Addenda.*

Since writing this article, my attention has been drawn by the Editor to a globe-shaped ice house at Moredun, which is fully described in Vol. 84 of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

In O.S. Map (1914) an ice house is shown in the grounds of Hailes House, Colinton, a few hundred yards S.W. of the mansion.

*Herdmanston House* (corrected version). See note on p. 143.

The ice chamber is situated not far from the mansion, on the top of a grass bank which runs parallel with the River Tyne. It is of the cup and dome variety, and has no entrance passage. There is an opening in the dome on the north side which is twenty-four by seventeen inches and has a threshold sloping down into the chamber. The opening externally is in an arched wall of sandstone, and has cheeks for a wooden cover or door.

From the east side of the front wall a low wall of ashlar sandstone extends out at a right angle to a distance of three feet seven inches, as if there had been formerly a low passage.

The walls of the cup and dome are of brick, and the cup appears to be about six to eight feet deep from the sill of the opening.

The mound on the top is twenty paces in circumference, excluding the front, and is nine paces long.

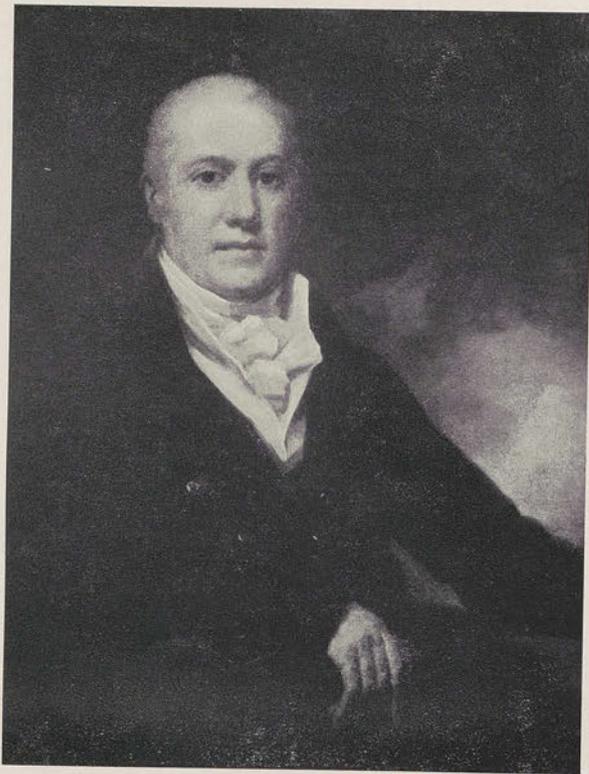
*Bruntsfield House.*

Note, the ice house here is a cup and dome chamber, but all that is now visible is a circular mound.

#### THE NOTEBOOK OF SIR WILLIAM FETTES, BART.

A SMALL and very shabby notebook, now among the city muniments, was once the property of Sir William Fettes, sometime Lord Provost, merchant, spirit-dealer, Government contractor, underwriter and successful man of business. It is a revealing document. It traces the methods by which he amassed the wealth bequeathed to found Fettes College. More, it shows something of the man himself. He was successful in most of his business dealings, not excessively generous to his relatives, but fair enough to those who worked for him. At first interested in civic and political matters, he was easily offended if his efforts did not receive the recognition he thought was his due. Lastly, I think he was a lonely person. He mentions his wife once. His only child, a son, died young. For his own sister and her husband he displayed a passing interest, but, apart from these, seems to have cared little enough for the other persons whom he names. Still, it is possible that this is unfair. In notes intended only for his own eyes there was no need for expressing his feelings. The reader of this article may judge for himself.

The entries in the notebook plunge at once into the subjects which interested him at the moment and continue at haphazard. At later dates he added comments on his various concerns, which does not make for a consecutive story. In one place he gives a summary of the salient events in his life. This is valuable particularly with regard to his parentage and early days, for the Burgess Roll and directories show other persons of the same name and surname in the Town. It appears from his own account and the Roll that his father was one William Fettes, merchant, who entered burgess in April 1747 and gild brother in September of the same year.



SIR WILLIAM FETTES, BART. (1750-1836)  
Lord Provost of Edinburgh

The dates are significant as showing that the man could not afford the fees for burgh-ship and gildry at the same time. From Fettes' patent of arms it appears that his father, also William, was a native of Laurencekirk. Sir William himself entered burgh and gild brother in 1771. He was young when he did so, for he was born, as he tells, in 1750. The Directory of 1773-4 gives him as William Fettes, younger, in Smith's Land at the Netherbow, where he is described as a grocer. The description of the place is not sufficiently precise, for the land lay at the head of Bailie Fyfe's Close. Fettes is described as younger because another of that name was living on the west side of Liberton's Wynd. Apparently Fettes' father had been dead some time and the shop kept on by his mother, daughter of James Rae, M.D., who was Margaret.

He tells how he 'entered to' the shop in 1768, while he had joined the Lodge of Mary's Chapel two years earlier at what seems the early age of 16. Although, later, he was to form a Grocers' Society and although he is described elsewhere as grocer or as a tea merchant, the notebook ignores both these. The omission is of little consequence, for only once does he allude to another activity, his underwriting business. Probably the shop he inherited was that of a grocer and tea merchant.

The notebook begins somewhere about 1782 when Fettes was interesting himself in the manufacture of various liquors including cinnamon water and what he most regrettably called brandy. On expert authority it may be stated that what he succeeded in making and presumably in selling was not real brandy, though it may have been palatable enough. In the Directories he at first is described as tea and spirit merchant, but latterly merely as merchant, significantly enough after the tax on stills.

Several pages are filled with recipes for rectifying spirits and the concoction of these drinks, and about some of the processes even Fettes seemed to doubt the legality. These

manufactures must have been undertaken to avoid payment of the excise on imported brandy and other liquors, and ceased when an Act of Parliament placed the same duty on rectifying stills as on distillers. Yet from 1782 to 1789 Fettes recorded his and other people's experiments in that line.

It would require more knowledge of the subject than the present writer possesses to deal adequately with these recipes. Fettes notes down the mineral acids, alkaline and neutral salts and the making of artificial proofs, upon which expert opinion might judge. He is easier to follow when he gives his recipes for the making of the liquors. For cinnamon water he gives the proportions, but not the cost: '60 gallons rectified spirit, 4 lb. bay salt and 6 lb. best cinnamon infused in strong spirit two days. Decant the pure and put all the rest in the still, draw off and rectify with 55 lb. of sugar fine, filling with water.' On 26 May 1786 he enters another recipe for the same drink, but this time with the prices: '80 gallons proof rectified Aquavitae, £14, 13s. 4d.; 6 lb. Cinnamon, £5, 8s. 0d.; 4 lb. Cassia buds, £1, 0s. 0d.; 4 lb. Bay Salt, 1s.; 1 oz. Cloves, 1s.; 70 lb. Sugar, £2, 6s. 8d.; Coals, water, Paste etc. 3s.; Total £23, 13s.' He comments that this produced '80 gallons under proof not sweet but rich of spices at 6s. a gallon.' What remains unstated is the retail price.

It was, however, brandy so-called which interested him. There are five different ways in which he made the drink, it may have been experimentally. He began the first by rectifying 90 gallons of aquavite with 1 lb. salt of Tartar and 8 lb. crude tartar. Then he put 70 gallons of that spirit, 4 lb. crude tartar, 4 lb. bay salt, 4 lb. raisin stalks,  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb. orris root,  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. white ginger, 1 lb. bitter almonds,  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. 'Cairisow' apples and 2 handfuls of bay leaves. He added that claret or port wine lees or sour wine would improve the flavour and that 40 gallons should be drawn off 'which will be about 55 gallons proof spirit.' Someone may know exactly what this

means. He tried again a little later, omitting the raisin stalks and lees of wine, substituting one gallon of brandy flavour and colouring matter, and noted that it made 63 gallons at 5s. a gallon.

Under the date 1st September 1786 he wrote a long recipe for making an artificial proof which used oil of almonds and oil of vitriol. His comment on this was 'the above Recipe is so valuable to some spirit dealers they would give much money to possess the Secret. It is not generally known. The ingredients are cheap and perfectly wholesome. To use artificial proofs is surely not quite correct or honest but many will desire to possess it and others chuse spirits so prepar'd for cheapness.'

In 1787 he turned his attention to making a puncheon of Shrub. The ingredients were: 100 lb. sugar, 60 raw and 40 lump; 5 gallons orange juice, 1 gallon lemon juice, 95 gallons of whisky, producing 105 gallons at 2s. 9d. He noted that there was a heavy smell from the whisky and from the raw sugar.

Though he was doubtful about the propriety of his method of rectifying spirit, he recorded without comment other rather doubtful recipes. 'John Aitchison says 4 oz. of unslaked lime put into a puncheon New Whisky gives it an old and improved taste and a little colour to be added.' And again 'To Ripen Brandy. Burn the cask as directed. Cause a Cooper burn the cask pretty much then let the head be put in again without scraping or wiping the cask at all. Toast pretty high six quarts Wheat, pound in a mortar 28 lb. prunes, breaking the stones, put into a [ ] Brandy (but cognac), put in the wheat warm into the Cask. Stir it frequently with a forcing brush for eight or ten days. This will in about 6 weeks ripen the Brandy for immediate use and the longer its kept by racking off from one burnt Cask to another the Better, allowing it to stand in each cask 6 weeks or two months. This receipt I got from John Christian of the Air Bank and was

found excellent. It may be used with the same success on Rum and improves whiskey.'

His final remarks on the subject are found under the date 1789. He wrote that whisky in Scotland was very cheap at 2s. 6d. the gallon, but sold in London at 5s. 6d., to which city export was forbidden. Some was being sent in volatile alkali bottles mixed with spirits of hartshorn 'which is a good disguise' and was separated from the hartshorn by the addition of green vitriol 'which keeps back the volatile alkali in the still and brings over the spirits first.' Any flavour was removed by exposing the spirits to the air. This was done after arrival in London. Fettes has the candour to add that he had seen neither the operation nor the spirits after rectification. His complaint about the tax on stills ends 'by which they [the Scots] cannot be said to be on the footing of their English bretheren as was intended at the Union 1706,' but he hoped that his experiments might again prove useful.

During these years by his own account he had begun to take a part in the life of the town. In 1781 he had joined the Royal Company of Archers and in 1783 the Honourable Company of Golfers, steps which are significant to those who know what Edinburgh society was at that time. In 1785 he became a member of the Merchant Company and one of the founder members of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers. In 1786 he joined the Company of Traffickers in Leith. The next year, 1787, was eventful: he became a member of the Revolution Club, married a wife and had a son, his only child. His marriage seems to have given him satisfaction for he entered the details fully. The lady was Maria, third and youngest daughter of Mr. John Malcolm, sometime surgeon of the 1st Foot, or Royal Regiment—now the Royal Scots—then with the West Fencibles and at the time of the marriage settled in Ayr. They were married at Mr. Low's house, Chatto in Fife, by the Rev. Mr. McDonald of Kemback, on 27 May. On 31 December his son was

born 'at 4 o'clock morning' and baptised by Dr. Moffat of Newlands on 22 January 1788.

In that year he was elected a Town Councillor, in the following year a bailie and in 1790 became baron bailie of Portsburgh. In the same year Fettes 'erected a Society under the Name of the United Grocers with a Fund for Widows etc.' To this he paid his subscription and was chosen chairman. He also bought shares for his wife and William—then aged three—in the Government Tontine. And so his list goes on. In 1794 he joined the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, serving in Captain Grahame's company. It is doubtful how long he could have served for the following years were taken up with army contracts, of which more later. In 1798 he was elected Master of the Merchant Company, which, as he notes, brought him various *ex officio* appointments, among which Preses of the Governors of Watson's and the Merchant Maidens', of Schaw's and Gillespie's Hospitals, as also one of the Trustees for rebuilding the College.

At Michaelmas of that year, while absent in London, he was elected first bailie, baron bailie of Broughton and a Deputy Lieutenant of the City. That the post was a matter of gratification to him he made evident. 'To recommend and signalise' his term of office he collected money for the opening of a soup kitchen and set on foot a public collection for the supply of meal, coals and money for the poor. Two collections realised £9700. Fettes noted that the scheme worked well and was 'satisfactory to ALL, particularly to the Poor, Oat Meal having advanced to the enormous rate of 3s. 7d. per peck of 8 lb. Dutch weight, yet no riotous behaviour or discontent is visible.' In the following year he was elected Provost unanimously and continued his efforts for the poor by applying to Parliament for an Act to assess the inhabitants of the city for the sum of £10,000. Probably he realised that voluntary contributions could not be continued on the same scale.

In 1804 he was created a baronet of Great Britain and noted carefully the fees paid for expediting the patent, £300 with £70. 6s. for matriculation in the 'College of Arms of Edinburgh.' So he described the Court of the Lyon King-of-Arms. It may have been expensive, but it was a handsome coat of arms: Or, a chevron between two mullets in chief and a cross crosslet fitché in base gules. Surtout the badge of a baronet of Great Britain, viz. an inescutcheon argent charged with a sinister hand coupéd and erect gules. The motto *INDUSTRIA*, and complete with supporters.

The baronetcy was given, Sir William wrote, 'in consequence of My expressing to Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville) my wish to have this Honor as it might be useful to My son.' That apparently was not the sole reason. When he was elected for a second term as Provost at the following Michaelmas he noted 'my exertions in preserving the quiet and Peace of the City during the dear years 1800 and 1801 when there was very generally over the Country discontents and a disposition to Rioting operated chiefly in procuring my Baronetcy.' Possibly intimacy with Lord Melville converted a knighthood into a baronetcy.

As Provost, Fettes was involved in politics to some extent. On 29 November 1804 he dined with Mr. George Abercrombie, candidate for Parliament, the Lord Justice-Clerk and Mr. Robert Dundas prior to introducing the former to the magistrates and Council. The vacancy for the City had been caused by the appointment of Mr. Charles Hope as Justice-Clerk, and Sir William explained that he had written to Lord Melville to find whom he wished as successor. Abercrombie was the nominee and, under existing election practice, was sure of election. It had been hinted that Sir William himself should stand, but he, because of his Government contracts, had refused.

Politics were to prove unsatisfactory since candidates' treatment of Sir William were not equal to his dignity. After

the dissolution of Parliament in 1806 he wrote: 'Captain Hope having receiv'd my accosting him rather coldly the first time I met him after the first election, when I asked him to come and see me in Edinburgh. And although I repeatedly procured seats in Church for Lady Ann—he passed me with a Nod when we met and never called till a dissolution in Parliament was expected. I therefore declined to engage my Vote. Lord Melville asked me what ailed me at his friend Hope. I told him. He wrote me afterwards and I promised to give him my support at Dumfries election. Did so.' Soon after Sir William abandoned interest in politics and the affairs of the City. On 10 February 1807 he wrote: 'Lord Melville breakfasted with me—conversation general, no private politics. The Council last Wednesday have appointed C. Cunningham conjunct Clerk—and no communication made to Me on the subject—Resolve to withdraw myself intirely from attendance and all further connexion with City politics for ever.' He kept his word.

In spite of his disgust with politics Sir William seems to have continued to expect consideration from Lord Melville. He wrote to his Lordship in January 1810 when his son went to London, but Melville took no notice of the young man. Two years later he tried to obtain a cadetship or commission for one Samuel Wilson. Lord Melville answered that all cadetships were filled for the season. Fettes says that he was mortified at the refusal and Melville's treatment of him. In retaliation he began negotiations for the sale of his vote in Midlothian. He delayed until after the next election and voted for the Government candidate, Sir George Clerk. Sir George disappointed him in the matter of the cadetship and Lord Melville gave no help to the British Linen Company, in which Fettes had an interest, so 'his Lordship is not entitled to expect much attention or favor from Me.' From that time Sir William devoted himself to his own affairs.

During these years of playing with politics Fettes had been

busy in other ways. In 1795 he notes the first of his army contracts. It is alluded to briefly. He contracted with Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, to supply all camps for that year, but with what is not stated. The contract was renewed for the next four years and Fettes notes that it was 'not unprofitable' and that thereby he greatly improved his fortune. In 1796 he was employed by the Barrack Master General, General Delancy, to supply the cavalry in Scotland with foreign oats to save the Scottish crop for the food of the people, oats being very scarce. Towards the end of the year he contracted with the Barrack Master to supply forage to all the cavalry barracks. In 1801 he notes that he had lost £1600 on that contract since the year had been wet and cold. In 1797 he was engaged by the Commander-in-Chief to provision the forts and castles in Scotland with salt beef, meal and biscuits. The contract, made during the expectation of a French invasion, was worth £2700. The beef was sold in the following year and replaced by newly-cured Irish beef, which in turn was sold in 1799. In spite of the loss noted above, Sir William stated in 1800 that the camp contract had made a fair profit. They had ceased in that year but the final accounts were not settled until eleven years later. Fettes added then to his entries that the public accounts were explained in the minute book folio in the lobby press. Neither press nor accounts are available.

However profitable might have been this work for the Government, it was only a part of Sir William's activities. The underwriting business is mentioned casually and his shop was carried on still at the head of Bailie Fyfe's Close. In 1799 he notes that he had made William Tennant of Ayr a partner. Tennant received one third share of the shop and the Barracks contract, reserving to Sir William 'the camp business,' the contract for supplying four northern forts with meal and Fort Charlotte with beef and 'any other easily managed by myself allanarly, also speculations in Wheat etc. when Money

is chiefly required of me.' He had balanced his books 'with more than usual accuracy' in March of that year and found that he was worth £25,700. Writing in August he stated that his capital had increased to £30,000. He was generous enough to his partner. Since the Barracks contract, on which he had lost, had been made before the partnership Fettes agreed to take all the loss till a better contract should be obtained and, for his encouragement, gave him a third share in the underwriting business, for which he had more leisure as the camp contracts were ended. At this point in the notebook Sir William added at a later date and underlined heavily 'Met with an ungrateful return from J. P. T.' One year after the beginning of Tennant's partnership Sir William took another, John Mill, a relation of Adam Bruce. The latter was his brother-in-law, a writer, who had married Margaret Fettes in 1772. She must have been several years older than her brother. Mill had tried to start a business in London without success. The profits and loss of the tea and spirits business were divided, three ninths to Tennant, two ninths to Mill and the rest to Fettes. The two former were to attend the shop regularly. The partnership was dissolved at Whitsunday 1804, doubtless the date of the underlined note about Tennant. Mill got the shop and business for which he was to pay by instalments. He had a twelve years' lease of the shop and Old Town property for seventy guineas a year. In that connection Sir William noted the rise in shop rents, particularly on the South Bridge, and in 1812 a valuation of the property leased to Mill showed it as worth £2470. A note dated 1824 shows that Mill had finished his payments.

Sir William, himself, had long since moved to the New Town. The directory of 1794-6 shows him established at 57 Princes Street, which, according to the old system of numbering, lay west of Hanover Street. He noted in June 1807 that he had bought a house in Charlotte Square for £3100. A directory shows, what he omitted, that it was No.

13. The house was not finished, so he took 103 Princes Street till Whitsunday 1808 at a rent of £100. Stables and a coach-house were built for him at a cost of £200. The house in Princes Street, notes Sir William, was sold to Lady Clerk for £2000. He also comments on the greater prices paid by others for houses in the Square. His neighbour, John Marjoribanks, a future Provost, had paid £3420 for No. 12. In 1815 No. 7, the house of John Lamont of that ilk, sold for £5005. Colonel Dyce had paid for No. 23 with coach-house and stable, £3700. Fettes remarked that it was similar to his, though he preferred his own situation. Dyce had refused an offer of £4000 for his house. General Dirom, Quarter Master General for Scotland, in No. 18 would not sell under £4500. So Sir William congratulated himself on a bargain.

It might have been thought that Sir William's activities were enough for one man, especially since he had added to them in 1800 a Directorship of the British Linen Company Bank. Yet, to these he added two properties. He gave his reason: 'it seems necessary that some fortune should descend with my title.' How was the poor man to know that it would die with him? The first purchase and the most troublesome was that of Comely Bank in March 1800. It was bought from Sir Philip Ainslie for £9000, of which £2000 down and the balance payable in 1804, a date at which Fettes thought the war would be over. A year later he wrote that he thought his purchase worth £14,000. In that year he bought from Sir James Stirling the lands of Wamphrey, paying £52,000, of which £10,000 was to remain with him at 5 per cent. interest for five years and £20,000 for seven years at the same. His intention was to sell part of the estate to pay off the bonds. It was little more than a speculation, though in his patent of arms he is described as Sir William Fettes of Wamphrey. Sir William estimated his properties at that time as worth £47,000 including Comely Bank and added a list of friends from whom he could borrow.

He does not seem to have taken much interest in Wamphrey. He tried once and vainly to fill the church with a minister of his own choice. In 1808 he sold three small farms for £7000. Two years later he offered the remaining lands to Dr. Rogerson for £90,000 and wrote that he expected a profit of £36,000 when it all was settled.

His accounts of Comely Bank show it to have been a troublesome purchase. The notebook has many entries not always chronological and so hard to piece together. The chief trouble lay in the matter of the superiority, for Sir William intended to build on the land and desired security for his feuars. To that end he wished to buy the superiority from David Ramsay, W.S., the proprietor. He, on the other hand, was unwilling to sell. Fettes inserts a conversation reported by Miss Dallas between William Ramsay of Barnton, the banker, and David: 'Keep your superiority,' said the former one day at his table, 'you have as much right to be rich as him.' For that advice posterity has reason to be grateful, since much of the property remains to this day as playing-fields and parks.

To settle the matter was urgent since development of the New Town was going on apace and Sir William wished to have his share. Lands were being feued at Warriston. Trinity Hospital was about to feu its lands on Leith Walk and at Hillside, while the improvements at Leith, docks and new bridges, would increase trade, inhabitants and consequent demands for building ground. Mr., later Sir Henry, Raeburn, was feuing his land at Stockbridge at £64 for less than an acre. Sir William took advice from various persons, but was slow in coming to any conclusion. Several times he considered an entail of the property. In one misplaced entry he listed his possible heirs of entail, his son, his sister (Mrs. Bruce), three Stockells, George Fettes and Mrs. Gordon, of whom only the two last had children, and Mrs. Brook. Writing for himself alone, he does not note the relationship of the persons named.

Yet Sir William could not make up his mind what course to follow. He estimated that, were the land built upon, the rents of houses might reach a total of £50,000. The uncertainty about feu-duties and the superior's rights seems to have deterred several prospective builders, and in 1807 Fettes resolved to delay until the demand for building ground should increase and prices rise. In 1811 he noted that Raeburn was feuing on the south side of the road for 7s. 6d. and 8s. per foot, amounting to £5000 an acre.

As to what agreement he came to with his superior, David Ramsay, Sir William's notes are obscure. One, undated, states that Ramsay had accepted £1000 for taxing successors in all time coming at 9s. yearly for the whole Comely Bank lands. Thus, he concluded, he could feu for building on any terms he could get. Another note, dated February 1816, states that the sum was 18s. Why the scheme for feuing was never carried out the notebook does not mention. Only the row of houses now called Comely Bank were built. Possibly Fettes' interest decreased after the death of his son. Possibly his connection with the British Linen Company proved more absorbing.

While this matter was unsettled, Sir William went on letting parts of the estate for short periods. Comely Bank House was let in 1806 to Mr. Campbell for one year for £50, presumably because an offer to feu for building at £25 the acre had fallen through. Five years before, in another misplaced entry, he had estimated the value of his property, buildings, land and two hundred trees at £13,780. In 1802 he noted that he had bought Grieg's lease for £650 in order to clean the ground, lay it down in pasture and let the parks in grass. This he considered would pay better than cropping. In 1804 he let 56 acres at £7 an acre to two men, Ness and Selkirk, for a garden, nursery, ploughing and pasturing. Nine acres of this were 'foul furze.' At the same time another man rented three parks for pasture. Sir William estimated

the yield from rents as £633. In 1810 he recorded his first feu. He agreed with James Cunningham, gardener, to let him have the cottage, garden and park of Comely Bank for £200 the first year and £300 yearly thereafter. Cunningham was to buy up the feu-duty in thirteen years and undertook to build houses and walls and frames of glass for exotic plants. Fettes commented, 'Don't expect he'll succeed, but think he can't hurt me much, so let him try the experiment.' His fears have been disproved. There still is a nursery at Comely Bank.

A comparatively small interest of Sir William was in newspapers. In December 1800, he with three other men, two of them Writers to the Signet, signed a bond for £500 for the use of the proprietors of the *Herald and Chronicle* and the *Weekly Journal*. He also gave bond for a cash account at Sir William Forbes & Co., the amount being £400 or £500. In 1801 and 1802 he with two of the others again gave bond for £500 and £300 for the *Herald*. A note dated 1812 states that the bonds were paid in that year, but in 1807 Sir William had recorded that the paper had not paid and was dropped. The books of that paper and the *Journal* had been balanced and showed that the debts and effects, including many bad debts, amounted to £7215, 2s. 8d. Fettes had lost about £900 on the venture. He noted, however, that the *Journal* was doing well, making more from advertisements and having a weekly sale of 3040 copies at 6d. each. These cost about 4d. to produce, so that the annual profit was £2182. In 1811 he wrote that the copyright was worth £2000 and that the paper still increased its circulation.

Naturally enough the notebook never explains Sir William's relationship to the people he mentions. Equally naturally this presents difficulties to the commentator. As mentioned before, only two of the persons listed by him were obviously his relations. In February 1805 he mentions Major Malcolm, who possibly was his wife's brother, since he took

an interest in the man. He calculates the Major's probable income and commitments of which the 'children in India' has a hint of mystery. He previously had worked for Malcolm's promotion. In 1800, while still a captain, he had commanded the 1st battalion of Bengal Volunteers at Fort St. George near Madras. Sir William had written on his behalf to Robert Dundas and obtained from him a letter to Sir Alured Clarke, C.B. He had written to Malcolm enclosing the letter with an apology for remissness in writing. To his notebook he expressed the hope that the letter might prove more useful than a former one, especially since Malcolm had distinguished himself at Seringapatam, and that he would be able to return home with a competency. The entry of 1805 seems to show that his hope was realised. What with pay and investments Major Malcolm had £1450 a year—surely almost wealth at that date. The letter to India is the most human touch in the whole notebook, for Fettes had written about his sister, his son and various friends.

He was kind to other relatives in his way, though, considering his own wealth, that does not seem excessive. The sisters, Mary and Margaret Stockell, had £20 a year settled on them while they lived together, and Fettes agreed to take their money for a ten per cent. annuity payable twice a year. Then he noted that Mary 'having recovered from her state of Melancholy' disapproved of that arrangement and that he had repaid her. A year later he wrote to the sisters, then settled in London, giving each of them £10 a year. This was to be continued for their lifetimes even if not mentioned in his will as he intended. He also had obtained for both Trinity Hospital pensions—a vicarious help to which they may have been entitled, for two merchants of that name appear in the Burgess Roll in the years 1755 and 1759, and one, probably the former, married Ann Fettes in 1754, who may have been an aunt.

To his sister, Mrs. Bruce, he was more generous. In August

1810 he gave her £200, to be paid to her annually during their joint lives, a gift which was increased to £500 five years later. Yet again, to others he was less kind, though naturally one cannot know what the conditions were. In the years 1803, 1804 and 1805 £10 was paid by his order to Mrs. Fettes in Dublin for the education of her son. With the last payment it was stipulated that she was to have the boy apprenticed or otherwise employed so that he might be able to support himself 'as she must not expect my future aid.' In 1810 he made an order for payment to the wife of John Fettes of £20 in quarterly instalments. A note dated 1816 makes £50 payable to John Fettes himself. He possibly was that John Fettes who entered burgess in 1741.

Of his immediate family Sir William wrote little. His wife is not mentioned after the entry of her marriage. To the entry of his son's birth he added a note of William's death on 13 June 1815 and of his burial two days later at Berlin. There are a few other allusions. In 1804, shortly after Fettes' support of Mr. Abercrombie as candidate for Parliament, Dundas asked him what plans he had for his son, then a lad of 17, offering a cornetcy in the Scots Greys, 'a good sober corps commanded by General David Dundas.' Sir William stated that he did not wish his son to be a soldier and that William had not yet made choice of a profession. The lad chose law, attended Civil and Scots Law classes for two winters and passed his private examination in June 1808. In January 1810 he entered advocate and went to London. There, as already noted, Lord Melville ignored him. In June 1811 Sir William entered in his notebook his capital and his expenses for the year. The former was £128,778, being less by £2000 than in the preceding year, a decrease accounted for by the purchase of British Linen Company stock for his son and an annuity to another person. He had spent £3350, of which house expenses accounted for £2530, the rent of the Princes Street house £200. Part of the expenditure was made

up of extras not recurring yearly. These included a gift of £105 to a Mrs. Somerville, £420 for his son's expenses in London, a pipe of Madeira costing £160, port £120, horses £200, books and prints £120. Deducting £400 given in annuities to relations, his actual expenses for thirteen months on clothes, living and taxes came to £1780.

In a day when most appointments to official posts or commissions in the navy and army were obtained by purchase or favour, it was the lot of all persons possessed of influence to deal with applications for help. Fettes, as has been noted, did what he could for Major Malcolm, but the notebook contains recommendations by him on behalf of others, for whom his interest was asked. In connection with this may be noted an entry of 1806 in which Sir William made a list of 'persons to whom I have some reason to look for assistance if I wanted interest for Myself or any friends or Relations.' There are forty-five names on the list, headed by Lord Melville, Hon. Robert Dundas, M.P., the Lord Chief Baron, Sir James Montgomery and Hon. George Abercrombie, M.P. Among others are found Lord Hopetoun and Lord Haddington, three Lords of Session including the Lord President, George Assiotti, Deputy Commissary General, Benjamin Bell, surgeon, John and Francis Horner and Ebenezer Gilchrist of the British Linen Bank, but what claim he had upon any service from them he omitted to state.

In any case Fettes recommended people for a variety of posts. He appealed to the Lord Advocate to get a Captain Wardlaw on the superannuated list of Invalid Captains of Marines. At the desire of William Coulter, the hosier and future Provost, he recommended Lieutenant John Hunter to be a Commander in the Navy. He wrote on behalf of Lieutenant Stewart, son of the former Lord Provost, and learned that Lord Melville had put him on the list for promotion. He wrote to George Abercrombie for a Lieutenancy of Marines for David Innes, to which he appended a note

'obtained but he misbehaved.' But at last he met with rebuffs which displeased him, and with his withdrawal from public life the applications ceased. His last entry on the subject is in 1812. He had written to Sir George Clerk to obtain an ensigncy or cadetship for Samuel Wilson and had been told that all cadetships were filled up for the season. He went on: 'I thought Sir George Clerk might have written to Me that he would soon get Wilson put on the Duke of York's list or that Lord Melville would get him appointed a cadet in spring. Thought R (now Lord Melville) might have done a little more than just to get an interview with Mr. Percival when Mr. Gilchrist and I went to London to try to get a share of the public money remitted by the British Linen Co. His father was the Governor of the Bank of Scotland (it is true).' So with a gibe at the noble lord's favouring a rival concern, Sir William abandoned all search for their patronage.

Most of the rest of the notebook is given over to the affairs of the British Linen Company and his share in it. He had been a Director since 1800 when he was elected in the place of Joseph Norris, deceased, and on appointment had bought £1000 worth of stock. That post he held almost consecutively until 1823. By 1811 he had increased his holdings to the value of £60,000, when he recorded his intention to buy no more. But these financial matters would need the knowledge of an expert.

One other aspect of Sir William Fettes is revealed in his notebook. He may not have been excessively generous to his relations, but he was kindly in his business dealings. Very frequently he recorded that he had become caution for persons, either in business or upon their appointment to different posts. The giving of bonds for the newspaper proprietors has already been noted. In 1801 he signed a bond for £1000 as cautioner for William Purcell, jailor, of the Canongate. In 1802 with Mr. James Gilchrist, W.S., he signed a bond of cautionry for Mr. Henderson of the British Linen Company as trustee for

Dr. Garbett of the Carron Company, and noted in 1821 that Garbett's affairs were not settled yet. In 1815 he gave a letter of credit on Alexander Allan & Co. in favour of John Brown 'who means to try business as a merchant tailor in North Leith.' The credit was for £100 and was repaid with interest in 1823, showing that Brown had made good. In 1822 he signed a bond to the British Linen Company for the honesty of George Gould, one of their tellers. The man offered to assign to Fettes a policy of £2000 on his life, but the offer was refused. Almost the last entry in the notebook is of a kindness to a man so far unidentifiable. 'December 30th 1823 wrote to Edward de Coffranne to buy furniture for his House and to draw on me for what he judged necessary not exceeding eight hundred pounds. As I am persuaded he is honest I desire my Trustees heirs etc. not to incommode him for payment for seven years to come. Nor till he be able and wealthy even then (*signed*) W. F.'

By this date the notebook was full. Probably Sir William did start another one. It would have completed the story of his life by himself until his death in 1836. Queer things do happen. It may yet be found.

MARGUERITE WOOD.

CHARLES II LEAD EQUESTRIAN STATUE  
PARLIAMENT SQUARE, EDINBURGH

IN the seventeenth volume of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, April 1930, an account is given by E. J. MacRae, late City Architect, how in 1922 under the superintendence of his predecessor James A. Williamson, assisted by Henry S. Gamley, the eminent Sculptor, the Statue was 'subjected to restorative treatment.'

Since 1934 check measurements were taken which proved that the Statue was gradually taking a progressive lean. The whole weight of the horse with the figure was taken on the near fore leg and the two hind legs and most of the movement appeared in a Southward direction, particularly from the haunches of the horse. This put the centre of gravity distinctly off, and the appearance of the Statue looking towards the back showed the apparentness of this Southward lean. There was also a very distinct fracture on the near hind leg at the fetlock (a repetition of previous troubles).

In view of imminent danger, tubular scaffolding was placed round the Statue, with pads and wedges, in order to protect and at the same time to avoid what might become a sudden collapse.

This Statue, which is of cast lead and stands on a pedestal of Craigleith stone, is not only the oldest statue in Edinburgh but probably the oldest lead equestrian statue in Britain. The Statue, which is of Dutch origin, was actually completed in the lifetime of Charles II, who died on 6th February 1685. Exactly a month before that date, viz. 7th January 1685, the Town Council stated that as the Statue was ready to be put in position it was 'necessarie thr be ane handsome and fyne pedestill pute up whereupon the statu is to stand; and that ther maist be ane handsome ravell (railing) of good iron work pute about the same.' The Town Council gave in-

structions 'speidilly to goe about the makeing of the said iron ravell and the statu may be erected befor his royall highnes' arriveall in this cittie.'

In the accounts of George Drummond, Treasurer of the City for the year ending Martinmas 1685, occurs this entry:—

'Item to cash for the King's Statue in the parliament clos per act of Council and a bill of Exchange drawn by Mr. James Smith for the samyne . . . . .	£2580	0	0
Item charges in shipping it . . . . .	38	8	4
Item mony to Robert Milne, mason, for erecting the pedestill per act and precept . . . . .	938	14	0'

The figure is formed in the Roman manner, dressed as one of the Caesars, and is without spurs, the saddle having no stirrups. The approximate weight of the horse and figure is reputed to be about six tons.

The next entry in the City Records occurs on 6th November 1689 when the Council considered a claim for payment at the instance of William Clerk, advocate, who had been commissioned to compose the Latin inscription which appears on the pedestal.

The first repair appears to have occurred in 1732, and attention was again called to its decayed state in 1755, 1766 and 1767, but the work appears not to have been taken in hand till 1785.

In 1786 the Statue was given three coats of 'strong paint'—presumably white.

In 1817 the Statue had again become dilapidated, and repairs were undertaken. It was at this stage that the tablet bearing William Clerk's inscription had been discovered while cleaning out a vault under Parliament House, where it 'had been lodged in safety.' The tablet was restored to its place at the East end of the pedestal.

In 1824 the Statue was again requiring attention, the internal supports having given way, and the Superintendent of Works was authorised to take down the Statue and to

report as to its condition. The date of this decision is interesting, being taken shortly before the Great Fire which occurred in November of that year when the greater part of Parliament Square and the whole of the South side of the High Street, as far as and including the steeple of the Tron Church, were destroyed, and there are prints of the conflagration in existence which show the pedestal without the Statue. The fact was that the fire was not the cause of the removal, and this is made clear by the records of 5th December 1832 when steps were taken for again setting up the Statue 'which had been removed during the operations on the surrounding buildings.' Evidently the Statue was removed to the Bridewell, which building occupied part of the site of the Calton Jail, where the Statue lay for ten years. The pedestal had previously been removed and a new pedestal built, into which the old inscribed tablet was inserted. This work was completed in 1835, when opportunity was taken to carry out further repairs prior to restoration. The repairs at this period appear to have been carried out at the fetlocks of the horse, which had cracked, and the internal construction of the body of the horse was strengthened by means of an oak frame, the result of which, it was stated, would allow the Statue to 'remain sound for another century.' It would appear that the original internal framing of the horse's body was probably of iron. The prediction as to the life of the Statue, however, was not fulfilled, and repairs were again found necessary in 1877.

The last major repair was carried out in 1922 when the Statue was 'slung' from a scaffold. Opportunity was taken at this time to make a thorough examination of the construction of the Statue. It was noted that the figure of Charles II appears to have been cast in one piece and soldered to the body of the horse. The lower portion of the rider's body and the horse's back are hollow, and the tail was connected to the body by an iron dowel. The shell at the near hind quarter is from  $\frac{3}{8}$ ths to  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of an inch thick. The internal oak framework consisted of longitudinal bearers fitting closely to the

outline of the back. These rested on short uprights placed at the ends. The uprights were supported by short horizontal beams fitted to the outline of the lead. These were imbedded in resin, which in some parts was fully six inches thick. From the longitudinal bearers sprang four cross-bearers which were also shaped so as to fit closely to the horse's back. The lower part of the rear hind leg was supported by an iron bar sunk into the stonework to a depth of nine inches.

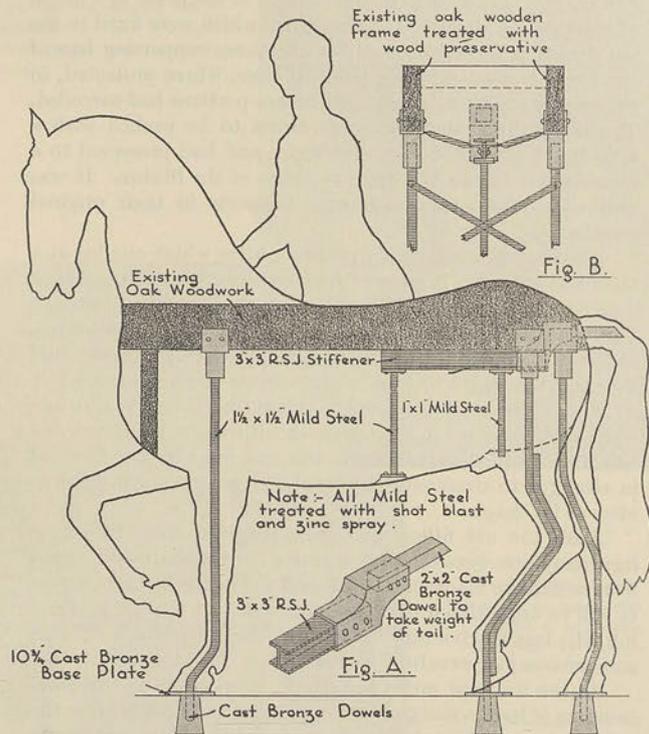
The weakness which became more apparent during the past fifteen years was the lack of suitable internal support and anchorage, and if the Statue was to be preserved, it became increasingly evident that a careful internal examination would require to be made and a complete internal reconstruction carried out.

Accordingly the Corporation decided to remove the Statue to London, where the work of reconstruction was carried out by The Morris-Singer Company Limited, with the assistance of Mr. E. R. Bevan, F.R.B.S., Sculptor, under the general direction of Mr. A. G. Forgie, City Architect, Edinburgh Corporation.

It is interesting to record the results of the examination and the methods taken to restore the statuary, and a record drawing has been prepared which, supplemented by photographs of the external and internal reconstruction, should become a valuable record for the future.

After careful examination at the Foundry it was decided firstly to correct the pose of the figure of Charles II seated on the horse. To do this the lead casting was carefully supported, and thereafter the horse and rider were gradually rolled into the position determined by the Sculptor.

After careful propping, squares were cut out of the lead on the horse's body immediately above each of the three legs supporting the Statue. The internal oak wood frame supporting the rider and the inside top of the body of the horse were found to be in excellent condition and a credit to the Joiner of 1835.



STATUE OF CHARLES II, PARLIAMENT SQUARE, EDINBURGH  
Drawing showing methods taken to restore the statuary (see p. 174)

The near front leg which takes half the weight of the body had pushed its way into the main body of the horse to a depth of about three inches. The armatures which were fixed to the oak frame and contained within the three supporting legs of the horse and set into the pedestal were, where protected, in reasonably good condition, but in other portions had corroded. The three supporting legs were found to be packed with a mixture of plaster of Paris and resin, and had preserved to a considerable extent the main supports of the Statue. It was decided to keep the wood roof supports in their original position.

The Statue was securely propped, after which one leg at a time was cut off. A strip of lead was cut from the inside of each leg mainly out of the sight line to allow the plaster of Paris and resin to be removed along with the steel armatures. Before this procedure was carried out, however, a plaster cast was made in order to ensure correctness in replacement.

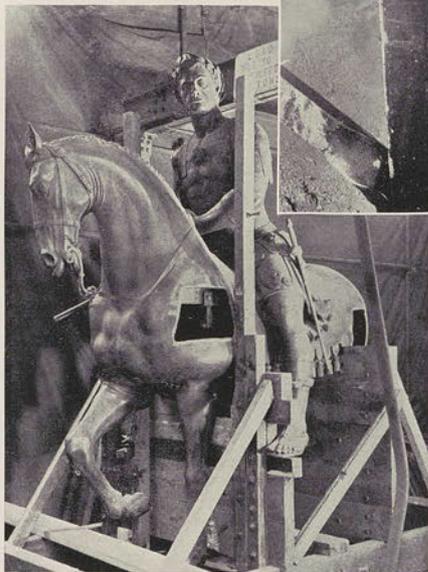
The three steel supporting armatures through the legs were made long enough to connect with the existing wooden oak frame, and the armature in the near hind leg was doubled in strength to overcome any weakness which might arise in view of its shape.

After the old filling had been removed from the three legs, templates were then made giving correct shape and length from which the blacksmith fashioned the main steel armatures. It will be appreciated that the work of fitting these armatures into the legs to give rigid support to the body was a difficult and tedious job, eventually overcome.

As the tail was much heavier in proportion to the main covering of lead, a manganese bronze plug was inserted into the tail in place of the existing short steel bar. This manganese bronze plug was connected to a rolled steel joist which in turn was fixed between the existing wooden oak frame in order to distribute the weight of the tail.

To make a solid construction within the horse's body, cross pieces and supports were bolted into position in order to

View through opening above left fore leg showing the armature in each of the three bearing legs of the horse →



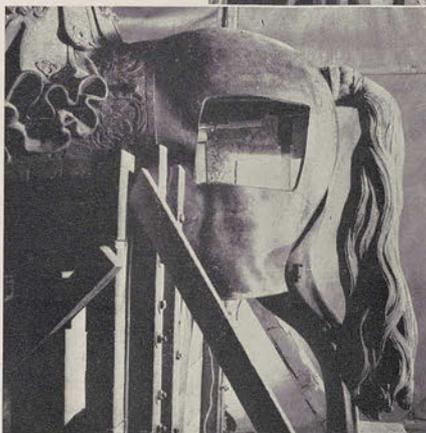
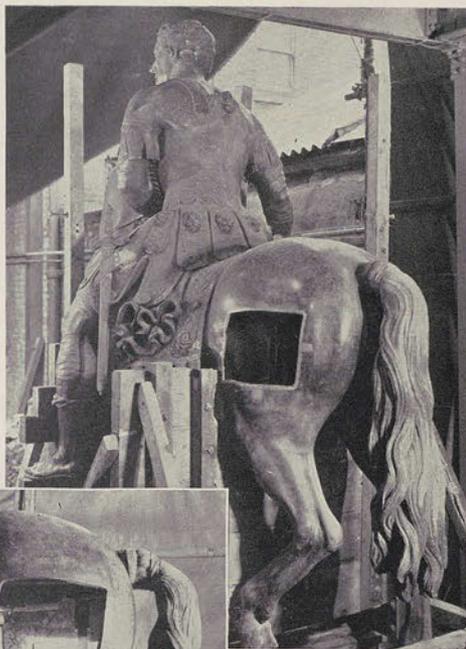
← View of statue on wood cradle as transported by train to be repaired (1951-52) by Messrs. The Morris-Singer Co., Ltd., London

(Note armature in left fore leg)

CHARLES II STATUE, EDINBURGH

View of statue on wood cradle as transported by train to London Works →

(Note armature in left hind leg)



← View of left hind leg showing 'amputation' of leg in order to fit new armature

CHARLES II STATUE, EDINBURGH

prevent rolling and sagging during transit from London and when fixing in position in Edinburgh on the stone pedestal.

The work of fitting and fixing the severed members to the Statue was then completed and the process of burning all the lead joints was carried out through the whole thickness of the metal. The finishing and blending of the weldings in order to make the repairs invisible was a highly technical job, and therefore had to be carried out by expert craftsmen. While this work was in progress, large bronze dowels with plates were attached to the ends of the armatures at the hoofs of the horse for the purpose of fixing the Statue finally to the stone pedestal.

Opportunity was taken to carry out a number of minor repairs in addition to the major operations already described. The scabbard had been fractured, and this was reinforced by the introduction of a solid piece of bronze almost the whole length of the hollow part, brazed together and re-fixed. It was discovered that the hilt of the sword and some of the tassels attached were made of almost pure zinc. The bit has been repaired and, together with the reins, have been re-fixed to the horse.

The following is a schedule of materials used in the reconstruction of the Statue:—

No.	Description.	Material.	Weight lbs.
3	1½" × 1½" square bars thro' legs (1 reinforced)	Mild Steel	145
1	3" × 3" × ⅛" R.S.J. 2' 6" long	do.	21
1	1½" × 1½" upright bar, 1' 6" long	"	10
1	1" × 1" do.	do.	4
2	1½" × ⅜" flat cross bars to rear legs 2' 8" long	do.	17
1	1½" × ⅜" do. to front leg 2' 6" long	do.	8
4	⅞" × ⅜" flat brackets	do.	5
Total			210

## 178 CHARLES II LEAD EQUESTRIAN STATUE

No.	Description.	Material	Weight lbs.
1	2" x 2" dowel supporting tail	Cast Mang. bronze	18
1	Bracket between R.S.J. and tail dowel	do.	13
3	Dowels on ends of 1½" x 1½" leg bars	Cast bronze	96
3	Base plates 10½" x 6¾" x ¾"	do.	28
3	Channel brackets top 1½" x 1½"	do.	30
2	Sleeve plates to R.S.J. 2½" x 1¼" x 5" long	do.	8
2	Top & bottom plates on 1" x 1" upright	do.	2
2	Top & bottom brackets on 1½" x 1½" upright	do.	5
Total			200
11	Tassels	Cast lead	26
2	Distance pieces to top of legs	do.	7
3	ditto to bottom of hooves	do.	27
Total			60
2	½" dia. bronze rods 5" long		
9	½" do. studding 5" long		
22	bronze nuts and washers ½"		
4	1½" x ½" bronze bolts		
10	1½" x ¾" do.		
16	1" x ¾" do.		
16	¾" bronze nuts		
12	2" x ⅝" M.S. coach bolts		
2	1" x ¾" C.S.K. brass screws		
12	1½" x ¼" Rnd. hd. do.		
2	2" x ¾" M.S. coach bolts		
3	1" x ⅝" bronze bolts		
8	¾" x ⅝" C.S.K. brass screws		
20	Sticks Plumbers solder		
	⅝" dia. bronze rod 2' 9" long		
	⅝" do. 5½" long		
Total			11½

## PARLIAMENT SQUARE, EDINBURGH 179

	lbs.
Old Bars taken from legs	146
Resin from legs, &c.	148
Total	
	294
Shot Blast and Zinc Spray on steel. Best quality Wood Preservative.	

A. G. FORGIE.

#### WILLIAM FORBES GRAY : AN APPRECIATION

IT would be ungracious to withhold a tribute to the memory of one who was himself so assiduous in recording the anniversaries and centenaries of notable personalities ; and it is especially appropriate that such tribute should appear in the records of the Club with which he had so intimate association. He was no inactive member of any Society with which he allied himself, but his more abundant efforts were displayed on behalf of the Old Edinburgh Club, during his membership of forty-one years. He was a 'kenspeckle' figure at its summer outings and winter meetings ; and to its volumes he contributed many informative papers, compiled from material diligently collected and set forth with clarity. For he had a facility with the pen which many of us must envy.

Born 14th April, 1874, William Forbes Gray, son of Andrew Gray (1842-1905) and Jane Rigby (1842-1923), entered at an early age the ranks of journalism, and for fifty-six of his seventy-six years his pen was seldom idle. After serving on the staff of the *Edinburgh Evening News* for about five years, he became connected in 1898 with the *British Weekly*, then under the editorship of William Robertson Nicoll, and continued this association for eight years. In 1907 and 1908 his energies were devoted to handling a weekly paper called *The Scottish Review*, which unfortunately failed to gain the public support that it merited—for it contained important articles by John Buchan. These were afterwards, however, edited by Gray for Messrs. T. Nelson & Sons in 1940 under the title 'Comments and Characters.'

Subsequently Gray became a regular contributor to *The Scotsman* and *Weekly Scotsman*. It was for their pages that he

composed each year a series of Centenaries of 'illustrious personages' or 'men of renown.' In addition, any controversial subject relating to Edinburgh quickly rekindled his ardour, and copies of nearly all these contributions to the public press were preserved by him in several albums, for which safe lodging is shortly to be secured. He dealt with facts rather than philosophies ; and if at times his 'facts' could be 'disputed,' he certainly could be depended upon to keep the dust from settling. Sometimes he clung tenaciously to his opinion, against all comers ; as when, challenged with the untrustworthiness of sources, he wrote : 'Mr. H.'s letter does not affect in the slightest my contention. . . . I have been acquainted with that work for more than twenty-five years, and may therefore claim to know something of its merits and demerits. That is not the point. My contention is,' etc., and he concludes, 'I do not intend to write further on this subject.' But if he could at times be dogmatic, he sat lightly to much of the traditional lore attached to Auld Reekie. Discoursing on the various pronouncements regarding 'Jenny Geddes' he wrote : 'The question as to who threw the stool (if one was thrown) is as puzzling as the identity of Jenny Geddes . . . it would seem that Jenny Geddes, whoever she was, has obtained an enduring place in Scottish history on somewhat easy terms. Nevertheless, we shall continue to believe her story, not because we prefer it to truth, but probably because we prefer it to inquiry.'

It was inevitable that Gray should be interested in the life and fortunes of Scotland's greatest romancer, about whom he began gathering material in the early years of journalism. Many were the papers he wrote about events in the career of Sir Walter Scott, leading first of all to the resumption of his editorial exploits in 1927 by the issue of *The Sir Walter Scott Quarterly* (Pillans & Wilson), which was 'assured of the cordial support of various bodies, educational and otherwise,' and had the promise of articles by well-known writers. He

himself contributed four papers. The venture had a short life; four parts appeared, and it expired in January 1928, much to the regret of some overseas correspondents. This did not however quench Gray's interest in the subject; in 1931 there was published his book, *Scott in Sunshine and Shadow* (Methuen), followed in 1932 by 'The Scott Centenary Handbook' (Grant & Murray, Princes Street), for which he wrote extensively. His largesse in this and other directions was distributed among many illustrious journals, such as the *Cornhill*, *Fortnightly Review*, *Chambers's Journal*, *Quarterly Review*, *Hibbert Journal*, etc.

In a biographical dictionary of 1938 Mr. Gray summarised his recreations as 'antiquities, book-collecting, hill-climbing': and these activities indicated and symbolised the trend of his life-work. He manifested his interest in the past by attaching himself to various antiquarian societies; and his passion for book-collecting not only showed his desire to acquire factual knowledge but was redeemed from weakness by his careful methodising of these facts as a basis for further research. In the records which he kept he possessed a reservoir from which he could draw at short notice when confronted with free-lance competition. It certainly ensured that his membership of any society was no sleeping partnership. For two of these in particular he lavished his special gifts.

He joined the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society in 1926, not long after its inauguration, and immediately displayed his active interest in matters relating to the county. In the public library at Haddington there had lain for 200 years a collection of books belonging to Mr. John Gray (1646-1717), a native of the town, who had exercised the ministry at Tulliallan and elsewhere and then from 1684 to 1688 at Aberlady, under the episcopal regime. Forbes Gray (no relative of the collector) was invited in January 1929 by the town council of Haddington to examine and catalogue the books, which were of very great value. The

catalogue was duly prepared and printed, a special annexe was built for their reception and display, and the rooms were opened to the public in 1931. A full account was given to the Society, and printed in their Transactions.

In May 1936 Mr. Gray, then a member of council, was appointed convener of the editorial board, a position which he held till 1945. During that period, in addition to the Society's Transactions, there were issued three special volumes:—

(1) *Bibliography of East Lothian* (1936), compiled by Mr. J. H. Jamieson, for which Gray wrote a masterly introduction to the literature of the county; (2) *East Lothian Biographies* (1941), prepared by Gray with the assistance of Mr. Jamieson; (3) *A Short History of Haddington* (1944), likewise prepared under their co-operation.

Besides contributing papers to the Transactions, he conducted outings of the Society on various occasions to places of interest.

In December 1915 Forbes Gray was elected a member of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, and read papers during the three following years. He was vice-president for 1917-18. After 1924 his connection ceased, doubtless owing to pressure of affairs. His bibliographical tastes were however displayed by his editing *Books That Count: A Dictionary of Useful Books* (1912 and 1923, A. & C. Black), and by many of his contributions to the press.

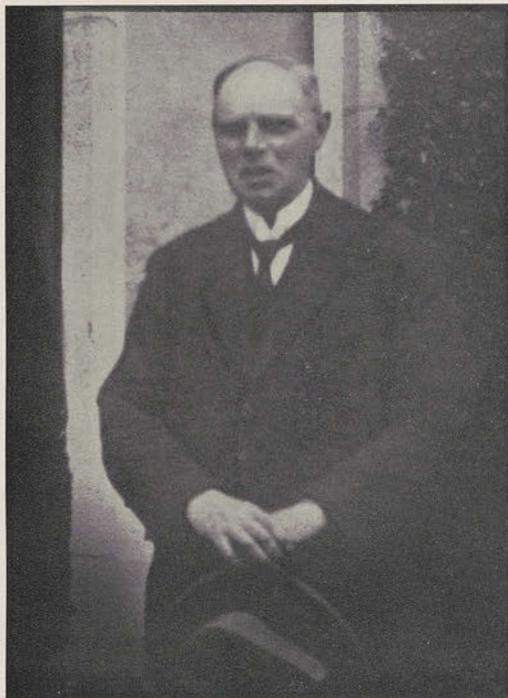
In the same year he was admitted a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and continued as such till his death. He was likewise proposed and accepted as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1918.

Another society which he favoured was the Scottish Church History Society. This he joined in 1943, and became a member of council two years later. To the Society's *Records* he contributed two papers: (1) 'John Wesley and Scotland,' and (2) 'Chalmers and Gladstone: an unrecorded episode.'

He lectured to many other associations and fellowships, and his biographical activities were exemplified by the production of sundry volumes in addition to those already mentioned, such as :—*Some Old Scots Judges : Anecdotes and Impressions* (1914, Constable); *The Poets Laureate of England : Their History and Their Odes* (1914, Pitman); *Five Score : Famous Centenarians* (1931, Murray). In 1912 he edited Alexander Smith's 'A Summer in Skye,' and in 1945 Lord Cockburn's 'Memorials of His Time.'

To the Dictionary of National Biography he provided sundry items throughout the years, and was even in the last months arranging to give further help.

It was however in relation to the city which he had chosen for his abode that his busy pen was most employed; and no man did more in his time to keep alive the public interest in the historic and literary annals of Scotland's capital, by letters, lectures, broadcast talks, and books. During the years 1926 to 1929 he broadcast a series of talks on Romantic Episodes in the History of Edinburgh; another series on Castles of Mary, Queen of Scots; and eleven talks to schools entitled Peeps at Edinburgh's Past: besides one or two others. His services were again sought in the beginning of 1950; but by that time his health was too unstable to admit of his appearing at the microphone. As for books, there were :—*An Edinburgh Miscellany : Chapters mainly in the Social and Literary History of the City* (1925, R. Grant); *Historic Churches of Edinburgh* (1940, Moray Press); *A Printing House of Old and New Edinburgh* (1926, memorial volume for 150th anniversary of the firm of Pillans & Wilson); besides a similar production for the Scottish Union & National Insurance Company (1924), and brochures on Lothian House and Canongate Kirk, and also *A Short History of Edinburgh Castle* (1948). He had intended to provide a second edition of *An Edinburgh Miscellany*, with additional chapters; a volume entitled 'Byways of Scots History and Literature,' and also a series of reprints



WILLIAM FORBES GRAY

(1874-1950)

from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club to be entitled 'Some Aspects of Old Edinburgh.' These he was not spared to complete. Many of his books were well illustrated.

It is however for his services to the Old Edinburgh Club that his friends in this fellowship will remember him best. He was admitted a member in 1909, just a year after the commencement of the Club, when enthusiasm ran high and ample material was forthcoming to fill the fat volumes then issued year by year, in the capable hands of contributors like Bruce J. Home, John Geddie, Dr. Thomas Ross, William Cowan, and W. Moir Bryce. In January 1917 he was elected a member of council; six months earlier he had acted as guide on the occasion of a visit by the Club to Craigerook Castle, thus beginning a service which continued till within a year of his passing. His notes for these excursions were carefully prepared, and not infrequently submitted to his colleagues for adjustment. His interests were strongly human; and while his researches covered a wide field, it was in the sphere of literary biography that he excelled. Thus the mansions and haunts of celebrities appealed to him not for their architectural elegance or romantic setting (he left the discourse of that to others) but for the lives and public services of those who occupied them.

Forbes Gray was appointed editor of publications in January 1924, in succession to Mr. William Cowan (President), who had been responsible for the first twelve volumes; and the new editor saw the next nine volumes safely launched, though not without some hazards and delays. The flow of material for the volumes was often sluggish; and it ought to be remembered that more than once Mr. Gray rescued the Book of the Club from extinction or long-delayed publication by providing at his own hand the requisite material. For Volume XVI he furnished Extracts from Bannatyne Club Publications; for Volume XXI he compiled the very useful General Index to the previous twenty volumes; and for

Volume XXVI, in collaboration with Miss Margaret Tait, the Annals of George Square. For these efforts he did not always receive the meed of praise that was his due.

Besides these special efforts, he contributed 14 papers to various volumes, receiving his first invitation to do so from Dr. Moir Bryce, who himself had contributed so much; and, as noted on p. 59 of the present volume, adding to the indebtedness of all his friends by a final offering from his now silent pen. Apart from notes read at the Club's outings, he also delivered nine lectures during the winter meetings.

He resigned the editorship in 1936, after the completion of the General Index. His successor was to have been Lord St. Vigeans, who had shown much interest in the purposes of the Club; but he found himself unable to accept, chiefly because he was engaged on the preparation of Rhind Lectures which he had undertaken to deliver on 'Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century' (which project also failed for unavoidable reasons). In 1947 Gray was elected a vice-president of the Club.

He was no recluse, and whatever activities were embraced in his recreation of 'hill-climbing' he was at any rate a good walker, and widely travelled. The press from time to time during the years between the two world wars received graphic accounts of his pilgrimages here and there—for they were mostly to the haunts of his many literary favourites. Whether on a houseboat on the Norfolk Broads or voyaging in Venetian gondolas, or picking his way among the crevasses of Alpine glaciers, he was ever observant of all that was about him. Visits are recorded to France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy on several occasions; but he was quite as fond of roaming through southern English counties or among his well-loved Peeblesshire hills and glens (for at Peebles he had a summer residence for a number of years).

He had a profound regard for the spiritual values of life, and was a regular attender at the House of God. He offered his services at one time for the editorship of the United Free

Church Missionary Record, for which however another candidate was chosen; and he wrote an introduction to a treatise on 'Non-Churchgoing: Its Reasons and Remedies.'

While conscious of efficiency in his own special spheres of knowledge, he was by nature modest and unassuming. This was particularly shown by his reaction to repeated requests to sit for his portrait. In consequence, it has not been possible to obtain a suitable photograph; but Mr. Paul Shillabeer, a new member of the Club, has done his best with an old snapshot.

Journalist, bibliophile, editor and chronicler, Forbes Gray spent a long life in useful service. His friend Dr. Marshall Lang wrote: 'Edinburgh and indeed Scotland have reason to be proud of one who devoted himself so wholeheartedly and with such a large measure of success to the furtherance of their fame in history. . . . If questions were put to him which seemed hardly worth the asking, he would make them worthy by his answer out of abundant knowledge.'

After suffering for some years from heart trouble, which called for more rest than he was willing to spare, he passed away on the 12th of May 1950.

## MISCELLANY

THIS feature was introduced with Volume XXIV, and is intended to be a receptacle for brief contributions of a miscellaneous nature relating to Old Edinburgh, and for *addenda* and *corrigenda* to articles in previous volumes. For easy reference, the numbering is continuous throughout the series.

### 20. ECHO OF AN EDINBURGH ELECTION.

A sheet of MS. doggerel verses to the tune of 'The Laird of Cockpen' met the present writer's eye the other day. An examination of it seems to point to the verses having been composed upon the occasion of the marriage of Lord Ramsay, afterwards Marquis of Dalhousie and Governor-General of India, with the Lady Susan Hay, daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale, on the 21st of January 1836.

To celebrate the occasion the tenantry on the Dalhousie and Tweeddale estates were entertained at a public dinner in the riding-school at Yester, and the village of Gifford, writes Lord Ramsay in his Journal, 'was illuminated by the villagers themselves, who had agreed to lay by so much of their weekly wages for some time before, to enable them to do it. A compliment which I look on with much more pride and satisfaction than if my friends had lit up the whole city of Edinburgh, for they made a sacrifice to pay it. There were laurel arches, and bonfires, and fireworks, and amid all the blaze and shouting we drove off to Coalstoun.'

Lord Ramsay's part in the General Election of 1835, when he stood as one of the Tory candidates for Edinburgh but failed, is referred to in Sir William Lee-Warner's *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie* in which one may read of 'the good-humour and spirit with which he met his defeat,' and how 'he ended the speech, in which he returned thanks to his supporters, by telling the electors they would hear from him again . . . jauntily adding

I'll say to myself as I ride through the glen,  
They were daft to refuse the Laird of Cockpen.'

Lord Ramsay's adaptation of a couplet from the old song to suit his circumstances no doubt gave the cue to a local minstrel to do like-

wise when providing an appropriate lyric for the wedding breakfast at Yester, with the following result :—

Now time it has cross'd the auld Laird in his Ha'  
An' less crouselly is heard at the Dawning his craw,  
Lady Jean aince sae fair an' sae winsome a Dame  
Sits doucelly, an' wisely, an' cheerfu' at hame.

But a Sapling has sprung frae the auld Parent stock,  
An' Cockpen is now cheer'd wi' a young crawling Cock.  
Auld Reekie look'd blue when the Nobleman spok  
An' the Ladies pronounced him the Cock o' the Walk.

For soon as the Laddie had come to his Age  
Alike his auld father he fain wad engage  
In wiles o' the Law an' Affairs o' the State  
An', wow, but he neither was backward nor blate.

Then hame cam' the Hero sae cheer an' sae crouse  
An', faith, he maun hae a bit wife to his House.  
Right Southward to Yester he's taken his way  
An' play'd the same trick that his father did play.

Wi' the blinks o' his e'e an' young Cupid's sly art  
He's wil'd frae a Lassie her love an' her heart,  
An' the daughter o' Gifford he's gallop'd awa'  
An' blithely she sits at the head o' his Ha'.

Then pledge we a glass to the heir o' Cockpen,  
An' pledge we a glass to his bonny young Hen,  
An' soon may we hear o't, an' soon may we see  
The Lady o' Coalstoun wi' Sprouts on her knee.

M. TAIT.

### 21. A PEEP AT EDINBURGH IN THE SUMMER OF 1768.

The following is an excerpt from a Letter by William Robertson to Mr. David Ross, writer in Edinburgh, who was convalescing at Inver-gordon : dated Edinburgh, 6th July 1768.

' . . . Since your departure we have had a great deal of rain which has produced a most delightful effect on the face of the country : so that to walk through the fine fields with which this city is on all sides surrounded is the highest luxury, especially when to the beauties of

inanimate nature are superadded the more enchanting beauties still of the numberless lovely Caledonian Nymphs (I had undoubtedly in my present strain called them Shepherdesses but that their almost royal robes render that appellation altogether improper) who, like the casual glances of the full moon from between the clouds in a breezy harvest night, agreeably burst upon the sight of the musing Saunterer from behind every tree and hedge. . . . The New Town, The Bridge, but especially the Playhouse, advance apace. . . . The Judges of the Court of Session still decide, still lay down the *incontrovertible* principles of the Law of Scotland, still however differ from one another about those principles, and not unfrequently even from themselves. Good heaven ! who that knows this can be so foolish as to pay a lawyer for an opinion. . . .'

[Ed.]

## 22. 'FURTHER NOTES ON EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH.'

The following adjustments are made to the Paper on the above subject printed in Vol. XXVII, pp. 40-59.

- (p. 44) *River of Tumble*. This nauseous little stream cannot have risen at the Grassmarket, but probably from springs at Cowgate head. The Grassmarket area drained round to the west of the Castle to the head of the Nor' Loch, from the east end of which flowed a similar streamlet down the North Back Canongate passing outside the Watergate and on below Abbey Hill, joining forces with the Tumble somewhere in the vicinity of where the Elsie Inglis Memorial Hospital now stands.
- (p. 47) *The Watkins Family*. It has since been found that, although Rice Watkins made paper for the Bank of England notes, his name does not appear in the records of the Bank after July 1702, and that it was his successor at Sutton Mills, Thomas Napper, who actually lost the contract to Portal for the reason given ; but it was an Edinburgh Watkins who had forestalled the Bank of England with a watermark on the Scottish notes.
- (p. 51) Dr. Patrick Neill, F.R.S.E., the horticulturist, was not, as stated, the founder of Messrs. Neill & Co. Ltd. It was an earlier Patrick of the same family, who was also the partner of Hamilton, Balfour & Neill. (See the Bicentenary History of Neill & Co. Ltd., 1949.)

ROBERT WATERSTON.

## 23. A FRENCH EMIGRÉ IN EDINBURGH IN 1797.

Louis de Boisgelin, a French officer of noble ancestry and literary inclinations, emigrated in 1790, and after travelling widely in northern Europe and the Mediterranean, became a captain in the Royalist regiment, the Royal-Louis, raised in Toulon in 1793 during the British occupation of the town. Wounded during the siege, he left Toulon when it was evacuated by the British, and succeeded shortly afterwards to the command of the Royal-Louis. After the Corsican campaign, ending in the capture of Calvi, he took ship for Britain, where he remained until 1815, with a pension from the British Government.

During his prolonged stay in Britain, he travelled over the length and breadth of the country, and the note-books in which he recorded his journeys are preserved among the manuscripts of the Méjanes library at Aix-en-Provence.<sup>1</sup>

In 1797 his travels brought him to Edinburgh, and in the following passages from his note-books he gives us his impressions of the city and its life.

He was immediately struck by the contrast between the old and new towns :

'The contrast between the two towns is indeed remarkable ; the houses on the one side new, neat, regularly built, on the other, old, dirty, and ill-constructed, some of them having up to twelve or thirteen storeys ; their windows are very small, and the alleys narrow. A very fine bridge joins the two towns ; by a street leading up from it the old town is reached. This street, already very fine, will become even more so when all the houses are rebuilt, and when the college is finished, which, given its extent, will not be soon, though it is true that the war is one of the principal causes which have held up the work. The street is crossed by another, which goes from one castle to the other, and which has, up to the present, kept its original aspect. Nothing can be compared to the darkness and filth of the alleys leading off from the right and left of this street. Fortunately Edinburgh is a very windy city, for it is to be feared that otherwise the filth piled up in these alleys and in the very stairways of many of the houses would give rise to contagious diseases, all the more dangerous in that I have never seen a more populous quarter than this.'

\* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Méjanes, MSS. 1191-1202.

'The castle, which once had a very formidable reputation—it is inaccessible except from the side approached by this street—is then reached, and occupies the extremity of the mountain on which the old town was built. From it a most extensive and delightful view is to be enjoyed. Eight hundred infantrymen are quartered there and new barracks have been constructed, looking out towards the country. Before reaching the castle, a new link can be seen between the old and new towns, made by the rubbish thrown out from the new—and even from the old—towns in prolongation of the streets. In the same street are the law courts and the Parliament house, partly destroyed by fire. I was present at a case being tried in a mean little room, and the bench from which I watched the proceedings was in keeping with the rest. I walked through the different court-rooms, but found nothing remarkable about the great hall downstairs; there were three separate judges, each holding his own court, and I cannot conceive how they were able to hear or to make themselves heard, for four to five hundred people were walking up and down, chatting away quite unconcernedly, and the noise made by this assembly may well be imagined.'

\* \* \* \*

'On the way down to the bridges are to be found numerous carriages, quite clean but very dear, especially at night, when one must pay double. They have only two seats, but this does not affect the price. The dirtiest part of the street is that leading to Holyrood-House, the former dwelling of the Kings of Scotland. Holyrood-House has a park measuring about four miles, and its enclosure forms a good defence against creditors. Monsieur the Comte d'Artois<sup>1</sup> was there for this reason, only going out on Sundays and Holy Days.'

\* \* \* \*

'The view from Calton Hill stands comparison with anything of the kind I have seen, not excepting Naples and Messina.'

\* \* \* \*

'Going into the Theatre, one is struck by its smallness, and it is astonishing in a town where the arts and sciences are so much cultivated, that the theatre should have so small a following.'

\* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> The future Charles X of France.

'As in all English towns (*sic*), there are balls and assemblies, to which one may subscribe at a modest price. Foreigners may easily obtain tickets, and I was present at several assemblies, and though I had been told that they were well attended, I was not impressed, accustomed as I was to those of Bath. Opposite the entrance was a table, behind which sat the Queen of the Ball in an armchair. There was no Master of Ceremonies here, and I observed that the women were not, in general, as well-dressed as in London or even Bath, and that many of them were tall and slender. Both men and women dance better to time than in England. The English quadrilles are danced with the same phlegm as in England, but the moment a Scottish *reel* is struck up, everyone is transformed, animated, and one might believe oneself transported among men and women suddenly metamorphosed; then the dancing is as lively as it might be in Provence, or in Spain when they dance the fandango. The ladies' white cheeks turn to a charming pink, and their eyes . . . Really, the sudden change operated by the first notes of one of these national airs is not to be imagined.'

\* \* \* \*

'After having visited several churches not deserving of mention, I desired to see the Catholic chapel. I only succeeded in finding it after a very long search, even with a guide who had been there. On the fourth floor of a horrible building I found a gathering of men of the ugliest mien, who seemed surprised at our visit. In another house we caught a glimpse through a half-open door of a service in progress in a chapel. Finally, having gone up to the third floor of a miserable-looking house, we met an oldish man who tried to prevent us from entering. After we had been recognised as Catholics, he opened the door of the Catholic church, which consists in a very low room, fairly long. In a corner the bishop was preaching. Beside the pulpit was a little altar, and benches were set out in the middle of the room. The day when I was there it was absolutely full of worshippers, most of whom looked very poor. It is difficult to imagine the stench which reigned in this chapel.'

\* \* \* \*

'On Sundays and Holy Days it is not permitted to play cards, or any instrument. Any kind of social assembly is rigorously forbidden. During my stay in Edinburgh Lady Campbell, a very rich and fashion-

able lady, insisted on giving a party on a Sunday. The following Sunday every pulpit echoed with protests at such a scandal; the magistrates themselves spoke to Lady Campbell, and I doubt whether for some time there will be any further question of such assemblies to relieve the monotony of these days. Before the morning service, Edinburgh is an absolute desert; literally no-one goes out before the first peal of bells. Hardly has it rung than a considerable throng of people, all neatly dressed, are to be seen moving towards their different chapels, observing a sort of religious silence, and scarcely giving each other more than a passing greeting.

\* \* \* \*

'Beside the University is the Hospital, a large building which can contain two hundred patients, never full. The patients usually present themselves furnished with tickets signed by the subscribers. Recently soldiers have been accepted. Having been introduced to the principal doctor of the hospital, I was in a position to see everything. On the first floor are small rooms with benches round them where the patients may be visited. Men and women are together, and the hospital accepts both sexes without distinction. The rooms seemed to me to be too low. The patients' beds are made of iron, with cords to hold up the mattress, which is usually very thin. The bedding is bad and insufficient, the blankets dirty and not long enough, and the beds have no curtains. The floor is of brick. Behind the beds are cupboards in which is stored the bedding, which must be very unhealthy, for it would be much better aired. There are no chairs, but two wooden benches near the chimney at the end of each ward. Also at the end of each ward is a little room with two beds but no fire-place. In several of these I saw officers. I also noticed that the soldiers were allowed to sleep with their clothes and breeches on, which is as dirty as it is unhealthy. In France, Italy, and Copenhagen, and in other less celebrated hospitals than this, it is usual to give the patient a complete change of linen on arrival, if he has none himself. Without clean linen a hospital cannot be well-kept. The wards, which are almost all alike, have no ventilators. At the top of the building are pleasant little operation rooms. On the ground floor are baths, which may be used by private individuals. There is a place for surgical instruments; I found them in fairly bad condition; many were rusty and they were few in number. The dispensary, reserved for the hospital and not supplying the town, is

also on the ground-floor, not very large and, I am not afraid to say so, dirty.'

While de Boisgelin was critical of conditions in the hospital, he fully recognised its value as a teaching establishment: 'The greatest merit of this hospital and even its fame are due to its use for the study of surgery, and it is from this point of view that it is most interesting to the observer.' He goes on to describe the teaching in the hospital in some detail.

\* \* \* \*

Indeed there is little worth seeing in Edinburgh at the end of the eighteenth century about which he has not a word to say in his closely-written, leather-bound little note-books. Heriot's Hospital, the Advocates' Library, the Cathedral, the prison, all find their place in his notes. And before leaving the city to visit the factories of Falkirk and New Lanark he deplored the ignorance of the English about their neighbours:

'The English in general have no idea of the wealth which exists today in Scotland. I have spoken several times to people who are supposed to be well instructed about Scotland, and I have not met one who could give me any real information about the country. Most of them wished to persuade me not to go there, representing it to me as a barbarous land where there was nothing to be seen save a few interesting views in the mountains.'

[We welcome this Paper, kindly contributed by Mr. J. W. Joyce, of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.—ED.]

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- Wellhouse Tower, visited by the Club, App. p. 11.
- Wemyss and March, Earl of, superior of St. John Street, Canongate, 60, 63, 68, 69, 72.
- West Indies, ships from, to have convoy, 87, 88, 94.
- Wood, Dr Marguerite, *An Addition to Laing's Cartulary of St. Giles*, 51-8; *The Notebook of Sir William Fettes, Bart.*, 152-70.
- lectures on *Some People of Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh*, App. p. 10; acts as leader, App. pp. 8, 10.
- Wright*, a convoy ship, 105.
- Wrightshouses, estate of, purchased by Trades Maiden Hospital, 8.

## APPENDIX

FORTY-SECOND, FORTY-THIRD AND FORTY-  
FOURTH ANNUAL REPORTS, Etc.

## REPORT OF THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Monday, 20th February, 1950.*

THE RIGHT HON. SIR A. H. A. MURRAY, LORD PROVOST, presided.

The Council has pleasure in submitting the Forty-Second Annual Report.

During 1949 ten new members were added to the Roll, which now stands at 394, a slight decrease from last year. Still, the Club has every reason to be proud of its long record, its activities throughout being maintained at a high level. The Club has recently lost by death a valued and original member in Mr. John A. Fairley, Curator of Lauriston Castle. In the early days he took a deep interest in the affairs of the Club and contributed to our volumes a series of extracts from the Records of the Edinburgh Tolbooth; likewise, an article on 'The Pantheon: An Old Edinburgh Debating Society.' The Council also regrets the resignation of the Rev. Dr. D. S. Hopkirk, late minister of Greenside, who has always taken a deep and active interest in Old Edinburgh. Dr. Hopkirk has been appointed Professor of Systematic Theology in Ormond College, University of Melbourne. He will, however, retain his membership and will thus be able, in Australia, to follow the affairs of Old Edinburgh. The Council offers its congratulations.

The financial statement shows that the sale to non-members of the volume on George Square, by Miss Margaret Tait and Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., a vice-president, has brought in £143, 10s., and that the balance of funds at 31st December 1949 amounted to

£233, 15s. 5d. No fewer than 82 extra copies of the George Square volume have been sold at 35s. a copy, leaving eighteen copies still to be disposed of.

Volume XXVII is now printing, and will be issued to members shortly. It is attractively illustrated and contains a rich variety of contents, a list of which was published in last report.

There were three excursions during the year. The first took place in the early summer to Pinkie House, where Lady Mary Hope received the company, who were permitted to examine the old furniture and pictures as well as to inspect the 'King's Room' with its painted escutcheons. Pinkie recalls memories of Charles I who, with his brother, spent some time studying there. The architectural features of the mansion were described by Mr. James S. Richardson, LL.D.

On a July evening the Trades Maiden Hospital at Ashfield, Grange Loan, was visited. The company, numbering between 50 and 60, were hospitably entertained by the Governors and Miss Glencorse, the matron, and were shown the sixteenth-century Craftsmen's Banner (the Blue Blanket); Roderick Chalmers's painting of the Master Craftsmen at the building of the Palace of Holyroodhouse; an eighteenth-century view of the old Hospital in Argyle Square; and the carved chairs of the Incorporated Trades. Wet weather prevented a visit to Canaan Park to view the site of the Chapel of St. Roque, but an account of the building was given by Dr. Charles A. Malcolm, the Hon. Secretary.

Finally, on Saturday, 29th October, a visit was paid to the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College (by kind permission of Principal W. M. Mitchell, M.C., M.B., Ch.B.). The story of the institution was graphically told by Professor J. Russell Greig. Its founder was William Dick, son of a farrier at White Horse Inn, Canongate Head. Besides the interest attaching to the College, there is also the fact that it occupies the site of the ancient village of Summerhall which adjoined Causewayside, the medieval road traversing the eastern end of the Burgh Muir, along which rode, in 1503, Margaret Tudor with her retinue, on her way to Holyrood to marry James IV. Lord Russell Place, again, stands on the site of the ancient village of Mureburgh, while in Braid Place is the transformed Sciennes House where Burns and Scott met. The building also marks the spot on which, in 1507, Sir John Crawford erected a chapel dedicated to John the Baptist. In 1517 it was given to the nuns of St. Catherine of Siena whose nunnery stood on the site of St. Catherine Place,

west side, where, in the garden of No. 16, on a stone of the convent may be read the quatrain in *Marmion* :

And thus the Lindesay spoke :  
 ' Thus clamour still the war-notes when  
 The King to mass his way has ta'en,  
 Or to Saint Katherine's of Sienne.'

Of the three lectures arranged for the present winter session the first—'The History of The Trades Maiden Hospital'—was given by the Rev. E. S. Towill, B.D., in the Goold Hall, on Thursday, 26th January. The second will be by Mr. E. K. Waterhouse, M.B.E., M.A., Director of the National Galleries of Scotland, his subject being 'The Statue of Charles II, and an unidentified Statue in the City Chambers.'

Opposite is the Annual Balance Sheet duly audited.

### Old Edinburgh Club

#### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1949

RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS	
I. Balance, 31st December 1948 . . . . .	I. Expenses—Volume No. 26 . . . . .	£388 9 10
II. Subscriptions Received :—	II. Expenses—Volume No. 27 . . . . .	49 8 2
332 Members at 10s. 6d. . . . .	III. Printing, Stationery and Expenses of Meetings . . . . .	57 5 10
40 Libraries at 10s. 6d. . . . .	IV. Postages . . . . .	4 16 9
21 0 0	V. Balance of Funds as at 31st December 1949 :—	
III. Sale of 82 volumes, No. 26 (George Square), at	Bank on Current Account . . . . .	233 15 5
£1, 15s. each . . . . .		<u>£733 16 0</u>
IV. Deposit Receipt Interest . . . . .		
1 10 11		
		<u>£733 16 0</u>

W. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 31st January 1950.—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1949, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed. The sums shown as Subscriptions include arrears collected and payments in advance.

C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

## REPORT OF THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Monday, 19th February, 1951.*

THE RIGHT HON. SIR A. H. A. MURRAY, O.B.E., LORD PROVOST, presided.

The Council expressed its regret at the loss which the Club sustained by the death of two well-known members. William Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., who died on 12th May 1950, became a member of the Club in 1909, one year after its foundation, and was first elected a member of Council in 1917. Before then he had begun to put his extensive store of knowledge at the service of the large companies taking part in the various excursions, expounding the historical and romantic associations of the places visited. By lectures also, and a large number of contributed papers, he kept the interest of members focussed on the features of Old Edinburgh. Special account must be taken of his editorial activities during a period of twelve years, including the preparation of three volumes with which his name is chiefly associated, namely, *Extracts from Bannatyne Club Publications*; *A General Index to the first 20 volumes of the Book of the Club*; and the volume describing *George Square*, in which he collaborated with Miss Margaret Tait. After his retirement from the editorship he continued to serve on the Council, and was elected a Vice-President in 1947. His interest in the Club's affairs never ceased, and to nearly all the later volumes he contributed either a paper or a note. Only a few days before his death he prepared and handed to the present editor an article for publication in the next volume. His other literary activities and public services need no particular mention, as they have been recorded elsewhere. Ebenezer J. McRae, F.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., F.S.A.Scot., whose death on 15th January 1951 we deeply mourn, and whose services to Edinburgh both in an official and private capacity are so well known to us all, joined the Club in 1928, and at

various periods was a member of Council. He contributed an article on the Statue of King Charles II, and on several occasions acted as cicerone at Club excursions.

The Editorial Committee is at present in some perplexity as to the future prospects of the *Book* of the Club, for at least two reasons. The first is that printing costs have soared so considerably that the present finances of the Society are inadequate to meet the situation. It has taken practically the total of three years' subscriptions to pay for the volume last issued, and there is little likelihood that it will fare much better with future volumes. The aim of the Committee has been the issue of a volume at least every two years, and that seems now to be impossible, unless both the size and quality (and consequently the interest and value) are greatly reduced. To extend the publication of a volume over a period of three years would be to put an undue strain on the patience of Club members; and the only solution seems to lie in the direction of an increase in the yearly subscription. As for the second reason, the appeal which has been made repeatedly for literary contributions from the younger members of the Club has met with little response; and in consequence a greater and quite unmerited strain has been put upon those who have done more than their share in keeping up production. There are many aspects of Old Edinburgh of which only the fringe has been touched, and the Committee is convinced that there are many potential contributors who, through undue modesty or on other accounts, withhold what might afford both pleasure and profit to their fellow members. Is it worth while repeating the invitation to them to submit papers, no matter how short, for editorial consideration and for the prolongation of a series of volumes that holds a unique place in the annals of our City?

It will be realised from the above statement that a forecast cannot as yet be submitted of the contents of a new volume, or of the probable date of its publication. Much will depend on the decisions to be taken at the Annual Meeting.

During the summer it is hoped to have Excursions to places of historic interest in and about the City. Last year only two were held, an almost continuous rainy season making it difficult to arrange for a third excursion. The large company which shared in the visit to the Castle on Friday, 23rd June last, listened with much interest to the résumé of the Castle's long history given by Dr. Marguerite Wood in the Banqueting Hall, after which they followed the Wardens to the

site of the David II Tower below the Half-Moon Battery, and along the high-perched balcony leading to the Dungeons where famous and infamous persons of former centuries were confined.

In spite of rain many members took part in the excursion of 17th July to the seventeenth-century mansion of Liberton Place and to the medieval Liberton Tower. At the former they were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Watson, for whose kindness in permitting the Club to examine the various features of their house the Council are deeply indebted. Thanks are also due to Mr. John R. Mackay, F.R.I.B.A., for the interesting description given of the architectural details and history of the house.

Three lectures will be delivered during February and March, the first being an account of some old Edinburgh Libraries by Dr. H. W. Meikle, C.B.E., Historiographer Royal of Scotland. Due intimation of each lecture will be made.

During the year 4 members died, 3 resigned, and the names of 8 who had not paid their subscriptions for three years were removed from the Roll. It is gratifying to record the accession of 16 new members. The Roll now stands at 355 individual and 40 institutional members.

The Council recommends the election of Messrs. J. J. Atkinson, J. A. Barrie, Ian G. Lindsay and Dr. A. Niven Robertson as members of Council in room of the Rev. R. Selby Wright, Messrs. William Yule, J. Melville Mackenzie and D. M. Mathieson who retire by rotation.

Appended is the Account of Income and Expenditure duly vouched by the Honorary Auditor.

### Old Edinburgh Club

#### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 30th December 1950

<b>RECEIPTS</b>		
Balance 31st Decr. 1949	£233 15 5	Expenses—Volume 27 . . . . . £491 19 6
Subscriptions received :—		
314 Members at 10s. 6d.	£164 17 0	
35 Libraries at 10s. 6d.	18 7 6	
	183 4 6	
29 Sale of Volumes . . . . .	13 13 0	
Deficit being :—		
Balance of Cost of Volume 27		
due to T. & A. Constable . . . . .	£146 4 7	
Less—Balance in Bank on Account		
Current . . . . .	19 1 7	
	127 3 0	
	£557 15 11	65 16 5
		£557 15 11

W. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

FORSAUGHT, 6th February 1951.—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 30th December 1950, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed. The sums shown as Subscriptions include arrears collected and payments in advance.

C. MATTLAND SMITH, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

## REPORT OF THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Monday, 31st March, 1952.*

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES MILLER, LORD PROVOST, presided.

The Council's Report was as follows :—

The Council continues to follow the precedent set by the founders in providing three lectures in winter, three excursions in summer and material for the *Book* of the Club bearing on Old Edinburgh. In the winter of 1950-51 the lectures—given in the Goid Hall—were (1) 'Old Libraries of Edinburgh,' by Dr. H. W. Meikle, C.B.E., Historiographer Royal of Scotland; (2) 'Some People of Eighteenth Century Edinburgh,' by Dr. Marguerite Wood, City Archivist; and (3) 'The Ports and Four Successive Walls of Edinburgh,' by the Hon. Secretary.

The Outings comprised (1) A Visit to the Debtors' Sanctuary in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse. In the room of the Constables in the Sanctuary, Dr. Marguerite Wood outlined the history of the Constables in former centuries and by way of epilogue Mr. J. D. Cochrane, Treasurer of the High Constables of Holyrood, gave an account of the customs and activities of the Constables of to-day.

The second excursion—conveniently made by two special buses hired from the S.M.T. Company—was to the twelfth-century monastery of the Cistercians in Newbattle Abbey, now a College for selected students from various monasteries. Dr. Edwin Muir, its distinguished Warden, acted as host, conducting the large company through the Fraternity and Chapter House and part of the incorporating mansion of the late Marquess of Lothian. Thence they went to the neighbouring church of Newbattle where the Minister, the Rev. Dr. J. Arnott Hamilton, unfolded its long history and described the many relics that are preserved in the church.

The third outing took the form of a perambulation of the precincts of Edinburgh Castle on an evening marred by rain. The small party

having mustered on the Esplanade proceeded by Castle Wynd, Johnston Terrace and the medieval pathway leading to Princes Street Gardens, noting on the route the sites of the long vanished Royal Orchard, King's Stable, Barras or Tournament ground and its chapel.

The itinerary ended at the fourteenth-century outpost of the Castle—the Wellhouse Tower—where a résumé was given of its stirring episodes from 1346 to 1689.

Volume XXVIII of the Book of the Club is now in the hands of the printer, and publication is expected in June or July. The contents are as follow :—

1. The Minutes of the Trades Maiden Hospital : by Rev. E. S. Towill, B.D., B.Ed., F.S.A.Scot.
2. James Ronaldson, baker, typefounder, philanthropist, and his connexions in and around Edinburgh : by Miss M. Tait.
3. An Addition to Laing's Chartulary of St. Giles : by Miss Marguerite Wood, Ph.D., City Archivist.
4. St. John Street—An Early Civic Improvement : by the late Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E.
5. Convoys to the Trade on the East Coast of Scotland : by Miss Helen Armet, Assistant Archivist, City Chambers.
6. Ice Houses in Edinburgh and the Lothians : by Dr. A. Niven Robertson.
7. Notebook of Sir William Fettes, Provost : by Dr. Marguerite Wood.
8. Charles II Lead Equestrian Statue, Parliament Square : by Mr. A. G. Forgie, M.M., A.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., City Architect.
9. Miscellany (various small items).

A cordial invitation is extended to members of the Club to come forward with papers or notes regarding any of the multifarious aspects or activities of Edinburgh and its immediate suburbs during the course of past centuries. These may be submitted to the Secretary or the Editor.



## Old Edinburgh Club

### LIST OF MEMBERS

*Surviving Original Members marked \**

#### HONORARY MEMBER

William J. Hay

AIKMAN, J. S., 43 Jeffrey Street.  
Albert, Mrs., M.A., 46 Fountainhall Road.  
Alison, Arthur J., Q.C., LL.D., 46 Heriot Row.  
Allan, Miss, Balherno, Balerno.  
Allan, Mrs. Alicia, 6 Castlelaw Road, Colinton.  
Allan, Mrs. C. A., 40 Park Road, Trinity.  
Allan, Eric, M.A., 40 Park Road, Trinity.  
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Leny House, Muthill, Perthshire.  
Anderson, Ian, 93 Easter Drylaw Drive.  
\*Angus, William, LL.D., 69 Cluny Gardens.  
Archer, John M., 24 Stanley Road, Leith.  
Armet, Miss Helen, 42 Main Street, Davidson's Mains.  
Arnott, Mrs. George, 6 Campbell Avenue.  
Atkinson, John J., 12 Viewforth Square.

BALFOUR, Miss MARIE, Edinburgh Public Library, and  
20 Dick Place.

Balfour-Melville, Evan W. M., D.Litt., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.  
Barke, Jas., Daljarrock House, Pinwherry, Ayrshire.  
Barnson, Sydney, 90 Inverleith Place.  
\*Barrie, John A., 11 Lady Road.  
Bartholomew, John, M.C., M.A., 12 Duncan Street.  
Baxter, G., O.B.E., M.Inst.C.E., Ravelston Yards.  
Bell, J. M., S.S.C., 3 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.  
Benham, Mrs., 2 Morningside Place.  
Birrell, J. Hamilton, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.G.S., 51 Lauderdale  
Street.

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## OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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Bisset, Norman, C.A., 10 Mortonhall Road.  
Blackie, V. Grant, 7 Hatton Place.  
Blair, Hugh A., C.A., New Club, Princes Street.  
Bonar, John J., W.S., 15 Hill Street.  
Bonnar, A. O., 1 Walker Street.  
Boyes, Dr. John, 31 Campbell Road.  
Brown, Mrs. Jean H., 71 Newark Drive, Greenock.  
Brown, Miss Mary F., 26 Stafford Street.  
Brown, Dr. Johnston, 51 Minto Street.  
Bryce, Herbert D., 60 Maedowall Road.  
Bucher, Mrs. S. Beatrice, 17 Mayfield Gardens.  
Budge, James, 28 Barony Terrace, Corstorphine.  
Burness, William, Queen's Avenue, Blackhall.  
Burnside, Rev. John W., M.A., 19 Carriagehill Drive, Paisley.  
Burrows, C. H., B.Com., C.A., 67 York Place.  
Butchart, R., F.L.A., 84 Gilmore Place.

CALDER, THOMAS R., 8 Charlotte Square.  
Cameron, Waverley B., 22 Coates Gardens.  
Campbell, Mrs. A. D., 136 Braid Road.  
Campbell, Buchanan, W.S., Moidart, Currie.  
Carroll-Robertson, Mrs. S. H., 54 East Claremont Street.  
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street.  
Chapman, Andrew, Liberal Club, 109 Princes Street.  
Cochrane, James Dean, 47 Hanover Street.  
Collier, T. L., 23 Forrester Road, Corstorphine.  
Considine, W. C. D., The Holt, Frith Hill, Godalming, Surrey.  
Cooke, G. S. P., Lagganlui, Dalmally, Argyllshire.  
Cormack, Donald S., 10 Piersfield Place.  
Cousland, Chas. J., 26 Kinnear Road.  
Cowan, A. Wallace, 1 St. Margaret's Road.  
Cowie, Mrs. Harold, 13 Lennel Avenue.  
Craig, Rev. W. Pitcairn, 63 Braid Road.  
Crerar, Miss Annie, c/o Mrs. Burn, 39 Marchmont Road.  
Crichton, Mrs. Lilian M., M.A., 30 Blasket Place.  
Croall, Robert, 16 Bangholm Avenue.  
Cruickshank, A., 2 Craighleith Crescent.  
Cunningham, A., 15 Murrayfield Gardens.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

DARLING, Sir WILLIAM Y., C.B.E., M.C., LL.D., M.P., Juniper Bank, Walkerburn, Peeblesshire.  
 Dawson, A. B., C.A., The Vache, Chalfont St. Giles,  
 Dewar, George C., 46 Sighthill Loan.  
 Dey, William G., 20 Dovecot Road, Corstorphine.  
 Dick, Andrew W., M.A., 9 West Claremont Street.  
 Dickie, Miss K. M., J.P., 37 Lauriston Place.  
 Dickinson, Prof. W. Croft, M.C., D.Lit., University, South Bridge.  
 Dickson, G. Anderson, Lasswade Road.  
 Dickson, John A., 3 Brandon Terrace.  
 Dickson, Walter, 5A Elcho Terrace, Portobello.  
 \*Dobson, Mrs., 145 Warrender Park Road.  
 Donaldson, Gordon, M.A., Ph.D., 24 Hermitage Place, East, Leith.  
 Douglas, Robert E., O.B.E., D.L., 89 George Street.  
 Doull, A. Clark, 10 Alexandria Drive, Alloa.  
 Doull, A. C., C.A., 5 Lutton Place. Died 8th November 1952.  
 Dow, Joseph A., M.A., 18 Duddingston Crescent.  
 Duncan, Robert J., 10 Hillview Road, Corstorphine.

EDGAR, Mrs. J. DOUGLAS, 9 Sylvan Place.  
 Eggeling, H. F., M.A., 95 Comiston Drive.  
 Elliot, William A., 23 Joppa Road, Joppa, Midlothian.  
 Erskine, Sir John M., C.B.E., D.L., F.R.S.E., Commercial Bank of Scotland, George Street.

FAIRLEY, Miss J. H., 69 Inverleith Row.  
 Fairley, Miss Jane Graham, 10 Blackford Road.  
 Fairlie, James M., 35 Chester Street.  
 Farr, J. H., 32 Inverleith Gardens.  
 Ferguson, Herbert, C.B.E., 11 Elliot Place, Firhill.  
 Ferguson, Miss, Balhernocho, Balerno.  
 Finlayson, Wm. W., 45 Castle Street.  
 Forbes, Mrs. S. A. C., 6 Howden Hall Road, Liberton.  
 Forgie, A. G., M.C., A.R.I.B.A., 10 Buckstone Avenue.  
 Forrester, Mrs. M. K., 5 Observatory Road.  
 Forsyth, Miss J., Merchiston Castle School.  
 Fraser, George, C.E., 19 Atholl Crescent.  
 Frizell, J. B., C.B.E., 22 Thorburn Road.

GAULD, H. DRUMMOND, Dalavran Lodge, New Galloway, Kirkcudbright.  
 Geddie, Mrs. Hannah E., Ellicot, Eskbank.  
 Gent, Frank, 20 Great Stuart Street.  
 Gerrard, Walter D., D.S.O., 134 Newhaven Road.  
 Gibb, Miss Hilda, c/o Lovelock & Lewis, C.A., P.O. Box 1720, Madras.  
 Goddard, Mrs., 'Shian,' Rosemount, Blairgowrie.  
 Gordon, Alex. E., A.R.I.B.A., 11 Greenhill Gardens.  
 Gould, William, M.A., 5 Barony Terrace, Corstorphine.  
 Graham, D., 115 Colinton Mains Grove.  
 Grant, Sir Francis J., K.C.V.O., LL.D., 18 George Square. (President.)  
 Grant, Ian, 31 George IV. Bridge.  
 Grant, Robert, F.R.S.E., 6 Kilgraston Road.  
 Grant, Robert & Son, 126 Princes Street.  
 Green, A. M'Watt, C.A., 17 Great Stuart Street.  
 Greig, Professor J. Russell, Ph.D., M.R.C.V.S., Wedderlie, Kirkbrae, Liberton.  
 Guthrie, Douglas, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 21 Clarendon Crescent.

HALDANE, DAVID, B.Sc., F.R.S.E., 6 Kilmaurs Road.  
 Haldane, Mrs., 76 Relugas Road.  
 Haldane, W. P., 21 Cumloddan Avenue.  
 Hardie, Miss Janet S., 15 Hillview, Blackhall.  
 Hawkins, Miss Eleanor, 60 Castle Street.  
 \*Hay, William J., *Honorary Member*, John Knox's House, 45 High Street.  
 Hayhoe, John H., 124 Findhorn Place.  
 Hayne, Adam H., Thirlestone, 45 Gardiner Road, Blackhall.  
 Hemming, Oliver, 18 Queensferry Street.  
 Henderson, Allan M., W.S., Robinson's Hotel, 41 Drumsheugh Gardens.  
 Henderson, James S., 51 Fountainhall Road.  
 Henderson, Prof. R. Candlish, Q.C., LL.D., 6 Doune Terrace.  
 Hewat, James, Janefield House, Nairn.  
 Hislop, W. B., F.R.P.S., 9 Albany Street.  
 Hodge, W. Crown, 88 Princes Street. (*Honorary Treasurer*.)  
 Hogg, Miss Florence E., 95 Queensferry Road.

Holmes, Commander R. Gerard A., C.M.G., O.B.E., D.Sc.,  
Kerfield Cottage, Peebles.  
Hopkirk, Rev. Professor D. S., M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., 2 Ormonde  
College, Carlton N 3, Melbourne, Australia.  
Horne, F. W., 2 Rothesay Terrace.  
Hossack, James, M.A., B.Com., 10 Wardie Avenue.  
Howie, Mrs. Nancy, 8 Middleby Street.  
Hutchison, John R., 21 Lismore Crescent.

IMRIE, Sir JOHN D., C.B.E., M.A., F.R.S.E., 'Benarty,' 4 March-  
field Grove, Davidson's Mains.  
Irvine, Miss Catherine, 17 Hillside Street.  
Ivory, William Holmes, W.S., 57 Northumberland Street.

JACK, T. W., 150 Carrick Knowe Avenue.  
Jamieson, Miss Catherine S. Boyd, 43 George Square.  
Jamieson, John R., 18 Napier Road.  
Jamieson, Robert M., Viewfield, Acharn, by Aberfeldy.  
Jamieson, William, 2 St. Peter's Buildings, Gilmore Place.

KENNEDY, JOHN, 21 Leighton Avenue, Penner, Middlesex.  
Kilpatrick, P. J. W., Bridgend, Colinton.  
\*Kippen, John, M.A., Glendevon, Gilmerton, Crieff.  
Knoblauch, Mrs. A. C., 48 Murrayfield Avenue.  
Knox, John, B.Sc., 43 Dalhousie Terrace.

LAIDLAW, REV. R. S. F., M.A., Whitehills, Banff.  
Lamb, J. Edwin, 4 Rankin Road.  
Lawrie, R. D., Ravensdown, 248 Ferry Road.  
Leckie, Rev. R. W., M.A., The Manse, Davidson's Mains.  
Lee, William J., 21 Merchiston Crescent.  
Leslie, John C., 44 Frederick Street.  
Letham, James, 3 Zetland Place.  
Lindsay, Ian G., B.A., A.R.I.A.S., Houstoun House, Uphall, West  
Lothian.  
Lindsay, Mrs. E. G. M. Bruce, 10 Gordon Terrace.

Logan, W. R., 1 George Square.  
Logan, Miss C. S. E., 1 George Square.  
Lorimer, Norman W., F.F.A., Ardachy, Newmills, Balerno.  
Lownie, J. H. W., 8 Polwarth Grove.  
Lyll, George, 6 Cluny Gardens.

McCRAE, THOMAS, F.R.I.A.S., 4 St. Vincent Street.  
McCrostie, H. C., Dunalastair, Barnton Avenue.  
McDermid, J. S., Kyebi, Gamekeeper's Road, Barnton.  
Macdonald, Mrs. Mary S., 52 Grange Loan.  
Macdonald, Norman, 91 Netherby Road.  
MacDonald, Thomas, 18 Northfield Terrace.  
Macdougald, Mrs. Maude, 1 Elliot Road.  
MacInnes, Miss, c/o Mrs. Chrystal, 13 Inverleith Gardens.  
Mack, James, Colinton Mains Grove.  
Mack, Mrs. Fay G., 31 Gayfield Square.  
M'Kay, J. R., A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 8 Clarendon Crescent.  
M'Kelvie, Alex., C.A., 26 Mortonhall Road.  
Mackenzie, J. Melville, 174 Mayfield Road.  
Mackie, Stewart M., 5 Sciennes Gardens.  
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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 four hundred. 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.

\* The annual subscription was increased to £1, 1s. at the Annual General Meeting held on 31st March 1952.

VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and the Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and the Auditor for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall hold stated meetings in April and October, and shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club. Papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear. Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual Meeting of the Club. Notice of any proposed alteration must be given in writing to the Secretary, who shall intimate the same by circular to each Member not less than seven days prior to the meeting. No alteration shall be made unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present at the meeting.

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24 Feb. 1953.

