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OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

MEMBERS OF THE
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THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Issued to Members
1966

THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME



EDINBURGH

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

1966

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
MAP OF THE SIEGE OF LEITH, 1560. By GORDON DONALDSON	1
TWO NOTABLE EPIDEMICS IN EDINBURGH AND LEITH. By H. P. TAIT	8
SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS. By FRANCIS BAMFORD	32
EDINBURGH CASTLE, 1751-1753. By T. I. RAE	54
TEACHERS IN EDINBURGH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By ALEXANDER LAW	108
THE LOYAL EDINBURGH SPEARMEN. By HELEN ARMET	158
GEORGE COMBE AND THE 1836 ELECTION FOR THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY CHAIR OF LOGIC. By A. CAMERON GRANT	174
THE DEAN GARDENS. By NEIL BAYNE	185
TOLLCROSS TO MORNINGSIDE IN THE OLDEN DAYS. By ANDREW PATTERSON	189
MISCELLANY—	
36. A DISPUTE BETWEEN GILD BROTHERS. By HELEN ARMET	218
37. EDINBURGH IN THE PITCALNIE PAPERS. By Miss R. R. WILLIAMSON ROSS of Pitcalnie	221
38. EARLY INHABITANTS OF GEORGE SQUARE. By MARGARET TAIT	223
INDEX	227
APPENDIX—	249
FIFTY-FIFTH, FIFTY-SIXTH AND FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORTS, LIST OF MEMBERS, ETC.	

ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
MAP OF THE SIEGE OF LEITH, 1560 :	
The Map	4
<i>By kind permission of F. W. Steer, Esq.</i>	
SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS :	
Chairs by William Trotter at Paxton House	36
<i>From a photo by Michael Cox, Killycrankie.</i>	
Clock by Paul Roumieu, junior	37
<i>From a block kindly given by Gordon Small, Esq.</i>	
Bill-head of Francis Brodie, 1749	46
<i>By courtesy of the National Museum of Antiquities.</i>	
Mahogany Chest by William Brodie, 1786	47
<i>By courtesy of the National Museum of Antiquities.</i>	
Furniture by Richard Clark & Son at Newliston	52 and 53
<i>By kind permission of Major R. T. A. Hog of Newliston.</i>	
EDINBURGH CASTLE, 1751-1753 :	
Prospect of Edinburgh Castle by J. Elphinstone, c. 1740	56
<i>By courtesy of Edinburgh Public Libraries.</i>	
Plan of Edinburgh Castle, 1750	72
Plan of the new Storehouse, Edinburgh Castle, 1753, by William Skinner	96
Plan of the new Barracks, Edinburgh Castle, 1750, by William Skinner	97
<i>The above are by courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.</i>	
TOLL-CROSS TO MORNINGSIDE IN THE OLDEN DAYS :	
Site of the King's Theatre, c. 1905	192
The last Horse Tram at Tollcross, 1907	193
<i>The above are by courtesy of Edinburgh Public Libraries.</i>	

MAP OF THE SIEGE OF LEITH, 1560

by

GORDON DONALDSON

IN presenting a reproduction of this remarkable map, the Old Edinburgh Club gratefully acknowledges the ready co-operation of Mr. Francis W. Steer, Archivist at the West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, who brought the map to the notice of Scottish scholars and has provided photographs for the use of the Club; and of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who, through their Editor, Mr. A. L. Rivet, put at the Club's disposal the proofs of an article on the map which has appeared in Volume XCV of the Society's *Proceedings*. That article contains a full description of the original map. The Society of Antiquaries has a colour transparency of the map, and a photograph and colour transparencies are available in the Edinburgh Room of the Public Library in George IV Bridge, but it should be said that no reproduction is as revealing or as vivid as the original.

Mr. Steer's transcription of the names given on the map and his identification of the places and buildings named are printed below. The numbers refer to those on the key which accompanies the reproduction of the map.

1. Arthor Seate
2. S^t Anthonyes Chappell
3. Edenbroughe parke
4. Holy roode howse
5. Cragge Ingalt [Calton Hill]
6. S^t Gyles Kvrke in Edenbrowghe
7. Edenbreghe Castell
8. [No wording against this building which is presumably St Cuthbert's church]

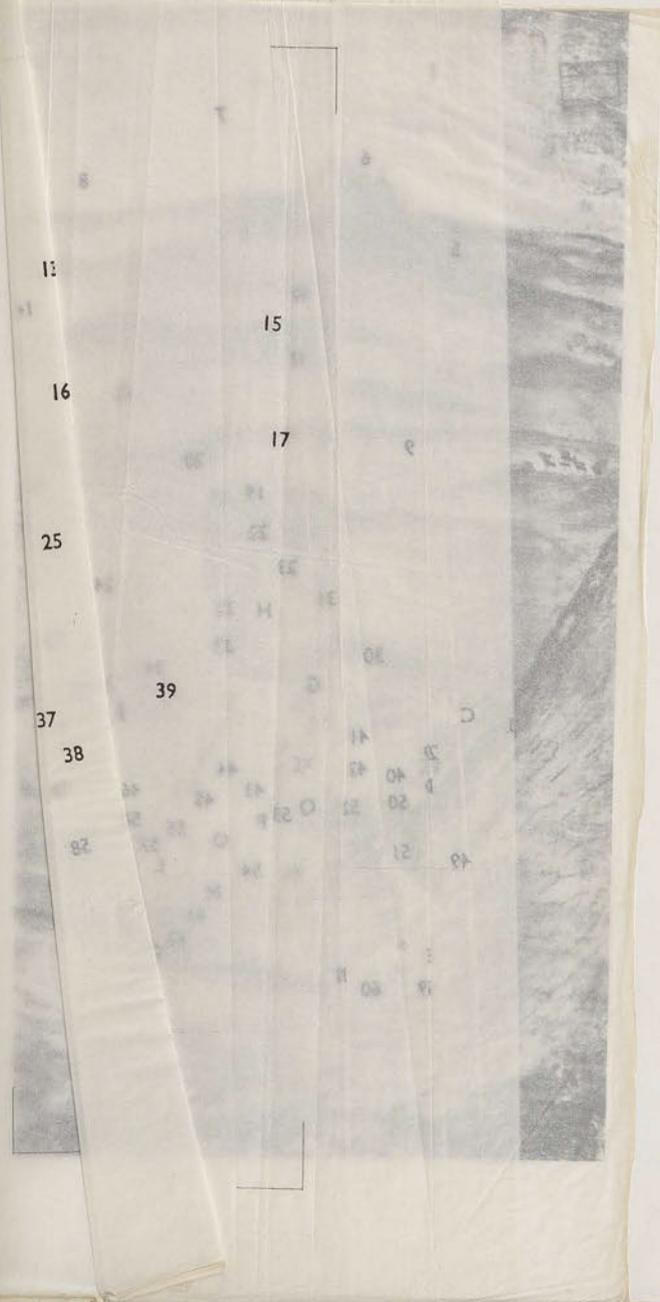
9. Roode Chappell [This representation of the Rude Chapel, Greenside, extends the known history of this building by 17 years; in the *Inventory*, p. 216,¹ it is stated that 'In 1543 the chapel was the scene of a meeting between representatives of the pro-French and pro-English parties . . . It is not heard of again after this date.' The building is shown as roofless.]
10. The lowghe howse
11. Browghton [see *Inventory*, p. lx]
12. Cana Mylles [presumably the Canon Mills operated by the Water of Leith]
13. Com'on Mylles [also on the Water of Leith, higher and more westward than 'Cana Mylles']
14. The De'nne [the Village of Dean]
15. Moreste
16. Inaerlythe [Inverleith; the house has a garden enclosed by a crenellated wall of red brick]
17. Granton
18. Restarycke Place [Restalrig; see *Inventory*, pp. lx, lxi. The old tower, said to have been destroyed about 1586 by the Provost of Edinburgh, is clearly shown]
19. Sir Iohn Nevells w^t other Cap^{ens}
20. The lorde Graye and the Earle of Arren [William, Lord Grey of Wilton (d. 1562) and James (Hamilton), Earl of Arran (d. 1574/5). See *Hayward's Annals*,² pp. 51, 55]
21. Sir francis Leeke w^t other Cap^{ens} more
22. Cap^{en} Randall Cap^{en} Conway
23. Cap^{en} Reade w^t other Cap^{ens} more
24. Sutton and Capell w^t other Cap^{ens} more
25. Wareston [Warriston. The house and tower adjoining are shown as enclosed in a red brick wall]

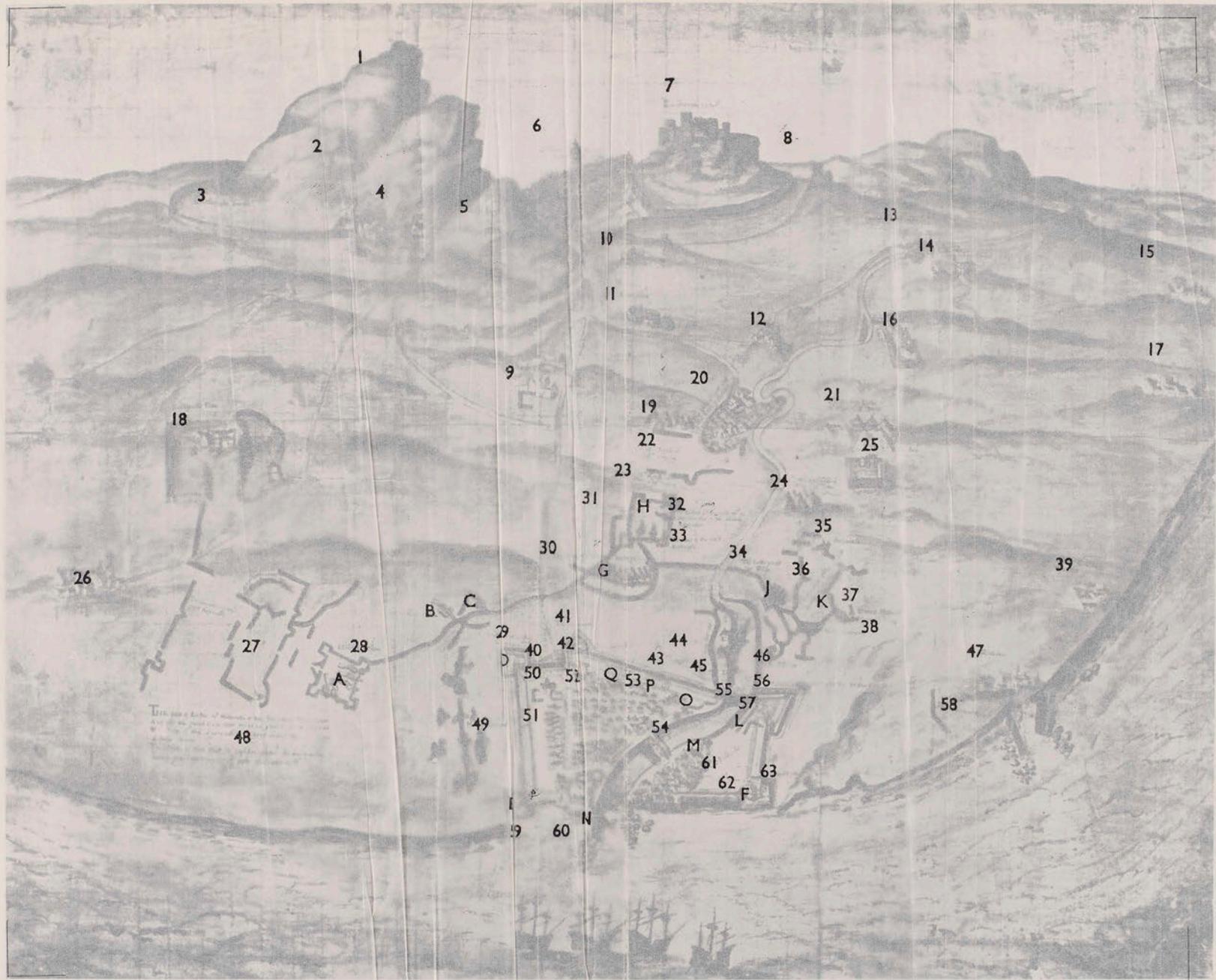
¹ This, and succeeding references to the *Inventory*, are to the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments *Inventory of the City of Edinburgh*.

² Ed. by J. Bruce for the Camden Society, 1840.

26. Restarycke [Restalrig. Note the church with lead roofs and massive central tower. On 21st December 1560 the General Assembly directed 'that the kirk of Restalrig, as a monument of idolatrie, be raysit and utterlie castin downe and destroyed' (*Inventory*, p. 253)]
27. The trenches of the first Approche
28. Mownt Pellam [or ?Pellain] [This is an emplacement with five cannon marked 'A' on the key; just to the right of this are two more cannon marked 'B' and 'C' on the key]
29. Bartholmeus Bulwerk [This encloses five cannon marked 'D' on the key]
30. The place of y^e second Battrye [Here are nine cannon marked 'G' on the key]
31. pelrygge [This is probably the site of the present Pilrig House]
32. Mownt Somerset w^{ch} is the trenches of the second Approche [Mount Somerset encloses the six cannon marked 'H' on the key]
33. The place of the first Battrye
34. The battrye at the Pale [Just to the north are four cannon marked 'J' on the key]
35. Bonneton' [The site of the present Bonnyhaugh House]
36. The trenches of the thirde Apreche
37. Byere Mownt [Fortified by a cannon marked 'K' on the key]
38. The new mownt
39. Waredye
40. [Very indistinct, but presumably Estenbrogh gate]
41. The fastilian'
42. The Assault [Five cannon enclosed within the area of 41 and 42]
43. Thassault
44. The frenche trenche

45. Lythe [water] Milles
46. The Myne [see also 56]
47. Newhavin [Note the large church which was the chapel of SS. Mary and James, Westmost Close, Newhaven, dating from the early sixteenth century; see *Inventory*, p. 254]
48. [The title of the map]
49. Muskelbrogh gate
50. mary kirke [St Mary's church, Kirkgate, with a lead roof; see *Inventory*, pp. 250, 251]
51. [Very indistinct, but perhaps the site of the Friary of St Anthony; see *Inventory*, p. 254. Or perhaps St Ninian's church; see *Inventory*, p. 251]
52. [Very indistinct, but probably] St Anthonyes [Hospital]
53. Mowntes lygo [Either side of this is a cannon, marked 'P' and 'Q'; another is at 'O' on the key]
54. The water of Lythe
55. The Pale [Note the bridge of four arches with two houses on it; boats are placed across the Water below the bridge; also notice the masted vessels at the mouth of the Water of Leith]
56. These round holes were foundes for the Myne [see also 46. "Found" in this sense probably means a mould for a cannon ball]
57. Cittenale [or Cittedale. With six cannon marked 'L' on the key]
58. The horse mens waule
59. Little london [Above this is an emplacement, marked 'E' on the key, of four cannon]
60. The Sea gate [defended by four cannon marked 'N' on the key]
61. The Pallesado [with two cannon marked 'M' on the key]





MAP OF THE SIEGE OF LEITH, 1560

By kind permission of F. W. Steer, Esq.

62. St Nichas chap [There are six cannon, marked 'F' on the key, on the emplacement at this corner. See *Inventory*, p. 266]
63. The west gate

The following supplementary notes draw attention to some features which may be of special interest to members of the Old Edinburgh Club. Some of the comments are based on a comparison with the sketch of Edinburgh and Leith made in 1544¹ and with the view of the siege of Edinburgh Castle in 1573.²

Edinburgh

The medieval Castle, depicted only thirteen years before most of it was swept away at and after the siege of 1573, is shown as a series of rectangular towers connected by curtain walls. It is hard to reconcile this representation either with other sketches of the period or with the archaeological evidence, and it must be regarded as a somewhat conventional impression. It does, however, convey that the Castle, as seen from the town, showed three towers—one on the site of the building containing King James's birthplace, secondly the David Tower, and thirdly the Constable's Tower (which, however, was round and not square)—and these three towers may have suggested the three-towered Castle shown in the City's arms. Behind these towers rises a church-like building, possibly St. Mary's Church, which stood on the site of the National War Memorial.

The burgh is dominated by the tower of the church of St. Giles. The artist's exaggeration of the height of the tower and spire is significant of the pre-eminence of a great church among the humbler buildings of a medieval burgh.

The Netherbow Port was at this stage of a simpler form than it took after the reconstruction it underwent in 1571.

¹ *Inventory*, Fig. 59.

² D. C. Simpson, *Edinburgh Displayed*.

The Holyrood Area

The burgh of Canongate is concealed by the Calton Hill.

At Holyrood there is a suggestion of a considerable complex of buildings south of the James IV Tower. Of the Abbey Church only the nave remained in use after the destruction wrought by the English in the 1540s, and this view indicates that the transepts and choir, of which there seems to be no trace, had already by 1560 been completely abandoned.

St. Anthony's Chapel and the adjacent "Hermitage" are shown as substantial erections, but the "Hermitage" at least was already roofless.

Restalrig

Restalrig House, the present Lochend House, was evidently a very spacious edifice, extending far to the east from the surviving remains on the crag overhanging Lochend Loch. On the other side of the Loch the dovecote was as prominent a feature of the landscape in 1560 as it is today.

In the village of Restalrig, the collegiate church is shown as possessing a large tower and spire and, in addition to the choir which still stands today, a nave and transepts for which there is little, if any, other evidence besides this map. There is some distortion in this area of the map, for the village is shown as lying to the north-east, rather than to the south-east, of Restalrig House.

Leith and its Environs

It can be clearly seen that the French stronghold was almost wholly surrounded by siege works, in the form of either trenches or artillery positions. In the area to the south and east of the town there is a continuation of the distortion already mentioned above. The trenches and siege works between Restalrig and Mount Pelham must be those on Hawkhill and the slopes to the north of it. Mount Pelham has always been identified with the mound still visible on Leith Links

and known as Lady Fyfe's Brae. Mount Somerset, if its traditional identification with the Giant's Brae on the Links is correct, is seriously misplaced on the map; the site of the Giant's Brae corresponds rather to the position where two cannon are shown close to the south-eastern bastion of Leith. However, owing to the distortion already mentioned and in view of the inaccuracy of the representation of the Leith ramparts themselves (to which reference is made below), too much reliance cannot be placed on this map. The New Mount, on the north side of the Water of Leith, is presumably to be identified with Mount Falcon, which was constructed later than Mounts Pelham and Somerset and which was visible until early in the nineteenth century.

The delineation of the ramparts of Leith differs quite considerably from the plan prepared in 1850.¹ That plan was based on remains which survived long enough to be clearly depicted on the map prepared by Captain Greenville Collins and published in 1689.

Within South Leith, the Kirkgate, the Tolbooth Wynd, Broad Wynd and the Shore are clearly indicated, showing that the sketch of the town is more than a mere conventional group of houses. The hall-like building at the northern extremity of the town, on the south side of the river-mouth, is presumably the King's Wark. It is strange that St. Mary's Church is so inadequately depicted, for the building was one with as large a ground area as the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh; it is actually shown as less conspicuous than the church of St. Anthony, and one wonders whether the artist may have confused the two. It is even stranger that in North Leith, while the church of St. Nicholas is clearly shown in the north-western angle of the fortifications, there is little, if any, evidence of the church of St. Ninian, which stood at the north end of the bridge.

¹ Printed in D. H. Robertson, *Sculptured Stones of Leith*, and J. C. Irons, *Leith and its Antiquities*.

TWO NOTABLE EPIDEMICS IN EDINBURGH AND LEITH

by

H. P. TAIT

THE two epidemics which will be dealt with in this paper were the last epidemic of bubonic plague from which the city and its adjacent port suffered, and the first of a series of outbreaks of Asiatic cholera to which they were subjected. An important point to be borne in mind regarding these two disastrous episodes in local history is that in 1645, when the last plague epidemic took place, and in 1832, when the first attack of cholera occurred, knowledge of how such infections were caused, how they were spread and other questions to which we now know the answers, was very imperfect. We therefore must not belittle the efforts of our forefathers to combat these two diseases. They tried to do as effective a job as they could in the light of their knowledge and often with considerable success.

The Plague Epidemic of 1645

Plague has been known from earliest times and it is referred to in the Old Testament as having broken out among the Philistines during operations against the Children of Israel, when the inhabitants of Ashdod were attacked with "emerods" or tumours of their secret parts—a reference to the tumours of the groins which were in fact enlarged glands and characteristic of the disease.¹ The enlarged glands became known as buboes, hence the name bubonic plague of later periods. The best known epidemic was the Black Death in the fourteenth century which caused such an appalling mortality throughout Europe.

¹ I Samuel v.

TWO NOTABLE EPIDEMICS

9

It recurred at intervals from then onwards in Scotland until 1648, when for the last time it appeared as an epidemic disease in this country, although we are familiar with its persistence in England until 1666. It was not until 1894 that the plague bacillus was discovered and in 1905 final proof was produced to show that plague was essentially a disease of rats, transmitted to human beings by the bite of infected rat fleas.

How or in what manner the infection was introduced into Edinburgh in 1645 is uncertain. That its appearance was in some way connected with the outbreak in north England seems undoubted. After Newcastle fell to the Scottish Army under Leslie on 19th October 1644, plague appeared there and was no doubt carried northwards by the forerunners of the victorious army. Edinburgh's magistrates evidently feared the importation of the disease by sea rather than land routes, for an entry in the Burgh Records of 23rd December 1644 shows that the Water Bailie of Leith was instructed to ascertain from each ship approaching Leith or Newhaven if she hailed from Newcastle or "any suspect places".¹ If such was the case, permission to berth, disembark passengers or discharge cargo was to be refused, the master of any ship breaking these regulations was to suffer death, and any inhabitant of Leith, Newhaven or Edinburgh who gave shelter to any person or received goods from such ships was to be banished the town "for evir".

The Burgh Records are silent on any regulations to prevent the entry of the disease by land unless we are to interpret one, referring mainly to the danger of Montrose's descent upon the city, as a possible dual measure. This regulation was dated 13th November 1644.

By whatever route the plague was introduced it certainly had appeared by Christmas Day 1644, for the Council "finding it expedient that one be provydit for visiting and trying all such persones as may be thoght to be visited with the conta-

¹ This and succeeding references to Edinburgh are to the appropriate volumes of *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*.

gioun. . . ." elected Dr. John Paulitius for this purpose at a salary of "fourtie pundis Scottis per mensem".

No further entries occur in the Records until March 1645, the Council being more concerned with rendering the city a bastion against the "commoun enemie exceiding insolent", a reference to Montrose, whose defeat of Argyle at Inverlochy in February was regarded as having put the city in imminent danger of assault by that successful Royalist. By 31st March, however, the plague had evidently gained a firm foothold for the holding of penny bridals and wakes was prohibited, as was the wearing of plaids since these garments were useful as a means of concealing infected individuals.

By 10th April the Council ordered the masters of the Town's College to advance the graduation ceremony and dismiss the students "till they be advertised anent the estait of the Toun and troubles of the tyme". Paulitius, on the same date, had his salary increased to eighty pounds monthly. The High School was dissolved on the 16th April, and although it was ordered to reassemble a month later it was in fact nearly a year before it did so (10th March 1646). On the 30th April the Council appointed Patrick Thomson as treasurer of the funds collected for the "supplie and help of the poor people inclosed or infected with the contagioun of the pest . . .".

So great had the task of Paulitius become by 6th June that the worthy man had his salary increased to a hundred pounds a month, but, alas, he does not seem to have enjoyed this increased emolument, for on 13th June the Council appointed "doctor George Rae physitian for visiteing the diseased or suspected of the plague". It must be assumed that Paulitius had fallen a victim to the disease he was trying to control and to treat. Rae, too, had "verie great losse of a good wyfe and familie" from the plague. It is a point of interest that in the Records for 1661, in an entry dated 30th August of that year, Rae applied to the Council for payment of what was still due to him by them for his services during the years 1645 and 1646.

In July Parliament removed to Stirling and thence to Perth, and the Court of Session likewise left the city. The common folk and some of the magistrates followed suit, but the Council took a serious view of this desertion of the city by its inhabitants and ordained on 16th July that all burgesses and indwellers of the burgh were to remain within its walls and that those who "under pretext of owtputting of their wyfis and bairnes furth of this brugh goes with their wyfis and bairnes themselfis . . ." were to return to the city within forty-eight hours of the proclamation. There is, however, no reason to believe that these seventeenth-century evacuees obeyed the decree of their magistrates.

By August the city was in the grip not only of the plague but also of a food shortage, and a small committee was appointed to devise ways and means of replenishing the city's stores. Although Edinburgh was hard hit by the famine, the plight of Leith was much worse. From all accounts it seems that the disease was now at its height for "grass grew thickly about the cross"¹ and "scarce sixty men were left capable of assisting in its defence".²

The outbreak had abated considerably by October, for on the 27th of that month the Council "Ordaines the wholl counselleris and magistratts who ar absent to repair and reside within this brugh with all diligence with certificatioun of ane rigid cours to be taken agains them . . .". But the evacuees were still afraid to return and the Council was forced on 19th November to arrange for the College to resume its activities at Linlithgow since "thair is no appearance that the people can be moved to send their children to this Toun". The College did not in fact return to Edinburgh for a considerable time and graduations did not take place in it until April 1655.

By January 1646 fresh cases of the plague had evidently

¹ Sir Daniel Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* (1891), Vol. II, p. 81.

² William Maitland, *History of Edinburgh* (1753), p. 85.

ceased to appear for the magistrates instructed all those who had hoarded goods during the epidemic to have these disinfected immediately, with the threat that if any further cases or outbreaks were traceable to these goods, the possessors would be "punished with death or utherwayis according to justice". With the reopening in April of houses from which the last infected had been removed it was feared that a further outbreak might take place, for the Council recommended on 17th April that the College should remain at Linlithgow "till it be further sein quhat event may be of the houses laitle infected . . .". Fortunately this threat did not materialise.

While plague was devastating Edinburgh, the town of Leith was suffering an even worse fate. A very full account of the effects of this epidemic and the measures taken to combat its spread are given in the *South Leith Records*.¹ Unhappily the records relating to North Leith have perished.

South Leith Parish Church Session acted as public health, social services and police authority for the particular part of the town which it served. The civic authority of the Session rested on the Water Bailie and his deputy, both members of the Session, but appointed by Edinburgh Town Council as its representatives on the Leith body. The Session-Clerk acted as the recorder of the minutes and David Aldinstone, the holder of this office during the epidemic, has left a record which must be quite unique in local medical history. Apart from a period of about a month at the very commencement of the outbreak, Aldinstone faithfully records in considerable detail the events which occurred during this, the last but most severe of all the outbreaks which Leith experienced.

The first reference to the plague in Leith was contained in an entry dated 3rd April 1645, when a woman in Yardheads and two men in another part of the town were "steekit up for feare of ye plague", and were to be provided with food during

¹ This and succeeding references to Leith are to *South Leith Records*, ed. by D. Robertson, Edinburgh, 1911.

their quarantine. No further references occur until it is suddenly announced on 19th May that "the pest brak out in our new hospital called King James his hospital . . . grupon sundrie houses were closit up". This hospital was the local poorhouse and accommodated from ten to twelve poor folk. At the same time, Aldinstone was "inclosit" in his own house until 15th June "becaus he prayed for ane Margt Gilmuir, who was suspect to have died of the pest". No interim Clerk was apparently appointed for Aldinstone left six blank pages in the minute book, doubtless hoping at a later date to fill in the details of events occurring during his quarantine. He never was able to do this, for by the time he was released from surveillance and had again begun making entries into the minute book, the plague had gained such a foothold in the town and his duties were so great that time to complete the missing entries was denied him.

Aldinstone's first entry following his release is dated 15th June 1645, and reveals that a veritable town of wooden huts or "ludges" had grown up on Leith Links. To these huts, which were constantly increasing in number, the infected and their contacts were removed. The task of the Bailies to ascertain the number of infected and to furnish the contacts with food had become so heavy that other members of the Session were appointed to help them. By 17th June it was obvious that the task of the Bailies and their colleagues was beyond them, for the Session appealed for further help, and by the 19th, after a meeting held in the Tolbooth "betwixt 5 and 6 in ye morning", the town was divided into quarters, each of which was placed in the charge of quartermasters. The huts on the Links were divided into quarters corresponding to the divisions of the town and were similarly put in the charge of quartermasters. It was the duty of these individuals to ascertain the numbers and names of new cases and of deaths, and to supervise the provision of food for necessitous cases. These arrangements were made originally to last for some five weeks. Evidently many, as in

Edinburgh, had fled the town, for on the same date we find the Session considering the question of imposing a "stent upon yose who are fled out of yis toune for ye poore".

The demand for food had become considerable, especially for those isolated on the Links, and it was decided on the same date to obtain the keys of "Peter Cochrens house in ye Links to make ane magazine house yrof to lay in beer, aill, bread and uyr necessars yrin for ye use of ye people in ye Links". But the Session finally decided on 26th June that Cochran's house was not suitable and that there should be "ane magasin hous maid of dealls". By this same date an overseer of the quartermasters for the Links had been appointed, and by 8th July, when the epidemic was almost at its height, his duties had become so arduous that he was provided with a horse to take him on his rounds. He seems also to have had considerable trouble with his quartermasters for he complains to Aldinstone that "he cannot gait up ane list of ye names and ludges in ye Linkes becaus none will go with him". He reported, however, by 12th July, that he had succeeded in dividing the huts into three "squadrons" to facilitate the supervision and distribution of food to the inmates and on 17th July handed to the Session "a paper book of paper wrytin on both sydes . . . divyding ye Ludges, who buildit ym, to qm yei appertaine, how many people were in everie Ludge". For completing this tremendous task the Session-Clerk gratefully records his appreciation of the overseer's "great pains and diligence". He appears to have succumbed within the next three days, however, for the entry dated 20th July refers to another supervisor.

The epidemic evidently reached its height during July when the whole town became plague stricken, as is revealed in a series of significant entries by Aldinstone, of which the following are samples:

1st July: Aldinstone and Alexander Hay were commissioned to provide for a new burial ground for the dead in the lodges on the Links.

3rd July: The inhabitants of Leith were prohibited to go to Edinburgh "during ye tyme of yis visitaone".

4th July: An additional storekeeper to the magazine house and a supervisor of town cleaners were appointed.

6th July: The prices for building lodges, making coffins, and similar other necessities, were controlled.

8th July: "Ordains ye cleansers . . . to goe throw ye toune orderlie without intermissione of any house and yat it be done with all expeditione becaus of ye great infectione." No coffins were henceforward to be made available save to the relatives of the dead and who could pay for them. All corpses were to be removed from houses as soon as possible "seing some lyeth long unburied".

Probably the most significant entry during this dreadful month was on the 17th when it was "Ordained to provyd some women to help to fill ye cairts (of muck and refuse)". This is obviously a reference to the shortage of able-bodied men for systematic cleansing of the town. The women were drawn mainly from those who had had the infection although some female prisoners were also employed.

By 20th July concern was being expressed by the Session at the growing shortage of food consequent upon the poor harvest. The Kirk treasurer was instructed to visit the Bailies of Musselburgh that "yei cause provyd drinke for ye use of ye publick heir in yis pnt visitaone". At the same time he was instructed to buy wood for still more huts on the Links.

On the 24th July the cleanser on the Links was instructed to kill all ownerless cattle there for the use of those isolated in the huts, while on the 26th, no further burials were permitted in the churchyard save in those cases where the deceased had contributed towards the upkeep of the sick poor. All corpses were to be buried elsewhere, and most were interred in the Links.

In August a petition was presented to Parliament by one of the Leith Bailies and a fellow-inhabitant "beseeching them out of the bowels of mercie" for relief for the stricken town. The appeal deals in detail with the conditions produced by the

plague and the famine, the plague being of such a kind "that the number of the deid exceeds the number of the leiving, and amongst them it cannot be discernit quha are clean and quha are foulle". An Act of Parliament, dated 2nd August, gave powers to the magistrates to "passe throwe all the sheriffdoms of this kingdom, or any of them, as they think fitt be south the water of Tay, to crave the helpe and supplie of ane voluntarie and charitable contributione . . .". But no evidence exists that Parliament's good intentions came to fruition.

October saw the plague abated to such an extent that the cleansing of the town became a matter of urgency. The Bailies ordered their officers on 12th October to "lay ym fast in prison who will not cary out mucke out of yis toune qo hath horse and land lying about ye same". Women were impressed into the work too and were threatened with imprisonment if they did not comply. Towards the end of this month those who had fled the town began to return but they underwent a close scrutiny before being admitted to determine whether "yei be cleane or foulle".

At last, during November, following a series of severe storms Leith was rid of the epidemic. Plague references in the minute book become less and less. The houses were cleansed, clothes and bedding disinfected or destroyed, the people themselves having also to "clege yr bodies with all expedition"; the Session ordained that "no parties sall have ye benefit of mariag till yei be cleangit", and all were forbidden to enter the church until personal disinfection had been carried out.

During outbreaks of plague, *all sickness* of whatever type had to be notified. Notification was required by "the folkis haiffand the rewle and gouernance of that house" to the Bailies or quartermasters, within twelve hours of the illness, on pain of "byrning and banesing after the forme of the awld statutes". To indicate sickness in a household it was customary to hang a white cloth from a window.

In Leith systematic visits to all parts of the town were made daily by the Bailies, their band of helpers and finally by the quartermasters, but the difficulties under which this took place were tremendous.

Sometimes when sickness was notified the whole family was locked up in their home, which was barricaded up to prevent visitors and members of the household mixing with the general population. If the patients died, the contacts were removed with all their "gear" to wooden huts or "ludges" hastily erected for the purpose in the King's Park, on the Burgh Muir and within Sheen's Walls, while in Leith they were removed to huts on the Links. The huts on the Links were apparently divided into three groups, one at Seafield, one between what is now Charlotte Street and Links Place, while the third site is unknown¹. In other cases, both sick and contacts were removed, on notification, to these sites.

The period of quarantine varied, but anything from fifteen to forty days was current practice for surveillance of contacts, although an entry in the *South Leith Records*, dated 20th July 1645, shows that the period might be considerable, for "the Bailies promised to visit ye several quarters in ye toune and to liberat yose who haith been long inclosit". The period of isolation of the sick who recovered likewise varied within wide limits.

Sick and contacts, both at home and in the huts, were provided with food daily. In Edinburgh a special committee was set up to ensure the proper distribution of food. In Leith the Bailies and quartermasters visited the segregated daily and provided each person with three half-loaves of bread and a Scotch pint of ale, with other necessities at the discretion of the distributors. At Leith Links a special storehouse was set up in charge of two storekeepers to accommodate the "beer, aill, bread and uyr necessars yrin".

Each local Incorporation of Tradesmen possessing a "box"

¹ John Russell, *The Story of Leith* (1922), p. 334.

used the contributions made to support deserving members or their dependants. Masters were often held responsible for the upkeep of their servants, and landlords for their tenants. Church collections and the property of deceased persons were also used to augment the plague funds in both Edinburgh and Leith.

Disinfection of infected houses, after removal of their occupants, and of the huts was carried out by "foul clengeris" who wore a distinctive uniform "ane joupe of blak with a St. Andrew's Cross of quhyte clayth sewit about with the sam for designing and knawing of thame be utheris".

The actual process of disinfection was done by burning whins, heather, straw and other "odoriferous" substances within the dwellings, followed by thorough washing. Special precautions were taken to prevent fire, such as had devastated Kelso in April 1645, by having "punsheens of water" beside each house as it was being disinfected. All disinfections were supervised by the Bailies, quartermasters and in Leith by the members of the Kirk Session, whose duty it was to collect any money found in the houses and to deliver it to the Bailies to augment the plague funds. After each house had been disinfected, the keys were handed over to the Bailies for safe keeping.

In Edinburgh, infected houses were systematically disinfected until all had been done, for on 16th July 1645 Bailie Andrew Simpson was appointed to supervise the official burgh cleansers and to "caus the clengeris tir the haill thack housis . . . quherin their hes bein any infectioun and to begin at . . . the west port and to caus burne the thack and strae and accordinglie to be done throw all the quarteris of the Toun". Later the cleansing of the city was in charge of John Dickeson of Potterrow, who performed his duties so well as to merit the conferring of the freedom of the city on him on 24th April 1646.

In Leith systematic attempts were also made to cleanse the town and in June 1645 intimation was made throughout that

"all and everie ane remove ye middin of mucke and dead swyne aff ye streats". Pigs were accommodated beneath the outside stairs at this period and it is interesting to know that a similar state of affairs existed two hundred years later when cholera invaded Edinburgh and Leith. Cleaners became more and more difficult to obtain in Leith and finally women and boys were forced to help in this work. Carts and horses were commandeered to remove the "mucke to ye full sea yat it may be washin away".

Leith's supplies of whins were at first sufficient to meet demands, for the Links were generously adorned with them, but by 26th July 1645 stocks became so low that further supplies had to be sought from Pilrig, Malleny, Currie and Killsith. A careful account was kept of these supplies, note being made of those who were able to pay for the "disinfectant" and those who were unable to do so.

Disinfection of clothing was carried out by boiling in large cauldrons set up at various places of isolation of the sick. Such "gear" as could not be boiled was burned or put into special kilns adjacent to the cauldrons and there subjected to the smoke and heat of burning heather and whins. In other instances, especially during the winter months, it was ordered "that any guidis . . . now in tyme of the froste, for the better suirtie and purgatioun thair of, thai lay it furth in yairds or sic commodious places to take the air of the froste, nichtlie or daylie, quhill the samyn may be jugeit furth of suspitioun". In Leith, towards the end of October 1645, when the epidemic was on the decline, and the process of town cleansing was in progress, persons of quality were directed to "resort to Bessie Cookes killn . . . and uyr of under rank to resort to ye kill in Logan's Lie".

After a death took place in a hut, the contacts were removed for a time to another hut while the first was disinfected in the usual manner. The disposal of the dead was at first carried out at night, the corpses being removed from houses and huts to the

graveyards in specially chartered carts or sledges, on each of which hung a bell "whilk sall mak warning to the people". Later, with the great increase in the number of dead and with many bodies lying for a long period before burial, removal was ordered to take place "at all times". Finally, the corpses were buried at the isolation grounds, only the bodies of exceptional persons being buried in the churchyards. In Edinburgh at least one quarry was used for interment. The graveyards used in the early days of the epidemic were Greyfriars, to which special gravediggers were appointed, and South Leith Churchyard.

Coffins were used in the early period of the epidemic, but so far as Leith was concerned, after 8th July 1645 only those who could pay for them were allowed to have their relatives buried decently. The poor who died were wrapped up in the coarse Scotch blankets in which they had lain and were buried as soon as possible.

At the termination of the Edinburgh outbreak in 1646, all the wooden huts were taken down and burned and it was ordained by the Council that "na housis be built there in that pairt thair of in na tyme comeing". In Leith "it was ordainit that all ye Ludges in ye Links sall be taken doune (except a few) and be brought in to ye church yarde for ye use of ye church to whom so ever yei appertaine".

No figures exist to give us any idea of the mortality from plague in Edinburgh during this last outbreak, but that the death rate was high is undoubted. The whole activity of the city came to a standstill, and Malcolm mentions that the proceedings of the Incorporation of Cordiners of the Canongate were so restricted that no entries exist in its minute book between 5th May 1645 and 23rd March 1646.¹

In Leith Aldinstone, who had survived the epidemic, reported on 3rd February 1646 to the Kirk Session that "the whole no in South Leith is 2421" who died, out of an estimated population exceeding 4000. In addition he estimated that there

¹ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129.

died in Restalrig 160, in Craighend 155, "the number of the whole defuncts in the whole parioch wilbe 2736."

Leith was overwhelmed with debt, her trade having been brought to a standstill, and it was many years before she regained her prosperity.

The total cost of the outbreak of 1645-46 in Edinburgh, as recorded in the abstracts of the Treasurer's accounts, amounted to £10,792, 6s. 8d.¹

The late Miss Marie Balfour drew my attention to a curious *Sermon Anent the Plague*, preached probably in late 1644 by the Rev. Archibald Skeldie. This bound pamphlet is in the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library, and extremely interesting reading it makes. The good man shows how fear of plague may be conquered and how the individual, liberated from this fear, may conduct himself as a good Christian and good citizen.

The Cholera Epidemic of 1832

Cholera, a highly infectious disease of the bowel, first came into prominence in Lower Bengal in 1817 when it was the subject of reports by Anglo-Indian physicians. It spread westward in 1829, reaching European Russia in that year, and in 1831 it entered Britain at Sunderland, where an extensive epidemic occurred. From there the disease spread especially northward, involving successively Haddington, Tranent and Musselburgh and in the latter town Dr. D. M. Moir, author of *Mansie Waugh*, was involved in the treatment of cases of the disease and has left us an account of the epidemic in Musselburgh.

A curious feature of the cholera, for all its opportunities for afflicting large sections of the population of an area, was its marked propensity for, sometimes almost exclusive selection of, the poorest and least cleanly districts, and a considerable

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642 to 1655*, p. 418.

preference for those who were poor, undernourished and of intemperate habits. These facts are of significance, for on this apparent selection much of the preventive work done was directed to the removal of filth, cleaning of dwellings, improving the nutrition of the poor, clothing them adequately, and issuing solemn warnings to the intemperate. In fact this apparent selection of the poorer folk led many medical authorities to deny the infectious nature of the disease. Final proof of its infectivity came in 1883 when Dr. Robert Koch of Berlin discovered the germ of cholera and proved that the disease was spread especially by infected water supplies.

The first distinct case which took place in Edinburgh was in a man residing in the West Bow who, after attending the funeral of a case of cholera in Musselburgh, sickened on the night of 26th-27th January 1832. This was the commencement of a prolonged outbreak of the disease in the city which extended over the next ten months, showing peak periods in April, July and October.

Measures for the prevention, control and treatment of the cholera were vested, not in local or church authorities as in the plague epidemic of 1645, but in a specially appointed local Board of Health. Unfortunately the minute books of this energetic Board have been lost, but a very complete picture of its activities may be obtained from the writings of Christison¹, Craigie², manuscript notes and papers in the Public Records Office in London and in the City Chambers, Edinburgh, and the excellent accounts in *The Scotsman* and *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. In spite of the alarm created in the city by the outbreak, business activities, the law courts, university and schools all functioned without intermission and hardly any families left

¹ Robert Christison, Account of the arrangements made by the Edinburgh Board of Health, preparatory to the arrival of cholera in that City. (*The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 38, Supplement, pp. ccliv-cclxxxviii).

² David Craigie, Observations . . . on the Epidemic Cholera, etc.; Remarks on the history and aetiology of cholera. (*The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 39, pp. 19-70; 332-377).

the city—surely a tribute to the confidence inspired by the Board's measures.

Early in August 1831 the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh appointed a small committee to watch events in Sunderland and advise the Town Council as to when a local board of health should be set up. By October, with the spread of the cholera northward, the College recommended to the Lord Provost that the time had come when such a Board of Health should be organised. Following a specially convened meeting of representative citizens a Board was constituted and held its first meeting on 4th November 1831. At first consisting of 35 individuals, including many distinguished medical men of the city, the Board was in January 1832 reduced to 27. The original Board met twice weekly after its first meeting, and the reconstituted Board appointed a standing committee of eight members pledged to meet daily during the epidemic. Both Boards tackled their tasks with commendable energy. For convenience these activities may be summarised as follows: (1) Cleansing of the streets, closes and houses of the poor; (2) Removing nuisances; (3) Feeding and clothing the necessitous; (4) Taking measures to exclude and repress the cholera; (5) Making provision for the medical care and treatment of the sick; (6) Making arrangements for the scientific study of the disease; (7) Publishing reports, posters, handbills, etc.; (8) Raising the necessary funds.

(1) This was entrusted to the cleansing department of the police, and the Commissioners of Police, 90 in number, undertook the systematic inspection of all the poorer parts of the city. This was an enormous undertaking but was executed satisfactorily; thereafter the Board issued instructions concerning the removal of filth and the cleansing of houses. Thirty extra scavengers were employed in this work and by the time cholera appeared in the city over 3,000 extra cart-loads of rubbish had been removed. The interior walls of the houses were white-washed, and following this procedure a small allowance of

coal was delivered to the poorest families, on certification of need by the Commissioners, to help drying. Part of the outlay was defrayed by free gifts of lime and by employers giving the services of employees without making any charge to the Board's expenses.

(2) Four main nuisances were encountered. The first was the keeping of pigs in dwelling-houses by the "lower Irish". This feature of city life has already been noticed in the account of the plague epidemic of 1645. By the energetic work of the police, dwelling-house pigs were completely eliminated before the cholera struck the city. The second nuisance was the accumulation of dung in stables and mews-lanes. These accumulations were regarded as private property and fetched high prices when sold to neighbouring farmers. But by dint of constant pressure on the owners of these dung heaps and the activities of the police, they were removed every second day, failure to do so incurring a heavy penalty on the owners. The third nuisance was an extensive tanyard in the West Port where there was a large collection of horse flesh and other animal remains from which a horrible smell emanated. The help of the Sheriff was sought to help to abate this nuisance and some improvement was brought about in the yard. The fourth nuisance was caused by the drains of the Old Town opening into a great open sewer which meandered through a flat of nearly two miles in length eastwards to the sea, under the name of the Tummel-Burn. Further down stream this sewer opened on to meadows which were upwards of a mile and a half long and anything from 300 yards to a mile in breadth. The commanding officer of Piershill Barracks petitioned the Government about the proximity of this stagnant filth to his base, and the Board tried to do what it could to abate the nuisance, but all without success. Christison did not understate the situation when he wrote, "it is obviously too monstrous an annoyance to be allowed to exist in the close vicinity to a great city".

These two great sanitary measures, at first tackled with energy and much success before the cholera erupted in the city, seem to have been relaxed when the disease gained a foothold, for at the peak of the second wave in July 1832, *The Scotsman* appealed for a re-inspection of the city for cleanliness "to check the progress of the pestilence".¹ However, the revelations of the sanitary condition of the city made by the Board's work set in motion a sanitary reform movement which eventually led to the appointment in 1862 of the city's first medical officer of health, Dr. (later Sir) Henry Duncan Littlejohn.

(3) Measures for supplying these needs were in the efficient hands of Mr. Small, a magistrate, assisted by a small committee. The first soup kitchen to be opened was in the heart of the city, on 31st December 1831, and it was augmented later by seven others in different parts of the town. Applicants for this charity were admitted on production of certificates signed by district medical officers, church elders or other responsible persons, and countersigned by Commissioners of Police. This service was an expensive one in spite of generous donations of coal, meat and vegetables made by public-spirited citizens. The kitchens performed their useful function during the earlier part of the epidemic but were closed down in April 1832. *The Scotsman*, fearing a return of the cholera during that winter, pleaded for their reopening and one was started but under different auspices.²

Mr. Small's committee was also responsible for the distribution of clothing, blankets and footwear to the needy. Issue was again by certificate countersigned by one of the Commissioners of Police. This issue of clothing, begun in November 1831 almost immediately the Board was instituted, had by 16th February met the needs of more than 12,000 persons. Despite generous help from wealthier citizens, the cost of this service was high, as blankets, flannels, stockings and shoes had all to be purchased. Nevertheless, the Board adhered

¹ *The Scotsman*, 7th July 1832.

² *Ibid.* 1st December 1832.

to the view that this was a most necessary service, and to prepare the clothing for issue the small committee responsible employed a staff of 113 women to sew garments, nine tailors to mend old clothes, eight inspectors of petitions, seven collectors of old clothes, and three "stampers", as each article was stamped "Board of Health" to prevent improper disposal.

(4) When cholera had reached Musselburgh in mid-January 1832, police were stationed at the city approaches to prevent vagrants from infected areas entering the city, but this measure soon failed and was abandoned. Instead, the Board opened a house of refuge to accommodate and control vagrants who at one time numbered 120 of both sexes. Handbills were freely distributed to the inhabitants of the city drawing attention to the dangers attendant on visiting neighbouring infected districts, but risks were taken and the inevitable happened.

The Board regarded speedy removal of actual or suspected cases to hospital as a main means of controlling the disease and the citizens were advised of this by reports, posters and leaflets, while the medical men were urged to recommend removal of such cases. The Board also seriously considered introducing measures to secure the compulsory removal of cases to hospital but finally abandoned the idea. Family contacts of the earlier cases were removed to suitable reception houses where they were kept under observation for from eight to ten days before being returned to their homes. As the epidemic increased, however, this had to be given up as accommodation for such purposes was limited. After removal of case and contacts, each house was cleaned, lime-washed, ventilated and dried. Dirty and useless clothing was destroyed throughout the whole epidemic and its loss made good from the Board's clothing store, while serviceable clothing and linen were disinfected by a variety of means.

On a death from cholera taking place at home where the family were destitute, the treasurer of the parish was informed

and was required to send a cere-cloth to wrap around the corpse prior to its burial, for which also the treasurer was responsible. The bodies of patients dying in hospital were washed with chloride of lime solution and wrapped in tar-impregnated sacks before burial. The Board issued frequent warnings to avoid crowding at funerals or entering houses where the bodies of cholera victims were lying.

(5) In October 1831 the medical fraternity of the city formed an association voluntarily to organise a system of medical care should the disease attack the city. The Board on its formation in November sought the help of this association, and by agreement with it the city was divided into 30 districts, each in charge of a group of doctors who were allowed to arrange among themselves the distribution of work. Other members of the association not attached to any particular district group offered their services in areas where the need might arise. There is no evidence that these arrangements worked other than well. The Board also established eleven depots in various parts of the city and staffed them day and night during the epidemic with apothecaries to prepare the doctors' prescriptions, receive reports of new cases and give such advice as was called for prior to the doctor's arrival. To these depots the district medical men reported daily during the outbreak to receive information about new cases. At each depot there were also two attendants with a litter for transferring patients from their homes to the hospitals. These arrangements must have worked very well if we are to judge from the appreciation expressed by the Town Council and local papers at the end of the epidemic. It is also worthy of note that the services of these medical men during the outbreak were given *gratis*.

The managers of the Royal Infirmary very wisely decided that in the event of an outbreak of cholera in the city cases of that disease would not be admitted to the hospital. Accordingly, the Board of Health procured three hospitals and fitted them up just before the first cases occurred. These hospitals

were situated at Queensberry House, the old Hall of the Royal College of Surgeons in Drummond Street, and on Castlehill. The public were invited to inspect these hospitals, but little time was given for this before they were in full use. Later, as the epidemic spread, a fourth hospital in Fountainbridge was opened.

Senior medical students were employed as resident physicians at these hospitals and paid a half-guinea daily. On 3rd March 1832, in view of a rumour that the Board removed patients compulsorily and often forcibly to hospital, bills were posted around the city informing the public that there was no such compulsion but emphasising the dangers attendant on trying to treat cases at home. On 17th March *The Scotsman* reported that riots had taken place near one of the hospitals, the mob alleging that the doctors took patients into the hospitals "to try experiments on them"; and again on 28th April another riot was reported in which the cry arose of "Kill the doctors, nae Board o' Health". But the Board pressed on in its endeavours.

(6) With views differing sharply on the contagiousness of cholera, the Board endeavoured to settle the problem and circulated all doctors in the city drawing their attention to the desirability of such an investigation. It seems that, for the most part, the doctors carried out their obligations in this respect as is evident from the information published by the Board in *The Scotsman* and *Evening Courant*, in which details of the location of new cases were regularly given. The Board also prepared and used a large map of the city on which each new case was located as it was notified.

(7) The first report of the original Board was issued on 16th November 1831 and 21,500 copies were distributed. It dealt with the need for cleanliness and sobriety, the various remedies with which the citizens were recommended to provide themselves for emergency use, and the great necessity of notifying immediately to the Clerk of the Board any suspicious cases.

Every medical man was warned that he was expected to send to the Clerk "every morning before half past nine, a report of each new case, death or recovery"—specifying name, age, exact residence, employment, dates of seizure, death or recovery. In addition, after the epidemic broke out, the doctors were required to send in periodically written details of all the cases they attended. A surgeon who did not report a case and also refused to do so was fined £5 on 5th May 1832.

The second report was issued on 26th January, the day before the first case occurred. It gave details of the location of eleven depots and of the three special cholera hospitals. The Board also assured the general public that it would furnish them regularly, through the local press, with accurate information respecting the extent of any outbreak and the district involved. It cautioned newspaper editors against publishing unauthorised statements calculated to increase public alarm. Over 7,500 copies of this pamphlet were distributed. Two days later the regular reports of cases had begun and continued without interruption until 15th December 1832.

The respected Dr. John Abercrombie published, at the request of the Board, a pamphlet containing suggestions for the medical practitioners of Edinburgh on the diagnosis and treatment of cholera, a pamphlet based on information he gathered from colleagues in Sunderland, Newcastle and Haddington.

(8) In November 1831 the magistrates and church authorities arranged for a collection in all the churches to raise funds for putting into effect some of the early hygienic measures already mentioned which the Board considered necessary, even although the cholera had not yet reached the city. With the disease approaching the city in early January 1832, the Board pushed ahead with all the necessary preparations against its arrival. Various plans were put forward including an assessment on the city but this was refused by the Government. A voluntary subscription fund was therefore opened and this, with a further church collection, realised almost £8,000.

Later an assessment was laid upon the city. The following is an Abstract of Expenditure of the Board, released in July 1833 :

*Voluntary Contributions**Receipts*

Church Collections, February 1832	£1,579	2	5
Parochial Contributions paid to elders and others	4,052	4	2
Private Subscriptions paid to Treasurer	1,240	17	11
Subscriptions from Banks, etc.	1,040	9	6
Balance of Interest from Bankers	1	9	5
	<hr/>		
	£7,914	3	5

Expenditure

Soup Kitchens	£5,186	9	2
Clothing, etc.	2,202	5	0
House of Refuge	525	9	3
	<hr/>		
	£7,914	3	5

*Expenditure of Board for Objects authorised
by Order of the Privy Council*

Four Cholera Hospitals	£5,722	19	6
House of Refuge	475	13	10
Various Hospital Accounts	330	2	9
Medical Attendants	1,328	3	6
Medicines	557	12	2
Whitewashing	846	6	8
General Expenditure	1,007	12	6
Advertising)			
Stationery)	335	7	1
Printing, etc.)			
Police	753	4	5
	<hr/>		
	£11,357	2	5

The sum against medical attendants covers the payments made to medical students, apothecaries and others employed by the Board, for, as previously indicated, the services of the doctors were given free.

In all then, almost £19,000 were required by the Board in its remarkably successful attempt to combat the prolonged outbreak of cholera in Edinburgh in 1832. The same Board was functioning during the shorter but none the less sharp outbreak of 1833-34. It is probable that the Board was finally dissolved after the latter epidemic.

From the 27th January when the first case occurred until the middle of December of the same year when the last cases were discharged, 1,886 persons were stricken, and of these 821 recovered and 1,065 died, a very considerable mortality.

Leith suffered from a similar epidemic at the same time as Edinburgh. A Board of Health was established in the town also in November 1831, and pursued an enlightened policy along very similar lines to those adopted by the Edinburgh Board. The first case occurred in Leith on 26th January 1832, the patient being a shoemaker who had attended the funeral of two cholera victims at Musselburgh. He was stated to be of "infirm health and irregular and intemperate habits". The epidemic thus started continued as in Edinburgh until October, when the secretary of the Leith Board of Health received a certificate from the medical members stating "that the malignant cholera which for some weeks past has been gradually and steadily on the decrease, does not now exist as an epidemic in this place".

There were 431 cases, with 267 deaths and 164 recoveries, again a preponderance of fatalities over recoveries.

It was during this epidemic in Leith that one of her general practitioners, Thomas Aitchison Latta, introduced the life-saving measure of transfusing into the veins of cholera victims infusions of physiological salt solution. This pioneer discovery by Latta still forms the basis of the modern treatment of severe cases of cholera.

SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS

by

FRANCIS BAMFORD

PERHAPS the most remarkable fact connected with old Scottish furniture is that so few people seem ever to have evinced any interest in it. It is, however, a persistent and characteristic trait among the Scots that, while paying determined lip-service to the glories of their country's past, they leave almost unexplored whole areas of information which might throw new light upon the achievements of their forebears. The present paper does not attempt to remedy this gap in our knowledge but is, rather, a pointer to those who, with more leisure on their hands than the present writer, might undertake a detailed investigation of the whole field of Scottish furniture and its makers. I hope to do no more than show how, just as a letter left unanswered for a sufficient length of time is said to provide its own reply, a question I raised without obtaining any constructive reply was partially settled for me after twenty years; and to this account I have added various other pieces of related information which have come to my notice since that time.

It was in 1935 when Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell and I were collecting material for our book on Edinburgh, that I first attempted to discover the identities of the men who created or supplied the furnishings for the New Town of Edinburgh when that was first built. Whether I put the question to the curators of museums, to the more knowledgeable among the city's professional antiquarians or to such of the amateur *cognoscenti* as were then among my acquaintance, the replies I received were depressingly similar. I was told that the men I sought had never existed: most of the furniture for the New Town had been bought in London, though some, it was grudg-

SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS 33

ingly admitted, might have been purchased in Glasgow. No single one among my informants was prepared to consider the possibility of there having been tradesmen in Edinburgh during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries capable of producing fine furniture. Nevertheless their unanimity on this point failed to convince me.

That they had never heard of any individual furniture-maker of the period did not satisfy me. Remembering the beauty created by the eighteenth-century silversmiths of Edinburgh, the meticulous perfection achieved by the greatest of the city's bookbinders, I could not believe that the Scottish capital, possessing such masters of their crafts in these particular callings, had been incapable of producing at least one cabinet-maker worthy and willing to meet the challenge presented to him and his kind by the projected building of the New Town. After all, there had been no lack of architects.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary for me to dwell upon the creation of the New Town, but I sometimes feel that we forget what an extraordinary phenomenon this was at the time it took place. Although this exodus from the Old Town to the New bears some resemblance to the slum clearances of our own age, there were a number of profound differences. No official influence was brought to bear upon anyone who preferred to remain in their familiar surroundings; and those who first chose to translate themselves and their families to the new terraces and vistaed streets rising in the fields beyond the Nor' Loch were, for the most part, men of rank and position and their imitators among the professional classes. In every case the decision to move represented a break with a way of life, an attitude of mind, which had been imposed upon the inhabitants throughout the centuries by the restricted size of their town. Even the defection of those who had moved to London after the union of the parliaments had made curiously little difference to those who remained; but now, as memories of the "Forty-five" began to fade and a new and heartening sense

of security became, however reluctant many may have been to admit it, an accepted part of the Scottish scene, the men and women of Edinburgh took a fresh and appraising look at the narrow closes and tall and crowded lands which had sheltered them and their kind for so long. Many began to realise how difficult it was, in an age increasingly aware of the merits of Taste and Sensibility, to achieve even the most superficial acquaintance with these ideals in the close and overwhelmingly democratic atmosphere of this town of tenements. Those who could afford to do so went to seek a feu beyond the Nor' Loch.

Their decision once taken, there can be little doubt that the styles of the new houses appealed to the good people of Edinburgh. Nothing could have been more different to the homes they planned to leave. As classically inspired as is Scots law, balanced, light and unpretentious but possessing a sober dignity of their own, the rooms of these houses cried out for furniture of a very different kind to those sparse pieces which had served to make the Old Town lodgings meagrely habitable. It is inconceivable that the citizens of Edinburgh would be content to choose the new furniture for their new homes from the illustrated catalogue of some thrusting tradesman, nor did it appear likely that many of them would care to make the tiresome and expensive visit to London for the purpose. Such important decisions were not to be taken lightly. The prospective buyers would need to browse at leisure among examples of various contemporary styles. They would wish to assess by practical experiment the comfort of this or that chair, the elegance of a couch, the usefulness of a table. No final choice would be made until, after close examination and much comparison of prices and pieces, by discussion out of acrimony or boredom, their decision would be made. All of which, it seemed to me, pointed to the certainty that there had been in Edinburgh at that time at least one shop, and probably more, where large stocks of furniture and materials were constantly on view.

Twenty years were to pass before I found that I had been right in my surmise. I have told elsewhere¹ the story of how, among the family papers belonging to Mrs. Home-Robertson of Wedderburn and Paxton, I discovered the receipted accounts for the furniture supplied to Mr. George Home of Paxton in 1814-15 for the picture gallery and library he had lately added to his home. This furniture had come from Mr. William Trotter's shop at No. 5 Princes Street, and as, with the exception of one piece, all those listed in the accounts are still in the house, it was possible to appreciate at once and without any difficulty the very characteristic style imposed by Trotter and his designers upon the prevailing Regency designs so fashionable at that period (Plate II). Trotter, with a shrewd eye upon his customers and with an intimate knowledge of the houses into which much of his output would be going, clearly preferred an appearance of dignity to the elegance sought after by the London makers. Nothing could have been more suitable than this to complete the domestic background of those fortunate people who sat for their portraits to Henry Raeburn in his studio in York Place.

Trotter was, I found, much more than a furniture-maker. Twice Lord Provost of Edinburgh during the great period when the likeness of the New Town was being imposed upon much of the Old, he was to prove the most unyielding opponent to Lord Cockburn in the latter's fight to preserve the south side of Princes Street from being built up. Since Trotter's shop was situated where the North British Hotel now stands, and his workshops occupied the site of the present Waverley Market, it is not improbable that he had hoped to extend his sphere of influence westward from there.

The more I saw of Trotter's furniture, identifying as his many pieces in private houses as well as in such buildings as the Register House and the Signet Library, the more I became convinced that the high standard of craftsmanship achieved

¹ *Trotter of Edinburgh, in Scotland's Magazine, March 1956.*

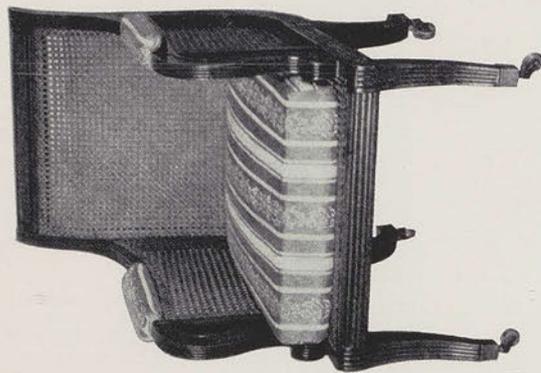
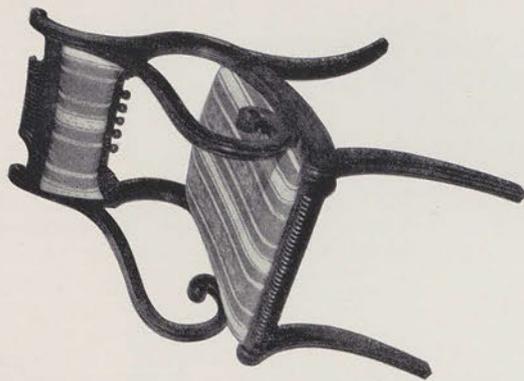
by himself and his employees pointed to there having been a long and well-established tradition of fine furniture-making in Edinburgh. Although the firm of Young and Trotter, upholsterers, had been settled in the Luckenbooths at least as early as 1774-75, I was certain that there must be records of furniture-makers in the city over a much longer period.

It is clear from the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer and from the Master of Works Accounts that, from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, much of the royal furniture was probably made in Edinburgh. The restoration of Charles II was to bring about in England a second renaissance of the arts. It was as though, through all the years of puritanical rule, artists and writers and architects had been waiting and working, perfecting their techniques, for the moment when the encircling gloom should be dispersed by the rising sun of restored royalty and princely patronage. But none in Scotland could remember a time when artistic genius and creative aspirations had not been foredoomed to extinction under presbyterian disapproval. Thus it is scarcely surprising that many Scots became convinced that anything offered to them by their own countrymen must be inferior in some way to the services provided by their English counterparts. To quote only two instances of this, let us recall how that great Scotsman, Sir John Lauder (afterwards Lord Fountainhall) wrote upon the day he returned to his native country in 1667 after making the Grand Tour of Europe :

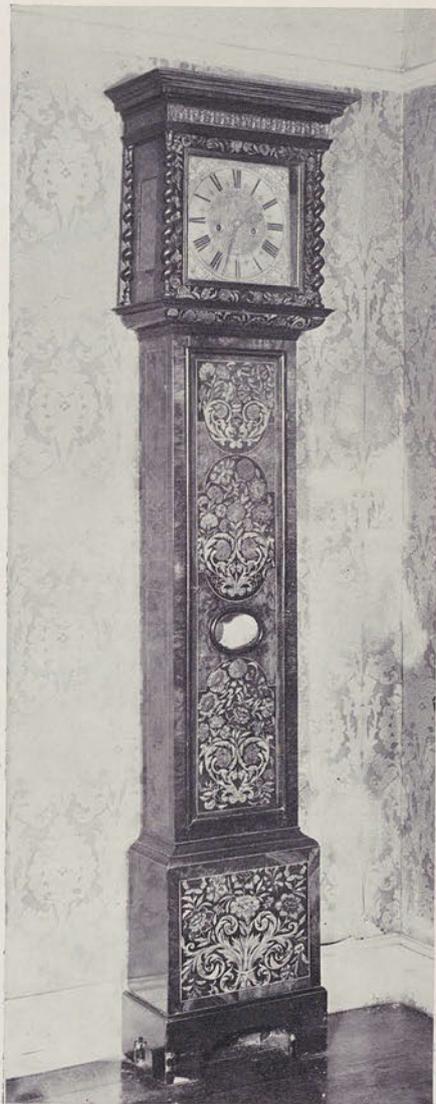
At lenth we . . . crossed the Tuede in boate just forgainst the toune [Kelso] which beyond compare has the pleasantest situation of ever any toune I yet saw in Scotland . . . Lodged at Charles Pots ; found a sensible decay of service by that a man has in England.¹

Again, just ten years later, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, writing to his agent in Edinburgh when his young daughter had begun to learn music, said :

¹ Lauder, Sir John, Lord Fountainhall, *Journal of a Foreign Tour in 1665 and 1666 etc.* Ed. by D. Crawford (Scottish History Society), p. 179.



CHAIRS BY WILLIAM TROTTER AT PAXTON HOUSE
From a photo by Michael Coe, Killiecrankie



CLOCK BY PAUL ROUMIEU, JUNIOR
 From a block kindly given by Gordon Small, Esq.

SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS 37

If I fynd Maggie ane extraordinar player on the virginellis, she sall have an pair of the best harpsecordis that England can afford.¹

By that time, however, there was no need for the Scots to cross the border into England to buy good furniture. In 1680 Sir John Foulis of Ravelston recorded in his account book that he had given "to my wife to pay Bailie Drummond's count . . . and for to buy a pair of virginalls £258"²; and, almost exactly a year later, he notes a charge of £2, 16s. 0d. to the man who "mended the virginalls"³. It seems probable that Drummond would not himself have built the virginals, for he appears to have been more of an *entrepreneur*, a man prepared to deal in any description of goods which would bring him a profit, but it is reasonable to suppose that the instruments he supplied to the Foulis were Edinburgh made. In any case we know that George Drummond was a man of taste for, in 1679, he had presented to the town a gift of four swans for the embellishment of the Nor' Loch.⁴ This imaginative gesture suggests that the goods he displayed to his clients will have been chosen by him with an eye to their decorative qualities.

Sir John Foulis' account books record other small purchases of furniture. "A bairns wand chair"⁵ was bought in 1680 and, a year later, a Mrs. Poog was paid £13 for a bedstead. It was in 1703, however, that his meticulous records reveal for the first time the name of a sound maker of furniture in Edinburgh. They contain the following notes :

Feb. 1.	To Mr. Mowbray in arles ⁶ for 6 armed kain chairs at 16 sh. 6d. sterl. p. piece, and 10 chairs without armes at 6s. 8d. sterl. p. piece	3 0 0
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¹ *Thanes of Cawdor* (Spalding Club), p. 338.
² Foulis of Ravelston, Sir John, *Account Book, 1671-1707*. Ed. by Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen (Scottish History Society), p. 46.
³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.
⁴ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1665 to 1680*, pp. 298-9.
⁵ A child's cane chair.
⁶ On account.

To Mr. Moubray againe in part payment for the chairs, amounting the pryce thereof to 100 lib.	24	0	0
To his men to drink	7	0	
3. To Mr. Mowbray in compleat payment for the 10 chairs without armes and 6 with armes, with the 27 lib. he got formerlie, wch makes 100 lib. for both	73	0	0
He has got back on(e) of the 10 without arms to make other 8 be. ¹			

This second order for chairs was not completed until 6th December 1705, when Sir John Foulis noted that he had "payed to Thomas Moubray in the Bow for 18 kane chairs and all precidings, £51, 2s. 0d."²

Lady Grizel Baillie's Household Book shows that she also patronised Mr. Mowbray in the West Bow. Contrary to the assertion made by the late Miss Margaret Jourdain in her brochure on furniture in the series, *Scottish Enterprise*, that Lady Grizel always bought her furniture in London, her Household Book contains a number of references to furniture purchased while she was in residence at Mellerstain, and the prices paid are noted in pounds Scots. Though only the last of these entries mentions Mr. Mowbray, it seems reasonable to suppose that many of these purchases will have been made at his shop.

These items, now gathered together, give some indication of the kind of furniture then obtainable in Edinburgh.

		Scots.		
		£	s.	d.
1696	For 6 Dutch wand chairs	19	16	0
	For the Japan table stands and glas	120	0	0
	For 6 chairs at 16s. the pice	49	12	0 [sic]
1703	For a black couch with canvis botom	9	0	0
	For a black arme rush chair	3	12	0

¹ Foulis of Ravelston, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

² *Ibid.*, p. 412.

	For a rush botomd eassi chair	4	4	0
	For 2 low rush chairs	4	16	0
	For a big bufft eassi chair with cushion	18	0	0
	For a walnut tree footstool and buffing	4	16	0
	For two rush foot stools	3	0	0
Aug. 15th	For houshold furniture from Moubra in full of all accompts according to his account and discharge	107	0	0 ¹

It is with regret that I have to confess that, despite the kind assistance given to me by Lord Haddington and Mr. Wilson, the curator at Mellerstain, it has not been possible to identify with absolute certainty any of the above-mentioned pieces with those now in the house. There are, however, two fine examples of a cabinet-maker's craft elsewhere which could quite well have come from Thomas Mowbray's workshop in the West Bow.

These are two almost identical marquetry cases of the "grandfather" variety, each containing a time-piece signed on the dial by Paul Roumieu—thought to be Paul junior, who flourished in Edinburgh from 1682 to 1712. One forms an illustration in John Smith's *Old Scottish Clockmakers*.² Our antiquarian experts, as ever reluctant to concede that any piece of good furniture might have originated in Scotland, have said that this marquetry case must have been made in London. I would, albeit with the utmost respect, have disagreed with this opinion at any time, because it seems to me that these experts have forgotten the physical difficulties, the infinite delays in communications, which then bedevilled all attempts at co-operation between people in London and others in Edinburgh, whether they were tradesmen or politicians. It is most unlikely that this fine craftsman would have been

¹ Baillie, Lady Grizel, *The Household Book, 1692-1733*. Ed. by E. R. Scott-Moncrieff (Scottish History Society), p. 177, etc.

² Facing p. 166.

content to bespeak English-made cases to house his time-pieces. Settled, as Roumieu senior is said to have been, in the Clockmaker's Land in the West Bow, it would have been so much more satisfactory for him to order a clock case from his neighbour, Mowbray, in whose workshops he might watch its progress and make any suggestions which seemed to him necessary. It could be of some significance that Mowbray's customer, Sir John Foulis, went to Roumieu whenever he needed a new glass for his watch or when its halting mechanism had to be "helped". Between 1680 and 1705 there are no less than nine entries referring to Paul Roumieu and his son.

The second Roumieu clock (Plate III) is an even finer example of craftsmanship, since it has not suffered the damage which necessitated the replacement of part of the inlaid case of the other clock by a panel of plain wood. Shown by Mr. Gordon Small at the Scottish Antique Dealers' Fair, 1964, this second clock was for many years in the possession of successive members of the Davidson family of Muirhouse, near Edinburgh. It had probably been bought by William Davidson, the wealthy Rotterdam merchant who purchased the estate of Muirhouse on his retirement. A man of sufficient taste and acumen to commission Sir Joshua Reynolds to paint his portrait and that of his only child,¹ William Davidson would have appreciated the outstanding quality of this time-piece and been attracted to it by its kinship with the Dutch marquetry furniture to which he had for long been accustomed.²

Another Edinburgh clockmaker of the period, Thomas Gordon (1688-1743),³ also housed his clocks in fine marquetry cases; Smith illustrates one,⁴ and another recently appeared in an English saleroom.

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, 1794. It was in consequence of the death of his daughter in 1767 that Mr. Davidson left his large fortune to his nephew, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Randall, who assumed the name of Davidson and was the forebear of the late Lord Davidson of Lambeth, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.

² This clock is now in the National Museum of Antiquities.

³ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-7.

⁴ Facing p. 166.

Paul Roumieu senior, although himself a member of the Incorporation of Hammermen, was to play a role of some importance in the history of Edinburgh's furniture-makers. During the eight years which preceded the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he had become an established and respected figure in Edinburgh; and he was able to assist in many ways those of his countrymen and co-religionists who fled from France to seek in Scotland freedom in which to worship God in their own way. In 1686 he and Peter Pittit, sail-maker, petitioned the Town Council for the repayment of the sum of £218, 19s. 10d., expended by them upon the repair of Lady Yester's Church when that building was placed at the disposal of the newly formed French congregation, of which Paul Roumieu and Pittit were both elders.¹ Two French Protestants were at this time licensed as jappanners and gilders on condition that they instructed burgesses' sons as their apprentices; and in 1692 Jean Montgomery was granted permission to make use, for two years, of "severall commendable and virtuous airts as Jappanning shewing and making new dresses".²

The paternal care with which the Town Council constantly guarded the interests of the citizens is reflected in many entries in the burgh records; and we would quote two instances from this period, both of which will have affected Thomas Mowbray. The first is also of interest in that it gives some indication of the way in which the benefits of the Grand Tour were made available to those stay-at-home Scots who yet wished to acquire pictures for their walls and a reputation for culture among their fellows. In 1700 Kenneth Smith, servitor to the Duke of Queensberry and a painter, petitioned the Town Council that, having been

"commissionat by some noblemen and others to bring home some pictures and frames for staircaices, chambers and closets. And there

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1681 to 1689*, p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, 1689 to 1701, p. 88.

being severalls of them left in the petitioners hands indisposed of" he might be allowed to dispose of these by public auction.¹

The Council, weighing the temporary financial embarrassment of Mr. Smith against the long-term interest of the wrights, granted the petition on condition that he did not import any frames in the future, the local tradesmen being fully able to provide these. Again, in the following year, the Council found it necessary to rule that "Noe wrights living in the [West] bow be allowed to worke wher ther is any fyre or candle light under the penalty of £20 *toties quoties*",² and authorised the Dean of Guild to visit all the shops and houses in the area to see that the regulation was being observed.

Any study of furniture-makers in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century must be dominated by the dark, yet furtive, figure of William Brodie, Dean of the Incorporation of Wrights and convicted thief. Through the continuing interest bestowed upon this man's extraordinary career we know of a few more names in the long, but all too often anonymous, succession of craftsmen in the town. Before Thomas Mowbray died in the West Bow in 1714,³ Henry Antonius was practising his trade and, in 1723, his son, John, was admitted a Guild Brother in the Incorporation by right of his father. Twelve years later, on 15th October 1735, Francis Brodie was admitted a burghess, having served his apprenticeship as a wright with John Antonius.

Rather surprisingly—or so it appears to me—many people have expressed astonishment that William Brodie, most notorious of all Edinburgh criminals, should have come of good legal stock, both his grandfathers being Writers to the Signet; yet we can but feel that the Brodie Family Bible, from which the Deacon's name was so quickly and scrupulously

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1689 to 1701*, p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, p. 294.

³ *Edinburgh Testaments*. His will was proved 15th April 1714.

removed by shamed relations, contains in its laudatory references to other members of the family, indications as to what may have proved some of the formative influences in his character. There is that faintly equivocal tribute to the Deacon's paternal grandfather, Ludovic Brodie, in which it is said that he "bore a very fair character", and of his father, Francis, the Deacon's sister was to write that, among other excellent qualities, he was "an indulgent parent". It is also, perhaps, of some significance to note that successive generations of Brodies regarded it as a measure of high praise to say of their deceased relatives that they were "religious without ostentation". It is possible that, had they been rather less indulgent to their children and more ostentatious in their religion, the Deacon might have proved a different, and a better, man.

It is not my intention to discuss the Deacon's decline and fall, the story of which was definitively treated by the late William Routhead, W.S., in the *Trial of Deacon Brodie* in *Notable Scottish Trials* (Hodge & Co., 1905); but to touch upon certain aspects of the cabinet-making activities of Francis and William Brodie. Their place of business was in Brodie's Close, on the south side of the Lawnmarket, one of those steep throwgangs which ran down to the Cowgate. Their shop and house were swept away to make way for Victoria Terrace, while their workshops and lint factory stood upon the ground now covered by the lowest floor of the public library.

In the National Museum of Antiquities in Queen Street is preserved an account rendered by Francis Brodie to a Mrs. Betty Gordon in 1749. The bill-head (Plate IV) contains the following information:

At Brodie's Looking Glass and Cabinet Warehouse the 2d Closs above the Old Bank, Lawne Mercat, South Side of the Street, ready made and to be sold, Variety of Furniture in the neatest and most fashionable Manner with Picture and Glass Frames carved and Gilded, as also House Carpenter and Joiner work done by the best

44 SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS

men. Funeral, Black Cloth & Sconces for hanging Rooms furnished at the lowest Rates, Coach & Chair Glasses Sold.

N.B. The Looking Glasses &c. being Manufactured by my Self will be sold with a reasonable discount for Ready Money.

The pieces of furniture purchased by Mrs. Gordon in March and April, 1749, were by any standards most reasonably priced.

To a Mahogany Desk	£4 10 0
To an Amboina wood Tea Chest	1 0 0
To packing Ditto in Matts	1 2
To a Mahogany Dining Table, 3 foot 6 inches long	1 16 0
To Do. 2 foot 10 inch long	1 8 4

By 1754 Francis Brodie was well-established in business, but in that year he found his position threatened by the incursion to the trade of a rival firm who took advertising space in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 27th May 1754. This announced :

That the New Company, called the Edinburgh Upholstery, Joiner and Mirror Glass Company, have now fitted up a large commodious Warehouse in Carrubber's Close and furnished it completely with great variety of all kinds of Houshold Furniture, after the newest Fashions in Mahogany, Rose-wood, Red Saunders, Pigeon-wood, Walnut-Tree and other fashionable Woods, Also a neat Assortment of second Furniture of Wainscot, Elm, Beech, Sycamore tree and other useful plain Woods, viz. Desks, ditto with Book-Cases, Chests of Drawers of various Sizes, Bureaus, square, oval and round Dining Tables, Writing, Dressing and Card Tables, Breakfast, Camp and Commode Tables, Bed Tables, and Night Tables, great Choice of Chairs of all Sorts, Couches, Sofas, &c., Stools for dressing, Library, Closet, Camp, &c. . . . Bed-steads of all Sorts, neat Book Shelves, China Shelves, Brackets, and several other kinds of useful and ornamental Furniture never executed in this Place before, whereof Sketches, elegantly drawn, may be seen. . . .

A great Variety of Paper for hanging Rooms of entire new Patterns, a large Assortment of curious India Paper, and a new sort of English gilt India ditto for Hangings, Screens, &c. . . .

SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS 45

Upholstery and other Furniture in general well executed after the English, French, Chinese or Gothic Tastes. . . .

Funerals decently performed, in the most Elegant Manner, with all accustomed Formalios, black Rooms, Escutcheons, Silver and Mirror Sconces, Tapers and Silver Stands, Mutes, &c., or in the most frugal Manner, on the lowest Terms.

Great care will be taken to preserve Order and good Decorum, and to prevent the Employer having unnecessary Trouble and Expence.

Francis Brodie met this challenge by announcing a sale of :

Looking-Glasses, Cabinet and Chair Work, &c. . . . The selling price is on each particular, and as the Sale is for Ready Money, a very considerable Discount will be given during the Continuance of this [Sale].

Variety of Dutch Chimney Tyles to be sold at the very lowest prices, the white at 15d. per dozen and the rest in Proportion.

N.B. Funerals and Joiner Work done as well, and at as reasonable Rates, as can be by any other in or about this City.

Incorporated in this advertisement is a crude woodcut of a man's head, a copy of the sign which was to swing for more than thirty years above the uncomprehending heads of the passers-by and which enabled the Brodies to describe their place of business as being situated "at Palladio's Head in the Lawn Market". That Francis Brodie should have chosen to place his shop under the patronage, as it were, of the great Italian architect who may be regarded as the father of the neo-classical style suggests that he must have realised the potentialities possessed by Edinburgh as the site of a town formed on the Roman principles of grandeur coupled with simplicity. This choice, when considered with the probability that it was he who bought the large painting by Alexander Runciman of the *Adoration of the Wise Men*, which Chambers, in his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, tells us used to hang in the principal apartment of the Brodie house, confirms the evidence supplied by his handwriting that Francis Brodie was a man of education

and considerable artistic discernment. Certainly he deserves that we should remember him not so much as the father of the notorious deacon but rather as a worthy citizen of Edinburgh who foresaw the eventual creation of that Athens of the North which, all too soon it would seem, will be overshadowed, if not entirely submerged, by the pretentious vulgarities, sponsored alike by university and city authorities, which appear destined to earn for Edinburgh the squalid title of "the Manhattan of the East".

Meanwhile the city was growing up, as is shown by George Ridpath, the charming and unassuming minister of Stichel, when he wrote in 1755 :

To live agreeably at Edinburgh I find it would be necessary for me to live in a Lodging, where I would be at perfect liberty ; to be well equipped in point of dress ; and to associate more with people of speculation and learning than those of a gayer turn ; yet not altogether to avoid the latter. . . . The new things I saw at Edinburgh were chiefly a sort of imitation of Vaux Hall or Ranelagh erected by one Cockayne in the gardens formerly Butcher's a very rude embryo. . . . The best almost, indeed the only thing of the kind, I ever saw, a Grotto with a collection of very curious Shells. I was also at a Concert, which was a very high entertainment¹;

One who would almost certainly have agreed with Mr. Ridpath was Mrs. Ross of Pitcalnie who, in that same year, came with her husband and infant son to a lodging in Edinburgh. In 1770, following the death of her husband, she was looking out for a small place to which she and her son, now sixteen years old, could live "private but genteel" when they had to stay in Edinburgh to prosecute a lawsuit. A friend of the son, Munro Ross, who was responsible for finding them what they needed on the top floor of Francis Brodie's house, wrote :

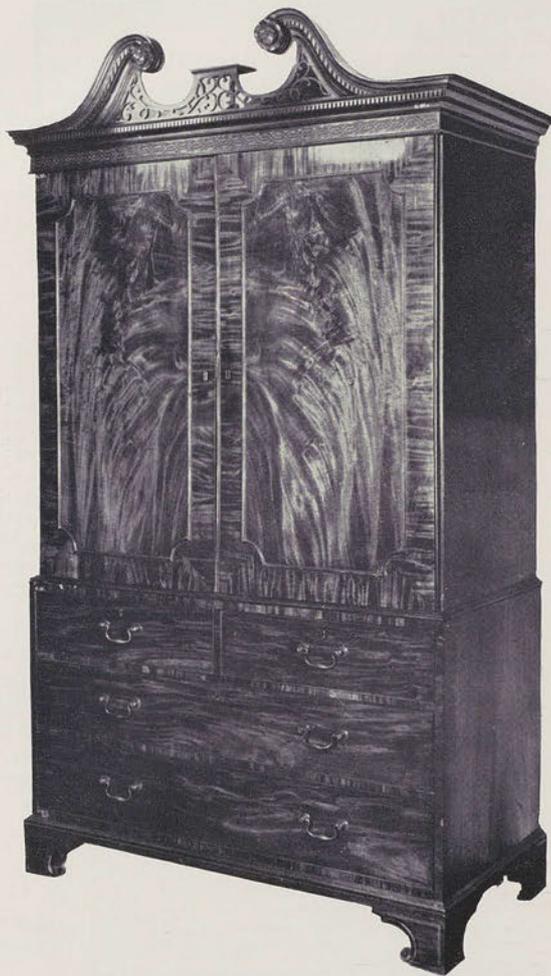
Dear Madam, I write to Inform you that the house at the top of Mr. Brodie's stair is taken for you at the rent of £16 10 0. I suppose

¹ Ridpath, George, Minister of Stichel, *Diary, 1755-1761*. Ed. by Sir James Balfour Paul (Scottish History Society), p. 13.

At Brodie's Looking-Glass and Cabinet-Warehouse the 24th above the Old Bank, Yarrow Street south side of the Street, is ready made and to be sold every of Furniture in the neatest and most fashionable Manner, with Picture and Glass Frames carved and Gilded, as also Houle, Carpenter and Joiner work done by the best work-men. Funerals, Black Cloth & Sconces for hanging Rooms furnished at the lowest Rates. Coach, & Chair Glasses sold. N.B. The Looking-Glasses &c. being Manufactured by my self will be sold with a reasonable discount for Ready Money.

Francis Brodie

BILL-HEAD OF FRANCIS BRODIE, 1749
By courtesy of the National Museum of Antiquities



MAHOGANY CHEST BY WILLIAM BRODIE, 1786
By courtesy of the National Museum of Antiquities

SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS 47

you know Mr. Brodie is the Landlord. It consists only of three rooms and a Kitchen which Mama thinks will answer you very well as she proposes to lay Munro in the dining room and to get for him a Cloaths Chest bed which is a very handsome piece of furniture and much in fashion amongst Young Gentlemen even those who have rooms of their own. She hopes you will be pleased with this plan. Miss Stewart likes it greatly and arrol'd the house yesterday. To have got four decent rooms and a Kitchen either in town or Suburbs would have no doubt been more agreeable at the same rent. But that was impossible for there is not a house of that size but pays at least £20 per annum. The house above ours which has only four not very good rooms and a Kitchen will not be let under twenty five pounds. . .¹

Francis Brodie was no stranger to Mrs. Ross, for she and her husband had employed him in a number of ways from 1756 onwards. A fascinating account has survived from this earlier period, and this shows the very moderate prices charged by Brodie. It reads²:

1759		£	s.	d.
Augt 10	To a large Beech Tent Bed	1	10	0
	To a Mahogany Breakfast Table one leaf	1	3	0
	To a 3 ft wainscoat dining Table		15	0
	To a Mahogany dining Table 3 ft 4 ins	1	15	0
	To a Mahogany Tea Trea		11	0
	To a full Wainscoat Desk	2	10	0
	To a Dozon Beech Chairs 6/-	3	12	0
	To two Elbow Chairs 8/6		17	0
	To a Box bed		16	0
	To 7 Shelves in Pantry measuring 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ yds		2/6d	6 8
	To a Beech corner Shelf for China		6	0
	To do. for Books		7	0
	To 11 Clock pins 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	

¹ Ross of Pitcalnie Papers, by kind permission of Miss R. R. Williamson Ross of Pitcalnie, Tain.

² Ross of Pitcalnie Papers.

To a Case for the jack Weight & spars for hanging meat measuring 2½ yds	2/6d	6	3
To a Mahogany Corner Table		18	0
To a Small dressing Glass		5	0
To 2 Battle dishes		2	0
To 6 Brass Clock pins	3½d.	1	9
To a Small Tea Chest & Canisters		4	6
To a Tea Table Bell		1	1
To 6 Iron Cleeks for the Kitchen	3d.	1	6
To a Knife Boord		1	3
To a Wainscoat Desk Bed (no Roof)		2	0
To a Wainscoat Writing Table		9	0
To a dale for fixing the Jack—time, wood & Nails			8
To putting up Glasses & pictures & opening boxes &c. one day		1	4
Furnisht 2 brass Clock pins 1/ a skrewed hook on Iron plate, 18 double Nails, 12 Tenter hooks &c.		1	10
Octr 6 To a drawer bed with wheels		12	0

£19 16 2½

An advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 1st March 1766 shows us how the Brodies, while practising their business as cabinet-makers, were not averse to trying new methods of increasing their trade; but if these did not prove successful, they were quite willing to discontinue them. After rehearsing the many kinds of furniture held in stock, the notice continues

Carpenter and Joiner work done, designs of buildings drawn, when required, and funerals undertaken. . . .

They always keep a large stock of well-seasoned woods, and all the above articles being manufactured in their own shop, by the best workmen, the goodness of them are the more to be depended on.

Also to be sold at the above place, variety of japaned work, viz.: Treas, waiters, plate warmers, coffee-pots, tea-kettles, kitchens, enamelled candlesticks, &c. Also Brass-work. . . .

The following articles to be sold cheap, as they intend giving over dealing in them:—

A small assortment of toys, such as snuff-boxes, tweezers, broaches, seals, rings, watch chains, buckles and sleeve buttons; likewise, paintings on glass, glazed prints and Indian pictures, and also Wrights tools.

When, in 1770, William Brodie signed the receipted account the firm had rendered to Mrs. Ross of Pitcalnie, their charges appear to us still ridiculously low. "A large Oval Mahogany Tea board" cost 10s. 6d.; ten "Splitt back" elm chairs, "Stuft intirely with baked Hair, covered with Hair cloth & laced with pinch beck nails",¹ cost 15s. 6d. each, while the two arm-chairs to complete the set were priced at a guinea a piece. The cleaning of a table, said to have taken up one quarter of a day, cost Mrs. Ross no more than six pence!

In 1775 Francis Brodie was elected a member of the Town Council as Deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights; and the *College Tradesmen's Accounts*, preserved in the City Chambers, show the benefits which accrued to him through this appointment. In November of that year he was mending the floors in Professor Hill's house and fitting up the classrooms used by Professors Bruce and Dalzel. At the same time he supplied to the College "a walnut tree Table" for 15s., and "a small wainscoat desk" for the same price. It should not be supposed, however, that Brodie obtained anything like a monopoly of the wrights' work at the University, for in the previous September Messrs. Young and Trotter were paid 11s. 11d. for "Straining Canvas & putting up do. in two large Rooms & pulling down old paper with proper materials in the paste to prevent ratts from destroying the paper".

Francis Brodie died on 1st June 1782, leaving his business and a fortune of £10,000 to his son and partner, William, who had become, in his turn, a member of the Town Council as Deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights in the previous September. Except for the year 1785, the younger Brodie was to continue to serve on the Council until 1787. This little man of

¹ Ross of Pitcalnie Papers.

5 foot 4 inches, who "moved in a proud, swaggering sort of style",¹ was preparing to step, albeit against his will, upon the crowded stage of Scottish history; but, for a while yet, he was to present to the world as neat and conventional an appearance as even Edinburgh could desire. The one piece of furniture known to have come from his workshop, the mahogany chest given to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland by the son of William Roughead, shows him to have been a craftsman of outstanding merit (Plate V); and I always hope that the bookcases he built to line three walls of the Divinity Hall² in the Old College may have been moved to New College and still house tomes of a kind from which the Deacon might have gained so much benefit, both spiritual and temporal. There can be little doubt that the two Brodies, father and son, were largely responsible for that increased comfort in Edinburgh houses which was noted by Hugo Arnot in 1779, when he wrote: "Now a private gentleman of moderate fortune is accommodated with much more commodious, elegant and even rich furniture . . . than could have been enjoyed by a Lord of the sixteenth century."³

As Deacon Brodie drops, all too literally, from the Edinburgh scene it is perhaps appropriate that we should pause to glance at the makers of musical instruments working in the city at that period. One can imagine how quickly hushed were the notes of the tinkling harpsichords and spinets as there spread through the town the astonishing news of the Deacon's flight and consequent arrest. An undated instrument, inscribed "Johannes Johnston, Edinburgh", is said to be preserved in the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence; but we have been unable to discover any further information about this maker. The music seller and publisher, Neil Stewart, who also sold spinets, was flourishing in 1759

¹ From the Description issued by the Procurator Fiscal, 12th March 1788.

² *College Tradesmen's Accounts*, 13th September 1784.

³ *History of Edinburgh*, p. 63.

and his sons continued the business until 1805. They employed James Logan and Andrew Rothead to build spinets. Both these men also worked on their own behalf, the firm of Andrew Rothead and Sons, of Greenside Place, Leith Walk, surviving until 1821. Another maker of spinets was John Smith of College Wynd who was working about 1760. The most notable, perhaps, was Christian Shean, whose first recorded instrument bears the date 1769. He continues to appear in the directories as a musical instrument maker of New Street, Canongate, until 1794-5. Five examples of his work are known, including an undated but most attractive harpsichord in the Royal Scottish Museum. It would appear, however, that he was not financially successful because, in the directory of 1795-6, his name is replaced by that of "Mrs. Shean [who] keeps milch asses first door below the Church, New Street, Canongate".¹

There is little doubt that, from the date of Brodie's execution, Messrs. Young and Trotter became the principal furniture-makers in the city. This seems appropriate since it was to be the baronetcy conferred upon William Trotter which was to remove once and for all the stigma left upon the trade by the memory of the Deacon's shortcomings. Messrs. Young and Trotter were not, however, to be without competitors. Whereas, in 1774-5 Williamson's *Directory* records only two cabinet-makers and a dozen upholsterers in Edinburgh, the issue for 1811-12 shows that there were then nearly a hundred cabinet-makers. It was in this year that we first come across the names of Messrs. Whytock, Grieve and Co., printed furniture warehouse, of 77 South Bridge, the firm from which descend the present doyens of the furniture trade in Edinburgh, Messrs. Whytock and Reid of Charlotte Square.

In addition to this suite of cabinet-makers were a group

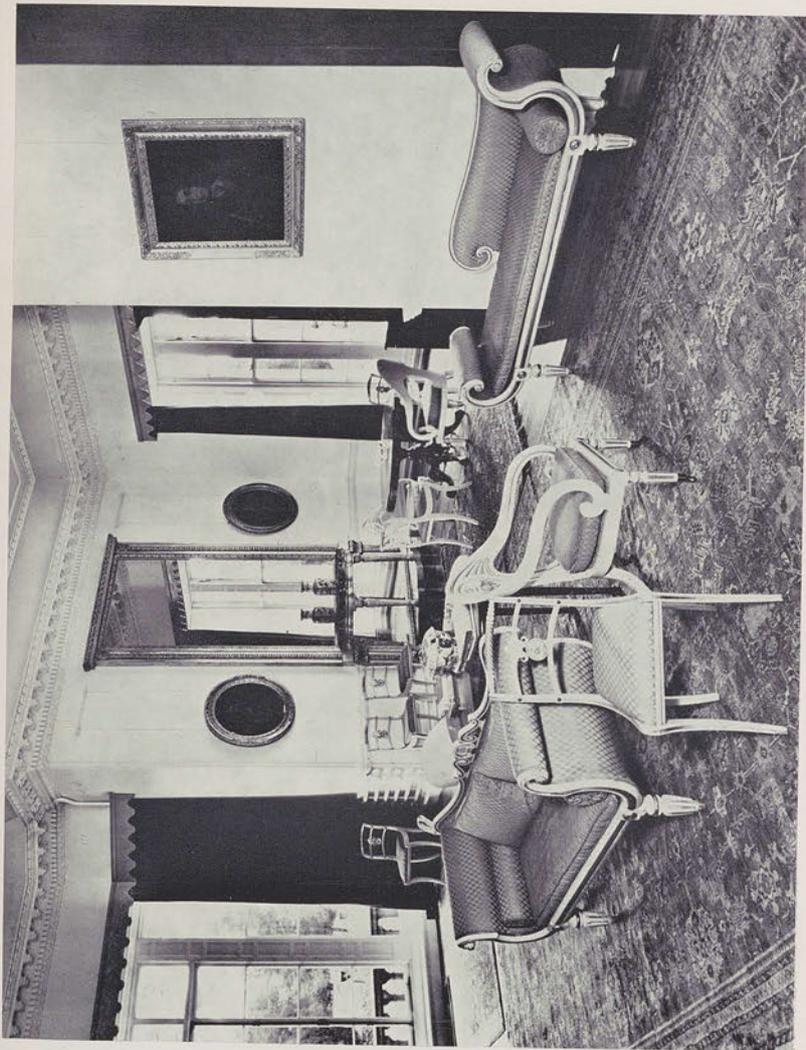
¹ For most of the information regarding Edinburgh makers of musical instruments I am indebted to David Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*.

52 SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS

of craftsmen who described themselves as "rush and cane bottom chair manufacturers". Chief among these were William Clark of 39 Princes Street, who had his workshop at the south end of the Earthen Mound, and Richard Clark who had premises on the east side of Leith Walk. I might have dismissed these men as no more than makers of useful, possibly decorative chairs of no great importance if it had not been that Major R. T. A. Hog of Newliston discovered recently among his family papers the following receipted account :

Thomas Hog Esq^r
Leith Walk 1826 — To Rich^d Clark & Son

Sep 30th	To 10 Drawing room chairs Shell back pattern painted white & burnished Gold 35sh	£17 15 0
"	" 1 Grecian Sofa with carved back do. do.	10 10 0
"	" 1 Ditto Couch do. do.	9 0 0
"	" 10 Chair seats cover.g with silk & worsted Damask	10 0
"	" 1 Grecian Sofa do. do.	11 6
"	" 1 Ditto Couch do. do.	10 6
"	" 27 Yards of Gold cold silk Gimp .	1 11 6
"	" 28 Ditto Do Cord	18 8
"	" 9 Double mats straw paper & packing	1 6 0
"	" 5 Doz. 2 Yards of furniture Curding .	5 2
"	" 12 Yards of tape	6
"	" 10 Overalls for Chair seats making .	7 6
"	" 1 Ditto " Sofa do	12 0
"	" 1 Ditto " Couch Do	11 0
Oct 28th	" 4 Cane seated Roman chairs Carved & burnished Gold painted white	21 12 0
"	" 4 Cushions for Do	2 8 0
"	" 4 Ditto covering with Silk & worsted damask	6 0
"	" 16 Yards of Gold cold silk Cord . .	10 8
"	" 16 Do furniture binding	1 4



FURNITURE BY RICHARD CLARK & SON AT NEWLISTON
By kind permission of Major R. T. A. Hog of Newliston



FURNITURE BY RICHARD CLARK & SON AT NEWLISTON

By kind permission of Major R. T. A. Hog of Newliston

SOME EDINBURGH FURNITURE-MAKERS 53

"	"	4 Overalls for Roman chair cushions .	5 4
"	"	5 Double Mats straw paper & packing.	14 0
			<hr/>
			70 6 8
By 9 Mats returned @ 9d			6 9
			<hr/>
Carried Over			£69 19 11
Brought over			£69 19 11
Dis't			3 9 11
			<hr/>
			£66 10 0
Settled pr Stamp receipt			
Richd Clark & Son			

These two splendid groups of gold and white furniture still grace the room at Newliston for which they were first designed (Plate VI). Seen against the background of the last country-house which Robert Adam was to build, they make it clear that others beside Mr. Trotter were producing in Edinburgh furniture of the highest quality.

As it was with William Trotter that I opened this brief survey of a fascinating subject, so I would close by pointing out that, in addition to the redecoration and refurnishing which he carried out in the Assembly Rooms in preparation for the Peers' Ball at the time of King George IV's visit to his northern capital,¹ he was paid no less than £900 "for fitting up Parliament House" on that Royal occasion.² He was indeed a man of parts.

¹ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XXXI, p. 166.

² *Town Council Minute Book*.

EDINBURGH CASTLE, 1751-1753

by

T. I. RAE

THE National Library of Scotland recently acquired an interesting letter-book written between 1751 and 1761 by Richard Coren, Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle.¹ It is a fairly large folio volume, but Coren has used only 44 leaves in which to transcribe his correspondence, leaving the remainder of the book blank. Much of the correspondence is of a very routine nature, concerning payment of the officers and soldiers on garrison duty in Edinburgh Castle, regular returns to the War Office of the state of the garrison, and continuous complaints to various authorities of the crowded and unpleasant living conditions within the Castle. The extracts from the letter-book printed here tend to ignore much of this routine business, interesting though it is to the specialist in military administration; they have been chosen rather to illustrate two interesting subjects which greatly troubled Richard Coren in the early years of his office. These were the problem of the relationship between himself as the effective governor of the Castle garrison and the officials and people of the City of which the Castle formed a part, and the structural alterations which had to be made to the Castle in order to accommodate a garrison adequate to control the region at a time when the Hanoverian government still feared the possibility of uprisings in favour of the Stewart King.

Very little is known of Richard Coren's earlier career, not even the date of his birth; but he was probably aged about 60

¹ National Library of Scotland (hereafter quoted as NLS.), MS. 8027. The extracts from this manuscript are printed here with the permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland. I am indebted to Mr. William Park, Keeper of Manuscripts, for many helpful suggestions during the preparation of this paper.

when he was appointed, at a salary of £182, 10s. per annum, Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle some time in 1748, to replace Lieutenant-General Joshua Guest who had died the previous year. Coren was first commissioned as an Ensign on 2nd January 1707, in Lieutenant-General William Seymour's Regiment, later known as the 4th Foot, or King's Own Regiment; he was promoted to Lieutenant on 23rd August 1711, and to Captain on 3rd March 1736.¹ During this period Coren's regiment was mainly employed on service in the British Isles, except for a short period in 1744 when it was engaged in the campaigns in Flanders. In 1745 the 4th Foot, under the command of Lieutenant-General William Barrell, returned to Scotland, and the following year distinguished itself by taking the brunt of the Jacobite attack at Culloden. It is probable that Coren was present at this engagement. In 1747 Coren was the senior Captain and, in the absence of senior officers, in command of the Regiment while it was engaged in recruiting and in road-making operations north of Perth.² At this time Coren received a severe reprimand from General Humphrey Bland, then Governor of Fort William, for failing to make adequate checks of the ammunition issued to his men, who, it was believed, sold their powder and ball for their personal profit.³ But details of Coren's career before his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle are difficult to trace; even a search of Regimental records has failed to amplify this outline, and, except for the evidence presented in his letter-book which after all covers only a fragment of his life, Richard Coren, the man, remains largely a shadowy figure.

Although Coren, as Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, was the effective senior officer of the garrison, he was of

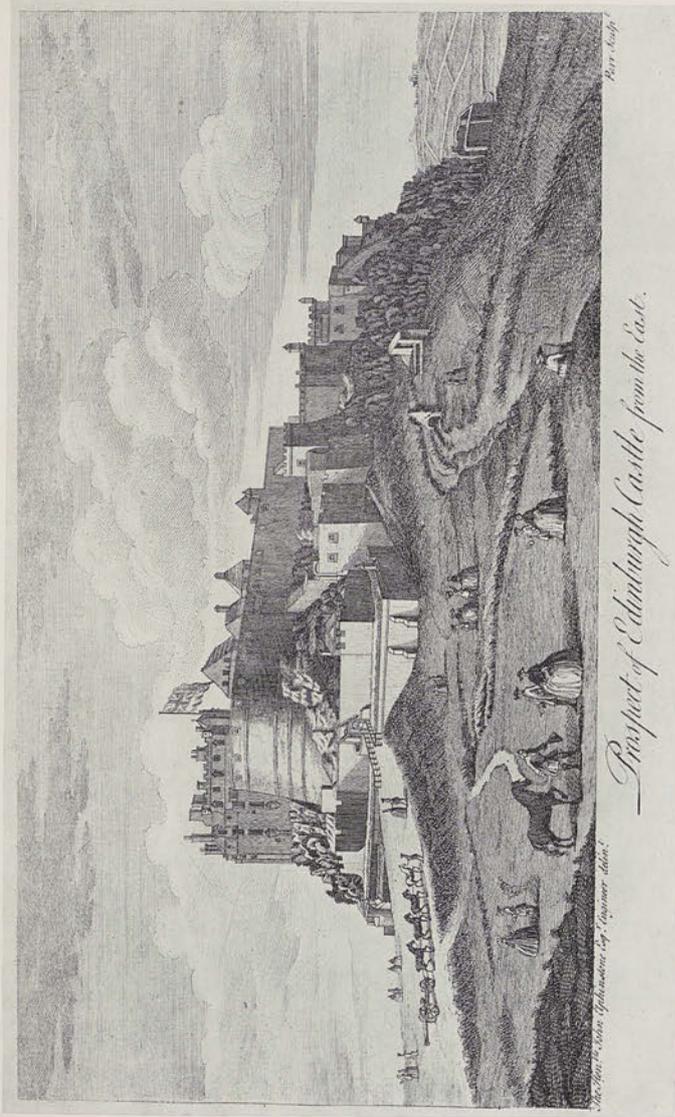
¹ *Army-List*, 1740; Charles Dalton, *George the First's Army, 1714-1727*, London, 1910.

² General Humphrey Bland Letter-book; NLS., MS. 304, ff. 5v., 10v., 50.

³ NLS., MS. 304, f. 31v.

course subordinate to the Governor of the Castle, generally an absentee official; at the time of his appointment this was Lord Mark Kerr, fourth son of Robert, 1st Marquess of Lothian. After a military career in which he distinguished himself as an officer in infantry regiments and finally as commander of the 11th Regiment of Dragoons, Lord Mark Kerr, with the rank of General, was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle in 1745. Already a man of 70 and with other military commitments, his position was largely a honorary one; but his deputy appears to have felt it necessary to write to him to seek his advice and gain his approbation on matters which on the surface would appear to have been matters of routine.

Coren was in a difficult position. He was an Englishman in charge of a Scottish garrison immediately after the crushing of the Jacobite rebellion, a revolt which to many people had taken on the aspect of a nationalist Anglo-Scottish struggle, in spite of the extent of the support in lowland Scotland for the Hanoverian dynasty. Edinburgh itself, during its occupation by Prince Charles Edward, had shown quite extensive Jacobite sympathy, and this element was probably still strong six years later. And while, except to these Jacobites, the Lieutenant-Governor could scarcely be regarded as a conquering official facing the hostility of a defeated nation, he was, even to those loyal to George II, an outsider whose presence was resented with great bitterness. Coren felt his position keenly. It may be that slow promotion throughout his military career, whether due to lack of ability or to poverty which prevented him purchasing higher rank, had given him a certain lack of confidence in himself; at any rate his letters show him to have been indecisive in public and personal affairs, ready to take the slightest unintended snub as a gross insult to himself and his position, and eager to blame others for any misfortune which befell him and his administration. The climax of these feelings came in a letter dated 31st December 1752, in which he attempted to justify the escape of an important prisoner from



Prospect of Edinburgh Castle from the East.

PROSPECT OF EDINBURGH CASTLE BY J. ELPHINSTONE, c. 1740
By courtesy of Edinburgh Public Libraries

his care, by emphasising the difficulties of his own position as being due to the maliciousness of other people—how as an Englishman he was “obnoxious to the people”; how within the garrison “some thought they had a hardship done them by my being put over their head”; how in carrying out his orders he received “affronts to tedious to mention”. He felt, perhaps imagined, that someone within the castle, a personal enemy, was spying on him and sending detrimental reports to the Duke of Cumberland; and that this man, “capable of committing any villany”, would not hesitate to “Sacrifice a garrison to perpetrate his revenge on such as he has an enmity to”, i.e. himself. While Coren’s position then was undoubtedly a difficult one, and many of his grievances had a definite basis in fact, it is possible that his feeling of insecurity, his fears and anxieties prompted wild imaginings which, for him, made his situation much worse than it actually was. Accordingly it was natural for him to seek reassurance from his superior, the Governor of the Castle, for all his actions, to enable him to evade responsibility for any unpopular deed by asserting he was only obeying orders; “all I want is orders to act by, that I may not offend”.

Most of the extracts which follow are taken from Coren’s correspondence with the Governor of the Castle, for it is in these letters that he ventilates the major problems facing him and expresses his opinions on people and events in Edinburgh. The first few letters show him in the midst of handling a delicate problem—the right of Edinburgh law officers to enter the Castle to serve summonses on members of the garrison.

To Ld. Mark Kerr, July 11, 1751.

My Lord,

I am sorry to trouble your lordship but think it my duty to acquaint you with the following particulars.

Some Creditors of Lt. Kinloch of your lordships Company haveing obtained letters of diligence against him sent an officer

of the law to execute sd. Dilligence in the Castle but was stopd by the soldiers at the Barrier which accasiond a Petition from the sd. Creditors to the lords of Sessions against me and Kinloch. Seting forth that applycation had been made to me the Lt. govr. for executeing the Sd. Dilligence who seemd to be of opinion that the Castle of Edenbr. was a sanctuary against all Civil Claims and that Kinloch had given orders at the Barrier that no officer of the law was to be admitted.

In our answer wee denied the accusation but set forth the ill Consequences that might attend the execution of Dilligence in the Castle with many arguments to teadious to mention here and that I may not take up to much of your Ld.ships time have inclosed sent the Interloquitor¹ this matter produced.

As I would be very tender in obstructing the laws, so I would be of giveing up any of his majestys Rights or privileges. Therefore hope as the Castle is daily threatned since the Sd. Interloquitor with attacks of this nature your lordship will pleas to obtain his majesty pleasure in this Case and Send me such orders as will enable me to perform my duty without offending the Civil or millitary law who am

Yours²

To Mr. Stewart³, July 30, 1751.

Sir,

Yours of 25 Instant Came to hand last night by which I learn Capt. Wilson has executed a deed of trust for the benefit of his Creditors. I know neither of the trustees but am sorry Mr Ross has declined since he is not only a proper person but it will alsoe accasion delays.

I think every Creditor should have a Copy of the Debts and effects given in to the trustees by which they may Judge of the Justice done them.

¹ Not recorded in the letter-book.

² NLS., MS. 8027, f. 3.

³ Anthony Stewart appears to have been a London military agent for Lord Mark Kerr.

I wish Coll. Napier may approve of shewing my letter to lord Mark Kerr to his R:H: It is equall to me which way the matter is decided. All I want is orders to act by, that I may not offend. Certain it is that Holirood house is a sanctuary (I suppose) from being the Kings Pallace and it is as Certain that the Castle of Edenbr. Castle was a Royall Pallace long before Holyrood house was Built but the laws taking place in the Castle may be of Worse Consequence since by the same rule that one man may be taken out of the Castle twenty may and if the govr. or Commanding officer has no power to stop or keep out any officer of the law (as is pretendd) a sufficient no. may Come in under that pretence by which the Castle may be in danger of being surprised.

I some time since desired Capt. Wilson to solicit the restoreing a gunsmith in Edenbr. Castle there being such on our Establishmt. but has been lost for some time by what means I know not. I recommended Thos. Marsh formerly a soldier in Riches Regimt. and a gunsmith by trade. Capt. Wilson promised to Solicite the Board of ordinance from whence it seems he must have a Warrant.

In Genll. Churchills¹ instructions for reviewing this garrison Coll. Napier mention the sd. gunsmith on the Castle Establishmt. and on my recommendation of Sd. Marsh he was approved on by Genll. Churchill and was reported in his Revew return, but no notice haveing been taken by Coll. Napier to the Genll. that matter is at a stand. I therefor desire when opportunity hapens youll consult Coll. Napier and desire him to obtain his R:H: orders in that perticuler and as our muster is near at hand the sooner this can be obtained the better since wee may otherways lose a muster and should you abtayn his Ro. H. orders for applying for a Warrant for him you must endeavour to get it antitaded to Decr. 1750 the commencemt. of our next muster.

I am Sr.

Yours.²

¹ Lieutenant-General George Churchill, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland.

² NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 3v-4.

The matter which raised this question of the privileged position of the Castle as a sanctuary was the bankruptcy of one of the officers of the Garrison, Lieutenant David Kinloch of Conland, then aged about 80. A complaint was brought against Coren by Thomas Belches, Sheriff Clerk-Depute of Edinburgh, on the grounds that he, in the belief that the Castle was a sanctuary, had refused admission to the Law Messenger who was serving a summons or diligence on Kinloch calling on him to exhibit certain papers and title-deeds necessary for the sale of his estate of Conland on behalf of his creditors; Coren was accordingly accused of contempt of law. Coren's case in reply to this, dated 2nd July 1751,¹ was that the sentry who refused access was acting correctly, as in all garrisons no law officials were to be admitted without special directions of the Commanding Officer. The reason for this was that "Ill designing People" might contrive to procure warrants against all the officers and soldiers of a garrison, preventing the garrison from fulfilling its military function. "It is therefore impracticable", ran Coren's case, "that the Process of the Law can have Course, or be executed within the King's Garrison, in the precise same Form and Manner as elsewhere." This was not to mean that military personnel were to be free from legal action, but that special methods were necessary to execute warrants against men in garrisons to prevent the military efficiency of these garrisons being impaired. Coren claimed that he was in no way in contempt of court; he had not refused to obey an injunction of the Lords of Session, but merely refused to reply to a personal letter of Belches. "It is with Submission ludicrous, and, at the same Time, somewhat rash and audacious to bring a Gentleman in a publick military office before your Lordships, as a Culprit, to answer for so high a Misdemeanor, as Contempt of the Law and your Lordships' Authority, upon such frivolous Grounds." The decision ignored the matter of contempt, but "Found the Commander of the Castle obliged

¹ Signet Library: Session papers, Vol. 40, No. 63.

to receive officers of the Law Carrying the Kings Letters Upon their Peril."

Coren, it must be noticed, did not raise the matter of sanctuary, although, as his letter to Anthony Stewart shows, sanctuary was in his mind as an important feature of the case; he must have received good legal advice. For the question of sanctuary had been raised by a previous Lieutenant-Governor, and dismissed. In December 1714 Colonel Stewart, then in command of the Castle, had made a similar claim against the admission of law officers on the grounds that the Castle, having once been a royal residence, was a sanctuary; Stewart also raised the point of the denuding of the garrison of its officers. The reply to Stewart's claim was that an act of Parliament of James VI had restricted the right of sanctuary to those houses in which the king had residence at the time; and that, even if this was not the case, the fact that Edinburgh Castle had been converted to another use and was no longer a royal residence forced it to lose any right of sanctuary it might once have had. The decision was that the Castle had no privilege of sanctuary, and that its governor could not plead military necessity against a Sovereign Court.¹ Legally Coren had no case, although the question continued to worry him. He was probably lucky not to have had stronger measures taken against him, and he was wise to allow the matter to drop quietly.

To Mr. Antho Stewart, Sepr. 3, 1751.

Sir,

I am favoured with yours of 28 ulto. with Coll. Napiers answer. I wish the Coll. may have rightly Considerd the Interlocutor. For tho the officer of the law did not at that time attempt to Seize Lt. Kinloch the Judges ware of opinion the officer had not only a power to seize but even to break

¹ William Maxwell Morison, *Decisions of the Court of Session . . . in the form of a Dictionary*, Edin., 1801-4; see under Sanctuary.

open doers. However as I hope my representation of that affair will be sufficient to screen me if any ill Consequences should attend it I shall give no further trouble.

Inclosed is a letter to lord mark Kerr as you desire. It is of no consequence to me whither there is a gunsmith or not, but think as such is on the establisht. it should not be lost and by Coll. Napiers letter some time since to major lee I thought it was his R:H: intention to reestablish the gunsmith.

I am, Sir,
Yours¹

To lord Mark Kerr, Jany. 21, 1752.

My lord,

Being a few days since at the Coffee house I saw in the votes² a Petition from the Provost and Magistrates of Edenbr. to Parliamt. for a continuance of the Act for a Duty of 2 peny Scots on all Beer and Ales. This I immediately acquainted Mr McMillan with and doubt not but by the last Post or this he has advised your lordship of what is proper to be done, but in case a petition is thought necessary I beg leave to put you in mind of one artickle very necessary to be inserted viz the Draining the North loch wch is one of the uses for which the Sd. duty is granted and perticularly specified in the Act and for want of which all the filth and nastiness which runs from the West Port of Edenbr. stagnates in the West end of the loch and in the Summer occasions such an unwholesome Smell in the Castle as is very prejudiciall to the health of the garrison and is really a great nusance.

In my last letter I acquainted your lordship that I had communicated your letter to Doctr. Park and by the last Post he acquainted me that he was coming here to doe his

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 5.

² This must refer to the public display of current legal petitions among the gazettes and newspapers in the Coffee House.

Duty, if your ldsnip has any further Commands for me on that head, or otherways shall be proud of the honour of receiveing them who am

My Lord
your lordships humble serv.
Richd. Coren.¹

Lord Mark Kerr was unable to act on the points raised in this letter as he died on 2nd February 1752. His successor as Governor of Edinburgh Castle, appointed almost immediately, was General Humphrey Bland, an Irishman of Yorkshire ancestry, aged at this time about 66. Bland had had a long and impressive military career. He had served under Marlborough in the wars of the Spanish Succession, and had been conspicuously active and zealous in the North of England suppressing Jacobite activity after the 1715 Rebellion. His efficiency as an officer in the King's Dragoon Guards, of which regiment he later became Colonel, is shown by his *Treatise on Discipline*, first published in 1727, a work which, for the greater part of the eighteenth century, was the recognised textbook on parade-ground drill and general military discipline in the British Army; detailed and practical, it was a guide for the young and inexperienced officer to the basic knowledge necessary for his military career. Later, General Bland had distinguished himself at Dettingen and Fontenoy. The nine years previous to this new appointment he had spent as Governor of Fort William, responsible under the Duke of Cumberland for the conduct of the Culloden campaign and subsequently for the control of this disaffected area. A man of this impressive quality could only be an asset to Coren, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle lost no time in acquainting his new senior officer with his problems.

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 6.

To Genll. Bland, feby. 13, 1752.

Sir,

I had this day the pleasure of hereing from Coll. Rich and Mr Gardener for your succeeding the late lord mark Kerr in the government of Edenbr. Castle and think it my duty as well as inclination to Congratulate you on that occasion.

It is necessary to acquaint you without loss of time that our Garrison is at present attackd. by the provost and magistrates of Edenbr. for a duty of two peny Scots on every pint of ale sold by your sutler in the Castle. To let you into the nature of this tax I must goe back to an act of Parliamt. granted in the year 1793 [*sic l.* 1693] by which Holirood house and Edenbr. Castle were properly exempted, as alsoe in an act to Continue the Sd. duty granted the 3d of King Geo:1: but in the 3d act to continue the Sd. duty 19 years longer the word, and, was put into this act instead of the word, or, viz: in the two first acts it was sd. all ale and Beer Brewd, or, vended—in the last act all ale or Beer Brewd and vended in the Castle of Edenb. By this means the Castle of Edenb. has been thought liable to the sd. duty which lord mark Kerr not Submitting to, ordered Mr McMillan his Factor to defend the process and Mr Grant¹ his majestys advocate here was retaind, and a tryall was to have ensued the next Term. Meantime the Provost and magistrates have this Session petitiond the Parliamt. for a further Continuance of Sd. act and the Sd. Mr Grant is employd by them to Solicite this petition in the house of Commons, so that he hath both parties for his Clyents. The sd. petition hath produced a Bill which hath been twice read and is Committed. Therefore it inducd me to trouble you with this long story at this time least it should be to late for you to make an application. As I believe you Know Mr Grant I beg leave further to acquaint you that I was last night informed by a friend that before lord mark Kers death Mr Grant had insisted with the Provost and magistrates that the word, or, should be again put in to the new act of Parliamt. instead of the word, and, and the Castle be free of the Sd.

¹ William Grant of Prestongrange, later Lord Prestongrange.

duty as before, but how farr things may alter by his lordships death and your Succeeding him I submit to your better judgement. I have sent Mr Gardner the information drawn up by the lord advocate and deliverd. to the Judges who understanding the law terms of this country I hope will be able to give you a more distict. acct. then I am able to doe.

It is proper I Should acquaint you that the Sutlerry of this castle is now let at £120 pr year one half of which his lordship was pleasd to allow me but the law I fear has hitherto taken up most of the profits and should the Castle be made liable to the aforesd. duty the Sutlerry would be little worth. I have alsoe by his Royall Highness the Duke of Cumberlands order the distribution of Coles and Candles to the garrison to which I hope youll have no objection and return my sincere thanks for your favour mentiond in Mr Gardners letter and beg leave to subscribe myself.

Sir, yours¹

There were slight inaccuracies in Coren's narration of the history of the Edinburgh beer-tax, but he does make the main point correctly. The original act, passed in 1693 by the Scottish Parliament (5 William and Mary, c. 47), granted the duty to the city for 15 years to enable it to pay off its debts; this act was renewed in 1716 (3 George I, c. 5) for a further period of 19 years, the proceeds to be used for improving the city's water-supply, improving the harbour at Leith, the relief of the poor, and providing salaries for certain professors at Edinburgh University. Further acts of 1722 (9 George I, c. 14) and 1728 (1 George II, st. 2, c. 22) amplified the details of the original acts and extended them for further periods of time. On the surface, Edinburgh Castle was to be exempted from the duty; the earlier acts were, as Coren pointed out, quite specific in this: "and also excepting all Ale and Beer vended within the Precincts of *Holy-Rood* House and Castle of Edinburgh from the said Imposition". It was the act of 1722 which caused the

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 7.¶

difficulty, in as much as the exemption clause was phrased slightly differently: "Provided, That nothing in this Act shall be construed to subject any Ale or Beer, brewed and consumed within the Precincts of *Holyrood House* and Castle of *Edinburgh*, to the above Duty and Imposition." These words could be taken to mean that the exemption applied only to beer brewed within the Castle; beer brought in from outside the Castle walls would be subject to the tax, and the exemption would be nullified. This could be rectified by substituting the word "or" for "and", or by entirely rephrasing the exemption.

It is towards the end of his letter that the reason for Coren's concern with this act for a duty on ale becomes clear; it would affect his own emoluments. In the eighteenth century many administrative officials had various rights and perquisites whereby their basic salary could be supplemented. Here Coren mentions two which are of importance to him. First there was the provision of heating and lighting for the garrison, for which a fixed allowance was made by the War Office; if Coren could provide these services more cheaply, he would make a profit, and his problem of making a profit from this perquisite is mentioned frequently throughout his letters. Secondly there was the office of sutler, who provided liquor for the members of the garrison. This office was let out, probably to a civilian who would make a profit on the sales, at a rent of £120, which sum was divided between the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle. The imposition of the duty, which would have to be paid either by Coren himself or the sutler (who would probably therefore demand a reduction in his rent) would make this perquisite virtually valueless both for himself and his superior. It was of prime importance to both that the position should be clarified in their favour. This was in fact done, presumably through influence that General Bland was able to exercise. For, when later in the year the act (25 George II, c. 9) was passed, the clause exempting the

Castle from the duty was restored to its original form: "Provided always . . . That nothing contained in this Act . . . shall be construed to subject to the said Duty or Imposition any Ale or Beer vended within the Precincts of the Castle of Edinburgh, for the Use of the Garrison, or any of the Inhabitants of the said Castle." All beer sold in the Castle once more became exempt from the tax.

Coren's next task was to acquaint his new Governor with the state of the garrison of the Castle; he accordingly sent him a full muster list. This letter, commenting on the muster, mentions another eighteenth-century customary perquisite. The officers of the garrison, apparently, were entitled to have servants, and it was the normal custom for them to appoint for this task young boys, either their own sons or close relatives, and draw for themselves the pay allocated for these servants. Another point raised by this muster roll is the quality of the garrison. Coren admits that the soldiers were, like himself, old men, perhaps not fit for active service; this, and the difficulty of recruiting men for service in the garrison, forms a regular theme of his letters. Each winter several men died, and many others were discharged to Chelsea to become Pensioners. These men generally appear to have been replaced by soldiers from regiments serving in Scotland who were now too old or otherwise unfit for active military service. Not only the men but some of the officers also were infirm; Coren complains in a later letter that Major Robertson, the garrison Fort Major, was "incapable of doing any Duty being so infirm that he is Confined to his Bed one half of the year and to his house the whole year". This gives a picture of a Castle garrison very inadequate for the defence of the city, or for the detention of state prisoners. As will be seen, Coren was continually worried about security and clearly realised the deficiencies in his command: "should any insurrection hapen in Edinbr. or adjacent places I think Self preservation must take place and the magistrates must shift for themselves". But, regardless of

Coren's complaints, neither the situation in the garrison nor the quality of his men was improved throughout his period of office.

To Genll Bland, March 5, 1752.

Sir,

I herewith send you a Role of your Company with age, size, etc. Those men without remarks are all good men at present but youll See by their age that they cannot be long fit for Service and every winter will accasion a fresh supply. Those marked lately Come wee have not yet experienced their behavior therefore can say nothing to there charecter but are to outward appearance good men and Come (?) from the army.

Hen. Tewis is a nefew of my Wifes a boy here at School. It seems by Custom the Lt. govr. had a servt. always musterd in the company. The late lord mark Kerr was therefore pleasd to favour me with mustering that boy but I am ready to withdraw him when ever you pleas. The following three are boys musterd as the three officers servants, for it seems that by the Establishmt. your officers are not allowd to draw for more than 4s. pr day a Lt. and 3s. an Ens: and it has always been allowd for them to muster their Children and draw for their pay the next following. And last is a gunners son whose father acts for him as Clerck to the Company and has no other allowance.

The next thing I have to acquaint you with is a gunsmith which youll find on the Establishmt. of our Castle which has been lost before I came here. I writ often on this head to our late govr. and was orderd. by him to find a proper person to recommend for a warrant which I did (Tho. Marsh) by trade a gunsmith and a Soldier of a good Charecter discharge from Coll. Riches Regimt. for being to short. But what steps were taken towards this warrant I know not but if you think proper to order Mr Hadderton to enquire of our late Agent Mr Antho: Stewart I beleive he can inform him.

I indeed cannot see the great use of a gunsmith but if his pay which is 1s:6d: pr day could be applied to a Schavenger

or a Porter, or both it would be of much more service neither of them being on the Establishmt. tho much wanted.

I have nothing more to trouble you with at present but waiting for the honour of your Commands I am Sr.

yours.

P.S. I had forgot to acquaint you that with Mr Gardner I revewd our Canteen or Sutlers House which we found in so bad Condition that without being repaired tis impossible the Sutler can live in it. This is a part of the ancient Palace and the apartmt. that Mary Queen of Scots was brought to Bed in, and doubt not that if youll pleas to apply to the Board of Ordnance they will order it to be repaired. There is lately a president at Blackness Castle which Mr Hope Weir has got repaired. tho no person lives in the House.

Since the above was writ I have recd. yours of the 7 Instant and thank you for your additional favours.

If you would pleas to apply for a Repaire of the Sutlers house it might be done this Summer. But if it is left un-applied for till Mr Skinners arrivall here it will not be done till the Summer after.¹

The Mr. Skinner, whose arrival at the Castle was of such great importance for the fabric of the building, was William Skinner, an engineer attached to the Board of Ordnance who, as Chief Engineer for North Britain, was responsible for constructing and maintaining the military defences essential for controlling the Highlands. He is a significant figure in much of the correspondence which follows. Throughout his earlier career he had been largely employed in the Mediterranean region; he had constructed fortifications at Minorca and at Gibraltar, where he had served for more than 20 years. Later, in 1770, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, with responsibility as Chief Engineer for the whole of Great Britain. In Scotland at this time he was engaged on surveying,

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 8-8v.

planning and re-constructing forts at Inverness, Fort Augustus and Fort George.¹ Edinburgh Castle he must have regarded as a minor responsibility compared with this major task; but, as this correspondence and several plans he prepared show, he accepted this responsibility and tried to deal as effectively as possible with Coren's problems—access by the Esplanade, living quarters and store-rooms for the garrison, and the provision of a supply of fresh water—even although he must have felt impatient at the apparent triviality of the complaints of broken windows and inefficient chimneys.

In 1752 Coren's main problems for Skinner were the repair of certain parts of the castle which were so decayed as to be unusable, and the building up of the foundations of what was later to become the Esplanade. The latter involved considerable negotiation with the town authorities. At this time the Town Council under Lord Provost George Drummond were engaged in an extensive project for replanning parts of the city and making it a more pleasant and prosperous place in which to live, a project which involved the extension of the city to the north, and, ultimately, the draining of the Nor' Loch to provide access to this "new town" from the South. But Drummond could not immediately carry this part of his plan into effect, although various public works for the improvement of the city were even then being carried out. Coren ardently desired the draining of the Loch for very obvious hygienic reasons, and hoped to gain this point, which he probably realised formed part of Drummond's plan, by bargaining with the Town Council who required a convenient dump for the debris and other rubbish from the public schemes already in hand. This rubbish could be used to build up the approaches to the Castle to form an Esplanade or parade-ground, and the embankment thus created could be sloped and dressed to form pleasant walks on the Castlehill for the citizens of Edinburgh.

¹ Many of his surveys and plans are now in the National Library of Scotland, MSS. 1945-52.

This was in fact being done at this time, although Coren was not successful in using it as a lever to effect the draining of the Nor' Loch, a problem which was not tackled until after his death ten years later.

To Genll. Bland, July 16, 1752.

Sr.

I have the pleasure to here of your Safe arrivall at London and have delivered your Compliments as desired. I had yesterday a visit from provost Drummond who pleads hard for bringing up the Rubish on Castle Hill otherways he says his scheme must prove abortive for that the Rubish will be all Carried into the Country. At the same time he excuses himself from draneing the North loch there being a Scheme on foot to turn it into a Canall but as that must be a work of time I could wish in your next favour to me you would pleas to reccommend in strong terms the draneing the north loch soe farr as may free the little land they have left his majesty from the stinking water and the Castle from the abominable stink that proceeds from the loch by an easterly wind which is now worse than ever or allow no rubish to be brought on the Hill which is now so plenty in the Streets that a Coach can hardly pass and inter noss I fear the greatest point desired is to get rid of the Rubish.

When I shewd the ld Provost your letter I allsoe Shewed him one I had just recd. from Mr Skinner who I had wrote to with respect to the leave he had given the magistrates to bring up the rubish on the Hill and whose answer was (as in Mr. Skinners letter of 11 of July but writ in full to Genll. Bland).

By the foregoing letter I think the magistrates have imposed on us by saying they had Mr Skinners leave to bring rubish on the Castle Hill.

I am now under difficulties how to behave in this matter by Sr. Jno. Legoniers answer to you nothing should be done till recommended by Mr Skinner to the board. By Mr Skinners letter he hath neither recommendd it to the board

nor given leave to bring up the Rubish to the Hill, and by the Provosts Complaint if the Rubish is not allowd to be brought the Scheme of making Walks on the Hill as proposed must be lost for want of Rubish.

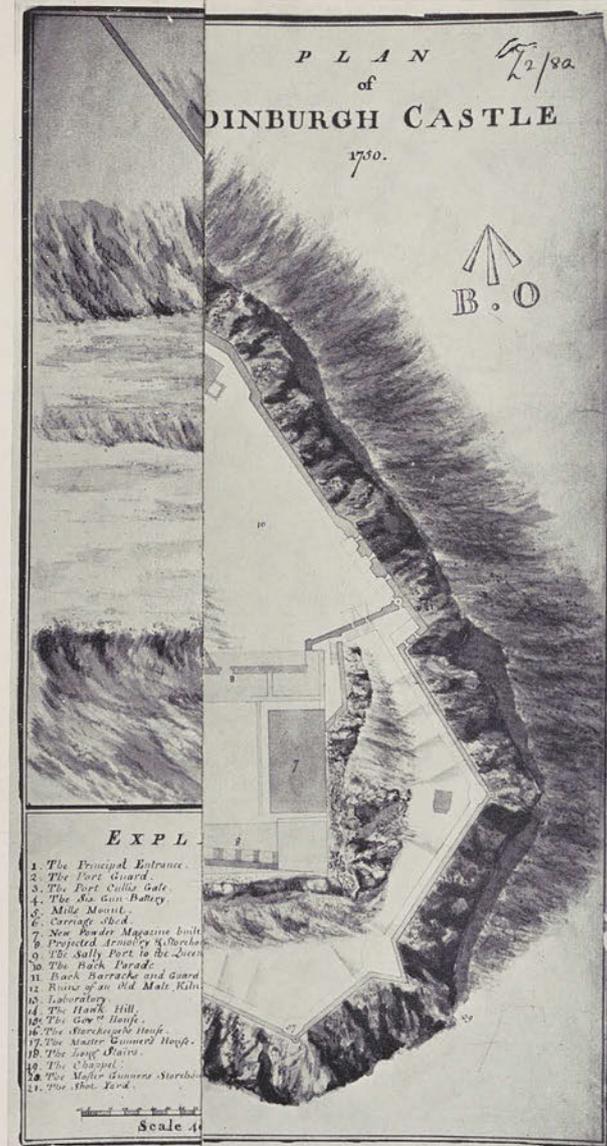
The work Seems to me to want nothing to Set it forward but the town and Provost Complying with our desire of draneing the loch, and as it would be pittty So good an opportunity should be lost of levelling the Hill I have ventured to give leave for the Rubish to be brought on this Condition that the lord provost and magistrates doe Signe an Instrument now drawing up by Mr Gardner disclaiming any Right and asking it as a favour and obligeing it as a favour and obligeing themselves to perform the work on the Hill Conformable to the leave that may be given them and at their own expence.

The Sutlers House is still in the Same Situation and little or nothing has been done to it which indeed was the accasion of my writing to Mr Skinner whose answer was, as in Mr Skinners letter, but writ verbatim in this letter.

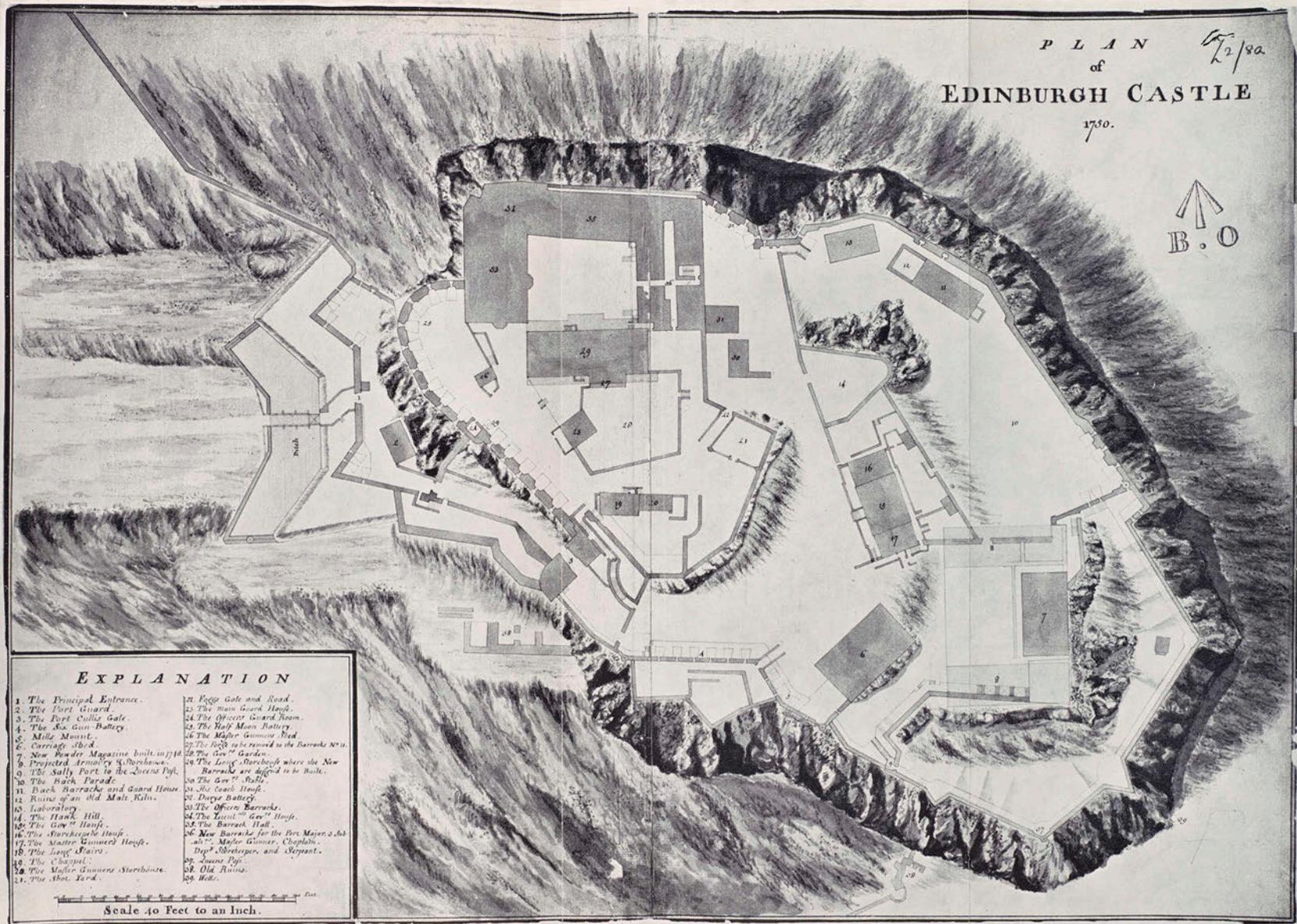
I hope youll approve of what I have done and give yourself the trouble of making a Sekond applycation to Sr. Jno. Legonier or the Board and favour me with my desired letter the Sooner the better.

Soon after you left us I waited on the lord Justice Clerck and Complained to him of the hardships I labourd under by his Committing felony and other prisoners to the Castle which I apprehended should have been more properly been Committed to the Talbooth of Edinbr. being a Common Goal for the whole Country of north Brittain. He answerd, that he would soon ease me of the prisoners I complaind of and trouble me as little as possable for the future but instead of performing his promise he has taken one away and Sent four others which are only evidences against the one taken away and guilty of no crime. So that the Castle is a Common Goal on all occasions and so much room taken up that when the Companys return from the roads the officers must ley two in a room haveing now eight prisoners of the above kind.

I beg leave to observe to you that I am informd. that formerly no other prisoners ware Sent to the Castle but such as had been guilty of treasonable practices or crimes of that



PLAN
of
EDINBURGH CASTLE
1750.



EXPLANATION

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Principal Entrance. | 22. Fogg's Gate and Road. |
| 2. The Port Guard. | 23. The Main Guard House. |
| 3. The Port Collis Gate. | 24. The Officer's Guard Room. |
| 4. The Six Gun Battery. | 25. The Half Moon Battery. |
| 5. Mill's Mount. | 26. The Major Gunner's Bed. |
| 6. Carriage Shed. | 27. The Room to be removed to the Barracks No. 11. |
| 7. New Powder Magazine built in 1734. | 28. The Gov ^{rs} Garden. |
| 8. Projected Armory by Robertson. | 29. The Gov ^{rs} Storehouse where the New Barracks are designed to be built. |
| 9. The Sally Port to the Queen's Hill. | 30. The Gov ^{rs} Stable. |
| 10. The Back Parade. | 31. The Gov ^{rs} Coach House. |
| 11. Back Barracks and Guard House. | 32. Deep's Battery. |
| 12. Ruins of an old Male Kiln. | 33. The Officer's Barracks. |
| 13. Laboratory. | 34. The Lieut ^{ant} Gov ^{rs} House. |
| 14. The Hawk Hill. | 35. The Barrack Hall. |
| 15. The Gov ^{rs} House. | 36. New Barracks for the five Master Gunners. |
| 16. The Star-shaped House. | 37. The Master Gunner, Chaplain. |
| 17. The Master Gunner's House. | 38. Dep ^t Surgeon, and Sergeant. |
| 18. The Long House. | 39. Gunner's Bed. |
| 19. The Chapel. | 40. Old Room. |
| 20. The Major Gunner's Storehouse. | 41. Old Well. |

Scale 40 Feet to an Inch.

PLAN OF EDINBURGH CASTLE, 1750
By courtesy of the National Library of Scotland

nature and none for debt or felony were ever Committed here till English governours were appointed.

My wife and Daughter beg leave to Joyn with me in complymts. who am

Yours¹

From this last letter two further points of general interest arise—the use of the Castle as winter barracks for the troops engaged on road-making in the Highlands; and the use of the Castle as a general prison. The opening up of the Highlands, begun by General George Wade some twenty-five years previously as a basic defensive measure against Jacobite revolt, was still continuing, probably in close collaboration with the defensive engineering works of William Skinner. The road-making operation was at this time under the superintendence of Major William Caulfield, who had annually at his disposal the services of the men of regiments currently stationed in Scotland such as, to use their more modern titles, the Royal Welch Fusiliers, the King's Own Royal Border Regiment, the Royal Warwickshire Fusiliers, and the Somerset and Cornwall Light Infantry. These men were hand-picked; no recruits were used on this work, nor were "awkward" men who were liable to cause trouble, but only sober and healthy soldiers. The Wade roads proper, over 250 miles in length, linking Inverness with Fort William, and Dunkeld and Crieff with Inverness and Fort Augustus, had by now been completed; Caulfield's road between Blairgowrie and Braemar was also finished, and work was actively continuing on roads between Fort-William and Stirling, and Dumbarton and Inveraray.² It was the men employed on this last road, the men of Ancrum's Regiment (now the South Wales Borderers), for whom Coren had to find room in Edinburgh Castle, apparently already over-crowded with soldiers and prisoners.

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 12-12v.

² John M. Bulloch, *Old Highland Highways*, Inverness, 1931; J. B. Salmond, *Wade in Scotland*, Edin., 1938, pp. 283 *et seq.*

From its earliest days Edinburgh Castle had been used as a prison, mainly for state prisoners—those accused of treason against the king and “political” crimes against the State. The failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 resulted in a large number of political and military prisoners and the strongholds of Scotland were crowded to their fullest extent in order to accommodate them. Contrary to what might be expected, the Castle was not reserved for people of social consequence and political importance; although a number of prisoners in this category were placed there, they were greatly outnumbered by the rank and file of the rebels.¹ By the time of Richard Coren’s tenure of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Castle the position had changed slightly, and the majority of prisoners held in the Castle were again men of consequence. In fact, most of them were incarcerated there because of their connection with Jacobite activities or their personal relationship to known rebels, but the charges brought against them, the legal reason for their imprisonment, were often of a more normal kind. It was this fact which led Coren to protest against the use of the prison as a “Common Goal”, and it is clear that he feels that this has been done deliberately as a jealous reprisal against him personally, as an Englishman. Whether or not this was true, his protest had to be faced, and on 8th August, less than a month after his original complaint, there was drawn up on behalf of the Scottish civil and legal authorities a *Memorial concerning the Castle of Edinburgh, How far it is a lawfull Prison, And what Powers are lodged in the Hands of the Civil Government relating to that Fortress*,² directed specifically against Coren. The author of the memorial writes:

The Instances of committing Persons to the Castle of Edinburgh for State Crimes are almost innumerable, And the Commitments have

¹ *The Prisoners of the Forty Five*, ed. Sir Bruce Gordon Seton, i, p. 69 (Scottish History Society).

² NLS., Adv. MS. 19.1.35, ff. 15-21. Internal evidence suggests the writer of this memorial might have been Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald.

been some Times by the Court of Justiciary, and some Times by single Judges, besides Commitments that were by the Privy Council of Scotland, & by Order of the Crown.

The Memorialist further finds, that upon extraordinary Emergents, where the publick Service & Preservation of the Peace required it, Criminals accused or convicted of Crimes, have been committed to the Castle, & tho’ this has been the Custom immemorial, it wou’d appear a certain Person has the Honour to see in this, particular Danger at a great Distance than any of his Predecessors Deputy-Governors, ever did, the Practice having never been complained of.

As to the Law upon this Subject, the Fortress is certainly not a prison for Debt; But it has ever been deemed a lawfull Prison, so far as regards the Criminal committed to it. But then as to the Commanding officer, when the warrants were not granted by the Supreme Power, but by the Ordinary Judges, the Warrants were always so drawn up, as to be no more than Recommendations to such officer; As your Lordship will see by casting Your Eye upon the Warrant for transmitting James Drummond to the Castle of Edinburgh; So that the Commanding Officer, if he thinks fit to refuse to receive the Prisoner he is not amenable to the Court, but is only answerable to his Superior officer, and to His Majesty; If the Commitment to the Castle was evidently for the Preserving of the Peace, and for His Majesty’s Service.

But the truth is, If the Commanding Officers there, on Pretence of future bad consequences, which possibly they can then assign no good Cause for, take up so great a Delicacy, that upon no Occasion they will receive a Criminal for Custody, it may on some Occasions be attended with very Signal Mischiefs.

The writer of the memorial sums his case up in the words, “All the Fortresses in the *disarmed* Parts of Scotland are declared Legal Prisons by a late Act of Parliament”. Legally therefore, it would appear that Coren had no grounds for complaint. But the method described for committing prisoners to the Castle, whereby there was no legal coercion on him to accept the prisoners, was one which placed him in a most cruel dilemma; if he accepted custody of prisoners he created overcrowded conditions in the Castle, which prevented it

from being effective militarily, and might bring down on his head the recriminations of his superior officer; if he refused to accept prisoners into the Castle, the civil authorities would take steps to ensure that he answered for his action to his superior officer. To Coren the lesser of the two evils was to accept the prisoners, and hope that eventually something could be done about his accommodation problems. But this was something which created in him considerable irritation and increased his resentment against the Scottish authorities in Edinburgh; prisoners, from this time onward, form a subject of constant complaint in his letters to General Bland.

To Genll Bland, August 18, 1752.

Sir,

I had the honour of yours of 24 ulto and sincerely Congratulate you on the Succession to the Dragoon Guards. I should have acknowledged your favour Sooner had I had anything agreeable to acquaint you with.

Soon after you left us Mr Gardner acquainted the Provost from me that I had your orders to stop the Rubish being brought from the town to the Castle hill unless he complied with your demands and also gave him a memorial in which was contained all the artickles required. He approved of the artickles and promised that his town clerk Should draw up a proper instrument which should be signed by him and the magistrates and sent me. I waited three weeks and hereing nothing further of the matter, I wrote to the Provost that unless he Complied with the artickles he himself had approved of I must again Stop the progress of his Carts, and haveing at this time recd. no answer to my letter have accordingly done it. Thus stands the affair of the Hill.

I must now beg leave to acquaint you with what hapens within the Castle.

The time drawing near for the return of the Companys from the Roads I was endeavouring to execute your orders for regulateing the lodgeing rooms for officers in the Castle and as major Robertson had Six lodgeing rooms locked up I

acquainted him with your order and desired he would make Choice of any two of them to put his furniture in, appoint another for his Son the Ensigne and send me the keys of the other three Rooms for the use of such officers as wanted. To this I can receive no other answer than that there are many others have houses besides him, that his was appropriate him by the Board of ordnance and that I should doe as I would be done by and sends no Keys.¹

The no. of officers belonging to the five companys of Genll Skeltons when they return from the Roads will be

a field officer lodged in the Lt govr. house	
three capt.	} in all thirteen
eight Subalterns	
adjutant and surgeon	
8 rooms in the grand apartmt 4 of which are possed by prisoners	
4 only remains	
1 from Lt. Kinloch	
1 from the minister	
1 from griffith the gunr.	
3 other rooms	

So that 3 rooms from Robertson would be a room to each officer unless our next Companys has more officers. As to Ens. Robertson I have seen nothing of him since you left us, but was told by Capt. Stewart that Genll Churchill had recd. a letter from Duke Hamilton that you had given Ens. Robertson leave of absence but that you had told him it was necessary he should apply to the genll for further leave. As Lt. Kinloch is incapeable of coming out of his lodgeing I have revewd your Company which I fine (*sic*) in a miserable Condition. Some are indifferently stoct with linnen, and others not suffitient to shift them and in want of all sorts of necessarys. This shall soon be repaired and I hope when wee have parted with our Invaleeds the Company will be

¹ Major Robertson retained his apartment in the Castle at least until 1756. On 23rd April 1756, General Bland made a direct order to him to move to other accommodation in the Castle (NLS., MS. 305, p. 188); but he had died on 4th January 1756 (NLS., MS. 8027, f. 33).

more Capeable of duty then at present. But there has been a very bad practice which I cannot but represent to you as I think the private men have been very hardly dealt with.

Major Robertson who has had the Command of your Company for many years orderd, that every two months a Shilling should be stopd from every private soldeier but nothing from either Sergt. Corpll, or Drumr. So that allowing the Company to be 94 private men the stopages amounted to £4. 14 which has been disposed of in the following maner

Two mounths to the surgeon	1	10	-
To the Barber of which ten shillings was given as fee to major Robertons servt	1	10	-
To the Barrackmaster for Washing Sheets	1	2	6
To the Schavenger who Cleans the Barracks and brings water	7	6	
To the Major and his Clerk for pen ink and paper	4	-	
	4	14	-

I beg leave to remind you that the Practice of the army at least of the foot has been and is now to Stop pr week

from every sergt.	2d
from every Corpll. and Drumr.	1½
from every private centll.	1

If you disapprove of Major Robertons practice and should like to put your Company on the same Establishment as the Corps of foot it would stand thus

two months stopages from 4 sergeants	5	4
do. 4 Corporalls	4	-
do. 2 Drumrs.	2	-
do. 94 private men at 8d. each	3	2
	3	14

By this Establishmt. tho every body is stoped from according to his Rank yet the whole Stopage is one pound less

then the above Stopage from the private men only but I beleive youll think the Surgeons allowance large, that Robertons man has no just pretentions to any share, and that the clerks allowance for pen ink and paper is rather to much. I therefore hope youll regulate those payments your Self and send me your orders.

I am heartily Sorry to give you so much trouble, but as I have an ill natured stubborn set of peple to deal with am desirous to act under your Sanction and hope youll excuse it and favour me with your orders on every perticular who am

Sir

Yours¹

To Genll Bland, octobr 17, 1752.

Sir,

I shewd your last letter to Capt. Stewart who asshures me that the list of men of your Company in this Castle to be dischargd for the out Pention was sent to the War office before the Date of your letter, and that time of Service, age, etc., etc., was mentiond in the return, but as no more invalids will be put on the out Pention then there are men recommended by the Regimts to Supply their places there cannot be above one half of them, at least this is his opinion. He further acquaints me that the Practice of Cloathing the men is as you Set forth.

Mr Skinner is now here and has Surveyed the Castle. The well in the high part has now 12 feet Water and he is of opinion that the Spring that Supplyes the fountain at the bottom of the Rock towards the West Kirk flows not from the Castle Rock. He says nothing can be done to the Sutlers house till you again apply to the Board, that his orders ware to Survey it and send the Board an Estimate which he did but recd. no orders to goe on with the repair. He seems to think nothing materiall to be done here but repairing the old store rooms and building new ons, so fear his Report will not be very favourable to our hopes.

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 13-13v.

The Esplanade on the Hill goes on and Mr. Skinner approves of the work. I suppose youll soon see Provost Drummond in town.

I heartily wish you a pleasant Journey to Manchester and with my own and familys compliments beg leave to subscribe myself, Sir

Yours¹

To Genll Bland, octobr. 23, 1752.

Sir,

I had the honour of yours of the 14 Instant and acquainted Genll Churchill with the march of your Regimt. on the 14/25.

I am sorry to acquaint you that there is another Demur to the work on our Castle Hill. On my rect. of your answer to my letter in which Provost Drummonds was inclosed I shewd it to the Provost who immediate gave orders to Mr Blair, Clerk to the Magistrates, to goe on with the Esplanade and Walks and the Work continued goeing well on for some days, when no more carts came up with Rubish from the town but several men were employd in diging down a walk on the South Side according to the first Plan proposed which had been disapproved by Mr Skinner and contrary to your orders. I therefore acquainted Mr Skinner who was then here and on his inspection of it he desired me to stop the work only to allow them to slope what they had dug down. But it more surprised me, on my goeing to Mr Blair to stop those proceeding I told him that I had heard a report in town which I thought he ought to Suppress least it should stop even the making the Esplanade, viz. that the Work on the Hill was carrying on not by leave from the Government but by the right of a Charter the City had. He frankly answerd that there was such a Charter grantd to the City for the South Side of the Castle Hill by James the Sixth of Scotland but that at present they had no intention to make use of that power if leave could be obtaind from the govermt. This I alsoe acquainted Mr Skinner with who is now gon to London and as Provost Drummond is alsoe in town I beleive

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 14c.

youll soon see them both, and hope to receive your further orders on this perplexed affair.

Mr Skinner hath not told me in what maner he proposes to Supply this garrison with water but suppose when he has made his report to the Board youll here of it from them. I am, etc., Sir

Yours

P.S. Such is the obstinacy of the above Mr Blair that tho Mr Skinner told him not to dig any more on the aforesd. Walk and I Spoak to him severall times to the same purpose yet he set his workmen on it early in the morning and I was this day obliged to take away their tools to prevent them.¹

The "Demur" to the building of the Esplanade reported by Richard Coren to General Bland was also recorded by the officials of the City of Edinburgh. Two days later, on 25th October 1752, the following entry was made in the Town Council Minutes :

Dean of Gild David Flint represented that there was some demurr about executing the walks on the Castlehill according to the plan laid down for that purpose, Therefore he had taken the plan into his custody untill the Councill should impower some of their number to employ a proper person for taking the charge of this work and over-seeing the workmen, Which having been considered by the Magistrates & Councill, They recommended to the Dean of Gild to employ some fitt person to give directions for executing the said work and overseeing the workmen while employed about it.

This shows the Council's determination to continue with its original plan in the face of opposition from the military authorities. Archibald Blair, the Clerk to the Magistrates, himself owned property on the Castlehill, and was exceedingly anxious to see the work completed, even to the extent of paying for some of it himself. A letter he wrote to Provost George

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 14v-15.

Drummond on 17th November 1755 illustrates his interest in this matter¹ :

The Castlehill is now put to its full breadth at the top and Governour Corrin is desirous to straik out the Banks on both sides, at your Lordships sight, or any one of the Magistrats, soe as to form an under-walk which I could wish were done before you left the place.

It will coast some small matter to dress these Banks, and put them into shape, and if the Council will allow the Treasurer to expend five or six pound in that matter, I shall oversee the work that it be laid out to the best advantage, And if you please to order the repayment of the seven guineas and a half which I laid out for labourers wages at provost Alexanders desire, three years agoe, it will be acceptable.

No wonder, with such an interest in the result, that Blair was willing to force Coren's hand by reference to the Charter rights of the City. Blair's legal position was sound in this matter ; the "Golden Charter" of 15th March 1603 did specifically grant to the town rights over "*ripas lie bankis et brayis australes et boreales situatas prope castrum de Edinburgh ex utrisque lateribus dicti castris (a publica via et illa parte dicti burgi nuncupata Under-the-Castell-wall per boream ad caput ripe, et abhinc per boream et sic descendendo ad lacum borealem) . . .*"² Although there is no mention of the outcome of the struggle between Coren and Blair, it seems probable that, with the support of this charter, the Town was successful in getting its own plan adopted in spite of the objections of the military engineer, William Skinner.

Two months after this episode occurred the daring escape from the Castle of one of Coren's most important prisoners, James Macgregor Drummond, the son of Rob Roy Macgregor, otherwise known as James Mhor. Macgregor Drummond, who had played a significant part in Jacobite activities, was impris-

¹ I am indebted to Miss Helen Armet, City Archivist, for drawing my attention to these references.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vi, 1427, p. 514.

oned in the Castle after trial for his involvement in the action of his brother Robin Oig in the abduction and rape of an heiress, Jean Kay. On 16th November 1752 his daughter entered his cell disguised as a cobbler and quickly changed clothes with her father ; James Mhor hobbled out of the Castle past the guards without suspicion and later escaped to France. This episode forms a significant part of the plot of R. L. Stevenson's *Catriona*. The fact that later Macgregor Drummond offered his services to the Hanoverian government as a spy has led many to believe that this escape was accomplished with the connivance of the government. If so, it was a well kept secret. Lieutenant-General George Churchill, then Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, in great concern instituted an enquiry into the affair, as a result of which a junior Lieutenant, a sergeant and a sentry received punishment. Coren himself, full of fear and wild counter-accusations, was absolved from direct blame, but received a reprimand and instructions to increase his security arrangements.¹

To Genll. Bland, Decr. 12, 1752.

Sir,

I have the honour of yours of the 5 Instant and am under the Greatest Concern that I have done anything to disoblige his Royal Highness the Duke whose Good opinion I always set greatest value on and shall do the utmost on my power to regain.

I shall not offer to vindicate my Conduct in the unfortunate affair of McGregors Escape but as you desire me to answer to your perticulers I shal doe it with truth in the most Compendious manor I Can.

I acknowledge the Justness of his R:H: observation that my orders ware not sufficiently explicit and that I ought to have seen the rules of Garrison duty put in execution, but beg leave to acquaint his R:H: that I have been ill for two

¹ General Churchill's Letter-book ; NLS., MS. 309, pp. 40-5, 69.

mounths past and extreably so before and at the time of McGregors making his Escape and being obliged to keep my Room for a mounth was at that time incapeable of Seeing the orders executed, and obliged by that means to trust to the officers Reports which I had every morning of the prisoners Safety.

I am Senceable that by military discipline and the Rules of Garrison duty no officer ought to Change their Guards but as I was not acquainted with the exchange in debate and have never allowd of any such practice in this Garrison how could I foresee such behaviour or how prevent it.

I acknowledge my Remisness in not giving an order against viseters going to the prisoner, but as I never had given any orders for that indulgence I thought every officers own prudence would have prevented his allowing it, till he had first acquainted me and I hope it will be Considerd that tho allowing the permission of viseters to be a fault throuth the garrison, yet had my order of locking up the prisoner at Retreat beating which every officer and sergeant acknowledges to have receivd, had due Reguard paid it, the misfortune of McGregors Escape had never hapend.

I humbly thank you for your kind endeavour to mittigate his R:H. Just anger and hope you will Continue to plead my Cause and endeavour to restore me to his R:H. Favour, and as I hope I am now again Capeable of doeing my Duty, shall with greatest pleasure obey his R:H. Commands by giveing orders according to military Discipline and Strictly observeing all the Rules of garrison duty and Seeing them put in execution.

I heartily thank you for mentioning to his R:H. the perticulers wanting to take Care of prisoners, for if the Castle is to receive al Sorts of prisoners a Goaler is absolutely necessary. Irons will also be wanted which none but Such as the above will know how to put them on.

I beg leave to mention some other perticulers which will ad much to facilitateing the duty and Safety of the garrison.

A Fort major is an officer of Consequence in a garrison and a great assistant to a govr. The Fortmajor of this garrison has leave of absence on acc. of his age and infirmitys and no

person appointed to doe his duty, only the Adjutant perades the guards and sees them march of but all other parts of his duty are left to my Share.

As you well observe and I fear with great reason wee have two (*sic*) many enimies in our Neighbourhood I therefore think an officers Guard at the Barrier is absolutely necessary and in time of any Danger Cannot beleive the garrison safe without it. But it has been very seldom that our number of officers will allow of that duty, and our present case is much so, for before the Confinement of those officers only five subaltern officers did duty in the five companys of Lord Geo: Beaulercks Regimt. and one only in your company in all six officers of which one mounts the main guard a Second the reserve guard or piquet with 50 men which are dureing that duty to continue in the Castle. The want of officers therefore obliges me to trust the Barrier Guard to a Sergeant in whome I to often, tho I take the greatest care to prevent it and for which some have sufferd, I find a remisness that would in time of danger be of great prejudice.

There is no Porter or Turnkey on the Establishment of the Castle, but on my arrival here I found three men of your Company Set apart for that duty and finding that they knew the Keys and understood the locking and opening of the Gates, I thought it better to continue them then to employ different persons every day that might Spoil the locks. One of those porters mounts every day with the Sergeant of the Barrier Guard and continues in a little lodge built on purpose near the outer gate till Retreat beating when he with a Corpl. and file of men fetches the Keys from the Govr. house and locks the great gates and after the gates are lockd returns the Keys in the same manor and goes to his post as before where he Continues till the time of locking the Wickets, when he goes to the main guard and with a Sergt. and two file of men fetches the Keys, locks the Wickets, returns the Keys and goes with the Sergt. to the main guard where he continues till the time of opening the Gates in the morning.

I am sorry to acquaint you that there is no Water in the Well nor has there been and these five weeks. I shall Con-

tinue to make you a Constant Report of what water is in the Well and am, Sir,

Yours¹

To Genll. Bland, Decr 31, 1752.

Sir,

On my Receipt of your last favour I communicated it to genll Churchill and expect this Day his orders for puting his Royal H: orders in execution.

H:R:H Informant Carries his spleen beyond truth and his Report of my playing Cards with Lt. Cleland or even Seeing him till after the prisoner had mad his Escape is as fals as malicious. Perhaps what gave Rice to the Report might be that Lieut. Clelands Wife and Sister drank tea with my Daughter that afternoon and as I am now informed Mr Cleland was with them. The viset Continued about an hour but no Cards were plaied nor had he any sash on. At this time I was extreamly ill in my chambr above stairs and saw neither Lt. Cleland his wife or sister or any other stranger that Day except a Surgeon who Bled me, nor did I ever play Cards with Mr Cleland in my life. Between 7 and 8 a clock that night Lt. Brown and Cleland came togeather to acquaint me with the prisoners Escape and then indeed I came down Stairs and tho badly able gave such orders as was necessary for the recovery of the prisoner, Sent for serg. Penington and others Concernd took their examinations and the next morning sent the whole State of the Case to Genll. Churchill.

I am not much Surprised at my haveing many Enimys in this Country who will Catch at every feather to doe me disservice.

When his majesty was pleasd to honour me with his Commission as lieut. govr. of this Castle, it was thought an affront on the Country at least by the Common peple, that an English govr. should be sent to command a Garrison at the matropolis. This made me obnoxious to the peple in genll. and in the Garrison in perticular where some thought

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 15v-16v.

they had a hardship done them by my being put over their head (as they term it) and stopd their perferment.

The next thing that Created me Enimys tho as unjustly as the former was my being put in to the Commission of the Peace. When I went to the Parliament house where a number of my Bretheren ware met in order to quallify my appearance Struck a visible Confusion in the assembly which Continued dureing the takeing and signeing the quallification oaths and seemd to continue till my takeing my leave. Some attempted to speak but ware prevented by a Nod or Stop from the Ld. President.

The next thing that occurd was puting your orders and Mr Skinners desire in execution viz : stoping the magistrate designe of diging and makeing Walks below the designed Esplanade. This was all laid to my Charge, and thought so great an affront on the publick that the few friends I had who endeavrd to Convince them that I had no other Share in it then obeying the orders I had from my Superiors, labourd in vain and I receivd some affronts to teadious to mention.

I do not mention these arguments to screen my Self from doeing my Duty which neither affronts nor threats shall prevent me from doeing to the best of my ability whilst I have the honour of haveing his majestys Commission, but I hope H:R:H: will be pleasd to Consider my situation and allow me to answer to any information may be made H:R:H to my prejudice.

Inclod is a Copy of David McCaren dimentions of the halfmoon Well.

Edinb., Decr. 5, 1752

According to Mr Lyons orders I went down this day and vewd the Castle Well in the half moon and upon measureing find it to be 111 foot depth. In the upper part there is 30 foot of asloyer wark the Diameter of which is 5 foot, below that in the middle Space there is 30 foot depth of Rock which goes gradually down like a sugarloaf from five foot Diameter at the top to 15 foot at the bottom. The last space of 51 foot depth is 9 foot square at the top which

diminishes gradually to 5 foot at the bottom and I do not find above 6 inches Water which is attested by me

David McCaren.

N.B: I have had the Sd. Well Searched once a week since the first of novr. and have never found more then ten Inches Water

R.C.

This Certificate and N:B: I gave Genll Churchill who orders Capt. Stewart to write an acct. of it to the Secretary at War.

I shall Continue to have it Searchd weekly and have it repord. to me every munday morning in the officers Report of his Guard.

Ens. Robertson is now at his duty and the unfortunate officers have recd. his majestys pleasure. Mr Cleland is thought an object of pittty and it is Saied he his wife and Sister have not a shilling to buy them a dinner.

My family beg leave to offer you their Complymnts on the Season and I am, Sir

Yours

P: S: I humbly beg your opinion on the following queres whither if H:R:H's Informant be belonging to the castle he is not a dangerous man, very unfit to be trusted, it being reasonable to beleive that a person that will assert a lye to the prejudice of another is capeable of Committing any vil-lany.

Whither it is not probable such an enemy may Bribe a Sergt. Corpll or Centry not to doe his Duty or obey his orders that blame may Come on him that gives them and even Sacrifice a garrison to perpetrate his revenge on such as he has an enmity to.

In my humble opinion Such villains should be pointed out to all mankind Since he may be accounted a Flail against which there is no Defence and I do not remember any thing ever gave me a greater uneasiness then this information against me to his R:H.¹

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 17-17v.

The problem of the Castle water supply had been troubling Richard Coren for some time past and the difficulty of providing the Castle garrison with an adequate supply of fresh water had now reached serious proportions. The main source of water within the Castle was the well near the Half-Moon Battery; this supply was both slender and erratic, making it necessary for Coren to order the water to be conserved. Presumably under orders from the Board of Ordnance, he had the well examined thoroughly and then made a continuous record of the level of water within the well. This record was very discouraging, and it was clear that an attempt would have to be made to implement the supply. It was at this stage that William Skinner suggested that cisterns should be constructed to collect rain water and to store it for future use. These tanks would have to be very large, for it was necessary, Coren felt, that there should be stored at least three months supply; the tanks would have to have a capacity of at least 25,000 gallons. The expense of such tanks would be considerable and it is clear that the Board of Ordnance did not feel they could immediately spend money on the project on this scale.

To General Bland, Jany. 23, 1753.

Sir,

I have your favours of 9 and 16 instant and thank you for your kind advice and shall endeavour to follow it as Strictly as possible.

I yesterday waited on Genll. Churchill with your last letter and doubt not but he will speak to Mr Skinner when he comes. I am glad to here Some thing is like to be done with respect to our Water for tho wee may Some times have a little in the Well I fear it will be very uncertain. As I have had the Well searchd once a week Since the report from Mr. Lyon with the dimentions it may not be amiss to let you Know it.

Novr. 6: 4 inches; 13: 8 inches; 20: 6 inches; 27: 8 inches;
Decr. 5: six inches; 11: no water; 18: no water; 25: six inches;
Jany. 1: 4 inches; 8: ten inches; 15: 11 inches; 22: three foot.

If Cestrens are made as proposed they must be large to Contain three or four mounths water for the garrison. If it Continues as at present and the Companys are Completed the five Companys will be, officers included, 405, your own Company, 113, the staff, 10. Total 528 at two quarts the Day to each man for all uses will be p. Day 264 gallons, 100 days 419 Hogsheads 3 gallons.

In your letter of 9 Instant you mention your haveing mislaid the Role of your Company and Mr Gardner not haveing recd. your orders to send you another I have got one drawn by the Clerk of your Company which you have inclosed. Two are dead since the men ware discharged for Chealsea one of which vacancies has been filled up by genll. Churchill, the other remains and must Continue so, till a mounths pay be Stopd to defray the funeral which it Seems has been always usuall. Your Company doth not seem to be much strenthened by our late Recruit. One of them is already Dead, and others in a bad way. I yesterday saw Mr Gardner who not haveing an accasion to write you himself desires his Compliments, and my family Joyns with me in wishing you many happy new years, who am, etc.,

Yours¹

To Genll. Bland, Feby 6, 1753.

Sir,

I have your favour of first Instant and am Sorry any artickles in my Contingent Bill is should be disagreeable to the Secretary at War or you but ashure you I have pd. every artickll to a farthing as Chargd.

My predecessor I beleive did not Charge Bonfires or fires at Court martials which at that time ware never held in the Castle, but chargd five Hospital fires which I have reduced to two by turning the five rooms into one large Room with two fireplaces, and one year he charged fourty pounds for lamps. There is allways a guinea and sometimes two chargd at the War Office for a Warrant to receive Contingent

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 18e-19.

Bill and (*sic*), and Sixpence pr. pound agency. However as those artickles Charged are disapproved of I should be very Sorry to disoblige the Secretary at Warr or you and therefor have by this Post Sent a Contingent Bill to Mr Hadderton wherein those artickles are left out.

Our well had yesterday only a foot and half Water and as I have this day been informd that the Soldiers get the Water out of the Well early before it is Searchd. I have now orderd a Centry to prevent any Water being drawn for three days that we may know what Water it produces in that time.

My family joyn with me in offering you our Services who am, etc.,

Yours¹

To General Bland, March 27, 1753.

Sir,

As the time Draws near for Mr Skinner the Engineer to Set out for this Country, I beg leave to put you in mind of the memorandums Relateing to the garrison which you was pleasd to take when here, perticularly the Repairs of the Sutlers House. Mr Skinner told me when in his way to london, that he had Sent up his Survey, but could not proceed to Repair, till he had Recd. orders from the Board which he appended would not be without your further applycation.

Our Well has had no water drawn from it Since the 3d Instant and has now 12 feet water and I do not propose to allow any Water to be drawn from it till it comes to its height, but the quality of the water is so bad that it will neither Boyl or Wash.

The Esplanad on the Hill goes on very slowly and I do not understand that they have any intention to pave the middle part by which means after Rain the whole Hil is worse then any high Road and much Complained off by the Soldiers.

last evening was brought prisoner to the Castle Doctr.

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 19.

Archbal Cameron Brother of Lock Heal and this day the lord Justice Clerk has been to Examine him and strict orders are given for his Security.

My family beg leave to offer you their Compliments, and I have the honour to be, etc.

Yours¹

Coren's new prisoner, Dr. Archibald Cameron, was a Jacobite of considerable standing, a close friend of Prince Charles whom he had helped to escape to France after Culloden. Cameron returned to Scotland in October 1752 to receive money collected by Jacobites in Scotland for the support of the Pretender's adherents overseas, and in the course of this mission he was apprehended on 21st March 1753 by troops of Lord George Beauclerk's Regiment under the command of Captain Craven. On 25th March General Churchill signed an order directing Coren "to receive & Detain [him] in Sure and Safe Custody . . . as you shall be answerable for the Consequence. . . . Allowing none to have Access to him but by an order in writing from the Lord Justice Clerk or myself. . . ." ² Churchill was obviously determined not to have a repetition of the James Mhor escape. Cameron remained in the Castle only a short time, and on 4th April was taken to London for trial for his part in the rebellion of 1745; he was condemned to be hanged and quartered, and this ignominious sentence was carried out on 7th June.

The other prisoners were of less importance; but one of them, David Malloch, was an object of special concern to the Lieutenant-Governor, who felt that the legal reason for his incarceration was merely a matter of debt, for which the Castle was not a lawful prison. Malloch was an exciseman who, in the course of his duty, killed a smuggler "under such circumstances, that he was not able to justify his having killed him"; in August 1750 he was sentenced to be hanged. The writer

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 20.

² NLS., MS. 309, p. 173.

of the Memorial already mentioned goes into his case at great length¹:

It was thought expedient for the Service of the Revenue that he should receive His Majesty's Pardon, but what he did having been represented to the Mobb, as extremely atrocious, there was Reason to fear the Mobb might forcibly take him from that Prison (*i.e.* the Tolbooth) & destroy him, as was unhappily effected, upon Captain Porteous.

He was accordingly transferred temporarily to the Castle, and was still there nearly three years later. The reason for this was complex:

When he received His Majesty's Pardon, it was necessary he should plead the same, which by the Law of Scotland the Judges are bound not to allow of, until the Damages of the nearest Kin (which with Us is called an Assythment) are either paid or secured. The ascertaining of such Damages, the Court of Justiciary remitted to the Court of Exchequer, which they believed would be the most favourable to an Unfortunate Officer of the Revenue; And 'till this was done it was necessary to commit Malloch to Prison [still within the Castle] . . . But then 'tis said, that the Exchequer has taxt the Amount of the Damages to £100 so that now he is a Prisoner for Debt, And that the Commanding Officer has been served with an Instrument . . . by which the Commanding Officer is liable for the Debt, in case Malloch should escape.

This of course explains some of Coren's concern for his prisoner. Malloch could not pay the money, and could no longer even buy the little extras which would have made his imprisonment more tolerable; his situation was one to which Coren would naturally be sympathetic, as he would undoubtedly believe that Malloch's "crime" should have been ignored. The fear that he himself would become liable for the damages if anything happened to his prisoner would make Coren all the more eager to procure Malloch's release. Per-

¹ NLS., Adv. MS. 19.1.35, ff. 18-19.

haps his fear was unjustified ; Lord Tinwald, if it was he who wrote the Memorial, stated that it was

a Misapprehension to suggest, that the Deputy Governor would be liable for that Debt in Case of an Escape, Because such Consequences could only happen to the Jailer of a Common Prison, when by his Neglect a Prisoner for Debt Escapes. Perhaps the Instrument may make the Gentleman a little uneasy but he is in no real Danger.

But Coren continued to make efforts either to have Malloch freed completely, or at least to have him removed from his custody.

To Genll. Bland, Aprll 5, 1753.

Sir,

I take the liberty to acquaint you that the prisoner Docter Cameron mentiond in my last, was yesterday morning deliverd to two of his majestys messengers by order from his Grace of Newcastle who Imediately set out with him for london in a Coach guarded by a captain from our Garrison and a party of Genll. Mordaunts Dragoons.

Wee have two prisoners remaining viz : David Mallock the Excise man who may be properly saied to be a prisoner here for Debt. The other is—Gones who was servant to Anderson Sent from hence and proved a deserter from Sr Jno. legonier's Regimt for which he was executed at Shrewsbury, but no Crime has yet be layd to the Charge of the Prisoner Jno Gones tho ten mounths Confined.

Nothing more occurs worth your notice, I ever am, Sir,

Yours¹

[To] Genll Bland, May 17, 1753.

Sir,

I have the honour of yours of 10th Instant. I have not seen Mr Gardner for Sometime not having been out of the Castle nor has he been in, but he lately wrote me to the same

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 20.

purpose as he writ you, viz. that everything promised by the magistrates should be performed.

I beleive the present Provost an honest man but I think he has very little rule of the roast and as the others have quibled from the very beginning I think we have reason to doubt their veracity espetially since Mr Blair their manager told me the last time I saw him that he Knew of no promise there was ever made to pave any part of the Hill and beleived there would be no want of it. Of this you are the Best Judge since the proposal was made to you.

I beleive Mr Gardner forgot to acquaint you that Genll. Churchill was taken so ill at Perth that he was obliged to return to the alby¹ and lord Geo: Beauclerck went on to review the remaining part of the troops. The Genll is better and I beleive has used all the means he Can to prevail on Lord Justice Clerk for the discharge or removeall of our prisoner Mallock but without success and as the laws of this Country Clog the Kings Pardon with a debt of £100 layd on him by the Barrons of Exchecquer (which some of them are asshamed of) he never will be releasd but by an order from above and his punishment instead of death will be perpetual Imprisonmt.

The Generall is very well acquainted with the no. of prisoners the strenth of the garrison and our detail Since all is of his own ordering but I beleive the two Comps. being Sent from hence to the Roads is by order from his R:H: If so it is neither in his power to augment the garrison or diminish the no. of Prisoners. However no representation is wanting in me and the leath guard is now taken from us by the Dragoons, and wee have now somewhat more then two nights in Bed. But should any insurrection hapen in Edinbr. or adjacent places I think Self preservation must take place and the magistrates must shift for themselves.

I find you have been misinformed as to our prisoners. Serjt. More Cameron is in Custody at Perth and I suppose

¹ *sic*. The meaning of this word is obscure, but it certainly relates to Edinburgh. It may be an abbreviation for "Albany" or "Albyn"; or a mis-spelling of "abbey". It is possible that Churchill, as Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, had a suite in Holyroodhouse.

takes his trial at the assises there. The prisoners we now have exclusive of Jones and Mallock are Cameron of Tassefern bro: to the Docter, Cameron Glenevis who when he heard a party was looking for him went and Surrenderd himself to Lt. Govr. of Fortwilliam, Angus Cameron of Rannoch bro: to Glenevis and Stewart a notry Publick in or about Fortwm.

Your Comps. cloathing I beleive is Safe in Edinbr. Castle but has been very Carelessly Conducted. About a four-night since a carter from leath brought 3 Bales and two Casks for Mr Lyon, Storekeeper of the ordnance, with a letter Signd Wood which acquainted that he had sent him the above things for the use of his Garison by order of Mr Jams Campbell. In the letter was inclosed an Invoice Signd Jno. Hanking and directed to Archbal Campbell of Edinbr. Your last letter Clears up this point but think either Mr Hanking or Mr Lamb should have writ either to me or Mr Kinloch on this affair. The Bales and Cask are now safe in a store room where no Rats are and I shall not open them till the time as they Stand thoroughly Dry of delivery to the Company when I hope all will answer the Invoice.

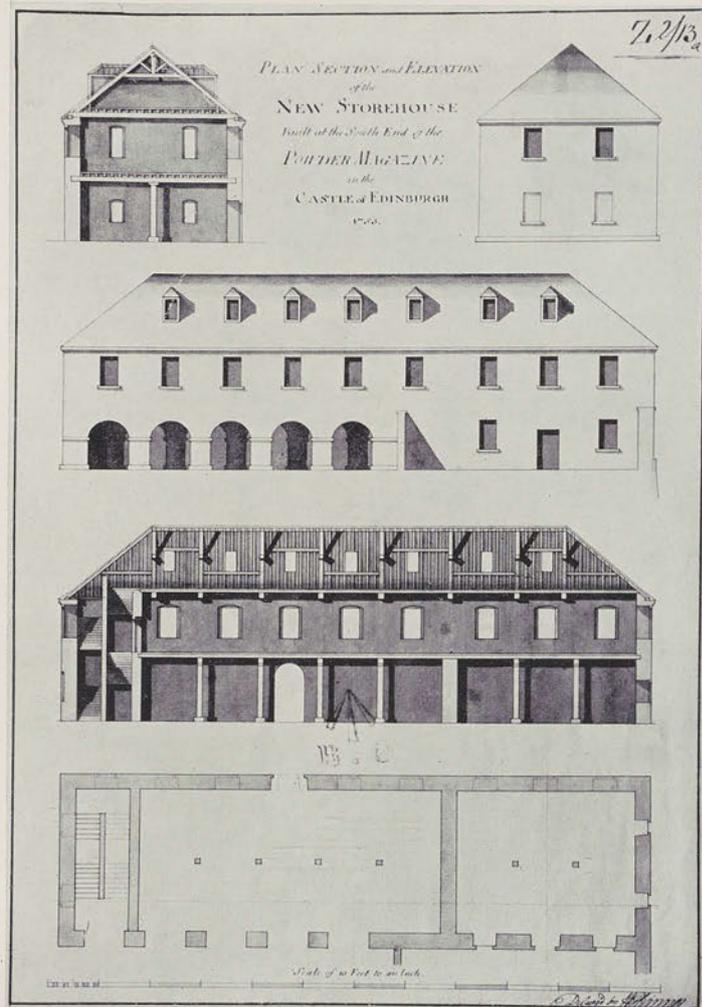
I now write from my Bed where I have been for Some Days So can say but little of Mr Skinner. I saw him in his way to the north he told me he was to leave an Engineer here to See the performance of Building a Wall round the Magazine Some Storehouses near that place, the pavement from your house to the High Castle and Something to the Sutlers house.

He told me it would Cost the govermt. £7000 to build proper Reservoirs to receive Rain water, sayd Something of the well which gave me an opportunity of acquainting him before Mr Lyon and Severall other peple of the bad quality of the water, which he acknowledged to know perfectly well. The Subject Droped on his promise to see me the next Day but I saw him no more.

When I am able to goe abroad and look about me will acquaint you further with what is doing. Meantim desire your acceptance of my own and family Best wishes, who am

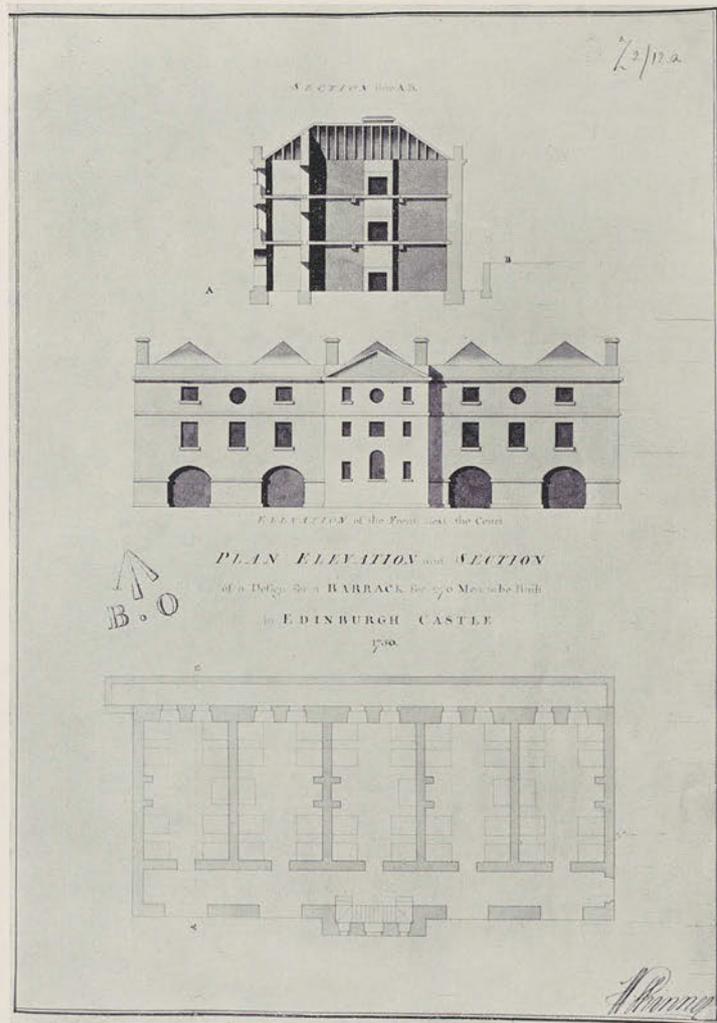
Yours¹

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 22-22v.



PLAN OF THE NEW STOREHOUSE, EDINBURGH CASTLE, 1753
BY WILLIAM SKINNER

By courtesy of the National Library of Scotland



PLAN OF THE NEW BARRACKS, EDINBURGH CASTLE, 1750
BY WILLIAM SKINNER

By courtesy of the National Library of Scotland

By this time there were more Jacobite prisoners in the Castle. John Cameron of Fassifern, elder brother of Dr. Archibald Cameron (at this time awaiting trial in London) and son of John Cameron of Lochiel, had not been an active participant in the rebellion of 1745, but was regarded with animosity by the Hanoverian government as being now the head of this predominantly Jacobite clan; no stratagem had been too clumsy in the government's attempt to eradicate the family. In the event it was found impossible to prove any treasonable practices against him, but in January 1755 he was sentenced to ten years' banishment on a charge of forging documents to bolster up his claim to the Lochiel estate. Alexander Cameron of Glenevis also had taken no part in the rebellion, but was suspected of Jacobite activities and carefully watched by the government. His present imprisonment was of short duration and he and his brother were released within two months. But the simultaneous presence of Fassifern and Glenevis in the Castle must have created accommodation problems for Coren. The relations between the two men were far from cordial; there had been a long history of personal and legal differences between them and it was believed that a brother of Glenevis had betrayed the unfortunate Dr. Archibald Cameron to the government.¹ It is to be hoped that Coren, troubled by shortage of space, did not try to house them both in the same apartment within the Castle.

To Genl. Bland, June 22d. 1753.

Sir,

There are now Employd in the Castle between 50 and 60 men in building a Wall round the Magazine a Storehouse Close to it and the pavement from your house to the high Castle, all of which are about but neither finishd.²

¹ "Memorial for Fassifern", in *Highland Papers*, vol. iii, ed. J. R. N. Macphail (Scottish History Society, 1920).

² See Plate IX for William Skinner's plan of this storehouse.

Since my last we have been Revewd by Coll. Holmes, general Churchils health not admitting him to see us. Armstrong with nine others were recommended for Chealsea and it is to be hoped we shall get a better Recruit then we did last year.

I have not seen Mr Gardner for Some time and know not whither he has Spoak to Provost Drummond since his return but no pavement is yet begun on the Castle Hill.

The Company's Cloathing will not be given out till the time of cloathing the Regiments of which shall give you an acct. when it hapens. Who am with my own and familys compliments, Sir,

Yours¹

To Genll. Bland, augst 14, 1753.

Sir,

Since my last three of our prisoners have been discharged Cameron of Glennevis and Angus Cameron his Brother have been discharged Some time haveing but little layd to their Charge, and last Saturday Cameron of Fassifern was sent for to be examined by the lords of Councel and Session, who discharged him from the Castle for treasonable practices and Committed him to the Talbooth of Edinbr. for Forgery being Guilty of forgeing or using false writeings, or using the Same knowing them to be false by presenting a Claim founded thereon to the Court of Session for divers large sums upon the forfeited Estate of the late lochiel and as I am informed the prisoner Stewart will soon be dischargd, or sent to the same place for being concernd with Fassifern. However we are not to be long without Prisoners of a Worse Charecter if possible then those we lately had, young Barrisdale attainted, with his unkle and five more of there accomplices are to be here about the 26 Instant. I am at a loss where to put them having only two Rooms really secure and fit to entertain such prisoners so that Centrys will be our greatest security and we are to have two Companys of Coll. Holmes Regimt. from Sterling.

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 22v.

I went yesterday to Dalkeith to wait on Genll. Churchill but found him so very ill that he could See no Company.

As to affairs in the Castle the pavement from the governours house to the High Castle is finishd and the Storehouses and Cooperage near the Magazine go fast on but nothing is yet done with respect to water nor have we had any water in the well for three mounths Past.

As I shall never attempt to make any other than the usual Charge for Cole Candle or lamps without your approbation I beg leave to offer to your Consideration the following particulars.

Major Roberton Chargd for lamps fourty pounds pr year and five hospital fires and as I thought it my best way to tread in his steps I made the same Charge, but was answerd from the War Office that you had regulated the lamps at £28 : 11 : - pr year and two Hospital fires after which I charged no more. But since the prisoners have been here I have been obliged to put up a new lamp on the Stairs, and as some of those prisoners now expected must be lodged up the Back Stairs another lamp must be got for that Stair Case, And as your Company perticularly has been very Sickly this Summer as well as the rest of the garrison I have been obliged to Keep three Hospital fires and as two Companys more are soon expected there is reason to beleive our Sick may rather increase then diminish. If therefore you think it reasonable should beg the favour youll pleas to salicite for some additional allowance for lamps and three Hospital fires, instead of two but as you pleas.

My family offer you there Complymts and I have the honour to be Sir

Yours¹

To Genll. Bland, October 13, 1753.

Sir,

I am sorry to trouble you with grievances but our present Situation makes it Indispensably my duty.

We have now in the Castle eight prisoners exclusive of

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 23.

Mallock the Excise man who I shall speak of hereafter. With two Companys of Genll. Johnstons Regimt. we have only three duty officers one of which is Adjutant. Your Company affords only one duty officer in all four officers so that we have Just one Releif for the officers of the Guard and Picquet.

His R:H. has been pleasd to order major Robertson to do his own Duty as Fortmajor in order to which Coll. Holme's now Commander in Chief writ him his R:H. pleasure his answer was that he was at present ill in bed but when he was able he would come to the Castle. But was he here, he is incapeable of doeing any Duty being so infirm that he is Confined to his Bed one half of the year and to his house the whole year, so that the Duty of Fortmajor is again quite lost.

The Constant Complaints from the officers of their own Rooms and the mens Berracks almost distract me. There is no Barrackmaster on the Establishment and the person appointed by the Board of ordinance is unable and unwilling to do that duty. And for want of proper Receipts being taken when the Companys first take possession of their Barracks the windows are broak and al things run to Ruin, and when the time comes of delivering up the officers rooms and Barracks, the question being put how they came to be so much out of repair, the answer is that they are as they ware received or that the Damage has been done by Storms.

My next Complaint is the want of Water there not being a Bucket full in the half moon Well, and the peple in Edinbr. hinderd the Soldirs from haveing Water from the Wells. This had like to have accasiond a mutiny and obliged me to Send an officer to the lord Provost, to Request water for the Garrison, who answerd that water was scarce but would order an officer to attend at the fountain nearest the Castle every Day from seven aclock to three quarters after in which time the Soldiers might draw as much water as they Could get, and orders were given in the Castle to that purpose. But it must be Considered that three quarters of an hour is but a small time to supply this garrison with water for twenty four hours. But still our greatest difficulty is the want of

Buckets to fetch the Water and tubs to put it in when we have it.

Mr Skinner being here I represented the above written to him and desired he would order us those proper vessels at least for the Guard rooms, and that he would also order us Shovels, Wheelbarrows and brooms for Cleaning the Garrison necessary to be done at least once a week or we shall smell as bad as Edinbr. itself. His answer was that it was never Customary in any Garrison for the Board of Ordnance to find those utinsils but that the govr. always found them and made a Charge of it in his Contingent Bill. I therefore hope you will pleas to apply to the Board that we may have those things found us, or to the Secretary at Warr that an artickle may be allowd in our quarterly Contingent Bill for any sum he think proper to allow.

Notwithstanding Capt. Hardasty, the Engineer who has the direction of the works now goeing on in the Castle, showd me sometime agoe a Certain Sum to be layd out on the Barracks, I think £26, yet nothing has been done but mending some of the windows, the same by the Sutlers house.

Mr Skinner has taken no other Steps towards water then mesureing the ground on the halfmoon to place a small ledden Cistern to receive Rainwater from the top of the building which Cistern when full the overflowing to be Conveyd thro a pipe into the well. But when this is to be done I know not and suppose it cannot be till next Summer.

I cannot omit acquainting you with the deploreable case of our Prisoner Mallock who notwithstanding his majesty's gracious Pardon seems to be Continued a prisoner that he may dye a worse Death then the law directes. The lenth of his Confinemt. has worn out the Charity of his friends and acquaintance who now no longer supply his wants and not haveing the least allowance is in want of Common necessarys of life. It would be an act of great Charity to make some applycations for his releasmt or releif.¹

The problem of the supply of water to the Castle, perhaps because of an exceptionally dry summer, had now begun to

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 24v-25.

assume alarming proportions. The Castle well, as has been obvious from Coren's earlier correspondence on the subject, could not begin to supply the needs of the garrison; William Skinner's plans for collecting and storing rain water had not only been reduced in scale but had also been subjected to a series of bureaucratic delays; finally, the people of Edinburgh resented the fact that the soldiers in the garrison had to draw water from the city's wells, and had attempted to stop them doing so.

Water was not only a problem for the Castle; it had become a matter of vital concern for the city authorities. Since 1676 most of Edinburgh's water had been brought from springs at Comiston, three miles to the south, in lead or elm-wood pipes, and stored in ten small cisterns in different parts of the town. These were the city's wells.¹ The growth of the town and the increasing population created a situation in which the supply of water given by these wells was far from adequate. More water had to be found; the springs at Swanston were the obvious source, and in 1760 the water supply of Edinburgh was augmented by leading water from these springs into the existing system. In the meantime Coren and the magistrates of Edinburgh had to make an agreement to share what water there was.

To the Board of Ordnance, Octobr 25, 1753.

Right Honble and Honble Gentlemen,

The 22 Instant being his Majestys Corronation I ordered the Guns to fire as usual and the next morning was informed that the Windows ware much broak. I then gave an order for the quarter master of the Regimt. now quarterd in the Castle and the Barrackmaster to make me a Report of the damage done and by what means and inclosed you have the Sd. Report. As the winter is now approaching and the

¹ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol. XV, App. p. 18.

weather begins to turn Cold I hope youll pleas to order the windows to be repaired.

As I have at present the honour to be in your service as Store keeper I have been obliged to Comply with an order from Coll. Holmes our present Commander in Chief for gunpowder to his own Regimt. and Genll. Bland's Dragoons. Waiting for your orders I have the Honour to be, Right Honble, etc.¹

To Genll Bland, Novr. 3, 1753.

Sir,

I should Sooner have acknowledged yours of 25 ulto but have been much distresd by the small pox being in my family one grandson now dead and a Second still to have it.

I asshure you I have always acquainted Coll. Holmes as I did Genll. Churchill with everything necessary relateing to the Castle, and, since my last, three officers of Genll Johnsons are come to the Castle.

I have already spoak to lord Justice Clerk in behalf of our prisoner Malloch, who answerd, that as he was not a prisoner under his direction he Could allow him no Subsistance. Baron Edlin, one of the Barons of the Exchequer dined with me lately and tho not one of those who voted the fine yet has given me his opinion that a memoriall to their Board will be of little Service as he beleives it is not their power either to mittigate the fine or allow the prisoner any Alimony. And Mr Gardner is of opinion that the laws of this Country doth not oblige any person to subsist him as the cause for which the fine was layd was Criminal.

The lord advocate is the only person here to be applied to and as I have already spoak to him in behalf of the prisoner without success, if you would pleas to write to him perhaps it might have a better Effect.

I doubt not but Mr Gardners applicaction in your name to the magistrates of Edinbr. may Succeed, but the Soldiers Complaint will still be the same till we get utensils. I have

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, f. 25.

therefor as you direct given a memorial to Coll. Holmes of which you have a Copy on the other side.

Since my last I have seen Mr Skinner in the Castle and made all necessary Complaints to him of the Barracks. He orderd the Chimney grates to be mendd. forthwith and has promisd all other Complaints shal be layd before the Board in order to have it repaired next Summer. I have therefore omitted my memorial to the Board till I have your further orders.

I was desired by Mr Skinner and Several others to recommend to your favour Archl. McIntire to Succeed to the Gunners Post when vacant. He was a Servant to our late Storekeeper, is very fit for the Duty, and bears an exceeding good Character, but as you are inclined to oblige the lord Advocate I have no more to Say.

My Wife and Daughter Join me in offering you our Compliments and I ever am, Sir

Yours

Copy of a memorial to Coll. Holms, sent in the above letter.

To Henry Holmes Esqr., Coll. of his majestys thirty first Regimt. of Foot and Commanding his majestys Forces in North Brittain.

The memorial of Lt. Govr. Coren of the Castle of Edinbr.

Sheweth

That there being little or no water in Sd. Castle the Lt. Govr. was obliged to apply to the magistrates of Edinbr. for Water to Supply the Garrison, that the magistrates in Complience to the Sd. Request granted the sole use of one of the Fountains nearest to the Castle for threequarters of an hour to supply the garrison with water viz. from Seven a Clock in the morning to three quarters after which was all the time the magistrates could allow as the inhabitants had Complained of the Scarceity of Water.

Your memoriallist further sheweth that the garrison is in want of all manor of utensils viz. Buckets to fetch the water and tubs or Casks to receive and keep it in when Brought,

for want of which the Soldiers are only Supplied with water at the time above mentiond and in want all the remainder of the twenty four hours. On this acct. your memoriallist applyed to Mr Skinner the Chief Engineer for a Supply of those Conveniencys and also Wheel Barrows shovels and brooms to Clean the Castle necessary to be done at least once a week, was answerd that it was never usual for the Board of Ordnance to find those utensils but that they were always provided by the govr. or Commanding officer and Chargd in a Contingent Bill.

Your memoriallist therefore Prays that you will be pleasd to represent the want of said utensils as you think proper that the garrison may be supplied with water and other Necessarys as above Represented.¹

To Genll. Bland, Novr. 5, 1753.

Sir,

I had this morning the pleasure to here from Coll. Holmes that his majesty had been pleasd to appoint you Commander in Chief of his forces in North Brittain which I am shure will be very satisfactory to every body in this Country and perticularly mySelf and beg leave to Congratulate you thereon.

If I can be anyway serviceable to you here before your Comeing I shall with the greatest pleasure receive your Commands who have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours²

With General Humphrey Bland's promotion to be Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, in succession to General George Churchill, Richard Coren's correspondence to him abruptly ceases, at least as far as the evidence of this letter-book goes. The remainder of the volume is filled with letters on routine matters to lesser officials. It is certain that the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, in his more exalted position of

¹ NLS., MS. 8027, ff. 25v-26.

² NLS., MS. 8027, f. 26.

Commander-in-Chief, could ill afford the time to deal in detail with the affairs of one single garrison within his new command, and probably discouraged Coren from writing to him the long complaining missives we have been examining. On 21st December 1753, Bland's secretary wrote to Coren¹ :

The General desires that you will for the future, without giving yourself the trouble to write to him, Comply with whatever the Court of Session or any of the Lords of Justiciary may desire, in Regard to the Prisoners now in Your Charge, except that of releasing any of them, which he would not have you do till you receive his Directions on that head.

So much for Coren's complaints about the use of the Castle as a common gaol, and his attempts to relieve the condition of the Exciseman, David Malloch.

The only one of Coren's problems which seems to have moved Bland after this date was the necessity to provide water for the garrison, a matter which was to him of greater military importance even than the repair of the Castle buildings. On 27th March 1755, General Bland, possibly under pressure from Coren, wrote to William Skinner² :

I have received the favour of your Letter of the 22nd Inst., Acquainting me with the taking down the Old Armory in the Castle of Edinburgh, in Order the Ground may immediately be cleared for building the new Barrack,³ which is, no doubt, a very right measure, as it is only at present an incumbrance in the Fort. I shall take care that the Artificers meet with no Obstruction in that respect.

But what is most wanted in the Castle at present, is Water ; The Well having through the Winter, as often as we have had three or four days following of fair Weather, gone dry, by which, the Garrison were obliged to have recourse to the Wells in the Town.

¹ NLS., MS. 304, f. 124v.

² NLS., MS. 305, p. 66.

³ The project of building a new barrack had been considered since 1750 ; see Plate X for Skinner's plan of this building.

As this is certainly the Case, I cannot allow myself to think, but you will, before you leave London, Represent this to the Board [of Ordnance], and Obtain the necessary Instructions for having the Garrison Supplied with Water, let the Expense be what it will ; for without this is done, all the Money thrown out on other Improvements or Reparations, is, with regard to the Strength of the Place thrown away.

The other problems—smoky chimneys and broken windows in the barracks, brushes with town officials, overcrowding in the Castle—Coren now had to face alone. His letter book shows him concerned with these matters—"the Officers Guard Room . . . is extremely Black and dirty and has neither mat-trass, table, Chair, fireshovel, tongs or Candle Stick, belonging to it . . ."—and with the provision of some financial security for his retirement by purchasing Lottery Tickets. This retirement he never achieved ; he died, still in office as Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, on 26th February 1762.

TEACHERS IN EDINBURGH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

ALEXANDER LAW

THERE was not in the modern sense any organised system of education in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, but there were many schools, offering a wide variety of subjects and, in some cases, reaching a high level of teaching. In respect of numbers and variety Edinburgh was different from the other Scottish cities: the noble families, whether permanent or temporary residents, encouraged the growth of select private schools and boarding schools for girls; the law courts and the University demanded tutors in languages, mathematics, and science; the General Assembly of the Church and the Edinburgh Presbytery lent support to charity schools of various kinds; and the printers and publishers published school texts used all over Scotland. Teachers were attracted to the city, and by the end of the century it was possible to have instruction in almost any subject. A system of education had somehow come into existence that was not under any kind of public control but was flexible, extensive and varied.

A good example of this is the education of the city's most famous son, Sir Walter Scott. He went to John Leechman's private school in Bristo Street to learn reading and writing, and had special tuition in Latin from James French before joining Luke Fraser's class at the High School in 1779. While he was at the High School he had private lessons in French from Mr. Mitchel, French not being part of the High School curriculum. In these years he also spent an hour a day at a private school for writing and arithmetic conducted by Mr.

Morton. He had singing lessons from Alexander Campbell, which, according to Lockhart, were a failure. Perhaps, however, he shared a love of poetry with Campbell, who afterwards wrote *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*. Later he studied geography and possibly some mathematics with old Dr. Ebenezer Macfai, and drawing with Mr. Burrell, a Prussian who told him stories of the campaigns of Frederick the Great. He also had drawing from George Walker, nicknamed Blue Beard. It was in a German class conducted by Dr. Willich that Scott conceived that interest in German poetry that led to his first translations, and ultimately to his early romantic poems. In fact, when Lockhart says that "Scott was self-educated in every branch of knowledge which he ever turned to account in the works of his genius", he is inaccurate, for to the solid instruction in Latin by Luke Fraser, and the inspiring teaching of Dr. Adam at the High School, Scott had added a considerable amount of knowledge from the private teachers in Edinburgh.

In the variety of schools that existed, four main groups can be identified:—the High Schools, Hospital Schools, schools that for lack of a better term can be called "Elementary" schools, and Private schools. A word of explanation is necessary about each.

HIGH SCHOOLS

There were three schools of this type. The most famous and most ancient was the High School of Edinburgh. Like other schools, it had its ups and downs, but it is fair to say that it reached a higher level of attainment than any other school in Scotland in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, and produced in Scott and his contemporaries and juniors a group of pupils to rival those of any other school in Britain. At that period the High School was under a distinguished scholar, Dr. Alexander Adam. The Grammar School of the Canongate—sometimes called the Canongate High School—was a famous

school, too, though its reputation was local rather than national. The Grammar School of South Leith, progenitor of the present Leith Academy, was the third of the High Schools, well regarded for thorough teaching of Latin. Latin was, indeed, the principal and almost the only subject of instruction in these schools, though a Writing Master attended the High School, and teachers of English, Writing, and Arithmetic were available in the Canongate and Leith schools. To some extent the Canongate and Leith Grammar Schools followed courses like those of the small parish schools of St. Cuthbert's (or West Kirk), Liberton, Duddingston, or Cramond, though they were larger and better known. The High School of Edinburgh had 489 boys on the roll in 1799, and the Canongate Grammar School at the same time had 150. There is no record of the Leith enrolment, but the school in King James's Hospital, within the area of the present South Leith churchyard, was probably smaller than the other two.

HOSPITAL SCHOOLS

The great foundation of George Heriot was the largest and most famous Hospital School in Scotland. Opened in 1659, it was well established by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and had inspired Mary Erskine to found two Hospital Schools for girls. The first of these was the Merchant Maiden Hospital established in 1694 by the Merchant Company of Edinburgh and Mary Erskine, and probably opened the following year¹. The other was the Trades Maiden Hospital which Mary Erskine persuaded and helped the Incorporation of Trades to found in 1704². The accountant George Watson, who had been associated with the management both of George Heriot's Hospital and the Merchant Maiden Hospital, generously left money to found in 1741 the Hospital that bore his name. The three later foundations all owed a great deal to

¹ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol. XXIX.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII.

the example of Heriot's: their organisations and statutes were similar to Heriot's and in some cases use the exact words. George Watson expressly stated that his Hospital should be organised on lines "as near to the rules of the foundation and management of Heriot's Hospital and the Merchant Maiden Hospital as the nature of the thing will allow of". The numbers of boys and girls in these residential establishments varied from time to time. Heriot's, much the largest, could accommodate 130 boys, and sometimes had more; George Watson's was smaller, not exceeding 40. The Merchant Maiden Hospital had more than 70 girls in 1781, and the Trades Maiden Hospital at about the same time had 50.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The term "elementary" has never been a popular one in Scotland as applied to education, but in the absence of a better one, it can at least indicate that these schools taught the elements of reading and writing. Schools of this type were at the time frequently called "English" schools. Some of them were Charity schools, where the children of poor parents were taught free, the teachers being recompensed by an annual payment from the Town Council. These teachers often conducted private schools also, at different hours, for which they charged fees. In 1759, the Town Council set up four English Schools, the teachers of which were given small annual retainers and were allowed to charge fixed fees. Schools of these different types were concerned principally with reading and writing. Early in the eighteenth century the development of commerce encouraged an interest in arithmetic, and that became a regular feature of the usual school course at this stage, but it was always unimportant compared with reading and writing. A boy after two or three years at one of these schools was considered fit to proceed to the High School to learn Latin grammar. For the bulk of the population, however, two or three years at an English school was the sum of their education.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Of the host of private schools it is difficult to generalise. There were some private schools where elementary reading and writing were taught, and others—like Mr. Mundell's, where James Boswell was a pupil—where Latin and Greek were taught to a high standard. Modern languages were the principal concern of some schools, and Mathematics, Geography, Navigation, and Surveying of others. There were schools for Dancing, Fencing, Music, Cookery, and Art. Boarding schools for young ladies existed in quite large numbers, where in addition to reading, writing, and "Accompts" a variety of fashionable accomplishments were available. The advertisement for one in 1749 is as follows :—

"That the two Swedish Mistress Wightmans take in Boarders and Day Scholars at the Prices viz. £5 per Quarter for Boarders; 8s. and 6d. the first Quarter for Scholars, and 5s. the next; they are taught all manner of coloured Work, such as Fire-screens, China-stitch, Sattin-stitch; the Colours shaded according to Nature, likewise Embroidery in Gold and Silver, true Dresden Work, with Italian Vests done upon Cambricks; as also White Seam, Drawing, Washing, Dressing, Pletting and Washing coloured Work: Such of my Boarders that inclines, may be taught to work Watch and Cane Strings, Straps for Ladies Jumps with Gold and Silver, Silk Fringes for Ladies Cloaks or Capuchines, Hacking Beds, etc. N.B. All my Boarders are taught writing and Arithmetick without any Charge to their Parents . . ."

The following list of teachers in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century has been compiled from books and manuscript records, the details of which are supplied. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it may indicate the variety of schools and teachers to be found then in the city. The author has had valuable help from many people, notably the following :—Miss Helen Armet of the City Chambers, the Librarians and their

staffs in the National Library of Scotland, the Signet Library, and the Edinburgh Public Library, the Minister of South Leith Parish Church, Harvey M. Jamieson, Esq., B.L., W.S., Secretary of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, and the Secretary of George Heriot's Trust.

LIST OF TEACHERS

The details are arranged as follows :—Name, position or subjects taught, first and last dates where known, other details of career, references.

Abbreviations used are as follows :—

B.O.E.C.—Book of the Old Edinburgh Club.

Cal. Merc.—Caledonian Mercury.

Courant—Edinburgh Evening Courant.

D.N.B.—Dictionary of National Biography.

Edin. Dir.—Edinburgh Directory.

Encyc. Britt.—Encyclopaedia Britannica.

E.P.M.—Edinburgh Presbytery Minutes.

G.W.H. Minutes—George Watson's Hospital Minutes.

M.T.C.—Minutes of the Town Council.

Adam, Dr. Alexander, (1741-1809). Rector of the High School. Author of many textbooks. See Steven, *High School*, article in *D.N.B.*, and an anonymous *Life* published in 1810. Scott gives an interesting account of him in the autobiographical fragment that forms part of Chap. I of Lockhart's *Life*, and quotes Adam's last words: "But it grows dark—the boys may dismiss". Cockburn, another old pupil, wrote in his *Memorials*: "Never was a man more fortunate in the choice of a vocation. He was born to teach Latin, some Greek, and all virtue".

Ailison, John. Schoolmaster in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.

Ainslie, Mrs. Day school for girls, mostly for needlework. College Wynd. Boarding house in Marlin's Wynd. Cookery also taught.

- Of French, she says, " Tho' she is not so much mistress of the French as to teach it, yet she'll take care that such of her scholars as learn it or have learnt it, shall improve by her conversing with them and hearing them read ". *Courant* 21 March 1748.
- Aitken, Mr. Assistant to teach singing in Merchant Maiden Hospital, 1795. Anchor Close, 1765-1796, Gosford's Close, Lawnmarket, 1796. *B.O.E.C.* XXIX. Held evening classes in church music, songs, and catches in Arthur's Land, above Canongate Church. *Courant* 4 Oct. 1766. Public and private classes in church music. *Cal. Merc.* 28 Oct. 1766.
- Aldridge, Mr. Teacher of dancing. Head of Bridge Street. *Courant* 1 Jan. 1783.
- Alexander, James. Writing Master to High School. *M.T.C.* 17 May 1704. Demitted office 1707. Steven, *High School*.
- Allan, William. Teacher of writing, arithmetic, book-keeping and navigation. Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 11 Nov. 1767, and 16 Aug. 1773; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Anderson, Edward. Heriot's Hospital. Appointed second doctor¹, 20 April 1741. Resigned to enter ministry, 31 Dec. 1744. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Anderson, Rev. George. Master of George Watson's Hospital, 1741-Dec. 1752. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Anderson, James. High School master. Elected 3 Oct. 1739, and resigned 22 April 1752, on becoming Rector of Grammar School, Kelso. Steven, *High School*.
- Anderson, James. Teacher of writing, arithmetic, accounts, book-keeping on the Italian method, shorthand, and French. Head of Blackfriars' Wynd, and later in Marlin's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 6 July 1758; *Courant* 26 Oct. 1785. A tribute is paid to his character and influence in *Archibald Constable and his Correspondents*, Vol. I, pp. 10-11.

¹ W. Steven, *Memoirs of George Heriot, etc.* (1845), p. 110.

" A classification of the boys, in so far as their instruction was concerned, took place at this time [1695]. The *schoolmaster* was appointed to teach the Latin Rudiments; one of the *doctors* or undermasters had assigned to him the departments of writing, arithmetic, and music, whilst the other doctor taught English Reading. The *Master* or House-Governor was to assist the whole."

- Anderson, James. Master of S.S.P.C.K. Charity Working School. Forrester's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 3 Sept. 1759.
- Anderson, John. High School master. Elected 26 April 1695. Steven, *High School*.
- Anderson, Miss. Teacher of French and music. Niddry Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Anderson, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Castlehill. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Feb. 1762. Later kept a small shop. *Cal. Merc.* 10 Feb. 1768. May be the same person who had a Pastry School in James' Court, according to *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Anderson, William. Schoolmaster in Calton. *South Leith Session Records* 4 Oct. 1722.
- Angier, Charles. Clam Shell Turnpike. Cures stuttering, stammering, and " speaking in the nose, lisping, a low, rough, hoarse, thick, thumbling, or squeaking voice ". From London. *Cal. Merc.* 9 Oct. 1762. Commended by Professor Cullen and Adam Smith. Later of Horse Wynd, near the College. *Cal. Merc.* 28 June 1790.
- Arbuthnot, George. High School master. Elected 8 Feb. 1710. Resigned July 1716 on being appointed Rector of Canongate High School. Appointed Rector of High School, Nov. 1717. Resigned May 1735. Steven, *High School*.
- Archdeacon, Miss. Teacher of sewing. East Register Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Archibald, Francis. Hebrew, Greek, and French. Potterrow Port. *Cal. Merc.* 4 Oct. 1739.
- Archibald, Thomas. Schoolmaster. Portsburgh. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Arnous, Monsieur Peter. A Frenchman who taught French in private and public classes. Covenant Close, and later in Strichen's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 17 Feb. 1779; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Arroll, John, M.A. High School master. Elected 8 April 1698. Resigned 11 Jan. 1710. Steven, *High School*.
- Baird, Patrick. Schoolmaster in Paul's Work. *M.T.C.* 3 June 1718.
- Baker, Mrs. Actress and teacher of English. Mint Street. Jackson, *Scottish Stage*; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*; *Cal. Merc.* 6 Jan. 1776 and 26 Jan. 1778.

- Balfour, Robert. Assistant and later Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1767-71. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Ballingall, David. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1792-94. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Barbour, Robert. Teacher of mathematics and book-keeping. Horse Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 11 Oct. 1737.
- Barclay, James. High School master. Elected 2 June 1742, after being a private teacher in the city. Resigned Nov. 1750 on being appointed Rector of the Grammar School, Dalkeith. One of his daughters was the mother of James and John Ballantyne. Steven, *High School*; *Courant* 3 Jan. 1758.
- Barclay, The Misses. Boarding school for girls, where French and music were taught. Wilkie's Land, and later in South Hanover Street in New Town. *Courant* 19 May 1783; *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Barker, Mrs. Boarding and Day school for girls, Brodie's Land, Netherbow. *Cal. Merc.* 23 Oct. 1786 and 8 Oct. 1789.
- Barret, James. Schoolmaster. Grassmarket. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Barrie, Alexander. Teacher of English and later one of the Town's English schoolmasters. Author of textbooks. Mrs. Barrie boarded girls and taught needlework. Old Posthouse Close, and later in Writers' Court. *Courant* 4 Aug. 1781; *M.T.C.* 6 Jan. 1790; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Bartlet, Alexander, (d. 19 Dec. 1773). High School master. Elected 7 Feb. 1759. Steven, *High School*; *Edin. Dir.* 1773.
- Bayne, John. Master of South Leith Grammar School, 1795-1826. Mackay, *History of Leith Academy*.
- Beat, David. Writing master. Carrubber's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 21 Sept. 1730; *Courant* 9 March 1756.
- Beatt, William. Teacher of writing and arithmetic, licensed by Town Council. *M.T.C.* 23 July 1708.
- Bell, John. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. *Heriot's Minutes* 18 Dec. 1758 and 18 Jan. 1762.
- Benazek, Mrs. Boarding and day school for girls, with Mme. Leblanc. Cant's Close. *Courant* 22 Nov. 1753.
- Benevent, Mr. An Italian, who taught French and Italian. Mrs.

- Benevent taught French to girls. Mint Close. *Cal. Merc.* 17 March 1784 and 21 July 1784.
- Bernard, Mr. Assisted Mr. Forbes, teacher of French, etc. *Cal. Merc.* 6 Sept. 1743.
- Billingsley, Mrs. Boarding and day school for girls. St. James' Square. *Courant* 3 Jan. 1781 and 11 June 1785.
- Blacky, W. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1773-75. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Blaikie, William. Doctor in South Leith Grammar School. *South Leith Session Records* 3 Aug. 1725.
- Blair, Mr. Teacher of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese in Edinburgh and Leith. *Cal. Merc.* 20 May and 18 Nov. 1786.
- Blau, Robert. High School master. Elected 19 March 1679. Deposed 1685, because, it is said, he was a Government spy. Became master of a private school in Edinburgh, and published many textbooks. Buried in Greyfriars. Steven, *High School*; Lee, *Memorials*; *Silences that Speak*.
- Boa, Andrew. Schoolmaster in Calton. 12 Feb. 1760. *B.O.E.C.* XIX.
- Boston, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Mint Close. *Cal. Merc.* 23 April 1768.
- Bottarelli, F. Teacher of French and Italian. Various addresses. His wife, an actress, taught singing. Author of textbooks. *Cal. Merc.* 2 Dec. 1778; *Courant* 12 May 1781.
- Bower, David. Teacher of Church music, St. Paul's Chapel, Skinners' Close. *Courant* 17 Feb. 1756.
- Bowes, George. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 17 April 1721. Resigned to become minister 1 April 1728. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Brackenridge, William. Teacher of mathematics, probably to university students. Milne's Court, Bow-head. *Courant* 28 Oct. 1729.
- Braidwood, Thomas. Writing master, and teacher of the deaf and dumb. St. Leonard's. *Courant* 12 March 1766; *Encyc. Britt.*; *D.N.B.*; Boswell and Johnson, *Tour to Hebrides*.
- Brisbane, Mrs. Boarding School for girls. Fountain Close. *Courant* 17 Oct. and 19 Dec. 1767.

- Brown, George. Master of Orphan Hospital. *Cal. Merc.* 13 Aug. 1739.
- Brown, John. Teacher of French. Nicolson Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1773.
- Brown, Thomas. Teacher of writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. Upper Common Close, head of Canongate. *Courant* 31 May 1766.
- Brown, William. Teacher of English, and may also have been teacher of a private school in St. Cuthbert's parish 1770-79. Possibly schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1785-88. Various addresses, including Pleasance and Carrubber's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 15 June 1776 and 5 June 1779; *Mss.*, in City Chambers; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Bruce, Mrs. Boarding and day school for girls. West Bow and later in Brodie's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 1 Dec. 1762; *Courant* 21 Sept. 1763.
- Bruce, Thomas. Schoolmaster and musician. Author of *The Common Tunes or Scotland's Church Music made plain*, Edin. 1726. Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*; *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices* 26 Jan. 1743.
- Buchan, Dr. Lecturer on Experimental Philosophy and Astronomy. *Cal. Merc.* 16 May 1778 and 29 May 1779.
- Buchan, Robert. Master of North Leith Grammar School. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Sept. 1760.
- Buchanan, Richard. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1781-91. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Burden, Mrs. Actress. Teacher of English pronunciation. *Courant* 9 June 1781.
- Burline, Francis. Drawing master. George Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Burn, John. Teacher of English. Mary King's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 25 Nov. 1758 and 1 Dec. 1760.
- Burrell, Mr. Teacher of drawing and painting. Lockhart, *Life of Scott*.
- Burton, Robert. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1794-99. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Butler, T. L. Kept a Musical Academy where he instructed young ladies in the pianoforte. New Town. *Cal. Merc.* 17 July 1790.
- Butterworth, Edmond, (d. 1814). Writing master to the High School. Appointed 23 Aug. 1780. Also taught privately in his house in

- Brown's Square. Previously in Dumfries Academy. A noted calligrapher, sometimes employed by the Town Council to write Burgess tickets. Author of textbooks. Steven, *High School*; *Edin. Dir.* 1768-88; *Courant* 22 Nov. 1780; *Cal. Merc.* 31 July 1784.
- Campbell, Alexander, (1764-1824). Teacher of music. Author of *Introduction to History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edin. 1798. Lockhart, *Life of Scott*; *Silences that Speak*; Kay, *Portraits*; Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Campbell, George. Teacher of mathematics, probably to university students. Foulis Close. *Courant* 6-7 Oct. 1729.
- Campbell, John. Teacher of English, writing and singing. Niddry's Wynd and later in Old Assembly Close. Brother of Alexander Campbell, noted above. Taught in Canongate High School. A friend of Burns. *Silences that Speak*; Kay, *Portraits*; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88; *Cal. Merc.* 27 Aug. 1751 and 15 Sept. 1762.
- Campbell, Lauchlan. Teacher of writing. *Cal. Merc.* 27 Aug. 1751.
- Campbell, Mrs. Boarding School for girls. *Courant* 31 July 1765.
- Campbell, Robert. Private teacher. An unsuccessful applicant for mastership of Charity School. *M.T.C.* 23 Jan. 1788.
- Cargill, David. Schoolmaster in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- Carr, Mrs. Teacher of French and English. Parliament Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Carruthers, W. Teacher of French and Italian. Marlin's Wynd and later Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 23 Nov. 1785; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Carstairs, Miss. School for Young Ladies, Bailie Fyfe's Close, with Miss Lyon. "Miss Carstairs was apprentice to the late Mrs. Wilson, and one of her Factorix's till her death." *Courant* 18 Feb. 1767.
- Cauvin, Louis. A Frenchman and a teacher of French. Blackfriars' Wynd, and later Bishop's Land. He came from France to escape the consequences of a duel. *Cal. Merc.* 11 Nov. 1751; *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75; *South Leith Session Records* 11 July 1771.
- Cauvin, Louis (Jun.), (1754-1823). Teacher of French. Bishop's Land. Son of the above. In winter of 1786-87 Cauvin taught Robert Burns three lessons every week, at nine o'clock in the even-

- ings. Cauvin left money to found Cauvin's Hospital. *Cal. Merc.* 7 Oct. 1778; Steven, *High School*.
- Chapman, R. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 16 April 1722. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Charteris, Charles, 'of the Theatre Royal'. An actor who taught English pronunciation. Chalmers' Close. *Courant* 11 Aug. 1781; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Christian, Alexander. Teacher. Bristo Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Christison, Alexander, (d. 1820). High School master: elected 5th July 1786. Had been Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1778-81. Left High School to become Professor of Humanity, University of Edinburgh in 1805. Cockburn was one of his pupils at the High School. *Silences that Speak*; R. Christison, *Autobiography*; Steven, *High School*.
- Christison, John. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1788 to end of century and beyond. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Clark, George, (d. 1714). Master of the Free School. Appointed 24 Feb. 1699. *M.T.C.* 24 Feb. 1699 and 26 May 1714.
- Clarke, Stephen. Teacher of music. 1785. Gosford's Close, Lawnmarket. Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Cleeve, Rev. Mr. Episcopal clergyman. Teacher of English language. West end, Princes Street, and later in Register Street. Sir Walter Scott took lessons from him. *Cal. Merc.* 11 Nov. 1782; *Courant* 26 March 1785.
- Cleland, Elizabeth. Teacher of cookery. Author of textbook on cookery. *Cal. Merc.* 16 June 1759.
- Cockburn, James Maxwell, (d. before 16th March 1795). Master of Heriot's Hospital. Elected 6 Oct. 1794. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Cockburn, John. Teacher of English. Niddry's Wynd. Rooms formerly occupied by Arthur Masson. Jeffrey was a pupil at this school, which was at different addresses in Carrubber's Close, Bailie Fyfe's Close, Advocate's Close, and Anchor Close. *Cal. Merc.* 29 May 1762; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94; Cockburn, *Life of Jeffrey*.
- Colvill, James, (d. 31 Jan. 1769). Master of Heriot's Hospital. Elected 1 Aug. 1757. *Heriot's Minutes*.

- Cook, Robert. Teacher of navigation and plain sailing to Trinity House, Leith 1717. Mason, *History of Trinity House of Leith*.
- Coomans, Mr. Teacher of French, Blackfriars' Wynd. Author of book on French grammar. Friend of Robert Fergusson. *Cal. Merc.* 14 Nov. 1761; *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Cooper, Arthur. Schoolmaster in Portsburgh. *M.T.C.* 23 Oct. 1695; *E.P.M.* 1 Feb. 1710.
- Corri, Domenico, (1741-1825). Teacher of singing. From 1779 in Edinburgh. Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Corri, Signora. Singer "at the weekly Concert". School for ladies in drawing and miniature painting. Young Street. *Courant* 2 Oct. 1771.
- Cossar, Walter. Schoolmaster "at the Cross". *Edin. Dir.* 1773, 1774.
- Couper, John. Master of South Leith Grammar School 1703-5. Mackay, *History of Leith Academy*; *South Leith Session Records* 21 May 1703 and 7 Aug. 1705.
- Coutts, John. Doctor and later schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed schoolmaster 25 Aug. 1735. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Craig, James. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital, 4 June 1739 to 1752. Steven, *Heriot's*; *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Craig, John. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital, 28 Aug. 1721 to 19 April 1725. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Cranston, James. Master of one of the Town's English Schools 1774 to 1778. *M.T.C.* 2 Feb. 1774 and 2 Sept. 1778.
- Crawford, Hugh. Master in High School. Elected 15 March 1704. Resigned 1710. Steven, *High School*.
- Crawford, Robert. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital, 10 Sept. 1722. Dismissed 19 April 1725. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Creech, William, (d. Jan. 1739). High School master. Elected 21 May 1735. Steven, *High School*; *Cal. Merc.* 11 Jan. 1739.
- Cririe, James, (d. 1835). High School master. Elected 18 March 1795, after being Rector of South Leith Grammar School from 1787. Resigned 1801 to become a minister. Steven, *High School*; *South Leith Session Records* 9 Nov. 1787.
- Crookshanks, Andrew. Schoolmaster "opposite Post-house stairs". *Edin. Dir.* 1773.

- Cruikshank, Rev. David. Appointed Master of Heriot's Hospital, 16 April 1792 and resigned 2 June 1794. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Cruikshank, William, (d. 8 March 1795). High School master. Elected 5 Sept. 1772. He had been first a private teacher of Latin, and then (20 Sept. 1770) Rector of Canongate High School. Robert Burns lived in his house in 1787 and it was to Cruikshank's daughter Jenny that Burns wrote "A rosebud by my early walk". Steven, *High School*.
- Cuming, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Milne's Square opposite Tron Church. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Oct. 1751 and 26 May 1752.
- Cumming, Alexander. Teacher. Brodie's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Darling, Elisa. Kept a school in Leith to which the Session sent poor children. *South Leith Session Records* 22 Oct. 1724.
- Darling, Robert. Teacher of mathematics, geography, writing and book-keeping. Various addresses including Ramsay's Land opposite City Guard, second fore-land above the Royal Exchange, and Warriston's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 1 June 1776; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- D'Asti, Alexander. Teacher of French, German and music. Blackfriars' Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 14 Oct. and 11 Nov. 1786.
- Davidson, James. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1771-73. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Davidson, William. Schoolmaster. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Davie, Miss. Teacher of sewing. Bailie Fyfe's Close. *Courant* 17 May 1766.
- Davies, Mr. Actor, and "one of the managers of the New Concert Hall". Lecturer in reading and speaking English. *Courant* 3 March 1748.
- Dedreux, Mrs. Parisian and teacher of French. *Cal. Merc.* 10 June 1769.
- De la Chapelle, Monsieur. A Parisian who taught French. His wife also taught French. Baron Maule's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 24 June 1778; *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- De la Cour, Mr. Teacher of drawing, and master of the Academy run by the Trustees for Improvements and Manufactures. *Courant* 14 July 1764; *Cal. Merc.* 22 March 1769.

- Demainbray, Stephen. Boarding school for girls. Bishop's Land. His wife assisted him. He lectured on science, natural philosophy, for which he was given an LL.D. degree by either King's or Marischal College, Aberdeen. Later Tutor to the Prince of Wales and Astronomer at Kew. *Cal. Merc.* 9 Oct. 1745; *Courant* 28 Aug. 1750; *D.N.B.*
- De Ville, Monsieur. Avocat au Parlement de Paris. Teacher of French. Register Street. *Cal. Merc.* 13 May 1790; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Dewar, James. Schoolmaster in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- Dewar, Mr. Teacher. Barringer's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Dick, Elizabeth. One of the older girls in the Trades Maiden Hospital, who was appointed to assist in teaching. *B.O.E.C.* XXVIII.
- Dickson, John. Teacher of book-keeping, appointed by the Town Council as Professor of the subject. *M.T.C.* 15 June 1705; *Courant* 15 Oct. 1705.
- Dickson, W. Teacher of writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. South Bridge Street. *Cal. Merc.* 25 April 1789.
- Dinwiddie, Mr. Lecturer on natural philosophy, geography, and astronomy. *Cal. Merc.* 13 June 1778 and 2 Jan. 1779.
- Dodd, Mrs. Sewing teacher. Skinners' Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Doig, David. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 29 Aug. 1733. Resigned 25 Aug. 1735. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Donaldson, Mr. Teacher of drawing, with Johan Carl de Cappune. Fountain Close. *Courant* 26 Jan. 1765.
- Douglas, George. Teacher of mathematics. Lady Stair's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Dowie, Robert. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 3 June 1799. Resigned Nov. 1800. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Drummond, Alexander, M.A. Member of the University of Paris. Teacher of French. Various addresses, including Dickson's Close, Carrubber's Close, Todrick's Wynd. His son "who has had an academical education in France", assisted him. Boarders were taken. *Courant* 10 July 1755; *Cal. Merc.* 1 May 1790; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.

- Drummond, Edward, (*d.* 1725). Teacher of French. *Courant* 26 Jan. 1725.
- Drummond, Gavin. Teacher of arithmetic, book-keeping and navigation. Dickson's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 29 Aug. 1728 and 17 Oct. 1737.
- Drummond, John. A merchant who was also a teacher of book-keeping. Author of textbook, *The Accomptant's Pocket Companion*, Edin. 1718. Murray, D., *History of Book-keeping and Accountancy*.
- Drummond, John. Teacher of English. Stevenlaw's Close. Author of text-book, *Introduction to the modern Pronunciation of the English Tongue*, and editor of *Collection of Poetry for Reading and Repetition*. *Cal. Merc.* 4 Aug. 1762 and 3 June 1769.
- Drummond, Mrs. Wife of above who succeeded her deceased husband as a teacher of English. *Cal. Merc.* 3 June and 18 Oct. 1769.
- Drummond, Miss Katharine. Boarding school for girls, first in Buchanan's Court, Lawnmarket, and later in Royal Bank Close. *Courant* 9 June 1781; *Cal. Merc.* 25 Nov. 1782.
- Dryden, Adam. Teacher. Chambers' Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Drysdale, Mr. Teacher of writing and languages. Henderson's Stairs. *Cal. Merc.* 9 June 1779.
- Dufresne, Monsieur. Teacher of French. Leith Terrace, New Town. *Cal. Merc.* 27 May 1790.
- Duguid, Mr. Teacher of Italian. Died *circa* 1775, when his pupils were taken over by Arthur Masson. *Courant* 15 March 1775.
- Dunbar, Mr. Teacher of Church music "at nights in Canongate Grammar School". *Courant* 1 Oct. 1766.
- Dunbar, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Bristo Street. *Cal. Merc.* 24 April 1779.
- Duncan, John. Teacher of mathematics, arithmetic and geography. Libberton's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 22 Nov. 1788; *Edin. Dir.* 1773, 1793-94.
- Duning, Alexander. Master of George Watson's Hospital, 1755-79. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Dunsmure, John. Teacher of one of the city's English schools. Appointed 10 June 1761. Chalmers' Close after 1763. Resigned 26 Feb. 1772 for health reasons. Another John Dunsmure, who may be this man, or perhaps his son, was a private teacher of

- English and Church music in 1785, and became one of the city's English schoolmasters in 1789. *M.T.C.* 10 June 1761, 26 Feb. 1772 and 11 Nov. 1789; *Courant* 26 Oct. 1785.
- Dyce, William. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 20 Feb. 1721 and dismissed in October of the same year because he had "threatened the Master with his fist in the presence of all the boys". *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Eales, Richard. Teacher of Church music and psalmody. From London and "the choir of Durham". Also taught Oratorio songs, cantatas, and ballads "in a genteel taste". *Cal. Merc.* 7 April 1759.
- Edington, David. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 1 Sept. 1735 and left Dec. 1740. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Elphinston, James. Lecturer in English Language. A well-known scholar and author. *Cal. Merc.* 3 March 1779.
- Erskine, David. Teacher of drawing. *Cal. Merc.* 2 Dec. 1769.
- Esplin, Mary. Boarding school for girls "at the Hand and Pen, a little above the Weigh-house, North side of the Street". *Courant* 24 Dec. 1750.
- Ewing, Alexander. Teacher of mathematics, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, surveying, navigation, geography, etc. Author of *Institutes of Arithmetic*. First at Horse Wynd, and later Bishop's Land. *Courant* 10 Feb. 1756, 17 April 1790; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Ewing, Alexander (Jun.). Son of the above. Teacher of writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. St. Anne Street, New Edinburgh. *Cal. Merc.* 28 Nov. 1778 and 17 Nov. 1779.
- Ewing, James. Schoolmaster. Cowgate. *Edin. Dir.* 1773.
- Farmer, James. Teacher of writing. Partner of Dugald Masterton. *Courant* 8 March 1775; *Cal. Merc.* 22 Dec. 1784.
- Farquhar, Robert. High School master. Elected 22 April 1752. Resigned 5 Sept. 1772. Steven, *High School*.
- Farquharson, Alexander. Schoolmaster. Pleasance. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-1775.
- Ferdinand, Mrs. Teacher of English. "Tutoress to those young ladies that may wish to be instructed in reading the Authors, with that

- elegance seldom to be acquired at boarding Schools". *Cal. Merc.* 27 May 1786.
- Fergus, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. First Libberton's Wynd and then Chalmers' Close. *Cal. Merc.* 15 Oct. 1768.
- Ferguson, William. Teacher of languages. College Wynd. Imprisoned in Tolbooth in connection with a fraud, but escaped disguised as a woman. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75; *Courant* 24 and 26 Oct. 1774.
- Fergusson, Hary. Teacher of fencing. Brother of Robert Fergusson, the poet. Warriston's Close. *Courant* 25 Nov. 1767; *The Poems of Robert Fergusson* ed. McDiarmid (S.T.S.)
- Fife, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Clam Shell Turnpike, Back of the Guard. *Cal. Merc.* 8 Nov. 1762.
- Findlater, Alexander, M.A., (d. 20 Jan. 1735). High School master. Elected 3 Jan. 1718. Steven, *High School*.
- Finlater, John. Master of the Charity School "in the west part of the city". *M.T.C.* 26 May and 24 Dec. 1714.
- Fisher, James. Assistant master in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 3 June 1776. Resigned 17 Dec. 1781. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Fisher, R. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 21 April 1707, and dismissed because he did not attend family worship in the school, 10 Sept. 1711. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Forbes, Isabel. Daughter of Mrs. Forbes below. Schoolmistress in Trades Maiden Hospital. *T.M.H. Rules*, 1734.
- Forbes, Mr. Teacher of French, Italian and Latin. Niddry's Wynd and later in Bull's Land, over against the Tron Church. Published a poem, *Eloge de la Ville d'Edimbourg*. He and his partner Mr. Bernard professed to teach writing, book-keeping, arithmetic and geography all through the medium of French. *Cal. Merc.* 6 Sept. 1743, 3 March 1752; *Courant* 30 Jan. 1755.
- Forbes, Mrs. Governess of the Trades Maiden Hospital. *T.M.H. Rules*, 1734.
- Forrest, John. Master of South Leith Grammar School, 1705-23. Mackay, *Leith Academy*; *South Leith Session Records* 27 May 1703, 21 April 1705.
- Foy, James. Teacher of writing. Carrubber's Close, and later in Skinners' Close. Taught writing in the Misses Wightman's board-

- ing school. *Courant* 24 May 1748 and 7 June 1766; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Fraser, John. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1775-78. Teacher. Carrubber's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94; *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Fraser, Luke, (1736-1821). High School master. Elected 26 Nov. 1766. Resigned 1 Oct. 1805. He was Sir Walter Scott's master. Steven, *High School*; Lockhart, *Life of Scott*; Cockburn, *Life of Jeffrey*; *Silences that Speak*.
- Frazer, Alexander. Part-time schoolmaster in George Watson's Hospital, 1768. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Frazer, Mrs. "The Pastry School", first in Stevenlaw's Close and later in Scale Stairs, head of Fleshmarket Close. Cookery, pastry, pickling, preserving, confectionery. *Cal. Merc.* 29 Nov. 1788 and 5 Dec. 1789; *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Freebairn, James. Teacher of French. Author of textbook on French grammar. *Courant* 1 Mar. 1725; *Cal. Merc.* 8 Nov. 1733.
- French, James. High School master. Elected 14 Feb. 1759. Resigned 28 June 1786. His second wife was the sister of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, who became President of Princeton. Steven, *High School*.
- Fulton, George. Master of the Charity School in Niddry's Wynd in 1774, and in 1778 master of one of the City's English schools. Dismissed for writing a letter criticising the Lord Provost in 1789. Set up a private school later with his nephew Andrew Knight, who succeeded him. Fulton died in 1831. He wrote text-books on English. He was a friend of Robert Fergusson. *M.T.C.* 9 Feb. 1774 and 23 Dec. 1789; *Poems of Robert Fergusson* ed. McDiarmid (S.T.S.); *Edinburgh Evening News* 2 Feb. 1952.
- Fyfe, Alexander. Teacher of drawing and music. Clam Shell Turnpike, Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall* says, "He played on musical glasses". *Cal. Merc.* 18 Nov. 1769.
- Fyfe, John. Teacher of vocal music, including Church music. Stevenlaw's Close. *Courant* 17 Feb. 1756.
- Fyfe, Mrs. Teacher of shell work, gum flowers, guitar and vocal music. *Cal. Merc.* 8 Dec. 1760.

- Garden, Mr. Teacher of Italian and geography. *Cal. Merc.* 16 Aug. 1790.
- Gardner, Alexander. Precentor in Tron Church, who was approved by the Committee for the Improving of Church Music, and taught Church music. Appointed master of one of the City's English schools on 9 May 1759. Burnet's Close. Resigned 29 Dec. 1773. *Cal. Merc.* 7 April 1757; *M.T.C.* 9 May 1759 and 29 Dec. 1773.
- Gardner, James. Teacher in Edinburgh. Unsuccessful applicant for post in the Charity school. *M.T.C.* 23 Jan. 1788.
- Gardner, Mrs. Boarding School for girls. St. David Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Gedd, The Misses. Described by Wright, *History of Education in Scotland* as two elderly Jacobites who set up a boarding school for girls in Paterson's Court, Lawnmarket, patronised by Jacobite families. *Edin. Dir.* 1773 merely describes them as "room-setters".
- Geddes, Janet. Schoolmistress in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- Geiloch, W. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 7 June 1725 and resigned 25 Sept. 1727. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Gentleman, Francis. Actor, dramatist and orator, who taught English pronunciation. His course was called "An Oratorical Olio". *Courant* 30 March 1771.
- Gibb, James. High School master. Elected 22 April 1719 and resigned 14 Feb. 1759. Steven, *High School*; Mackenzie, *Anecdotes etc.*, ed. Thompson.
- Gibson, John. Teacher of drawing. Taught ladies to paint on silk, japanning, shell-flower work, etc. Blackfriars' Wynd. *Courant* 29 Aug. 1754.
- Gibson, John. Assistant in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 3 June 1776 and resigned 7 June 1784. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Gibson, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Embroidery, needlework, drawing and flower-painting, japanning, etc. "Seaweed properly prepared for pictures". The similarity of this course to that proposed by John Gibson above makes one think the two may have been husband and wife. Back of Fountain well near the Netherbow. *Cal. Merc.* 14 Oct. 1758.

- Gilchrist, John, (d. Oct. 1766). High School master. Elected 7 Nov. 1750. He was Robert Fergusson's master. Steven, *High School* and Mackenzie, *Anecdotes*, ed. Thompson.
- Gilmor, John. Teacher of writing. *Cal. Merc.* 25 Feb. 1752.
- Gilson, Cornforth. Musician and teacher of music. Precentor in New Church. Appointed by Town Council to teach Church music. Taught Heriot's boys. Performed with the Musical Society. Author of book, *The Practice of Singing. Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses* 2 Feb. 1757; *Poems of Robert Fergusson*, ed. McDiarmid (S.T.S.); Johnson, *Scots Musical Museum*; *M.T.C.* 21 Aug. 1771; Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Girvan, Thomas. A student of divinity who opened a school for English and Latin. Ratteray's Close, Cowgate. *Courant* 28 Sept. 1772.
- Gladestane, James. Schoolmaster, North Leith. Parish Schoolmaster, North Leith 1769-99. He was a brother of Thomas Gladestane, whose grandson was W. E. Gladstone. *Edin. Dir.* 1773-74 and 1793-94; Russell, *The Story of Leith*.
- Glendingning, Simon. Teacher of writing and arithmetic. Halkerston's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 17 Nov. 1760.
- Godskirk, Robert. Teacher of writing. Taught in High School, Heriot's Hospital, and privately. Published a textbook in collaboration with James Hume. *M.T.C.* 29 Oct. 1707; *Heriot's Minutes* 20 April 1741.
- Goldie, John, (1727-1788). Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 16 April 1750. Resigned 7 Oct. 1754 because he was "now settled in a congregation". *Heriot's Minutes*; Scott, *Fasti*.
- Goodall, John, (1671-1719). High School master. Elected 23 Feb. 1694. Resigned 14 April 1697. Professor of Hebrew, Edinburgh University, 1702-19. Steven, *High School*; *Silences that Speak*.
- Gordon, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Horn's Land, Princes Street, New Town. *Courant* 28 April 1773.
- Gordon, William. Teacher of arithmetic, book-keeping, accountancy and Latin. Had established a mercantile academy in Glasgow in 1763, but moved to Edinburgh in 1783 and set up an Academy in the Scale Stairs, head of Blackfriars' Wynd. D. Murray, *History of Book-keeping and Accountancy*; *Cal. Merc.* 30 Sept. 1786 and 24 Oct. 1789.

- Gow, Peter. Schoolmaster. Forrester's Wynd. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Graham, Hugh, (d. 1790). Master of the Charity School. Appointed 23 Jan. 1788. *M.T.C.* 23 Jan. 1788 and 28 July 1790.
- Graham, James. Master of the Charity School, in succession to his father Hugh Graham. Appointed 28 July 1790. *M.T.C.* 28 July 1790 and Jan. 1799.
- Graham, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Crichton Street, George Square and later in Buccleuch Street. *Cal. Merc.* 10 Nov. 1779; *Courant* 29 Nov. 1780.
- Grainger, William. Teacher of writing. *Courant* 26 Feb. 1740; *Cal. Merc.* 8 Nov. 1750.
- Grandpré, John. Teacher of French. Described as "a teacher of French in Edinburgh", when appointed by Glasgow Town Council to set up school there. Returned to Edinburgh in a few months. *Courant* 18 Oct. 1710 and 12 Nov. 1714; *See also* Murray, Ed. B. Thesis in Glasgow University.
- Grant, David. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1777-81. *G.W.H. Minutes.*
- Grant, The Misses. Boarding school for girls. "Dresden work, Embroidery, and all other colour'd and white work, washing, dressing, and making up". First at Bayne's Land, Blackfriars' Wynd and later in Old Post Office Close. *Courant* 22 April and 22 July 1754.
- Grant, Rev. Mr. Teacher of moral philosophy, mathematics and learned languages. Halkerston's Wynd. *Courant* 4 Dec. 1753.
- Gray, John. Teacher of English, writing and arithmetic. St. Andrew Street, New Town. *Courant* 28 May 1774; *Cal. Merc.* 28 Oct. 1782.
- Gray, Mr. Teacher. Kirkgate, Leith. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Greenlees, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. James' Court, Lawnmarket. *Courant* 12 June 1753.
- Gregory, John Mack. Geography, English, French, Italian and High Dutch. Author of *Geography and History of Mons.* *Courant* 5 Oct. 1709 and 28 July 1714.
- Greig, J. Teacher of English. Tailors' Hall, Potterrow. *Cal. Merc.* 9 Sept. 1786; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Grindlay, Miss. Boarding school for girls, in association with Miss McPherson. *Courant* 30 July 1785.

- Gullan, William. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital, 11 Nov. 1793. Promised to give only occasional attendance at Divinity Hall. *Heriot's Minutes.*
- Haig, William. Master of Charity school in succession to George Fulton. Appointed 9 Sept. 1788, and demitted office 6 Oct. 1779. *M.T.C.*
- Halbertson, John. Latin, English, writing and arithmetic. Formerly assistant to James Mundell. Opened school in Mundell's old premises in West Bow. *Courant* 19 June 1762.
- Haldane, William, (d. Aug. 1717). High School master. Elected 19 April 1710. Steven, *High School.*
- Haliburton, William. Master of Heriot's Hospital, appointed on a year's probation, 20 April 1741. He married in the course of the year and therefore had to resign. He may have become a private teacher of English. *Heriot's Minutes*; *Courant* 20 July 1756.
- Halker, Miss. Boarding School for girls. Drummond Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Hall, Miss. Teacher of French to girls. Fountain Close. *Cal. Merc.* 31 May 1777.
- Halywell, William. Schoolmaster in the Charity Workhouse, 1744-60. *E.P.M.* 31 Oct. 1744; June 1760.
- Hamilton, John, M.A. Teacher of English. He was "qualified according to Act of Parliament" after the Rebellion. *Courant* 23 Oct. 1746.
- Hamilton, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. First in Chessels Buildings, Canongate and later in Argyle Square. *Cal. Merc.* 17 Oct. 1778 and 16 Oct. 1786.
- Hamilton, Mrs. Sarah. An actress who, while "resting", wished to "try her capacity in teaching young ladies to read in the English manner". *Cal. Merc.* 22 March 1750.
- Hamilton, William. Teacher of book-keeping. Author of *Book-keeping New Modelled*, Edin. 1735. Invented a machine for "preventing the breaking of houses; which being placed behind door or window, instantly rings a bell, fires a pistol, and lights a candle, on the least attempt to force open either door or window". *Courant* 24 Sept. 1718; *Cal. Merc.* 23 Dec. 1740.

- Hardie, Mr. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 14 Dec. 1719, but dismissed 15 Feb. 1720. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Harvie, Helen. Schoolmistress in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- Hastie, Mr. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1757-60. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Hautbois, Mr. Teacher of cookery and pastry. Canongate. Late cook to the Earl of Albemarle. *Courant* 31 Aug. 1747 and 25 July 1748.
- Hay, William. Master of Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 15 Feb. 1773. He had previously been a brewer. He retired in Dec. 1781. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Henderson, John, (d. 18 April 1757). Master of Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 14 Sept. 1741. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Henderson, Miss. Teacher of sewing. Richmond Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Hendry, Mrs. Teacher of French and needlework. Scot's Land, High School Wynd. She had lived in France. *Cal. Merc.* 16 Aug. 1769.
- Hepburn, John. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 22 Oct. 1754. Left 14 May 1759. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Hepburn, P. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 7 June 1725. Resigned after misunderstanding with schoolmaster, Oct. 1729. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Heriot, Alexander. Teacher of book-keeping. Was also book-keeper to New Mills Factory, Haddington. Author of *A Book containing tables for finding out the exchange of money and annualrents*, Edin. 1697. Meal market, Cowgate. *Courant* 14 Aug. 1706; Murray, D., *History of Book-keeping and Accountancy*; Scott, W. R., *Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills, Haddingtonshire*, 1905.
- Heriot, Thomas. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 14 Oct. 1700. Resigned 20 Feb. 1721. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Heron, Miss. Boarding school for girls. Blair Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-1794.
- Herries, Rev. John. Lecturer on elocution. *Cal. Merc.* 17 and 19 June 1776.
- Hogg, James. Teacher of English. Gray's Close, Cowgate. *Courant* 11 Nov. 1746.

- Hogg, Mrs. Governess of the Merchant Maiden Hospital, 1774-93. *B.O.E.C.* XXIX.
- Home, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Dickson's Close. "Making up gum-flower pongs,¹ and all the new fashions in the millinery way". *Courant* 16 Oct. 1765.
- Howe, Mrs. Governess of the Trades Maiden Hospital. Resigned 1797. *B.O.E.C.* XXVIII.
- Hoyland, Mrs. Teacher. Rose Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Hughes, Hugh. "Comedian" who proposed "to apply himself to the improving of young Gentlemen and Ladies in the Art of Reading". Home's Close, Cowgate. *Courant*, 6 Nov. 1746.
- Hume, James. Teacher of writing. Morrison's Close. With R. Godskirk he published *The Edinburgh New Method*, a reading book, in 1729. *Courant* 17-18 Nov. 1729.
- Humfrey, William. Teacher of writing and arithmetic. With R. Lundin in Cant's Close. *Courant* 8 June 1716.
- Hunter, John. Master of Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 2 June 1735. He had previously been a writer in Ayr. Dismissed 17 June 1740. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Hunter, Robert, (1702-1779). Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 1 April 1728. Resigned 4 June 1735. He collaborated with John Love of the High School in an edition of Buchanan's *Psalms* in 1737. He became Professor of Greek in Edinburgh University and retired in 1772. He objected to Dr. Adam's teaching Greek in the High School. *Heriot's Minutes*; Steven, *High School*; *Silences that Speak*.
- Imrie, Andrew. Schoolmaster. Foot of College Wynd. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Inglis, J, (d. Aug. 1786). Rector of Canongate High School. Possibly the same man as was Schoolmaster in George Watson's Hospital, 1774-77. *Cal. Merc.* 28 Sept. 1778 and 12 Aug. 1786.
- Ingram, Alexander. Teacher of shorthand, arithmetic, book-keeping and practical mathematics. Niddy's Wynd and later Kirkgate, Leith.

¹ Gum flowers = artificial flowers; Planché's *Cyclopedia of Costume*, under POM POM, PONG-PONG—"an ornament for a lady's cap, fashionable in the reign of George II; an artificial flower, feather, butterfly, tinsel, etc."

- Appointed to teach writing, arithmetic and mathematics in the town of Leith, 1783. Edited and enlarged Hutton's *Complete Treatise on Practical Arithmetic*, Edin. 1807. *Cal. Merc.* 3 Oct. 1778; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94; Mason, *History of Trinity House of Leith*.
- Innes, John. Teacher of mathematics and geography. Stewart's Close. Before 1727 had taught mathematics at St. Andrews University. Author of *A Dissertation concerning the Arithmetick of Annuities*, Edin. 1741. *Cal. Merc.* 19 Nov. 1730 and 17 Nov. 1737.
- Innes, Mr. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 14 Dec. 1719 and dismissed 15 Feb. 1720. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Innes, Marjory. Schoolmistress in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- Irvine, George. High School master. Appointed Master of Heriot's Hospital, 16 March 1795 after having been a schoolmaster there from 1793. Elected Master in High School 14 Aug. 1805 and resigned Aug. 1829. Steven, *High School and Heriot's Minutes*.
- Irvine, John. English, writing, figuring, Church music. Marlin's Wynd. *Courant* 6 June 1781.
- Jack, Miss. A mistress in the Merchant Maiden Hospital who was dismissed in 1785. *B.O.E.C.* XXIX.
- Jack, Richard. Teacher of mathematics. Wardrop's Land, foot of Peebles Wynd and later in Carrubber's Close. He advertised lectures on "curious and entertaining parts of Astronomy". Author of textbook, *Elements of Conic Sections*, Edin. 1742. *Cal. Merc.* 6 Nov. 1739 and 26 Sept. 1743.
- Jackson, Mrs. and Miss Mary. Boarding school for girls, first at "West End of Princes Street" and later "Mr. Wight's house in St. Andrew's Square, formerly possessed by the Countess of Errol". *Cal. Merc.* 16 Nov. 1782 and 7 Feb. 1784.
- Jameson, Edward. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 24 Feb. 1730 and resigned Oct. 1731. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Jameson, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Many addresses including: Old Assembly Close, Anchor Close, Forrester's Wynd, High Street above Tron Church, West Bow, Bailie Fyfe's Close, Todrick's

- Wynd and Buchanan's Court in Lawnmarket. *Courant* 7 Aug. 1756; *Cal. Merc.* 31 May 1777.
- Jenkins, John. Teacher of the reading of English prose and verse. Baron Maule's Close. He had had "for intimate companions and classfellows gentlemen born in England and educated there in the best manner". Had assisted John Warden. *Cal. Merc.* 17 June 1769; *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Johnston, Charles. Teacher of English. Bell's Wynd. *Courant* 21 June 1753 and 22 Jan. 1772; *Edin. Dir.* 1773-74.
- Johnston, James. Teacher of writing. New Stairs, back of Parliament Close. *Cal. Merc.* 8 April 1769.
- Johnston, John. Master of the Charity Working School. Castlehill. Appointed 1759 and school disbanded 1768. *Cal. Merc.* 3 Sept. 1759; *M.T.C.*
- Johnston, John. Teacher of English. "Mr. Johnston has had a University education" Skinners' Close. Later took up writing and accounts, and special work with deaf and dumb children. Kirkbraehead, in New Town. *Cal. Merc.* 13 Nov. 1779; *Edin. Dir.* 1799.
- Johnston, Mrs. Teacher of French. Boarding school for girls. She had lived nine years in France. Scale Stairs, head of Blackfriars' Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 2 March 1776; *Courant* 21 June 1766.
- Johnston, William. Teacher of English. Wardrop's Court. Appointed Master of one of the city's English schools 1 Dec. 1779. *Courant* 12 Feb. 1774; *M.T.C.* 9 Jan. 1793.
- Johnstone, Andrew. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 14 May 1759. Resigned 1 Dec. 1766. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Johnstone, John (Jun.). High School master. Elected 13 May 1702 and resigned in 1704. Steven, *High School*.
- Johnstone, Mrs. Teacher of cookery, who later opened a boarding school for girls. *Courant* 2 Nov. 1749; *Cal. Merc.* 3 Aug. 1752.
- Johnstone, Walter. Schoolmaster. Nairne's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Keith, Archibald. Teacher of English and writing, licensed by Town Council. *M.T.C.* 1718 and 17 May 1738.
- Keltie, Miss. Boarding school for girls. York Place. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.

- Kemp, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Milne's Court. *Courant* 23 Dec. 1771.
- Ker, Guillaume. Teacher of French. Allowed to teach in University, where Dr. Alexander Carlyle was one of his pupils. Author of text-book. His wife was French. *Courant* 3-7 April 1729; *Cal. Merc.* 24 Oct. 1734 and 20 May 1736; Carlyle, *Autobiography*.
- Ker, John. Teacher of writing. Marquis of Tweeddale's Close. *Courant* 16 Oct. 1767; *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Ker, John. High School master. Elected 20 March 1713 and resigned 4 Dec. 1717 on appointment as Professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen. In 1734 he became Professor of Humanity in Edinburgh University, and died in 1741. Allan Ramsay wrote a poem to him in 1721: Ramsay *Works* (S.T.S.), Vol. III; Steven, *High School*; Carlyle, *Autobiography*.
- King, William, (d. Jan. 1788). Master of Charity school. Appointed 19 May 1784. *M.T.C.*
- Kirkwood, James. Teacher of Latin. Advocate's Close and later in College Wynd. The schoolmaster of Linlithgow and Kelso, who set up a private school in Edinburgh at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. Author of many text-books and of *The Twenty Seven Gods of Linlithgow*. *Courant* 27-29 Oct. 1708 and 19-21 June 1710.
- Kirkwood, Thomas. Master of the South Leith Grammar School, 1723-1735 after having been Doctor there 1719-23. Mackay, *History of Leith Academy*; *South Leith Session Records* 3 Dec. 1719, 21 Nov. 1723 and 17 March 1729.
- Kitchen, William. Schoolmaster. Potterrow. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Knipe, Mr. Teacher of English, writing and accounts in an Academy in Riddle's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 13 Nov. 1784. (This is probably the Rev. Rest Knipe who advertised a course in elocution in 1780.)
- Knox, Robert. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 19 May 1766. Resigned 5 June 1775, but returned part-time in 1784 to teach writing and arithmetic. *Heriot's Minutes*. Private teacher, Baxter's Close, *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Knox, William. Schoolmaster. Potterrow. *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- La Hersie, Mr. Dancing master. Referred to in *E.P.M.*, because he was a Roman Catholic. *Cal. Merc.* 17 April 1729.

- Laidlaw, William. Teacher of mathematics, accounts, book-keeping and the "Practical Mathematics necessary for the Marine and Military professions". Bishop's Land. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Oct. 1789; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Laidley, Archibald. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 11 May 1752. He became schoolmaster on 6 June 1757 and resigned 16 April 1759. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Laime, Francis. Teacher of drawing. High Street opposite Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 8 June 1756.
- Laing, Alexander. Master of the South Leith Grammar School from 1695 to 1703. He had previously been granted permission by the Town Council to keep a private grammar school. *M.T.C.* 8 June 1694; Mackay, *History of Leith Academy*.
- Laing, William. Proprietor of the first Academy "for classical learning" in the New Town. Teacher of Latin and Greek, but his school also provided instruction in French, writing, arithmetic and geography. Various addresses—Rose Street, Register Street and North Hanover Street. *Cal. Merc.* 30 July 1789; *Edin. Dir.* 1799.
- La Motte, Mr. Dancing Master. Succeeded in 1729 to the house of Mr. La Hersie. *Cal. Merc.* 17 April 1729; *Courant* 21 Feb. 1749.
- La Tour, Mr. Fantin. Teacher of French. Above Bow-head Well, south side of Lawnmarket. His wife taught the harpsichord. *Cal. Merc.* 13 Feb. 1768.
- Lauchlan, Robert. Teacher of mathematics for Trinity House, Leith, 1719-41. Mason, *History of Trinity House of Leith*.
- Laurie, John. Teacher of mathematics. Addresses in Barringer's Close, Advocate's Close, Anchor Close. Author of *A Plan of the City of Edinburgh*. *Courant* 7 Aug. 1765; *Cal. Merc.* 19 Oct. 1776.
- Laurie, Mr. Teacher of dancing. James' Court and Frederick Street in New Town. *Courant* 17 Oct. 1781; *Cal. Merc.* 25 April 1789.
- Laurie, Robert. Schoolmaster. Mealmarket. *Edin. Dir.* 1773-74.
- Lawrie, Mr. Schoolmaster of St. Cuthbert's, and visiting teacher of English in Merchant Maiden Hospital. Nicolson Street. *Courant* 5 Sept. 1772; *Cal. Merc.* 18 Sept. 1786.
- Le Blanc, Mme. (with Mrs. Benazeck). Boarding school for girls. French, English and needlework. Addresses in Dickson's Close,

- Monteith's Close and Cant's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 6 Feb. 1752; *Courant* 22 Nov. 1753.
- Le Brun, Mr. Teacher of French. "From the University of Paris". Milne's Square. A medal from this school is in the National Museum of Antiquities—M 182, dated 1780. *Courant* 13 June 1767; *Cal. Merc.* 30 Oct. 1779.
- Leechman, John. Teacher of English, and later master of one of the city's English schools. Taught Sir Walter Scott in his private school. Bristo Street. Author, with two others, of *Lessons in prose and verse*, Edin. 1787. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Aug. 1782; *M.T.C.* 4 Jan. 1792.
- Lees, John. Rector of the High School. Elected a master 24 March 1731. Appointed Rector 21 May 1735. Resigned Jan. 1759. Steven, *High School*.
- Le Picq, Antony and Charles. Dancing Masters. Skinners' Close. *Cal. Merc.* 29 Nov. 1762.
- Le Picq, Mrs. (wife of Charles). Teacher of French for girls. Boarding school "only French spoken". James' Court, and later Jack's Land, Canongate. *Cal. Merc.* 18 Sept. 1762; *Courant* 16 Oct. 1773.
- Lindsay, Alexander. Master in Heriot's Hospital 20 Dec. 1766. Resigned 11 Oct. 1775 and became schoolmaster of South Leith, a post he held for thirty years. *Heriot's Minutes*; Steven, *High School*; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Lindsay, David. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1756-57. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Lindsay, John. Teacher. Kirkgate, Leith. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Liston, Matthew. Schoolmaster. Hammermen's Land, Cowgate. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-75.
- Livingstone, James. Teacher of writing. West Bow. *Edin. Dir.* 1774-1775 and 1786-88.
- Lorimer, James. Assistant in Heriot's Hospital, 29 Nov. 1773. Appointed schoolmaster, 5 June 1775. Resigned 7 Oct. 1776. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Love, John. High School master. Elected 14 Feb. 1735. Became Rector of Dalkeith Grammar School, 2 Oct. 1739. Author of several textbooks. Steven, *High School*.

- Lundin, Robert. Teacher of writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, with William Humfrey. Author of *The Reason of Accompting*, Edin. 1718. Cant's Close. *Courant* 8 June 1716.
- Luttit, Mrs. Teacher. Turk's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Lyndsay, John. Teacher of English. Leith. *Courant* 24 March 1783.
- Lyon, Miss. Sewing school with Miss Carstairs. Bailie Fyfe's Close. *Courant* 18 Feb. 1767; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Lythgow, Miss Jean. Boarding school for girls. First in Bailie Fyfe's Close, then in Carrubber's Close, and lastly in George Street, New Town. Her sister Magdalene at one time also had a boarding school. *Cal. Merc.* 25 May 1776 and 24 May 1786.
- Mabane, Thomas. Teacher of English. Barbers' Hall. *Courant* 20 Nov. 1746.
- McArthur, Samuel. Teacher of writing and arithmetic. Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 7 Sept. 1756.
- McDonald, Gilbert. Teacher. Warriston's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Macfait, Ebenezer, M.D. Teacher of mathematics and geography. Addresses include Niddry's Wynd, Marlin's Wynd, College Wynd and Horse Wynd. *Courant* 11 Nov. 1746 and 9 Nov. 1785.
- McFarlane, John. Teacher of Latin and English. Advocate's Close and later in West Bow. *Courant* 14 Oct. 1746 and 22 Sept. 1764.
- McFarlane, Robert. Master of the subscription Charity School in Blackfriars' Wynd. *Courant* 13 June 1778; *Cal. Merc.* 5 Aug. 1790.
- Macghie, Alexander, (d. 1715). Teacher of book-keeping. Author of textbook on book-keeping. *Courant* 18 Feb. 1715.
- McGibbon, William, (d. 1756). Teacher of music. Poem in his memory by Robert Fergusson. *Courant* 5 Oct. 1756.
- McGilvray, James. Teacher of English. Netherbow. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-1794.
- McGregor, John. Teacher of mathematics. Parliament Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Macintosh, Mr. Teacher of violin. Barringer's Close. *Courant* 28 Oct. 1780.
- MacIntyre, John. Teacher of languages, including Latin and Hebrew.

- His wife was Ann Morton. Taylor's Land, Cowgate and later in College Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 17 Nov. 1762 and 17 Oct. 1789.
- McIver, Mrs. Teacher of cookery. Author of textbook. Peebles Wynd and later in Stevenlaw's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 4 June 1768 and 21 Oct. 1786.
- McKaill, Margaret. Schoolmistress in Leith, sister of Janet Geddes. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- McKay, John. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1746-56. *G.W.H. Minutes.*
- Mackay, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Cant's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 3 July 1769.
- McKay (or Mackie), Rev. Wm. Master of George Watson's Hospital, 1752-55. *G.W.H. Minutes.*
- McKay, William. Teacher. West Port. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- McKean, Andrew. Teacher of writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. At one time partner of Mr. Butterworth. *Cal. Merc.* 30 May 1789; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- McKellar, Mrs. Boarding school for girls, in succession to Mrs. Warder. Her husband taught writing. *Cal. Merc.* 17 Oct. 1751.
- Mackenzie, Alexander. Teacher of mathematics. *Courant* 23 May and 21 Oct. 1715.
- McKenzie, Colin. Private English school in Leith. According to the Session "he comes not to the Church but preents in the Meeting house". *South Leith Session Records* 20 Aug. and 10 Dec. 1724.
- Mackenzie, Mrs. Boarding school for girls with Mrs. Pine. Covenant Close. *Courant* 29 Jan. 1785.
- McLagan, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Fountain Close. *Cal. Merc.* 31 May 1777.
- McLean, Miss. Teacher of sewing, but "will hear the young ladies a lesson of English once a day". Cheyn's Close, Leith. *Cal. Merc.* 18 Dec. 1779.
- McLure, John. Writing master to the High School. Appointed 7 Oct. 1737. Appointment cancelled 23 Aug. 1780. Paterson's Court. According to Scott, he fought at the battle of Falkirk. *M.T.C.* at dates quoted; and Steven, *High School*; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88; Kay, *Portraits.*

- McMichen, William. Schoolmaster in Calton. *Edin. Dir.* 1773-74; *B.O.E.C.* XIX.
- McPherson, David. Teacher of English. Bridge Street. *Courant* 10 Feb. 1773.
- McPherson, Miss. Boarding school for girls with Miss Grindlay. Milne's Square. *Courant* 30 July 1795; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- McRonald, Theodore. Teacher of writing, arithmetic, book-keeping and mathematics. Baron Maule's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 10 Nov. 1779.
- Mair, Mr. Kept an English school in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 4 Oct. 1723.
- Maire, Mr. Teacher of French. A Frenchman who was attending Edinburgh University. *Cal. Merc.* 13 Dec. 1788 and 2 May 1789.
- Maitland, James. Master of the Charity Working school, 1759-1766. World's End Close, near Netherbow. *Cal. Merc.* 3 Sept. 1759; *S.S.P.C.K. Minutes* 1766.
- Maitland, John, (d. Feb. 1713). High School master. Elected 9 March 1698. Steven, *High School.*
- Malcolm, Alexander. Teacher of mathematics. Author of textbook on arithmetic and book-keeping. *Courant* 18 Feb. 1715; Murray, D., *History of Book-keeping and Accountancy.*
- Man, Gilbert. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 16 Oct. 1727. Left 5 May 1731. *Heriot's Minutes.*
- Man, John. Teacher of navigation to the Fraternity House of Leith. Author of *Leith's True Almanack*, 1704 and *Edinburgh's True Almanack*, 1698. Mason, *History of the Trinity House of Leith.*
- Martin, The Misses. Boarding school for girls. First close above Milne's Court. *Courant* 23 Dec. 1771.
- Masson, Alexander, (d. 1779). Teacher of English, and from 1772 one of the City's English schoolmasters. Brother of Arthur Masson, with whom he was at one time in partnership. *Courant* 24 May 1766; *M.T.C.* 4 March 1772. Old Assembly Close and later Carrubber's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 27 Nov. 1779.
- Masson, Arthur. Teacher of English and languages. Author of many text-books on English, French and Italian. Various addresses:

- Turnpike below Tron Church, Covenant Close, Old Assembly Close. *Courant* 26 Dec. 1754; *Cal. Merc.* 16 Oct. 1779.
- Masterton, Alexander. Schoolmaster. Covenant Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1773 and 1793-94.
- Masterton, Allan, (d. 1799). Teacher of writing. Writing master to the High School from 26 Aug. 1795. He was a friend of Burns, who described him as "one of the worthiest men in the world, and a man of real genius". Steven, *High School*.
- Masterton, Dugald. Teacher of writing. Writing master to the High School with Allan Masterton and Dugald Masterton (Jun.). *Courant* 8 March 1775; *M.T.C.* 26 Aug. 1795; Steven, *High School*.
- Masterton, Dugald (Jun.). Son of the above, and with him writing master to the High School.
- Matheson, Alexander, (d. 1799). Rector of the High School. Elected 7 Feb. 1759. He resigned in June 1768, when he and Adam were made joint-Rectors. He continued to teach Latin and Greek privately. Steven, *High School*; *Cal. Merc.* 19 Oct. 1776; *Courant* 15 Oct. 1785; *Silences that Speak*.
- Matheson, William. Master of Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 15 April 1734 and resigned 21 April 1735. He had been a merchant in Edinburgh. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Mein, Richard. Teacher of English, writing and arithmetic. Foot of Horse Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Sept. 1768.
- Melville, Harry. Schoolmaster. Sheriff Brae, Leith. *Edin. Dir.* 1786-1788.
- Methven, James. Teacher. Canongate. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Methven, Thomas. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 16 April 1792 and resigned 14 Oct. 1793. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Michel, W. B. Teacher of drawing. Marlin's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 15 Dec. 1784.
- Middleton, Patrick. High School master. Elected 12 May 1697 and dismissed 1 May 1702. Steven, *High School*.
- Mill, T. Teacher of Greek. Good's Land, College Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 22 May 1784.
- Millar, Hugh. Master of the South Leith Grammar School, 1735-75.

- Mackay, *History of Leith Academy*; *Cal. Merc.* 17 Jan. 1776; *South Leith Session Records* 1 April 1735 and 7 Dec. 1775.
- Millar, James. Teacher of Latin. Preacher of the Gospel. Bailie Fyfe's Close. *Courant* 15 Oct. 1785.
- Millar, Miss. Teacher of drawing. St. James' Square. *Cal. Merc.* 3 April 1790.
- Millar, William. Teacher of writing, arithmetic and English. First in Canongate and later in Niddry's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 29 May 1779; *Courant* 24 Nov. 1781; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Miller, David. Teacher of Latin, Greek, music and mathematics. Blind man who was dux of High School in 1776. North James's Street. Steven, *High School*; *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Milne, Andrew. Schoolmaster in Leith where "he had taken up a school for his subsistence and to keep himself from being burdensome to the publick being old and decrepit". *South Leith Session Records* 22 Aug. 1717.
- Minto, Walter. Teacher of mathematics. Author of work on astronomy. Richmond Street. *Cal. Merc.* 24 April 1784; *Courant* 7 Nov. 1785.
- Mitchel, Mrs. French boarding school for girls. "Mr. Mitchel's French school for Gentlemen is now kept separate from the boarding-house". Covenant Close. *Courant* 10 June 1756; *Cal. Merc.* 31 Oct. 1778.
- Mitchel, William. Teacher of French. Skinners' Hall, Castlehill and later in Covenant Close, where his wife kept a boarding school. *Courant* 17 Dec. 1753; *Cal. Merc.* 16 June 1777; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-1788.
- Mitchell, Hugh. Teacher of English language and elocution. Watson's Land, Gifford's Park. *Cal. Merc.* 11 Jan. 1777.
- Mitchell, John. "Late Schoolmaster" Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 5 Dec. 1728.
- Mitchell, Miss. Boarding school for girls. Buccleuch Place. *Cal. Merc.* 22 Nov. 1788; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Moffat, John. Teacher of French. Cant's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 14 Oct. 1782; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Moir, Andrew. Assistant teacher in North Leith Grammar School.

- Reproved by Presbytery for writing pamphlet reflecting on character of students of divinity. *E.P.M.* 24 April 1754; *Courant* 7 May 1754.
- Moir, James. Teacher of Latin, Greek, arithmetic, geography, geometry, navigation, French, Italian and Spanish. Author of various textbooks. Forrester's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 23 Nov. 1761 and 17 Oct. 1789; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Montgomery, Miss Margaret. Governess of the Merchant Maiden Hospital from 1765 to 1774. *Merchant Maiden Minutes.*
- Moodie, Roger. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 31 Dec. 1744. He had been a boy at Heriot's and was appointed while he was still at the College. He became schoolmaster 6 Sept. 1749, and left to become minister of Gartly on 6 June 1757. *Heriot's Minutes.*
- More, Joshiah. Teacher. Low Calton. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Morison, John. Teacher of mathematics. *Courant* 14 March and Nov. 1716.
- Morison, Mrs. Sewing school. Galloway's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Morton, Ann. Wife of Mr. McIntyre. Teacher of writing. Taylor's Land, Cowgate. *Courant* 20 Nov. 1765.
- Morton, J. Teacher of writing, arithmetic, book-keeping and geography. Cant's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1773; *Cal.* 24 Nov. 1784.
- Morton, Ralph. Teacher of writing. Author of textbook. *Courant* 8 Sept. 1709 and 6 Feb. 1713.
- Morton, W. Teacher of writing with Mr. Johnston. Sir Walter Scott attended this school. Opposite City Guard. *Courant* 24 Nov. 1781; *Cal. Merc.* 28 June 1786.
- Moulin, J. Teacher of French. Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 18 Nov. 1780.
- Mountford, Miss Grizel. Governess of the Merchant Maiden Hospital from 1793 to 1813. *Merchant Maiden Minutes.*
- Moyes, Madam. Teacher of French. Old Baxters' Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Muat, James. Master of the Charity School, 1779 to 1784. Also a teacher of English, privately in Bristo Street, and in the Merchant Maiden Hospital from 1784 to 1795. *M.T.C.* 13 Oct. 1779 and 12 May 1784; *Cal. Merc.* 25 Aug. 1784; *Merchant Maiden Minutes*; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.

- Muir, Mr. Teacher of Latin and Greek. School "in the Mint". *Courant* 5 Sept. 1767.
- Mundell, James. Teacher of a private grammar school, West Bow, from 1735 to 1762. Boswell, *London Journal*, ed. Pottle; *List of Scholars of Mr. Mundell's School*, in Glasgow University Library; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses* 16 July 1740.
- Murdoch, John. Teacher of French. Carrubber's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 27 Oct. 1737; *Courant* 31 July 1756.
- Murray, Archibald. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1771-74. *G.W.H. Minutes.*
- Murray, Mrs. Katherine. Boarding school for girls. Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 22 May 1756.
- Murray, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Bishop's Land. *Cal. Merc.* 14 Oct. 1786.
- Murray, Thomas. Assistant in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 4 Nov. 1783. Resigned to become a minister of a dissenting congregation in England, 6 June 1785. *Heriot's Minutes.*
- Neil, William. Teacher. Canongate High School. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Neilson, Miss. Boarding school for girls. Blackfriars' Wynd. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96 and 1800.
- Nichol, Robert. Teacher of arithmetic, writing, book-keeping, mathematics and geography. Dickson's Close. *Cal. Merc.* 20 May to 9 Dec. 1786.
- Nicol, William, (d. 1797). High School master. Elected 2 Feb. 1774 and resigned Sept. 1795. Opened private Latin school. A friend of Burns, the "Willie" who "brew'd a peck o' maut", Steven, *High School*; *Silences that Speak*. Burns, *Letters*. ed. De Lancey Fergusson, Vol. II, Appendix.
- Niven, David. Teacher. Bailie Grant's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Noble, William. Teacher of English and Latin. Scot's Close, Cowgate and Potterrow. *Cal. Merc.* 19 Sept. 1761; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Ogilvie, Duncan. Schoolmaster. Kinloch's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1773-74.
- Ogilvie, William. Schoolmaster in Leith—English, Latin, arithmetic,

- writing and book-keeping. Vinegar Close. *Cal. Merc.* 6 May 1776 and 21 April 1777.
- Oliphant, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Leith. *Courant* 15 Oct. 1754.
- Oliver, Mrs., (d. 1780). Schoolmistress in Trades Maiden Hospital. *Courant* 10 April 1780.
- Olivieri, Ubald. Teacher of French and Italian. Borthwick's Close. *Courant* 26 July 1780.
- Oswald, James. Teacher of dancing with Mr. Jones. Skinners' Close. Published book of music. Allan Ramsay wrote an epistle to him: Ramsay, *Works* (S.T.S.), Vol. III; *Cal. Merc.* 6 Jan. 1736.
- Panton, William. Master of Canongate Grammar School. Author of text-book on arithmetic, 1773. *Courant* 15 Sept. 1764.
- Parker, John. Schoolmaster. Forrester's Wynd. *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Pasquale, Nicolo, (d. 1757). Teacher of music. Italian who came to Edinburgh in 1740. Engaged by Musical Society 1752. Author of *Thorough-bass made Easy*. *Cal. Merc.* 20 Nov. 1752; *Musical Society Minutes*; *Silences that Speak*; Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*; Grove, *Dictionary of Music*.
- Passerini, Signor. Teacher of singing, violin and harpsichord. *Courant* 1752; Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Paterson, Andrew. Doctor in South Leith Grammar School. *South Leith Session Records* 21 Nov. 1723 and 27 June 1734.
- Paterson, George. Teacher of arithmetic, book-keeping, etc. Horse Wynd. *Courant* 21 Oct. 1746 and 6 Nov. 1753.
- Paterson, James, (d. July 1722) High School master. Elected 1 Aug. 1716. Author of textbooks. Steven, *High School*.
- Paton, George. Writing master to the High School. Appointed 10 Nov. 1790 as joint writing master with Edmond Butterworth, but was dismissed 26 Aug. 1795. He then set up his own "Commercial Academy" in South Bridge. *M.T.C.* and *Edin. Dir.* 1799.
- Pavillon, Charles. Artist from Paris. In charge of Drawing School, situated in the College. *Cal. Merc.* 22 March 1769.
- Penman, John. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1741. *G.W.H. Minutes*.

- Pepper, Charles. Teacher of French. Skinners' Close. He translated the proof in the Douglas Cause. *Edin. Dir.* 1773-74; *Courant* 30 Oct. 1773.
- Perry, William. Teacher of English, French, writing, accounts and mathematics. Tailor's Hall. Author of textbooks in reading and arithmetic, and a lexicographer. Qualified as a naval surgeon. *Courant* 22 April 1775; *Cal. Merc.* 8 April 1778.
- Pescatore, Signor. Teacher of singing. Skinners' Close, 1765. *Cal. Merc.* 12 March 1751; Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Petrie, Patrick. Schoolmaster in Restalrig. *South Leith Session Records* 6 June 1728.
- Philips, James. Teacher of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, geography and mathematics. West Bow. *Courant* 6 Nov. and 13 Dec. 1755.
- Philips, William. Teacher. Calton. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Picard, Monsieur. Teacher of fencing. Don's Close, Luckenbooths. *Courant* 19 Nov. 1753; *Cal. Merc.* 30 Sept. 1769.
- Pine, Mrs. Boarding school for girls, with Mrs. Mackenzie. Covenant Close. *Courant* 29 Jan. 1785.
- Pirrie, George. Teacher of mathematics. *Courant* 1 June 1716.
- Porter, Rev. Mr. Teacher of English, arithmetic, mathematics and book-keeping. *Cal. Merc.* 23 Nov. 1752; *Courant* 23 Oct. 1755.
- Porterfield, James. Teacher of English. Licensed by the Town Council. Author of textbook. *M.T.C.* 9 June 1694 and 3 June 1715.
- Preston, The Misses. Boarding school for girls. Libberton's Wynd. *Courant* 1 March 1783.
- Pringle, Walter. Teacher of English. Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 5 Dec. 1728.
- Puppo, Giuseppe. Teacher of singing. New Street, Canongate. *Courant* March 1778.
- Puppo, Stephano. Teacher of French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. His brother was a musician with the Musical Society. Carrubber's Close and later in James' Court. *Courant* 6 Nov. 1775; *Cal. Merc.* 22 June 1778.
- Quesnot, Mr. Teacher of French. Stevenlaw's Close. *Courant* 22 Oct. 1753.

- Rae, John. High School master. Elected 14 Feb. 1739. Resigned 24 Jan. 1759. Steven, *High School*.
- Rae, Mrs. Teacher. Opposite Linen Hall, Canongate. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Ratray, Francis. Teacher of Greek, Latin, English, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. Libberton's Wynd, Cowgate. *Cal. Merc.* 12 June 1782.
- Ratray, Mrs. Schoolmistress in Trades Maiden Hospital. She was reprimanded by the governors in 1796 and was dismissed in 1797. *B.O.E.C.* XXVIII.
- Reid, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Head of Cowgate. *Cal. Merc.* 29 Jan. 1789.
- Reid, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Bristo. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Remon, M. A Spaniard. Teacher of Spanish, French and Italian. Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 31 Oct. 1754.
- Ricci, Baron Charles. A former soldier in the Queen of Hungary's army. Teacher of Italian. Dunbar's Close. *Courant* 30 April 1766.
- Richardson, James. Master of George Watson's Hospital, 1779-85. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Richmond, John. Teacher of Latin, Greek and philosophy. Scot's Close. *Courant* 2 Nov. 1749.
- Riddle, John. Teacher of English. Hammermen's Close, Canongate. *Cal. Merc.* 7 Aug. 1779; *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Ritchie, William. Rector of Canongate Grammar School; appointed 12 Aug. 1786. High School master; elected 26 Aug. 1795. Resigned 1 Oct. 1818. *Cal. Merc.* 12 Aug. 1786; Steven, *High School*.
- Ritter, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Fisher's Close, Lawnmarket. *Courant* 5 June 1773.
- Rob, W. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1763-68. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Robertson, George. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 27 June 1757 and resigned 10 Dec. 1759. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Robertson, John. Teacher of English. Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 12 Sept. 1728.

- Robertson, John. Teacher of English, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. Kept a "Mercantile Academy", South Bridge Street. *Cal. Merc.* 31 Oct. 1789; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Robertson, Robert. Architect and lecturer on perspective, design, etc. in relation to building and landscape gardening. *Cal. Merc.* 15 Feb. 1757.
- Robertson, Robert. Teacher of English. Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 6 July 1727 and 8 May 1729.
- Robison, William. Teacher of English. Precentor in New Church. Craig's Close. "Perfecting Scholars in the Reading way he proposes to teach as the Parents and he can agree". *Cal. Merc.* 18 June 1750; *Courant* 1 Jan 1754.
- Ronaldson, Mrs. Teacher of sewing. Kept boarders. Gray's Close. *Courant* 9 March 1758.
- Rose, Hugh. Teacher of English. Halkerston's Wynd. He succeeded John Stirling on the date mentioned. He claimed to have been taught the latest methods by John Wylie. *Courant* 30 Oct. 1746.
- Ross, Robert. Teacher of arithmetic and mathematics. Halkerston's Wynd. *Courant* 20 April 1771.
- Roy, Mrs. Teacher of French. Rose Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1799-1800.
- Ruffin, Mr. Master of an Academy for boys, Nicolson Street. Curriculum to include French, Italian, writing, arithmetic, and visiting teachers for riding, dancing, fencing and military exercise. This school was to be residential. There is, however, only one reference to it, and the project may not have developed. *Cal. Merc.* 28 Sept. 1782.
- Runciman, Alexander, (1736-1785). Artist. Appointed to be master of the Drawing Academy by the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland. *Cal. Merc.* 9 Dec. 1772.
- Rutherford, Archibald. Teacher of drawing. Chalmers' Close. *Cal. Merc.* 10 Aug. and 27 Nov. 1776.
- Salton, Mr. Teacher. Jackson's Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Sandars, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Halkerston's Wynd. *Courant* 19 Sept. 1763 and 27 June 1764.

- Sandars, William. Teacher of mathematics. Formerly Professor of Mathematics in St. Andrews University, 1675-88, and thereafter Schoolmaster at Dundee and Rector of Perth Grammar School. *Courant* 26 Dec. 1705.
- Sangster, John. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1791-92. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Schetky, John G. C., (1740-1824). Teacher of music. Came to Edinburgh in 1772 as principal violoncellist to Musical Society. Composed "Clarinda, mistress of my soul" for Burns. Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall; Silences that Speak*.
- Scot, Mr. Teacher of French. Nicolson Street. *Courant* 22 Feb. 1783.
- Scott, Mrs. and daughter. Boarding school for girls. Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 13 Oct. 1764.
- Scott, William. Teacher of English, writing and arithmetic, and lecturer on elocution. Various addresses including Bailie Fyfe's Close, Niddry's Wynd and Trunk Close. Author of textbooks on English. *Courant*. 22 Jan. 1774; *Cal. Merc.* 20 Nov. 1788; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Scouler, William, (d. 1783). Assistant in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 5 April 1782. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Sheriff, William. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 6 June 1785. Resigned 8 Oct. 1787. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Sibbald, Jane. Boarding school for girls. Crichton St., George Square. *Cal. Merc.* 26 April 1784; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Sinclair, Mrs. Eupham. Boarding school for girls. Swinton's Land, middle of Forrester's Wynd. Sir Walter Scott's mother attended this school. *Cal. Merc.* 2 July 1752.
- Singer, Archibald. Assistant in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 14 Oct. 1776. Dismissed 23 Jan. 1782. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Skirving, Mr. Teacher of violin. Kinloch's Close, Scale Stair. *Cal. Merc.* 9 Feb. 1782.
- Smart, Rev. William. Teacher of mathematics, use of the globes, surveying, navigation and astronomy. *Courant* 31 March 1708.
- Smith, A. Teacher of arithmetic, book-keeping, mensuration, navigation and astronomy. Vinegar Close, Leith. *Courant* 16 June 1783.

- Smith, Catherine Fraser, -or. Kept a school in Restalrig until forbidden by the Session. *South Leith Session Records* 6 and 20 June 1728.
- Smith, David. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1799. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Smith, Duncan. Teacher of writing. Bailie Fyfe's Close. *Courant* 15 June and 9 Nov. 1767.
- Smith, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Rose Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-1794.
- Smyth, William. Teacher of English. Bristo Street. *Cal. Merc.* 3 July 1782.
- Spankie, James. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 5 May 1731. Resigned 4 June 1733. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Spence, Robert, (d. June 1742). High School master. Elected 11 Sept. 1717. Steven, *High School*.
- Stalker, James. Teacher of English and master of one of the city's English schools. Appointed 9 May 1759. Resigned 1777. This man, or another of the same name, appears in *Edin. Dir.* 1786-94. *M.T.C.* 9 May 1759 and 2 July 1777.
- Stayley, Mr. Actor and lecturer on elocution. Jackson, *Scottish Stage*.
- Steven, Robert. Teacher. Pleasance. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Stevenson, James, (d. by 5 Dec. 1728). Teacher of English. Leith. Session allowed him 50 merks Scots annually "for his encouragement". *South Leith Session Records* 23 May 1728.
- Stevenson, William. Teacher of book-keeping. Licensed as teacher of the subject by the Town Council in 1730 or 1731. Author of textbook. *Cal. Merc.* 22 Oct. 1731 and 2 July 1768.
- Stewart, John. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1781-85. *G.W.H. Minutes*.
- Stewart, Mr. Teacher of writing. Henderson's Stairs. *Cal. Merc.* 25 Nov. 1769.
- Stewart, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Mealmarket Stairs. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Stirling, James. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 12 Aug. 1717. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Stirling, John. Teacher of English. Halkerston's Wynd. He gave up his school in Oct. 1746. *Courant* 30 Oct. 1746.

- Stoddart, Mr. Schoolmaster in Calton 1741. Irvine, *Historical Notes ; the Calton of Edinburgh*.
- Strange, Mr. Teacher of French. *Cal. Merc.* 20 Nov. 1784.
- Sutter, William. Teacher of writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. Niddry's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 12 Dec. 1761.
- Swanson, William. Teacher of writing and accompts. Back of the Guard. "The great hand-spoiler" of Cockburn's day. *Courant* 1 Oct. 1763 and 23 Oct. 1765; Cockburn, *Memorials*. A teacher of the same name is recorded in *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96, in New Bank Close.
- Sydserrf, William. Teacher of English and master of one of the city's English schools. Trunk Close. *M.T.C.* 2 July 1777 and 11 Nov. 1789.
- Syme, Miss. Mistress in Merchant Maiden Hospital; dismissed 1786. *Merchant Maiden Minutes*.
- Tainsh, John. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. He was an old Heriot's boy who was appointed to this post straight from College. Appointed 31 Dec. 1744. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Tait, James. High School master. Elected 22 Nov. 1710. Resigned 22 April 1719. Steven, *High School*.
- Taylor Thomas. Teacher of writing. *Courant* 31 Dec. 1754; *Cal. Merc.* 6 July 1758.
- Telfer, Cortes. Teacher of English and curer of impediments in speech. Author of textbooks. Niddry's Wynd and later in Barringer's Close. *Courant* 16 Sept. 1772 and 8 April 1775.
- Tenducci, Ferdinando. Teacher of singing, piano and harpsichord. Friend of the poet Fergusson. Published a collection of lessons for harpsichord and piano. Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Thain, Andrew. Teacher of writing. *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses* 31 Aug. 1748; *Cal. Merc.* 25 Feb. 1752.
- Thomas, Godfrey. Teacher of writing, arithmetic, drawing of landscapes, flowers, rocailles (rocaille=scroll ornament), etc. Also French. Took over Robison's School in Covenant Close. *Courant* 1 Jan. 1754; *Cal. Merc.* 28 Nov. 1759.

- Thomson, Alexander. Teacher of English. College Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Feb. 1778.
- Thomson, James. Teacher of writing. Anchor Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1773-1774.
- Thomson, John. Teacher of writing. Said to have published a copy-book in 1708. *Courant* 1 Sept. 1708.
- Thomson, John. Teacher of mathematics. Forrester's Wynd. *Courant* 5 Nov. 1754.
- Thomson, Mrs. Schoolmistress. Kinloch's Close. *M.T.C.* 23 Aug. 1699.
- Thomson, Thomas, (d. 4 April 1799). Master of Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 6 Feb. 1782. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Thomson, William. Schoolmaster in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 8 Oct. 1787. Resigned 16 April 1792. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Tod, James. Master of the Charity School. Appointed 10 Sept. 1766. Head of Canongate. *M.T.C.* 10 Sept. 1766; *Courant* 16 Feb. 1774.
- Touch, John, (1740-1820). Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 10 Dec. 1759. Resigned 27 Jan. 1766. He ultimately became minister of Buccleuch Parish, Edinburgh. *Heriot's Minutes ; Fasti*.
- Tourner, Abbé. Teacher of French. Leith Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Tremamondo, Mrs. Angela. Boarding school for girls. Subjects to include French, needlework, music, drawing and geography. Marlin's Wynd. Her husband was master of the Riding Academy. *Kay* has a portrait and account of him; *Courant* 24 Sept. 1763; *B.O.E.C.* XX.
- Tulloch, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Marlin's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 13 Oct. 1760.
- Urbani, Pietro, (1749-1816). Teacher of singing. Carrubber's Close. Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*.
- Walker, Alexander. Teacher of English. Blackfriars' Wynd. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Walker, George. Teacher of drawing. Addresses include Covenant Close, Netherbow and "opposite the Royal Exchange". Sir Walter Scott had lessons from him. *Courant* 17 Feb. 1781; *Cal. Merc.* 17 May 1790.

- Walker, John. Master of Canongate High School from 1720 to 1757. Previously an assistant in South Leith Grammar School. *B.O.E.C. XX.*
- Walker, Miss Katharine. Schoolmistress, Head of Canongate. She was murdered by Robert Spence, cook's mate, after his return from Commodore Anson's South Sea expedition. *Cal. Merc.* 2 Feb. 1747.
- Warden, John. Teacher of English. Niddy's Wynd. Author of textbook. *Cal. Merc.* 23 June 1737; *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses* 10 Dec. 1740.
- Warden, John (Jun.). Son of the above. Teacher of English in "A commodious room at Mr. Robert Frazer's, Barber and Wigmakers". Author of textbook. *Cal. Merc.* 21 Nov. 1751; *Courant* 22 Nov. 1753.
- Warden, Mrs. Boarding school for girls. Wife of one or the other of the John Wardens. *M.T.C.* 25 Nov. 1747; *Courant* 17 June 1756.
- Warder, Mrs Mary. Boarding school for girls. She died in 1751, when she was succeeded by her assistant, or "Doctrix", Mrs. McKellar. *Cal. Merc.* 22 April 1746 and 17 Oct. 1751.
- Watson, Rev. George. Master of Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 20 June 1769. Resigned 1 Sept. 1770. *Heriot's Minutes.*
- Watson, James. Schoolmaster, George Watson's Hospital, 1742-46. *G.W.H. Minutes.*
- Watson, Janet. Schoolmistress in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- Watson, John. Master of one of the city's English schools. Drummond's Land, Blackfriars' Wynd. *M.T.C.* 6 June 1759 and 3 June 1761.
- Watson, Peter. Teacher of mathematics. Nicolson Street. *Cal. Merc.* 9 June 1779.
- Watt, James. Schoolmaster in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.
- Watt, Thomas. High School Master. Appointed 16 Sept. 1709. Resigned in 1710. Author of textbooks. Steven, *High School.*
- Watts, Margaret and Issobell. Sisters and schoolmistresses in Leith. *South Leith Session Records* 25 Feb. 1714.

- Webster, William. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 22 Feb. 1720 and dismissed 12 Dec. 1720. *Heriot's Minutes.*
- Welsh, John. Teacher. Skinners' Close. *Edin. Dir.* 1794-96.
- Wenson, Mrs. Governess of Merchant Maiden Hospital before 1765. *Merchant Maiden Minutes.*
- Wightman, The Misses. Boarding school for girls. Bailie Fyfe's Close. Referred to as "the two Swedish Mrs. Wightman". They claimed to provide "neat accommodation" for 14 young ladies. All kinds of sewing were taught, and writing and arithmetic free of charge. "£5 Board per quarter for Gentlemen's Daughters: £4 10s. for Farmers' Daughters". *Courant* 13 March 1749 and 13 March 1755.
- Wilkie, Mrs. Keeper of a Pastry School. Marlin's Wynd. *Cal. Merc.* 20 Nov. 1749 and 5 Aug. 1758.
- Williamson, Charles. Master of the Canongate English school. *Courant* 23 Aug. 1780; *Cal. Merc.* 12 Sept. 1789.
- Williamson, James. Teacher of Latin. Calton Hill. *Edin. Dir.* 1786-1788.
- Williamson, John. Teacher of languages. Nicolson Street. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Williamson, William. Teacher of instrumental music. Jack's Land, Canongate. *Courant* 6 Oct. and 5 Dec. 1781.
- Willich, Dr. Teacher of German. Lockhart, *Life of Scott.*
- Willis, George. Teacher of Latin. *Courant* 5 Nov. 1754 and 4 Nov. 1756.
- Willmott, Mrs. Teacher of English pronunciation to girls. Bristo Street. *Cal. Merc.* 24 Nov. 1779.
- Wilson, Andrew. Schoolmaster of West Kirk Parish. *Cal. Merc.* 16 April 1739.
- Wilson, David. Schoolmaster. West Bow. *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Wilson, John. Master of South Leith Grammar School from 1776 to 1777. He had been a Master in the Grammar School of Dundee. Mackay, *History of Leith Academy*; *South Leith Session Records*, 8 Feb. 1776.
- Wilson, John *Secundus*. Master of South Leith Grammar School from 1777 to 1787. Mackay, *op. cit.*; *Cal. Merc.* 21 Aug. 1779 and 2 Sept. 1786; *South Leith Session Records* 9 Nov. 1787.

- Wilson, John. Teacher. West Bow. *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.
- Wilson, Robert. Teacher of writing and accounts. Bell's Wynd. *Courant* 30 Oct. 1773; *Edin. Dir.* 1786-88.
- Wilson, William. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 22 Feb. 1720 and resigned 28 Aug. 1721. *Heriot's Minutes*.
- Wingate, James, (d. March 1731). High School master. Elected 17 Aug. 1722. Steven, *High School*.
- Wood, Alexander. Teacher of mathematics. Leith. Taught under auspices of Trinity House of Leith. *Cal. Merc.* 14 Nov. 1778.
- Woods, William. Actor. Teacher of elocution. Friend of Robert Fergusson. *Courant* 6 Aug. 1781.
- Wright, John. Doctor in Heriot's Hospital. Appointed 10 Sept. 1711. Dismissed for not attending family worship. He may have been the same man as was appointed to teach the boys in Paul's Work. *Heriot's Minutes*; *M.T.C.* 3 June 1718.
- Wright, John. Teacher of mathematics and law. Addresses in Kennedy's Close, Brown's Close and New Assembly Close. *Cal. Merc.* 22 Nov. 1769; *Courant* 12 Nov. 1781.
- Wylie, John. Teacher of English. Clam Shell Turnpike. Had been teaching in Edinburgh for 16-17 years. *Courant* 4 Nov. 1746.
- Wylie, Mrs. Widow of John Wylie. Maintained his school, with help of son, William. Pearson's Close. *Courant* 7 Jan. 1754.
- Young, Andrew. Teacher of arithmetic, mathematics, geography, astronomy and navigation. Stevenlaw's Close. *Courant* 13 Dec. and 27 Dec. 1755.
- Young, John. Teacher of writing, arithmetic, book-keeping and mathematics. Luckenbooths—house previously owned by Mr. Thomas, writing master. Later in Niddry's Wynd. *Courant* 27 April 1765; *Cal. Merc.* 9 Feb. 1782.
- Young, Patrick. Schoolmaster. Broad Wynd, Leith. *Edin. Dir.* 1773-1774 and 1786-88.
- Young, Thomas. Master of one of the City's English schools. First Peebles Wynd, later Bell's Wynd and President's Stairs. *M.T.C.* 9 May 1759 and 4 Jan. 1792; *Edin. Dir.* 1793-94.

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- Steven, W. *The History of the High School of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh, 1849.
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This list of teachers was originally compiled as an appendix to a thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Ph.D. The main text will appear in the publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education under the title *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*.

THE LOYAL EDINBURGH SPEARMEN

THE following correspondence from the records in the City archives is additional to Miscellany 26 in Volume XXIX, page 188, by the late Major H. P. E. Pereira, Curator of the Scottish United Services Museum; his successor, Mr. W. A. Thorburn, has contributed an introductory note.

An Act of 1782 established the idea of a Volunteer Force, but all the units raised by its provisions were disbanded in 1783.

The Volunteer Act of 1794, however, created a large auxiliary army of part-time soldiers, Horse and Foot, and by December 1803, there were 380,000 in the United Kingdom, including 30,000 in the Northern districts of Scotland alone.

The efficiency of the Volunteer Infantry companies, or battalions, varied very considerably, but some, including the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, were reasonably well trained. The formations accepted by the authorities were given allowances for clothing of a uniform pattern, and arms were provided by the Government.

These conditions did not apply to the so-called " supernumeraries " like the Edinburgh Spearmen, who were merely tolerated as armed organisations, and were given no encouragement, pay, arms or clothing from the Government. They were in some respects like the English " Armed Associations " who existed on the strength of public, or private, subscription, and were frequently made up of men who were unsuitable for the more established forms of military service.

Patriotic considerations must be credited to some, but many more joined to receive the payment provided by local bodies or individuals, or to escape militia commitments.

THE LOYAL EDINBURGH SPEARMEN 159

Units formed from men not liable for any military service were inevitably composed mainly of boys and old men.

Local gentry, and persons in possession of the necessary means, used the universal acceptance of the need for auxiliary forces to masquerade as military officers, and were prepared to pay for the upkeep of such units, so that they could enjoy the status of officers, without any of the discomforts of active service, at a time when officers were welcome in every drawing room.

The Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen show all the signs of being a force of very doubtful military significance, and it would be interesting to know what the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, or the Right Squadron (Edinburgh) Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry thought of them, socially or militarily. The Yeomen, in particular, were genuine military amateurs, who responded to their professional instructors with enthusiasm, and were able to take their place alongside regulars on more than one ceremonial occasion. It is significant that the Yeomanry have a continuous lineage from this period to the present day, and were called upon by the authorities, without hesitation, when civil disturbances were threatened, long after the Napoleonic wars were finished, whereas these rather comic companies of " supernumeraries " were forgotten as soon as possible.

W. A. THORBURN.

*Copy Letter of Acceptance of Service
of the Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen.*

Whitehall, 7th November 1803.

MY LORD,

I have had the honour to lay before the King your Lordship's letter of instant proposing to form in the City of Edinburgh a Corps of Pikemen to consist of two Battalions

of from 500 to 600 men each to be composed of such citizens and inhabitants of Edinburgh as from age or number of children are not liable to serve in the Militia or Army of Reserve, or who may waive all claim to exemption from these Services and I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve and accept of the same upon the footing of supernumeraries.

To Corps of this description no allowances can be made for cloathing nor permanent pay allowed for more than one Serjeant and one Drummer per Company.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Sgd.) C. YORKE.

The Right Hon.

The Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

(Lieut. Col. Bennett's name on outside.)

Duplicate.

Whitehall, 8th May 1804.

MY LORD,

I have been honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 2nd instant, and its inclosures, in reply to which I have to acquaint you that pay will be allowed to the Edinburgh Spearmen, that is, to each of the two Battalions, for 10 Serjeants, 10 Drummers, and 1 Serjeant Major; but, as these Spearmen were accepted as supernumeraries, no further charge can be brought upon the Public on their account.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

(Sgd.) C. YORKE.

The Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

List of Commissions granted by the Lord Lieutenant of the City of Edinburgh to Officers of the Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 1804.

Gazetted 17th Nov. 1803	{	John Bennett, Lt. Col. Commandant	Captains 8
		Robert Dundas, Major	
		William Ranken	
		John Simpson	
		Thomas Smith	
		Francis Braidwood	
		John Cameron	
		James Newton	

{	Patrick Mellis	Lieutenants 9
	Andrew Gairdner	
	John Peat, Lieutenant	
{	Alexander Brunton, Chaplain	Ensigns 6
	William Farquharson, Surgeon	

Gazetted 17th Jany. 1804	{	William Braidwood, Jnr.	Lieutenants 9
		Charles Ritchie, Jnr.	
		Robert Stevenson	
		Thomas Hamilton	
		Matthew Sheriff	
		Adam Brooks	
		John Yule	
		John Cameron	
		John Menzies	
		David Robertson	

{	Andrew Wilson	Ensigns 6
	John Grieve	
	William Woodburn	
	John Ballantine	

To the Right Honourable His Majesties Lieutenant for the City and County of the City of Edinburgh—Muster Roll of the

Persons enrolled and serving in the Loyal Edinburgh Battalion of Spearmen, Commanded by Lieut. Colonel John Bennett, Commandant.

7th August 1804.

(Follows the names of 473 men, their Parish and when enrolled)

Establishment Allowed	600
Number enrolled and serving in the Corps since its Establishment	473
Non Effective, discharged & quitted	37
Wanting to complete	90
Total	600

I do hereby Certify that the above Corps has been ready and willing to be inspected in the last four months.

(Sgd.) ROBERT DUNDAS
Major L.E.S.

(Sgd.) GEO: NEAGLE
Serg. Major L.E.S.

I Robert Dundas, Commanding Officer of the Loyal Edinburgh Battalion of Spearmen do hereby certify upon my Honor, In pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed in the Forty-fourth year of His present Majesties Reign, Entitled "An Act to Consolidate and amend the provisions of several acts, relating to Corps of Yeomanry and Volunteers, in Great Britain, and to make further Regulations relating thereto" That I have not to the best of my knowledge and belief inserted, or caused to be inserted in the foregoing Muster Roll as an effective man, the name of any person who has not duly attended properly armed and accoutred as required by the said Act, and who has not taken the oath of Allegiance, or been absent on leave given in pursuance of the said Act, or

prevented by actual sickness as has been certified by a Medical practitioner, or has been otherways proved to my satisfaction, and who is not an effective man. Dated at Edinburgh the seventh day of August in the year 1804.

(Sgd.) ROB. DUNDAS
Major L.E.S.

List of Officers of Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen transmitted to the Secretary at War by the Lord Lieutenant of the City of Edinburgh 26th July, 1805.

Lt. Col. Comm.	John Burnett	17 November 1803
	William Ranken	17 November 1803
	John Simpson	do.
	Thomas Smith	do.
Captain	Francis Braidwood	do.
	John Cameron	do.
	James Newton	do.
	Andrew Gardner	do.
	John Peat	17 November 1803
	William Braidwood, Jnr.	17 January 1804
	Charles Ritchie, Jnr.	do.
	Robert Stevenson	do.
Lieutenant	John Cameron	do.
	Thomas Hamilton	do.
	Mathew Sheriff	do.
	Adam Brooks	do.
	John Yule	do.
	John Menzies	17 January 1804
	David Robertson	do.
Ensign	John Grieve	do.
	William Woodburn	do.
	John Ballantine	do.

Chaplain	Alexander Brunton	17 November 1803
Surgeon	William Farquharson	17 November 1803
Asst. Surgeon	Thomas Lothian	17 November 1803

Muster Roll of the persons enrolled and serving in the Loyal Edinburgh Battalion of Spearmen commanded by Lieut. Col. John Bennett, Commandant.

12th August 1805.

(Follows the names of 412 men.)

Establishment Reduced to	24	Serjeants	
And Rank and File	400		
	<hr/>		
Total Establishment	424		
Number enrolled and serving in the Corps			412
Discharge or quitted since the date of last Muster Roll			61
Total Number in the Corps exempt under the Act of Parliament from serving in the Militia, or other additional Force			412

I do hereby certify that the Battalion was inspected on the 17th June 1805 by Lieut. Colonel George Callander, Inspecting Field Officer of the Edinburgh District, and also by Brigadier General Samuel Graham.

(Sgd.) JAMES FARQUHARSON,
Major L.E.S.

(Sgd.) GEO: NEAGLE,
Serg. Major L.E.S.

I, James Farquharson, Commanding Officer of the Loyal Edinburgh Battalion of Spearmen do certify (same as before).
Dated at Edinburgh the Twelfth day of August 1805.

(Sgd.) JAMES FARQUHARSON,
Major L.E.S.

Copy.

Whitehall, 15th August 1805.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint you, in reply to your letter of 3rd instant, that the Edinburgh Spearmen were in consequence of your Lordship's and Lord Moira's recommendation, placed upon the Establishment of Volunteer Corps, accepted subsequently to 3rd August 1803, on the 28th of March last.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most obedient humble Servant,

(Sgd.) HAWKESBURY.

To The Lord Lieutenant, &c.

Edinburgh, Sept. 1, 1805.

MY LORD,

In November 1803, at the desire of the Earl of Moira, I sent an offer to Government to raise a Battalion of Spearmen of 600 Privates to serve without Pay or Cloathing and since the 13th December 1803 that Corps have been regularly drilled in spite of many difficulties.

By the inclosed Battalion Return and Copy of a Letter to Your Lordship from my Lord Hawkesbury, you will at once see how we stand now as part of the Volunteer Force under your Contract, regularly Gazetted, equally liable to the Volunteer Act and as much entitled to its protection as any other Regiment.

Our Services are limited to the City & Liberties to enable The Commander in Chief to draw off a greater part of the regular & Volunteer Force in case of need.

Heriots Green is our place of ordinary Drill and the Earthen Mound was fixed upon by the Commander in Chief for our alarm Post in case of Invasion or popular Tumult.

It was His Lordships' opinion, that, now when we are completely armed and clothed and have met with His approbation as to discipline, we should show the Inhabitants our Force, by marching through the streets, both in regard to resisting the enemy but as being fit to aid the Police, and for three successive Drills, to fire a few rounds of our Artillery on the Mound.

On Monday evening last, when we had finished our third and last practice of the six Pounders and the men were just about to be paid, previous to their being dismissed, John Tait, Esq., Superintendent of Police, came up to me at the head of my Battalion. I saluted him as politely as I could which has long been my custom, But I soon observed by his waving his hand in my face that he could not articulate from violent passion. At last he said loudly and with much heat, "Colonel Bennett, at your peril remain on this ground a moment and if ever I see you and your Corps on the streets of Edinburgh again, it shall be at your peril." I have Dr. Hope, George Dunlop, Esq., W.S., and many other respectable names to vouch for the mildness of my reply and I continued by assuring him "that I would show my immediate obedience to Magistracy, however wrong and assuming a Command over a military Force, not recognised by any authority."

I instantly marched my Battalion in a quiet and orderly manner back to Heriots Green, not without gross and repeated Insults from an immense mob, encouraged by this open breach of Peace on the part of the Superintendent of Police.

Human nature could scarce bear the noisy and very opprobrious language we suffered but altho' my men once or twice showed a spirit of resistance yet, to their credit, a simple hint from me restrained their insulted passions.

It must be evident to your Lordship that the Police ought not to interfere so improperly with a Battalion under Arms, but go to the fountain head for redress if a Fault is committed. Without the Populace know publicly that they will not be

allowed to insult Volunteers on duty, according to the Act, Your Lordship must lose this useful Battalion.

I have obeyed the Superintendent's prohibition and my men are much chagrined and disappointed at not going on with their usual Drills.

I am not afraid of any Mob, but after this outrage I cannot risk interference (?) going to and from parade.

I trust therefore that Your Lordship will see the necessity of combating this public attack of the Police and all its dangerous consequences by some public mark of your displeasure, and I have the honour to be, with high respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,
Colonel Com. L. E. Spearmen.

To Sir William Fettes Bart. of Wamphray,
Lord Lieutenant etc.

Copy.

The Superintendent of Police has seen copy of a letter from Lt. Col. Command. Bennet of the Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen to the Lord Lieutenant of the City of yesterday's date, and begs leave to state that by the Edinburgh Police Act the person who holds that office is appointed to have the immediate charge and superintendence over the whole city and bounds within the Act, in all matters and things connected with the Police thereof, and powers are given to prevent unnecessary obstructions on or near the streets, roads etc., and in general to prevent danger of every kind to the lives and properties of the inhabitants.

In consequence of complaints brought forward in the Court of Police as well as from the applications made by many individuals, the Superintendent found it necessary to issue notices to the different Volunteer Corps requesting that pieces which had hung fire at drill should not be discharged

upon the streets, and that the practice of firing ball at the bottom of the Castle should be discontinued, and he had taken several other steps towards accomplishing the general object of the Police Act, viz peace and good order within its limits.

In this situation he was a good deal surprised (when walking towards Corstorphine) to be arrested with the sound of artillery apparently from the city. He immediately turned and went to the spot, and certainly was a good deal provoked at what appeared to him to be a great outrage upon the civil rights of the inhabitants. He told Col. Bennet that he could not admit such practice. The Colonel seemed doubtful of his being serious, which obliged him to make use of such words as appeared necessary to satisfy him that he was. He thinks he spoke, and certainly meant to speak, to firing upon the streets only, and not to marching to and from drill.

Upon Thursday when the Superintendent went to the Police Office to open the Court he found copy Battalion orders of the Spearmen, of which and of the notice issued in consequence copies are herewith transmitted.

It will be admitted that since the first formation of the Battalion of Spearmen the Superintendent has shewn them particular personal attachment, but in discharging the duties of his office he thinks himself called upon to prevent all aggressions upon the police of the city and neighbourhood, whether made by bodies of men or by individuals.

(Sgd.) JOHN TAIT.

Edinburgh,
2nd September 1805.

Duplicate.

Batt. of Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen.

J. Farquharson, Esq., late Captain Royal Inverness Fencibles to be Major, *vice* Robert Dundas, resigned, Commission dated 10th August 1805.

Companies of Spearmen

Lt. John Peat, Pay Master, to be Captain *vice* Francis Braidwood, resigned, Commission dated 16th July 1805.

Lt. Charles Ritchie, to be Captain *vice* Thomas Smith, resigned, Commission dated 14th September 1805.

Wm. Burton to be Lieutenant *vice* Sherriff, resigned, Commission dated 29th January 1805.

Wm. Govan to be ditto, 29th January 1805.

Artillery Company attached to ditto.

Lieut. Wm. Braidwood from the Spearmen to be Captain, Commission dated 13th October 1804.

Ensign David Robertson to be first Lieut. 27th July 1805.

Alexander Lawrie to be Second Lieut.

Sharp Shooters attached to ditto.

Captain Andrew Gairdner from the Spearmen to be Captain, Commission dated 25th July 1805.

Wm. Lawson to be Lieut.

James McLean to be Ensign.

(Sgd.) JOHN BENNETT, Lieut. Col. Com.
Loyal Edr. Spearmen.

Edinburgh, 14th September 1805.

MY LORD,

The foregoing statement of the changes in the Battalion I have the honour to command are truly correct. Your Lordship must know that the Batt. Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen still remains as to Name and terms of Service the same, and that the alteration as to the August establishment, from the 28th March last, does not affect the original intention; altho' we have now as *adjuncts* an Artillery Company and a

Company of Sharp Shooters. We have not as yet received any aid from Government as to our new Establishment, yet, I beg leave to refer to His Excellency the Earl of Moira, or Brigadier General Graham, our Inspecting General, as to the fitness of my Battalion for any service. They have certainly struggled for above two years without any aid from Government, and now when our private funds are exhausted must give up all their zeal and all their labour, if their new August Establishment is not immediately recognised.

The Officers recommended to your Lordship to be gazetted served regularly both in the old and new Establishment of the Battalion.

Along with this I beg your Lordship to transmit the last return of the strength of my Battalion, and I have the honour to be, with high respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient and
very faithful servant,

(Sgd.) JOHN BENNETT, Lieut.

Colonel Commanding Loyal Edr. Spearmen.

The Lord Lieutenant of
the City of Edinburgh.

(Received and transmitted to Lord Hawkesbury, Principal Secretary of State by H.M. Lieutenant for the City of Edinburgh, Monday 16th September 1805.)

Duplicate.

Whitehall, 23rd September 1805.

MY LORD,

I have had the honor of receiving Your Lordship's letter of the 16th instant inclosing a List of Officers for promotion in the Edinburgh Spearmen, but I must decline submitting their names for His Majesty's approbation, until I shall be

furnished through Your Lordship, with a detailed Plan for the Establishment of that Battalion, specifying the number of Companies of which it is proposed to consist, together with the number of Non commissioned officers and privates in each Company, and as they are now to receive the full pay and allowances granted to Corps of Volunteer Infantry accepted subsequent to the 3rd of August 1803, (altho' their original offer was to serve without expence to Government) I must apprise your Lordship that their establishment must be fixed in conformity to the Regulations laid down for Corps of that description which require each Company to consist of not less than 60 privates.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Sgd.) HAWKESBURY.

Minute of Town Council, 25th January 1804.

"On Motion by the Lord Provost the Magistrates and Council authorized the Chamberlain to pay Fifty Guineas towards defraying the expence of raising the Edinburgh Regiment of Spearmen."

Ibid. 4th September 1805.

"Read Extract from the Minutes of the Association for Defence of the Frith of Forth, which was ordered to be recorded, and is of the following tenor: "

" 5th March 1804.

"Mr. MacLachan suggested that the Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen who give their services on very disinterested and patriotic terms might be rendered more useful and effective for preserving the peace of the City by having a couple of the

Guns of Mr. Roebuck's invention attached to the Battalion. He added that Mr. Roebuck had made some recent improvements on these Guns and was willing to take back the one already got from him in exchange for one of the improved construction.

"Resolved that two Guns of Mr. Roebuck's newest construction shall be ordered from him for the above purpose he taking the old one in exchange for one of them, and that the said two Guns shall be presented, in name of the Association, to the City of Edinburgh for the use of the Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, a Corps which has been raised peculiarly for its defence."

"7th May 1804.

"The Guns having arrived for the Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen the Sub-Committee for that object are requested to wait on the Lord Provost to know when he will be ready to receive them."

"N.B. This intimation was made to the Lord Provost verbally."

"Copy of a Poem wrote on the

LOYAL EDINBURGH SPEARMEN

It is weel Kend these guy when years
I've praised our Royal Volunteers
The Spearmen has appeared at last
O' them we should hope the best.
There's numbers o' them without doubt
They are baith souple louns and stout,
But others o' them I do ken
Gude help them poor auld worn out men
An' I wad scorn to tell a lee

They're neither fit to fight nor flee
An' other some raw mou'd callants
I've seen far better selling ballants.
What brings them out in name of wonder
Wer it no to make a gudly number.
O' them the brethern may think shame
Far better they wad stay at hame.

1804."

HELEN ARMET.

GEORGE COMBE AND THE 1836 ELECTION FOR
THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY CHAIR OF LOGIC

by

A. CAMERON GRANT

IN April, 1836, the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics at the University of Edinburgh fell vacant through the retirement of David Ritchie. The power of election to the appointment was vested in the Town Council of Edinburgh, and it was to this body that George Combe offered himself as a candidate for the vacant chair. In doing so he gave as his motives that for seventeen years he had been "the advocate of the new Philosophy",¹ and regarding it as he did, as the only true science of mind, and thus ultimately to triumph, he deemed it his duty to present himself as a candidate.

There were in all fourteen candidates, of whom only four merit notice: Sir William Hamilton, who had already established himself as a philosopher of European reputation; Patrick Campbell Macdougall, later to hold the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh; Isaac Taylor, who received the support of the Kirk, and George Combe who did not.

By 1836 George Combe had established himself as the leading advocate in the English-speaking world of phrenology, the "new Philosophy" of his letter to the Town Council. The complete decline of phrenology and its supersession by the findings of psychology and neurology have obscured the fact that at one time it enjoyed a considerable status and counted amongst its adherents some of the leading men of science in both Europe and the United States of America.

In 1828 Combe had published *The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects*. Although this

¹ *George Combe Papers*, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS. Letterbook V, George Combe to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, April 9, 1836.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY CHAIR OF LOGIC 175

contained some description of "pure" phrenology it was much more than a mere text-book on the subject. Using the ideas of phrenology as a theory of mind it went on to elaborate a more or less complete philosophy of reform, the more salient features of which were a denial, not altogether explicit, of special Divine intervention in both the material and moral worlds; and a belief that mankind could eventually be lifted, through education, out of squalidity and superstition. The first of these brought Combe into conflict with a great deal of religious opinion. The second made him one of the leaders in the struggle for a national system of education waged in the middle years of last century.

Three days after Combe formally offered himself for the Logic Chair the *Scottish Guardian*, a Kirk organ, carried an article not in any way calculated to advance his pretensions. That Combe, lamented the *Guardian*, "whose opinions so widely differ from the doctrinal standards of the Church",¹ should even expect to succeed, was "one of the bad signs of the times." In a recent series of lectures in Edinburgh, continued the paper, his opinions had roused such hostility that he was hissed at by the audience and his contract with the sponsoring association terminated. Some idea of the extent of his offence can be gauged from his last lecture² which was an attack on the *Christian Herald*, and along with it the clergy, as the enemies of knowledge.

Combe could hardly have ignored such provocation, although he fully expected this kind of opposition. His reply³ was a denial of all the charges made against him: the directors of the Association terminated his lectures only in conformity

¹ *Scottish Guardian*, April 12, 1836.

² The lectures referred to by the *Guardian* were given by Combe, during the winter of 1835-1836, to the Association For Aiding Country Lectures, of which Combe was a founder. They were later published by him as *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*.

³ *Combe Papers*, MS. Letterbook V, Combe to the editor of the *Scottish Guardian*, April 12, 1836.

with their rules which permitted lecturers to be engaged for a single year; the claim that he was hissed at was "miserable"; that there was a dangerous disparity between his views and those of the Kirk was false, and in refutation of such an allegation he begged to submit a letter from a member of the Town Council testifying to his Christian character; the final misrepresentation, that he attacked the *Christian Herald* and the clergy, did not bear comparison with the evidence which could be found in the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle's* report of his lecture. Finally, he asked that the *Guardian* would publish the Town Councillor's letter and the *Chronicle's* report, along with his own letter. The *Guardian* agreed to publish his letter, but not the two "documents" which accompanied it. Combe then sought to have them published in advertisement space in the *Guardian*, but this also was refused. He therefore resorted to the publication of a pamphlet, *The Suppressed Documents: Or, An Appeal to the Public Against the Conductors of the Scottish Guardian*.

This was only the first of a number of attacks made on Combe throughout the campaign, mainly from clerical sources. Phrenology could, however, count amongst its leading supporters a number of clergymen. In Scotland the Rev. David Welsh, first Moderator of the Free Church, was one of the founder members of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, and for some ten years one of Combe's most intimate and esteemed acquaintances. Welsh was, in fact, the first to learn of Combe's intention to stand for the Chair of Logic. On the day following the announcement of the vacancy in *The Scotsman* Combe approached Welsh, by letter, suggesting that he should enter the lists to champion the cause of phrenology. Were Welsh unable to do this he would himself feel obliged to come forward on behalf of the "new Philosophy".¹ Welsh declined on the grounds that his "mode of teaching the science of logic might not come up to what you might think sufficient for

¹ *Combe Papers*, Box LXVII, Combe to Welsh, April 7, 1836.

phrenological purposes."¹ A week later Welsh carried his opposition even farther. Although he was still prepared to admit phrenology as "the science of the mind" his differences with Combe were over points of such fundamental importance as to make it impossible for him to "recommend [Combe] as an Instructor."² But perhaps the most celebrated phrenologist-cleric was Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, and author of *Introductory Lectures on Political Economy*. For many years he conducted a correspondence with Combe and never wavered in his support of the Edinburgh phrenologist.

Combe was not altogether accurate in his statement to the editor of the *Guardian* that his ideas were not at variance with those of the Kirk. A few years before this he had written to Welsh that he regarded all Church of Scotland ministers as being "out of the pale of reason, in regard to the philosophy of man."³ The truth is that Combe was at this time in the process of losing his faith but was not prepared to admit, even to himself, the length to which this had gone. In 1819 he had written to his brother, Andrew, of the idea of eternal damnation as a "frightful superstition",⁴ and later, in a letter to Sir George Mackenzie of Coul, of the Christian doctrine of redemption as "absurd".⁵ Despite this he was still able to say in 1825 that of all churches he found the Church of Scotland the "best in its forms and principles" and that he held it "no dereliction of principle to join in its worship", although he no longer took communion.

Whatever the state of his religious conviction by 1836, it was apparent to Combe that in a contest such as he had entered his public image, especially its religious facet, was of

¹ *Combe Papers*, Welsh to Combe, April 7, 1836.

² *Ibid.*, Welsh to Combe, April 15, 1836.

³ *Ibid.*, Combe to Welsh, May 12, 1831.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Geo. Combe to Andrew Combe, July 2, 1819.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Combe to Mackenzie, May 25, 1824.

immense importance. To have flown in the face of established religious opinion, or to have been deemed to have done so, would most certainly have been fatal to any public enterprise, and Combe was at pains to avoid this. Although by this time he was aware that many people regarded him as the advocate of a dangerous, anti-Christian science, he tried to distinguish the Kirk from what he considered enlightened Christian opinion, and to appeal to the latter against the former. George Monro, an admirer of Combe, summed up for him the ground of many people's fear in regard to his candidature when he said "the Logic Chair has heretofore afforded a leading part of the education of young men studying for the Church of Scotland", and "the appointment of any professor holding the sentiments which you have expressed on theological subjects would be considered as an attack on the established church."¹

If the *Constitution of Man* made Combe's name a household word it was not the only way in which he acquired a reputation. He was, by the time of its publication, a popular and fairly accomplished lecturer and had addressed audiences in many parts of both Scotland and England. His previous writings also had brought him considerable public notice. In 1826 Francis Jeffrey had devoted more than sixty pages of the *Edinburgh Review* to an examination of Combe's *System of Phrenology*, in which Jeffrey characterized Combe's work as a "radical absurdity".² Charles Maclaren, the editor of *The Scotsman*, invited Combe to undertake the editing of the newspaper during the autumn of 1832.³ Combe had, before this, written for *The Scotsman* on a number of occasions and on a variety of topics. In 1834 a second newspaper, the *Courier* of London, through its editor, James Stuart, asked Combe to be its Edinburgh correspondent, an offer which he

¹ *Combe Papers*, Monro to Combe, April 13, 1836.

² *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 44, no. 88, pp. 253-318.

³ *Combe Papers*, Maclaren to Combe, August 20, 1832.

accepted.¹ His activities were not confined to writing for he took an active and leading part in Edinburgh politics. On 4 December 1830 he was one of the speakers at a meeting held in the Assembly Rooms to agitate for parliamentary reform.² He was, in fact, for a time Secretary to the Edinburgh Reform Committee until the pressure of his other interests obliged him to resign.³ This short catalogue of Combe's interests will serve to illustrate his standing as a public man by the time he launched his attempt on the Chair of Logic.

In accordance with the accepted usage Combe set about procuring testimonials in support of his candidature for the Logic Chair. He was able to muster a formidable battery of these. Amongst those who pronounced on his behalf were Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin; Sir George Mackenzie of Coul, F.R.S.; James Drummond, Professor of Anatomy and Botany in the Belfast Royal Institution; Sir W. C. Ellis, Physician to the Lunatic Asylum for the County of Middlesex; Richard Tonson Evanson, Professor of the Practice of Physic in the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland; Captain Maconochie, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society of London; Dr. Robert Hunter, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Andersonian University, Glasgow; Dr. John Elliotson; the Honourable D. G. Hallyburton, M.P. for Forfarshire; the Honourable Judge Crampton, Fellow and Professor of Law in Trinity College, Dublin; Thomas Wyse, M.P.; and James Johnston, Physician Extraordinary to the King. From France Combe received no less strong support. Amongst others who subscribed his cause were Professor Broussais, of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris; Jean-Baptiste Bouillaud, Professor of Clinical Medicine, of Paris; and Dr.

¹ *Combe Papers*, Stuart to Combe, February 4, 1834.

² *The Scotsman*, December 8, 1830.

³ Charles Gibbon, *The Life of George Combe*, London, Macmillan and Company, 1878, vol. I, pp. 286-7.

Felix Voisin, of the Faculty in Paris, and founder of the Vanves Institute for the Treatment of the Insane. Added to these were a number of leading public men in the United States of America, including Samuel G. Howe; Dr. John C. Warren, Professor of Anatomy, Harvard University; John H. Dix, M.D.; and C. H. Stedman, Surgeon and Physician to the United States Marine Hospital.

Combe had his testimonials published¹ and on 10 May presented a copy to the Town Council. Copies were also sent to the Judges of the Court of Session, to the University professors, and to each of the city's ministers.² There can be no doubt that their appearance caused some stir in Edinburgh where Combe's wider, international reputation was little known. But Combe claimed little hope of success. Public opinion, he more than once asserted, was not behind him and without this he had no chance of swaying the Town Council.³ Moreover, the "Church Party" was busy preparing a case of heresy against him based on the doctrines of *The Constitution of Man*.⁴ The day of election, originally set for 28 June 1836, was postponed until mid-July,⁵ and Combe felt that this was cause for hope, for delay would give public opinion an opportunity to bear more strongly on the Councillors.⁶ At one stage it was even suggested to him that a number of Councillors only required a push from the press and the public to screw up their courage to come out for him.⁷ He did receive a certain amount of press support, both *The Scotsman* and the *Spectator* coming out in his favour.⁸

¹ *Testimonials on Behalf of George Combe, as a Candidate for the Chair of Logic in the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, John Anderson, Jun., 1836).

² *Combe Papers*, Combe to Robert Ferguson, M.P., May 14, 1836.

³ *Ibid.*, Combe to Dr. Robertson, May 26, 1836.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Combe to Thomas Wyse, M.P., May 20, 1836.

⁵ *Ibid.*, P. Neill to Combe, April 22, 1836.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Combe to R. Whately, June 17, 1836.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Combe to Ferguson, May 14, 1836.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Combe to J. Rintoul, June 18, 1836.

Combe felt that he was being attacked from every side; by the Kirk for his writing *The Constitution of Man*, by the Tories for his being a Whig, and by the Whigs who, as he said, "have pitted their own reputation as philosophers against [phrenology's] truth".¹ By the beginning of July he had almost completely abandoned hope, and his hopelessness was tinged with bitterness. Even the phrenologists, he complained, had deserted him and "obstruct[ed] the cause".² He discovered that two councillors were likely to vote for him, and even they were by no means certain in their support.³ His bitterness reached a new depth when posters started appearing on walls throughout the town announcing "an exposure of the unchristian principles" of *The Constitution of Man*.⁴

The candidate who most obviously stood out as best-qualified for the appointment to the Logic Chair was Sir William Hamilton. Not by any means a philosopher of the first rank his erudition was beyond question. He had already, in 1820, been a candidate for an Edinburgh chair, that of Moral Philosophy, vacant by the death of Thomas Brown. On that occasion he had been passed over in favour of John Wilson ("Christopher North").

Combe and Hamilton had clashed before 1836. In December, 1825, Hamilton read a paper to the Edinburgh Royal Society in which he attacked phrenology.⁵ The rules of the Royal Society precluded any debate on this paper and the phrenologists were thus denied the opportunity of a public rebuttal. Nor could they persuade Hamilton to publish his paper. Instead, in 1827, he proceeded to deliver a second attack on phrenology, again from within the sanctuary of the Royal Society. Combe suffered yet a third frustration when,

¹ *Combe Papers*, Combe to Robertson, May 26, 1836.

² *Ibid.*, G. Combe to A. Combe, July 2, 1836.

³ *Ibid.*, Combe to Prof. Nichol, July 6, 1836.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The paper was entitled *On the Practical Conclusions from Gall's Theory Regarding the Functions of the Brain*.

after Hamilton had announced his intention of repeating his Royal Society lecture at the University¹ and had agreed to Combe's answering him at the close of the lecture, the University Senatus turned this down on the ground that Combe was not a Senatus member. The matter did not end there for Combe then brought it to public notice in a letter to *The Scotsman*.² The controversy continued throughout 1827 and into the following year, coming to a climax when the issue was submitted to umpires, all members of the medical faculty at Edinburgh.³ Their verdict, although it did not come down firmly in phrenology's favour, rejected Hamilton's evidence against it as insufficient to sustain his allegations. Combe could not claim a complete victory but he had every right to be gratified that an adversary of Hamilton's stature had failed to make any appreciable breach in the phrenological system.

Hamilton was the first of Combe's opponents to found his opposition on what he claimed was scientific method. Phrenology, he stated, "professes to be founded on sensible facts. Sensible facts must be shewn to be false, not by reasoning, but by experiment."⁴ But this was what he had not done. Phrenology, after his assault, still stood unshaken. The confidence born of his knowledge, and Hamilton's evasive conduct during the controversy, must have encouraged Combe when the 1836 election to the Logic Chair once more brought them into conflict. The confidence was not so much that he would gain a victory over Hamilton as that he felt that he was more competent as a philosopher than Hamilton. He expected, of course, that Hamilton would get the Chair, but this would be due to political and ecclesiastical support.⁵ The Whigs, he

¹ *The Scotsman*, XI, 758, p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, p. 247.

³ These were Dr. (later Sir) Robert Christison, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence; Dr. John Scott; and Mr. James Syme, lecturer in Anatomy and Surgery.

⁴ Quoted in John Veitch, *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart.*, Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1849, p. 114.

⁵ *Combe Papers*, G. Combe to A. Combe, June 24, 1836.

claimed, had "set their whole souls towards having [Hamilton] elected, and they have done this in the thorough knowledge and complete conviction of his incapacity to lecture intelligibly."¹ Jeffrey came out in Hamilton's favour and Combe convinced himself that this was "made the ground work of the preference given to him."²

Sir William Hamilton was elected to the Chair of Logic on 15 July 1836. He received eighteen of the Town Council's votes to Isaac Taylor's fourteen and George Combe's three. Besides Councillors Dr. Neill and Thomas Milne, whose support Combe had been promised before the election, Convener Dick, Professor of Veterinary Surgery to the Royal Highland Society, unexpectedly championed Combe in the Town Council.³

Combe never forgave Edinburgh for this rejection of his claims. Shortly after the Logic Chair conflict he very largely withdrew from Edinburgh society and spent a great part of the rest of his life in travel. To some extent his wounds were self-inflicted. He was far too sensitive to any imputation, real or imagined, to his social status. But this was not the whole case. He had undoubtedly, during the campaign for the Logic Chair, been the victim of attacks which had little relevance to his merit as a philosopher. The great weight of these attacks had been directed at his unorthodox religious beliefs. No real effort was made by anyone to combat phrenology's pretensions to be the "new Philosophy" of mind, or indeed to be philosophy of any kind. Notwithstanding this, however, Hamilton's candidacy was manifestly superior to Combe's. A philosophy professor is not required to be a philosopher of the first rank, or even of a number of ranks below that, but it is as well that he know some philosophy and on this count Hamilton was amply prepared. It may very well have been

¹ *Combe Papers*, Combe to Nichol, July 6, 1836. ² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, Combe to Convener Dick, July 16, 1836; Combe to Thomas Milne, July 16, 1836; Combe to Andrew Carmichael, July 16, 1836.

that much of the great weight of knowledge in his mind lay there in an undigested and unconnected state but it was there and was known to be, or at least assumed to be, there. Moreover, Hamilton's philosophical pedigree was respectable, in direct line of descent from the "common-sense" school. Combe, on the other hand, over and above his heretical religious views, advanced a philosophy which held amongst other things that the brain was the seat of the mind, a doctrine which had invited Jeffrey's scorn in 1826,¹ and which to many pointed the way to the sensualism which the Scottish philosophers had so carefully avoided.

Combe did not distinguish between the two main parties in the Church of Scotland, the Moderates and the Evangelicals. To him their differences were as nothing when both were seen alongside his own beliefs. The contrary forces then raging within the Kirk were not the only fermenting elements at work in Scotland. A third, equally destructive of both and equally indifferent to both, was welling up, and phrenology was one of its early manifestations. It would be another hundred years before the new scientific philosophy would reach its maturity but in the meantime the task of clearing the ground would go forward throughout the nineteenth century, as it had done in the preceding one. The crude hypotheses, such as phrenology's theory of mind, would be overthrown but not before they had served to push forward more refined hypotheses, in their turn to be demolished.

¹ See p. 178.

THE DEAN GARDENS

by

NEIL BAYNE

THERE can be few districts in a city the size of Edinburgh that have the privilege of enjoying private pleasure grounds such as the Dean Gardens. Literally "a glen in a city" with a river plentifully stocked with trout flowing through its midst, it is difficult to think of any gardens comparable to them.

Until the sixties of last century, the land now forming these Gardens was a rather bare hill-side beside the stinking Water of Leith, let as grazing for a pound a year. The Lands of Dean had increased greatly in value since Lord Provost Learmonth had been instrumental in getting built the great Dean Bridge in 1832 and his son, Colonel Learmonth, the landowner of the time, was building up the district rapidly.

The speed with which such streets as Lennox Street, Eton Terrace, Belgrave Crescent and others were coming into being, alarmed the feuars of Dean. They foresaw that soon no open space would be left, and when in November 1867 it was learned that this soldier of large fortune was considering building a block of houses, to be called Cambridge Terrace, on a site opposite Holy Trinity Church, Dean Bridge and Eton Terrace, he was asked to receive a deputation from the feuars of Dean. The members of this deputation (some already distinguished and others to become so) reminded Colonel Learmonth of his father's declared intention to preserve an open space similar to the gardens behind Moray Place and offered to construct, at their own expense, such a pleasure ground as the late Lord Provost had in mind. Colonel Learmonth viewed their proposals with disfavour. He considered that he was being asked to make a substantial financial sacrifice in not using this

land for building purposes and for dumping building spoil ; but the gentlemen composing the deputation pointed out that he had no such right of dumping spoil (under the feu charter). Finally, the Colonel extracted the right to dump building rubbish on a portion of the land and granted a lease for twelve years that the ground might be laid out as a pleasure garden ; he gave no promise that he would not resume his building operations at the end of that period.

Funds for laying out and developing the gardens were raised by a voluntary levy of five pounds a house, and so interested were many of the householders on "The Earl of Moray's Lands" in preserving the amenities of the neighbourhood, that they, too, requested the privilege of subscribing. The Committee of Feuars then approached the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Raeburn with the object of obtaining a feu of the land at the end of Ann Street and towards St. Bernard's Bridge. They met with quite a different reception to the one accorded them by Colonel Learmonth. Raeburn's Trustees could not have been more helpful and, even after agreement had been reached, proved very willing to make adjustments suggested by the Committee. The wall at the end of Ann Street was constructed at a cost of twenty-five pounds by the owner of No. 51 Ann Street, who happened to be a builder.

The initial cost of laying out and planting the new gardens was about four hundred pounds and while contributions came in slowly, certain members of the Committee were sufficiently public-spirited to sign a cash bond for the outstanding sum in order that work on the Gardens might not be delayed. The maintenance of the Gardens was entrusted to a firm of nursery gardeners on payment of a yearly sum. It was not for many years that the Gardens Committee employed a gardener of their own.

In 1876 the lease of the ground obtained from Colonel Learmonth had only a few years to run. Since that hard-hearted warrior had every intention of erecting the terrace of

houses opposite Eton Terrace, the Committee of Feuars was compelled to purchase the land now known as the Dean Gardens (some thirteen acres in all) for the sum of over two thousand five hundred pounds. In addition, over eight hundred pounds had already been spent on development. Colonel Learmonth made off with his pound of flesh and troubled his feuars no more.

It was decided to raise this large sum (for 1876) by a voluntary levy on each house of ten pounds, the five pounds already contributed being taken into account. Nearly twelve hundred pounds was raised from the householders on "The Earl of Moray's Lands" and accordingly many houses in Moray Place, Ainslie Place, etc., received "Proprietors' Rights" in the Dean Gardens when the status of "Proprietor" was created.

The new Proprietors and their Committee showed a commendable spirit of realism in developing the Gardens, holding sales of work each year towards paying their debt and imposing the large annual subscription of one guinea for Proprietors and two guineas for those who were only too ready to make use of the Gardens but did not feel obliged to contribute ten pounds towards the cost of the ground. But it was not until 1891 that the purchase price and cost of development were paid off. Then the Proprietor's subscription became five shillings and the Subscriber's one guinea.

It is curious that, while nearly all the Gardens' Secretaries appear to have been Chartered Accountants, the most active and efficient of them all was the late Mr. E. S. Balfour-Melville, W.S. He inherited a state of confusion similar to that prevailing some twenty years ago. His old letter books show how he strove with impostors who maintained that they were Proprietors, how he explained to Subscribers (who really knew this quite well) how dishonest it was to give away Gardens keys to their friends : and how he put the fear of death into sundry local locksmiths, who had ventured to copy Gardens keys, at

the same time striking from the roll of membership those ingrates who had had the bad taste to place the orders for those copies. Altogether, Mr. Balfour-Melville's problems, and his difficulties and struggles with those of warped moral values, have a very modern flavour. He instilled a standard of good behaviour among users of the Dean Gardens that it took years to destroy; although, in the eighteen-nineties, most Proprietors having actually paid for the Gardens themselves, there was probably a greater sense of personal ownership (and, therefore, a more active sense of duty) among them than there can be to-day. Mr. Balfour-Melville knew many proprietors of landed estates and requested and received from them numerous gifts of trees and shrubs. And at this point one should say how well served the Proprietors have been by their gardeners, most of whom were employed for periods of many years.

The Gardens, also, on the whole, have been fortunate in their Committees of Management, but it would be invidious to single out any particular individual among the many far-sighted and energetic gentlemen who developed the Dean Gardens as they are to-day. Many innovations have been introduced and almost as many abandoned as impractical. The dog cemetery beside the water with its little headstones is a pleasing touch of sentiment. The laying of the main town sewer along the bed of the Water of Leith, in 1896, improved the atmosphere beside the little river which had been accustomed to receive the local sewage neat. Trout may now be caught in this water, in spite of the treatment it receives from the paper mills at Balerno. A small tennis court once existed in the Middle Walk but became too small for the modern game.

TOLLCROSS TO MORNINGSIDE IN THE OLDEN DAYS

by

ANDREW PATTERSON

The lecture is printed as it was delivered to the Club

LOTHIAN ROAD was made in 1787, a fine wide street which, unfortunately, stopped at the desirable, residential suburb of Fountainbridge, for this stoppage resulted in the bottle-neck we call Earl Grey Street, but which started its life as Wellington Street. Both names indicate its age. Into this street, came Riego Street, probably named in honour of Major James Weir who had served through the Peninsular War, and on whose property of Tollcross the street was formed. How the property came by its name is unknown, but it had nothing to do with a toll, and, as early as 1458—long before tolls were thought of—there is mention of it. Turning to our left at the south end of Earl Grey Street we come to the narrow High Riggs which, formerly, was the name of that piece of land stretching from Tollcross up to what we call Forrest Road. On the north, it descended to the Grassmarket, and on the south it sloped gently down to the Burgh Loch and the lands of Drumdryan. As the city started to expand, this desirable site attracted people to build fine houses within large grounds. The owner of one of those houses was called Lawrie, and from him the district took its name, Lawrie's town—Lauriston to us. Only one of those houses remains to-day. It stands behind high walls at the corner of Lauriston Gardens and Lauriston Place and is incorporated in St. Katherine's Convent. The street we know as The High Riggs—note the use of the definite article—was formerly known as The Cowfeeders' Row, and stretched from the Main Point. One of my uncles had his byres at

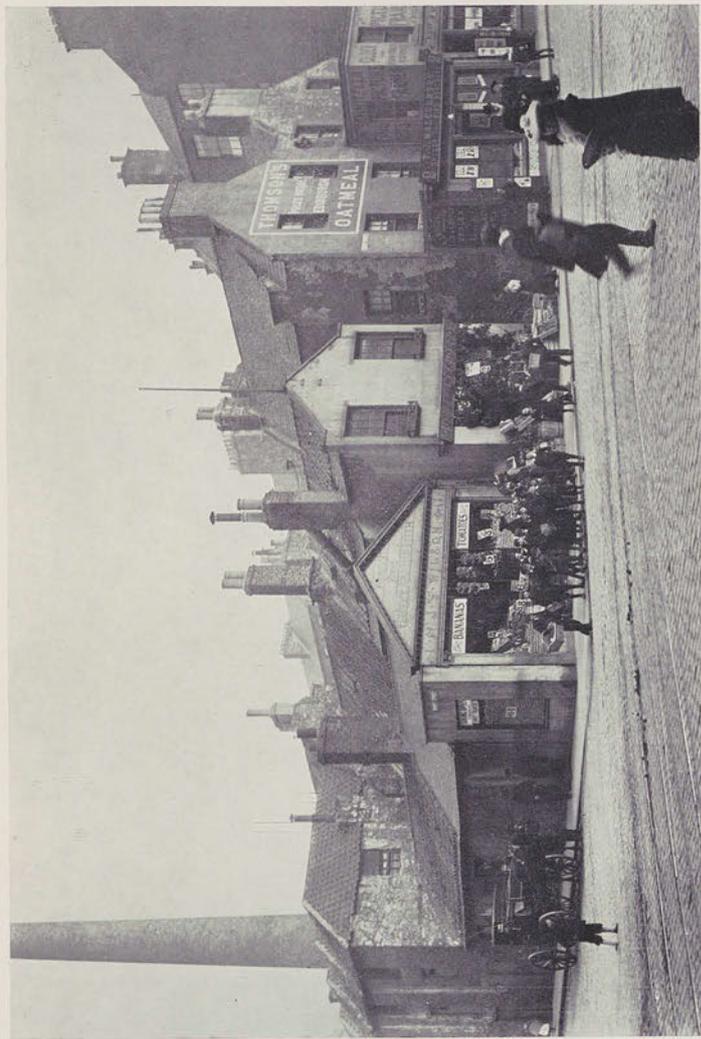
the Main Point and one of my early recollections is of being allowed to hold the cow's tail while she was being milked. As a reward I was given a cupful of the newly-drawn milk which, when I had tasted it, I promptly spat out. The site of those byres is now covered by the apex of St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Store triangular building. Running east from Tollcross, on the lands of Drumdryan, is the street, Brougham Place, called after the statesman. This leads to the Meadows which cover the site of the ancient Burgh Loch. From this Loch a burn ran, hence the name Lochrin. The Burgh Loch was drained and levelled up, partly by the emptying of cart-loads of rubbish. It thus became what is still known, in Municipal books, as a toom, and dues were exacted for the privilege of emptying the rubbish. These dues were paid to my grandfather, as representing the City Chamberlain, at his shop in Home Street. Our next street is Home Street, so named since it lies on the lands of Drumdryan owned by the Home-Rig family, who had property in Fife, where they lived at Tarvit House—hence that street name. Now we come to Thornybauk, which name conjures up a pretty picture, for "Bauk" means a field path—a path through hawthorns. That would be lovely in the Spring. Let us stand at the clock at Tollcross and look towards the Central Hall. My earliest memory of that part of Earl Grey Street is a high wall with a green door. I pushed at the door to "keek" in and saw a crowd of children playing. Away in the corner was a building. This was the Episcopal School, run by St. John's Episcopal Church. My mother used to tell us how she had been a pupil there for a week. It was, of course, before the Education Act of 1872. So great was my mother's friendship for her chum (who went to that school) that my mother decided to go too. As the fees at St. John's were the same as at her own school (and were paid weekly) my mother thought it unnecessary to tell her mother of the change. At the end of a week—whether, because the friendship had grown thin,

or that my Granny found out (I should think the latter)—my mother returned to her own school.

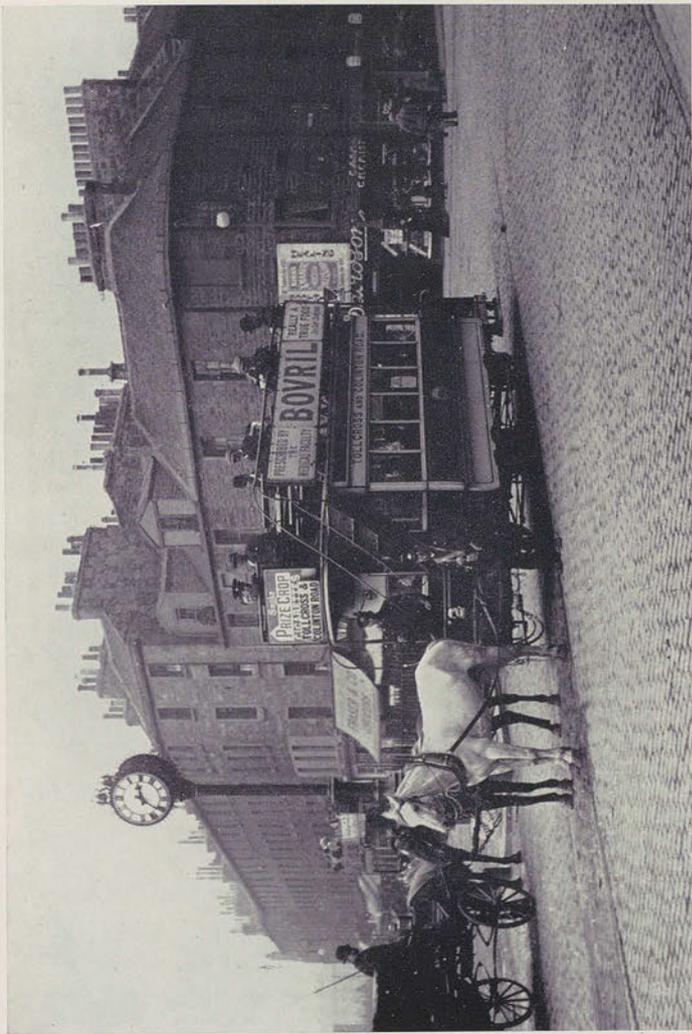
Now look at the Grafton Restaurant and, in particular, at the roof, and you will see a plinth. As I first remember it, there was a full-size figure of a horse on that plinth, because this was the house of Mr. Player, the riding master. Behind the house was the riding school where the pupils were taught. It was possible to stand at the door and watch them. You can understand what a joy it was for a small boy who loved horses, to stand there, filled with admiration for the lovely animals and, as he admired, to wonder how long he would have to wait before he had a horse of his own. Alas! he is still wondering. Behind the riding school, was the Slaughter House—more usually called "the Killin' hoose"—one of the first in the country to be municipally owned. It had replaced in 1851 a distillery which had a well 100 feet deep, and in 1910 the Slaughter-house moved out to Gorgie, the site being utilised for a school which replaced Lothian Road School, demolished to make room for the Usher Hall. All that remains of the Tollcross Slaughter-house is the house now occupied by the school janitor and the inside white tiled wall of the Tripery which is beside the Corporation wash-house.

If we now walk up Home Street, we come to Tarvit Street, opposite which, surrounded by its garden, stood Lochrin House, occupied, at one time, by a man named Gilmore who had a rope spinning works behind the house. He opened up a street at the side of his property and named it Gilmore Place. The last occupant of the house was Dr. MacKay, a very well known figure in his day. My recollection of the house is very hazy. I have, however, the clearest recollection of the house opposite, where the King's Theatre now is. When it was built about 1735, it was called Drumdryan House, but the Earl of Leven, when he came to occupy it in 1750, renamed it Leven Lodge, whence came the street names. At the other end of what is now Tarvit Street, there was

built in 1774, a mansion which also was named Drumdryan House. It was demolished in 1958, by which time it was in a sorry condition. Leven Lodge had many notable occupants in its day. Here lived Joseph Williamson who, in 1742, was Town Clerk of Edinburgh. He was a son of the Rev. David Williamson, minister of the West Kirk—better known nowadays as St. Cuthbert's. He, the father, was nick-named "Dainty Davie" after Burns' song. He was a remarkable man. In the matrimonial stakes he beat Henry the Eighth, having seven wives to Henry's six. This achievement was all the more astonishing when we consider that His Majesty had the help of divorce and the axe to knock up his score, whereas His Reverence was denied these conveniences, nor did he, so far as we know, employ any other unusual means of cutting the nuptial knot. As I remember Leven Lodge, it housed a fruit shop known as "Covent Garden", a grocer who had a wonderful kind of rock in the front of his window (this rock looked like chunks, or sticks, of crystal with a string running through it), a china shop owned by Mr. and Mrs. Scott, and a Victual Dealer's as well. On the site of what is now the stage entrance, there was a narrow lane leading to Porteous' byres and dairy. Behind the house stood a brewery or distillery which had a high chimney. All these disappeared in 1904, or thereby, to make room for the theatre which opened at Christmas 1906 with the pantomime "Cinderella". We now come to Valleyfield Street which takes its name from the mansion which was demolished to make room for Glengyle Terrace. Before the houses in that street and Leven Street were built, the hundred yards or so between the two mansions were given over to a nursery which entered from Leven Street. Over the doorway was a board and printed on it was "Fruits and Flowers in their Season". When I read that this Nursery was known as Marshall's Garden, I remembered a nonsense rhyme my mother used to say to us, a rhyme, I have discovered, which has several variants. I am persuaded that



SITE OF THE KING'S THEATRE, c. 1905
By courtesy of Edinburgh Public Libraries



THE LAST HORSE TRAM AT TOLLROSS, 1907
By courtesy of Edinburgh Public Libraries

Edinburgh mothers had their own variant. It has a wonderful rhythm and was chanted, rather than sung, to me when I was in my bath. My mother bent over the bath and, holding my wrists in her right hand and my ankles in her left, she swung me like a pendulum through the water while she chanted :—

Rub-a-dub-dub,
Three men in a tub
They all went out to sea.
They sailed to Marshall's garden
And there they found a farden.
They gave it to their Mother,
To buy an Irish brother,
The Mother was so cross,
She bought a lily-white horse,
Wi' a high swee, an' a low swee
An' a swee to let the cat dee.

She then gathered me up in a towel and carried me off to dry me in front of the fire. Whether the Marshall mentioned in the rhyme is the John Marshall who, in 1687, was granted a feu of part of the Burgh Muir by the Town Council, which came to be called the lands of Valleyfield, is not known.

Now we are facing the Barclay Church with its 250 feet spire. The church was built in 1864 for a congregation which formerly worshipped in Fountainbridge and had been formed in 1844. Professor Blackie thought it "disorderly, inorganic and monstrous". Opposite Glengyle Terrace on the west side of Leven Street was the Toll bar where you had to pay twopence if you wished to proceed further north. However, let us go back to the end of Gilmore Place for this is where the lands of Wrychtishousis, belonging originally to a family of Napier, who held them from at least the twelfth century, begin and continue on the west side of the present Bruntfield Place till they meet the lands of Merchiston, at one time held by another

family of Napier. How the name originated is uncertain, but it is conjectured that the village was occupied by the wrichts employed to fell the trees and quarry the stones of the Burgh Muir. The village straggled along on the west side of the present road and in the early eighteenth century encroached on its east side on the Burgh Muir, and that is the part we know to-day as Wrightshouses, the part on the west side—the original village—having been wiped out in 1792 to make the present highway, the peculiar windings of which are due to its having followed the line of the winding village street. There are, however, still standing behind the houses near Gilmore Place two or three cottages within their respective gardens, all sadly derelict, but which I remember as being occupied and as having lovely gardens. A narrow lane ran from those cottages and emerged at the south-east end of the Hailes Street houses. That lane is still in existence, though closed up at its Leven Street end. The mansion house of Wrychtishousis, its oldest part dating back to King Robert II's time, was regarded as being the finest mansion in the near surroundings of the city. In 1799 the house was sold to Gillespie, the snuff merchant, and there were many protests when it was proposed to demolish the mansion. These were unavailing and all that is left of the once beautiful house are some carved stones built into what was called at the time "the hideous edifice known as Gillespie's Hospital" and some other carvings now at Woodhouselee. In 1870 it became a school and now, as you know, it is the Blind Asylum factory.

We have now reached Bruntfield Links, all that remains to us of King David I's wonderful gift to the city in the early part of the twelfth century, of that part of Drumselch Forest. Roughly, in modern terms, the land gifted to the city is bounded by Leven Street to Colinton Road, and along it to the east garden walls of Abbotsford Park to Albert Terrace, then west to Tipperlinn Road, then south to the Pow—or Jordan—burn. The line of the suburban railway marks

its southern boundary as far as old Dalkeith Road which was its eastern boundary. On the north, it was bounded by the lands of Drumdryan, the Burgh Loch and the lands of St. Leonard's. Three large areas in the heart of the muir were not included—viz. the Grange of St. Giles, the lands of Brounisfield (Bruntfield) and the lands of Whitehouse (St. Margaret's Convent). Without going into details, it is sufficient to say that the Burgh Muir became a huge Naboth's Vineyard and the Town Council disposed of area after area until, in 1791, the Burgess Golfing Society frustrated an attempt to drive a road through the Links, and, in 1827, the Edinburgh Improvement Act prohibited the erection of buildings of any kind, either upon Bruntfield Links or the Meadows. The members of Bruntfield Links Golf Club subscribed in 1792 towards the expense of making the new road west of Wrightshouses—the present Bruntfield/Barclay Place. Early in the eighteenth century, the links were covered with gorse, whins and quarries, and were cleared only towards the middle of the century to permit the playing of golf. Town Council Minutes of that period refer to Golfhall occupied in 1770 by Comb, a club maker. The school now known as James Gillespie's High School for Girls is built on land known as View Park. As I first remember it, View Park had Warrender Park Crescent built on its south side and on its north-east end there was a market garden while at the north-west end there was a mansion house which housed a Preparatory School for boys called View Park School, and the Photographer's Studio of Mr. Swan Watson. The Edinburgh School Board acquired that ground and built Boroughmuir Higher Grade School which opened in 1904. This building soon became too small for the Higher Grade School which moved to its new (and present) quarters at the beginning of 1914, taking its name with it. View Park moved to Splyaw Road and later changed its name to Gillsland Park. Mr. Swan Watson carried on his Photographer's business for some years, but, Gillespie's re-

quiring more room, he had to move and his premises and the mansion house disappeared and new school buildings took their place. Alvanley Terrace takes its name from a Lady Warrender who was a sister of Lord Alvanley. The original intention when the building of houses on the Warrender lands started was to have only terraced villas, such as are in Alvanley Terrace, but that plan was departed from. Bruntsfield House continued to be occupied by the Warrender family till the beginning of the present century. The mansion house is very old and of many periods and—like its former neighbour of Wrychtishousis—is not without its story of actual skeletons in cupboards. Whitehouse Loan, of course, takes its name from the land on which the Convent of St. Margaret stands. It is interesting to note that the last convent to be built in Scotland prior to the Reformation was the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna on the Burgh Muir, and the first after the Reformation was this convent of St. Margaret which was founded in 1834. The old mansion—or farm house—of Whitehouse was not demolished, but added to, and when I called at the Convent while preparing this talk, the Reverend Mother courteously took me to the Refectory and pointed to the date 1758 carved on the wall. There is a fine piece of mason's work above the entrance door both on the street side and the garden side—a rope knotted at each end. It is beautifully executed and attracts visitors from many parts of the world.

Let us now recross the Links to the west side of Bruntsfield Place to look at the four villas built at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They are gracious houses and stand in large gardens. This part of Bruntsfield Place, up to Leamington Terrace, was colloquially known as The Doctors' Row as nearly every house was occupied by a doctor. The first house it was, however, which used to intrigue the children of my generation, for two reasons. Firstly, because of its name, FIRENZE which, not knowing Italian, we pronounced "Fire-enns" and which was meaningless to us—and so all the

more intriguing—and, secondly, because of the cat which dwelt there. It was a big cat with a beautiful, black coat, but the tip of its tail was ginger. You can just imagine the tales which were told of that tail, till anyone, not having seen the animal, could be pardoned for thinking the whole tail was pillar-box red. One of the villas, in the fanlight above the door, had a model of a white horse—a sign of loyalty to the House of Hanover. After the fourth villa, there are entrance gates to a very narrow drive leading to Glengyle Lodge, in the garden of which there is a bee wall. The most distinguished resident of Glengyle Lodge was Lord Alness who broke with tradition when he chose to live on the south side of Edinburgh rather than the north, where most of the Senators of the College of Justice had their homes. Now, there are several living in this district. After Glengyle Lodge, The Doctors' Row continued in the houses which now form the Bruntsfield Hotel, but the site was formerly occupied by only one house. In the last of those houses, that at the corner of Leamington Terrace, lived Dr. MacKay, who moved to it when he left Lochrin House. He was the first man I remember to have seen wearing a grey, tall hat—or (as we called it)—a "white lum". I think I see him yet, standing up in his two-horse Victoria, waving his "white lum" in greeting to his wife, as she stood at her drawing-room window as he drove past on his rounds.

I don't know how Leamington Terrace got its name, unless it was named after the Spa. It was originally called Viewforth Place. Bruntsfield Church, which stands at the corner of Leamington Terrace and Westhall Gardens, was opened in 1883, under the name of Viewforth United Presbyterian Church to house a congregation formed in 1831, which formerly worshipped in Bread Street. The name was changed to Bruntsfield in 1900 at the union of the United Presbyterian and Free Church bodies. From Leamington Terrace to Montpelier Park, there were nine large villas in their large gardens,

five between Leamington Terrace and Viewforth, three between Viewforth and Montpelier Park, with gardens to Montpelier, a cul-de-sac, and the ninth occupied the whole length of what is now Montpelier Park. At one time, that house was occupied by Hugh Buchan, the City Chamberlain. At least two of those villas were taken down, stone by stone, and re-erected in Polwarth Terrace. The choice of Viewforth as a street name requires no explanation to anyone who, on a fine day, has stood at the top of it and gazed north—a wonderful view. On the site of the present Boroughmuir School, there stood formerly two houses, each with a very large garden. The house at the upper end is of particular interest to me, as the last person to live in it was Mr. Smith, the minister of Bruntsfield Church, of which I am a member. The stables opened into Westhall Gardens and were let as a studio to Mr. Pilkington Jackson, the sculptor. The garden stretched back to Admiral Terrace and that part, as I first remember it, was a field with sheep grazing in it. Later, the field was made into tennis courts for a club which called itself the Westhall Tennis Club. When the School Board acquired the ground, the Club moved to the foot of Spylaw Road, and took their name with them. In this same house, in 1810, lived Lord Provost Calder. In those days, the Lord Provost had to entertain distinguished visitors to the City in his own house. A few years ago, one of that Lord Provost's descendants presented to the Town, the tablecloth (in which are woven the Royal Arms of Scotland) and candelabra which Lord Provost Calder had used on such occasions. Admiral Peat also lived here for some time and gave his name to Admiral Terrace.

How Montpelier Park got its name no one knows, but it is probable that, because of its lying in a reputedly, healthy part of the city, it was named after the French spa of Montpelier, which was a popular place with British people at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The same name is applied

to some of the streets lying on the upper slopes of the city of Bath. As I first remember it, the house now known as "Merchiston Rooms", was a private house, Napier Villa, standing in its large garden which had a low wall with high railings and carriage entrance gates, painted red, facing the main street. The garden has now disappeared. When King Edward VII, with the lovely Queen Alexandra, drove past in full state with an escort of Life Guards to open the new Fever Hospital at Colinton Mains, a huge grandstand was erected just where the Savings Bank now is. That was something like a procession. A propos of that visit, my Sunday School teacher who was a Town Councillor and was subsequently himself to become a Lord Provost, told us boys that when the King arrived at the hospital, the Lord Provost presented him with a golden key with which to open the door. His Majesty did so and, in his rough German voice enquired "Shall I go in" to which the Lord Provost replied "Hoots aye. We'll a' gae in thegither". I can't imagine what our golden text had been that Sunday to make our teacher tell us that story. After the house had been vacated, the gardens were thrown open and we children were allowed to take what we wanted. I remember taking home (significantly, as I am unmarried) a bunch of bachelors' buttons.

Let us now retrace our steps to Bruntsfield Terrace for that is where the lands of Greenhill began and extended south to what we call Church Hill and east to Whitehouse Loan. This land had many owners and of them, it was John Livingstone and his wife Elizabeth Rig who, in 1636, gave it the name "Greenhill" and built the mansionhouse. He died of the plague in 1645 and was buried in his own ground. In the garden of Ashfield in Chamberlain Road, you can still see his burial-place surrounded by a wall. Over the door, are the initials J. L. and E. R., for his wife and himself. A subsequent owner, George Fairholme, was also buried there. He was the City Chamberlain, hence the name of the street.

In 1806, William Forbes—later Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo acquired the lands—hence the two street names. The present Forbes Road is more or less built on the drive to the mansion-house which stood between Forbes Road and Bruntfield Place. If you look on the wall at the corner of Bruntfield Gardens and Bruntfield Place, you will see a carving which shows what the mansion looked like. The land was first opened up for building about 1840 at what we call Greenhill Gardens, the earliest house there—in the northern portion—being completed in 1849. Note that in that section practically no two houses are alike. In its day, this street—to my mind one of the pleasantest in the district—has housed some notable people, among them, at No. 24, the sculptor Sir John Steell, whose work is represented in Edinburgh by the Wellington monument, Alexander and Bucephalus in the City Chambers quadrangle, and Sir Walter Scott seated within the arches of his Monument (the first marble monument in Scotland). In “Hopefield”, at the corner of Chamberlain Road, there lived from 1850 to 1886 the Rev. J. Kirk, D.D., famous all over the world for his work with the Evangelical Union. His son, the minister of the E.U. Church at Gorgie, also lived there and died in the house in 1923. It was his wife who wrote the well-known cookery book *Tried Favourites*. The Kirks were all great workers in the Temperance Cause. Professor Charteris, who helped to found the Deaconess Hospital and was Moderator of the Church in 1892, lived at No. 4. He started the Women’s Guild. It was not until the 1880’s that the part of Greenhill forming the triangle from Chamberlain Road to Forbes Road facing Bruntfield Place was built on. A letter in *The Scotsman* of the period regrets the felling of the beautiful trees which faced the Bruntfield Place villas. The large flats which were built by Beattie are fully described in *The Scotsman* of the time. The stone was quarried on the site. The houses between Bruntfield Terrace and Forbes Road were built much later, and I have a vague recollection of seeing them

completed. They occupy the site of one villa and garden. A U.P. Church had been built in 1863 at the north corner of Chamberlain Road but in 1881 the congregation moved over to the south corner, the old building becoming the Morningside Athenaeum, a literary club which held among other things Saturday evening concerts. The building was taken over later by the Congregational Church who worshipped there for many years before it was replaced by the present church about thirty years ago. Directly facing it, on the east side of the road, is Christ Church with its 140 feet spire built in 1876 on the site of Merchiston Castle dovecot. Beyond Colinton Road stands what is now the Baptist Church but which, when it was built in 1874, was the Free Church of Scotland. It is built on a part of the triangle of land with the corner of Albert Terrace as its apex and Colinton Road to Abbotsford Park as its base, known as Boroughmuirhead.

We now come to Church Hill, the march line between the lands of Greenhill and East Morningside, which latter extended to Newbattle Terrace on the south and on the east to Whitehouse Loan. Clinton Road and Newbattle Terrace are named respectively after a lady of Lord Clinton’s family and one from Lord Lothian’s family who married into the Forbes family. Church Hill received its name when Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers built his house there. He was largely responsible for the building of the Parish Church at the corner of Newbattle Terrace which was disjoined from St. Cuthbert’s in 1835, at that time the nearest church. The Parish of St. Cuthbert formerly stretched to Fairmilehead. The land for the church was given by Sir William Forbes. Between Church Hill and the church, on a high bank, originally stood five villas. Now there are three, one of which is owned by my friend, Mr. John Miller, who tells me that his titles allow him to keep a pig only with the consent of his neighbour. These houses have very large back gardens. On Mr. Miller’s garden wall, stands an old stone with a bronze tablet below it. This is

said to be the Bore Stone "in which the Royal Standard was last pitched for the muster of the Scottish Army on the Burgh Muir before the Battle of Flodden, 1513". However, in this debunking age, that is very much doubted. One story goes that it was the stone on which the lairds of Penicuik stood to salute the King. Another version is that the laird stood on this stone and blew three blasts on a horn when the King passed that way. Whatever it is, the fact remains it is an interesting old stone. Directly opposite is an old house built in 1790, with a very high wall and approached by a glass-encased stairway. This is Bank House where the late Cosmo Gordon Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, spent part of his boyhood when his father was the minister of the church over the road.

Newbattle Terrace was originally part of Grange Loan, the road which led to the Grange of St. Giles which I previously mentioned as being excluded from David I's gift of the Burgh Muir. Along this road, King James IV—perhaps best of all the Stewarts—passed on his way back to Holyrood from West Linton on 16th August 1507 so as to be present at the service in St. Roque's Chapel in honour of the Saint—the patron saint of the afflicted. After the service, the King advanced and personally handed his gift of fourteen shillings to the Celebrant who placed it on the Altar. This chapel stood on a secluded part of the Muir to meet the spiritual needs of the plague-stricken people sent to the Muir from the city. The ruins of the Chapel stood in what are now the grounds of the Astley-Ainslie Hospital. Incidentally, St. Roque—or Roche—was a native of Montpellier but whether that has any bearing on the naming of the near-by streets is doubtful. Prince Charles Edward in 1745 also crossed the Muir by this road. The Loan passes below the mansionhouse of East Morningside which is in Clinton Road. It was formerly approached through the avenue of beech trees which (since Clinton Road was formed) are now in the grounds of Wood-

croft on the opposite side of the road. In the garden is a dovecot with 232 nesting places and a willow tree grown from a cutting brought from Napoleon's garden at St. Helena. West Morningside lands began at Doo Loan—changed, as one writer puts it, revoltingly to Albert Terrace—extended south to the Briggs of Braid and included the villages of Tipperlinn and Morningside. When I was a boy it was a pleasant walk from the present Tipperlinn Road by a lane bordered by cottages standing in their flowery gardens, right down to Balcarres Street. When I went recently to renew my acquaintance with this rustic backwater, I found no cottages and the lane incorporated in the hospital grounds. Tipperlinn was a village of hand loom weavers who specialised in fine damask tablecloths with a flowery pattern. It was a popular place with Edinburgh people for summer holidays. In 1770, a chemical industry was founded here by Dr. Thomas Steel and Thomas Gladstones of Leith, the latter the grandfather of William Ewart Gladstone, the statesman. Their works extended over the highway—hence Steel's Place. Morningside House stood where the Public Library now is. If you go round the back of it, you can see one or two of the old cottages which appear to be inhabited. I remember the blacksmith's forge which stood near the sculptor's yard, the site of which is now occupied by the Merlin Roadhouse. Prominent among the relics of the Morningside village is, of course, the school-house. It was built in 1823 and children walked to it from places as far away as Swanston, Lothianburn and Fairmilehead. Before we reach it on our way south and almost opposite the Parish Church an old milestone still stands to tell us we are one mile from Tollcross, and the school clock tells us it is twenty minutes to four. For it, time has stood still since its movement was transferred to the Church clock opposite, where it did duty till 1929.

At Newbattle Terrace, we enter the lands of Canaan, which name was introduced in covenanting times and gave rise to

the other biblical names in the district. Almost opposite the old school, stood the entrance lodge and gates of Falconhall. The piers of the gate were surmounted by finely carved falcons which were removed in 1894 to adorn the entrance gates of Mr. Macmillan (of Andrew Melrose & Co., the Tea Merchants, I believe) who lived in Corstorphine. After his death, his house and grounds were acquired by the Scottish Zoological Society and the falcons now adorn the entrance to the Zoo. The mansion was built by Lord Provost Coulter in 1780, but received its name from Alexander Falconar who later purchased the house. He added a fine façade to the house which, when the house was demolished in 1909, was re-erected at the Geographical Institute in Newington. And so we come to Canaan Lane. Seventy odd years ago, covering the distance from Church Hill, we should have gone through Banner Place, Morningside Bank, Esplin Place, Blackford Place, Falcon Place, and Morningside Village. In those days the builder of a few houses named the street as he wished. To this day, you can see "Watt Terrace" carved on the building at Maxwell Street. Canaan Lane was a street of very select houses, some of which remain. One of these is Canaan Lodge, the home of Dr. Gregory to whom all of us will ever be grateful for his stomach powder. Appropriately, his house is a Children's Home. I know the house intimately as my work used to take me there. It is a beautiful house outside and in, its mantelpieces being particularly fine. Its situation facing south to the hills is incomparable. A few more steps and, after passing Jordan Lane, we reach the site of the old toll-house just before Nile Grove where it was possible at one time to see the Pow Burn, renamed the Jordan Burn about 200 years ago. Maxwell Street, no doubt, takes its name from that Herbert Maxwell to whom the Town Council feued the land thereabouts in 1595. The Toll House was erected in 1861 as a result of a protest by 120 Morningside families on the injustice of their having to pay toll at Leven Street. They

complained—"We unfortunates of Morningside cannot even visit a friend in Gilmore Place without incurring this exaction". The Toll House stood at the then city boundary. In 1888, after road tolls had been abolished, the house was taken down and re-erected stone by stone at the entrance of the Hermitage of Braid. My father was the last person to pay toll here.

There we are, then, we have completed our walk, but through strangely deserted streets, and now I should like to attempt to populate them. I must ask you to look at the scene (if you will pardon an Irish bull) through the eyes, ears, and nose of a small boy of sixty odd years ago. The first thing you are bound to notice is the number of horses. I well remember the first mechanically propelled vehicle (to use a technical description) I ever saw in the street. It was in Brougham Street, and it had perforce to proceed slowly, for in front of it walked a man with a red flag, and the people stopped and gaped at it as it passed. No, the horse was everywhere, and was relied on for speed. If you were in a hurry or had a really long distance to go, you boarded a tramcar, or bus, drawn by two horses, or hired a cab. Tramcars covered our road from Tollcross to Morningside. In front of the Barclay Church, stood youths, each with a horse. A tramcar proceeding south stopped at Glengyle Terrace and a trace-boy (as he was called) yoked his horse to the car to help to pull it up Bruntsfield Place, unyoked it at Leamington Terrace, and seated on its rump and with a great jangling of chains, gaily cantered down the hill. Sometimes, as a diversion, he didn't return immediately, but waited till the next boy came up, and then they raced each other back to the Barclay Church. Similar scenes took place at the other end of the route where the trace-boys stationed at Maxwell Street helped the cars up to Church Hill. Some cars turned along by Church Hill to go to the South side. At the end of Church Hill they proceeded by Clinton Road and Hope Terrace to Kilgraston Road where they turned into Grange Road. This

explains why these streets were causewayed with granite setts. This was necessary as Strathearn Place was then a cul-de-sac. To make it a through road, as it is to-day, a house had to be demolished, thus making for the wide road at the top of Greenhill Gardens. The part from Chamberlain Road to this corner was known as Stuart's Green. Buses ran along Melville Drive to Hope Park Terrace, the terminus. My mother used to enjoy telling the story of how she took me, a baby, and my two older sisters, all three of us under the age of five, to visit her mother who lived in Rankellor Street. She boarded the bus at Lonsdale Terrace and tendered the correct fare. As he handed my mother her ticket, the conductor looked at her and her brood and said—"Here ye are, missis. Fower a penny".

Horse cabs plied for hire and were well patronised. They stood in ranks at Bruntsfield Place just above Barclay Terrace and also at Bruntsfield Terrace, beside the wooden hut now used for scavengers' barrows but which then was a fire station. Then, in Montpelier Park, there was one in the centre of the street at the top end, and another in Chamberlain Road. The "cabbies" were always friends of the children. There was usually a well at a cab rank with a pail in the underpart for watering the horses. At Colinton Road, there was a watering trough in the middle of the road. Cars ran along Gilmore Place, the end of Polwarth Terrace being their terminus, and the stables were in that part of Gillsland Road nearest Watson's College. The well-off people kept their carriages, drawn by two horses and with a white breched coachman and footman on the box. Those not quite in that class had a one-horse carriage. Doctors drove in a "Brougham", which was closed, and in summer transferred to a Victoria—an open, doorless carriage. Then there were dog-carts—two horse and one horse—with frequently a Dalmatian dog chained to the axle beneath the cart—wagonettes, lorries, vans, Governess cars drawn by a pony, besides

Mr. Player's Academy en route for the Braids, all to enliven the scene. And, of course, best of all was the thrill of the fire engines drawn by splendid horses galloping to the scene of a fire, the bells clanging and the men with brass helmets. I well remember being with one of my aunts somewhere near the Barclay Church when, suddenly, there was a shout of "Fire". Immediately, all was confusion. People ran from their shops; drivers left their lorries; walkers turned in their steps, and all ran up Bruntsfield Place. Then came the Fire Engines, drawn by magnificent bays, their ears well back and at full gallop. The brass helmets of the men shone in the sun and they clanged their bells. My aunt was a dear, kindly woman, but a wee bit sanctimonious. Looking down at me, she said—"I sometimes think this is what it will be like at the last day", and the mantle of prophecy falling on her shoulders she went on, "There will be smoke and a great noise and confusion. The bells will ring and all the people will be running". Even as a small boy I thought auntie had got things wrong, somewhere, "for", I argued to myself, "at the last day, surely the people won't be running to the fire". Another thrill was a runaway horse or a fallen horse. In summer a char-a-banc drawn by four horses plied between Princes Street and Roslin, and quite frequently one of the horses would fall just opposite the Barclay Church—an awkward bend in the road. Then every morning about 9.30 a gentleman came down Whitehouse Loan on his horse, returning just after 5 o'clock from his law office in the New Town. On summer Saturday afternoons it was a usual sight to see as many as a dozen cabs in procession turning out of Colinton Road. In each open cab would be seven Merchiston Castle Schoolboys—six inside and one on the "dickey"—all in whites and blue blazers and all wearing straw hats with blue and white bands. They were on their way to Fettes or perhaps the Academy playing fields. Their own playing field was where Watson's College is now.

I spoke earlier of Marshall's garden in Valleyfield Street.

In my time, until 1910, Oliver, the Live Stock Auctioneers, had their sale ring there. On Tuesdays herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, lowing and bleating, accompanied by barking dogs, shouting drovers, and hosts of boys armed with sticks, were driven down Home Street to the Slaughter-house in Fountainbridge. Comparatively few people had privately owned vehicles in those days. You were really a "somebody" to have that. Consequently, many more people walked then, than now. They didn't dream of taking a "car" unless it was wet or if they were in a hurry, and often not even then. Thus everyone more or less knew everyone else, at least by head-mark, as my father, a true farmer's son, expressed it. Perhaps the best-known resident of the district was Mr. Theodore Napier who lived in either East or West Castle Road, but who looked as though he had just arrived from some Highland castle; and as he hurried along Bruntsfield Place, looking at no one, one might have thought this handsome gentleman was a kind of Highland Rip Van Winkle on his way to Holyrood-house to swear allegiance to Prince Charles Edward. I don't remember ever to have heard him called Mr. Napier, but simply Theodore Napier, which meant he was a notability. He dressed in the full regalia of an eighteenth-century Highland chieftain; long curling grey hair hung down below his bonnet with its eagle's feather, and his brogues were of undressed leather. He regarded the present reigning Royal House as usurpers and was a staunch upholder of Rupprecht of Bavaria as being the legitimate King of these islands. Actually Mr. Napier was an Australian whose gentle voice quite belied his war-like appearance.

There was Archbishop Smith from his house, St. Bennet's at Church Hill (in the grounds of which, as I remember, a private chapel was later built), who inspired awe in a small boy. He was a little man, but stout, and he wore his tall silk hat well back on his large head. His pronounced aquiline features and compressed lips, his violet coloured silk neckcloth on which

rested a gold cross, along with his great archiepiscopal ring gave him a "siccar" look, which somehow only added to the undoubted dignity surrounding him as he walked among us. Then there was Madame MacLennan, the French lady and widow of Mr. MacLennan, the famous Highland dancer, who now with her brother-in-law taught dancing, making her way down Bruntsfield Place to her school in the Albert Hall, in Shandwick Place. She never travelled by car. Like most other people she walked. She was a near neighbour of ours in Montpelier Park. Then there was Mrs. Millar, the fish-monger, who always wore her picturesque traditional dress—short blue skirt and grey plaid shoulder shawl and a snow-white mutch on her head. Her daughter was similarly dressed but being unmarried, as I first remember her, she wore no hat, which in those days was so unusual as to be noticeable. Two very well-known people were Mr. and Mrs. Chalmers, not because they walked but because they usually rode on horseback, Mrs. Chalmers of course riding side-saddle. For a lady to have done anything else in those days would have been considered most indecorous. He was the Agent of the National Bank at the top of our street but always looked as though he would be more at home in the country, for it seemed that when he wasn't dressed in breeches and leather leggings, he wore rough tweeds. He was a very pleasant, jolly-looking man. They lived in Colinton Road but stabled their horses in Merchiston Mews. At the other end of the scale were the poor who went from door to door seeking help. Such a one was "Magazine Mary" who, possibly because she wore a hat and gloves, was said to have seen better days, and was so named because she never asked for anything but old magazines, a bundle of which she carried under one arm. There were the street singers whom we all knew. One of these latter stands out in my memory as she slowly makes her way down the centre of our street. She was quite the thinnest woman I have ever seen, thin almost to the point of emaciation. Her yellow-

ish skin was tightly stretched over her cheek-bones and aquiline nose and she hadn't a tooth in her head. Her dark hair was pulled tightly back beneath a small hat, and a faded brown plaid was clutched round her frail frame while over her dark skirt she invariably wore a spotless white apron. As she made her slow progress she gasped, rather than sang, in quavering tones "There is a fountain filled with blood" which constituted her entire repertoire. As I remember she excited almost universal pity and help. Another pathetic figure was the old woman whose apple cheeks proclaimed her a country woman. She wore a bonnet and acknowledged my mother's help by bobbing her a curtsy, the only person I have ever seen do this. She had two songs "Where is now the Merry Party", and "Her bright smile haunts me still". They came into my Mother's category of "Puir cratures" and received a penny thrown to them wrapped in a corner of the *Evening News*. Another singer was "The Nightingale", so called as she came to the street only after dark, and really was a good singer. When her clear, beautiful notes were heard, windows were opened to hear her rendering "I dreamt that I dwelt in marble halls", "'Tis the last rose of summer" and operatic arias. Many romantic tales were told about her.

Two organ grinders came about the streets—the one, an old man with a long white beard and long hair, his eyes covered with dark glasses. The other was a small, foreign-looking man and he had a red-coated monkey with him at the end of a long rope, thus permitting the beast to run up the lamp posts, and just as dog-owners are said, through time, to resemble their pets, so did this man and his monkey look very like each other. The organ was in an oblong box suspended round the man's neck by a broad leather strap and when he played, it rested on a solitary leg from the centre of the box. Of course, there were the barrel organs. The one I remember best was owned by a cheery Italian who had rings in his ears and was accompanied by his cheery gaily-dressed wife. He pulled

the organ along, his wife acting as "trace boy" up the hills. In a wicker cradle on the shafts was their baby and above it, was a wicker cage with love-birds. I was speaking to that baby the other day. She told me she is the last remaining barrel organ player in Edinburgh. Her barrel organ is pulled by a pony. Other street entertainers were the Bohemian with his dancing bear and the Punch and Judy man who used to take up his stance in Chamberlain Road. He hadn't long taken up his stance when, by that mysterious means of children which has the bush telegraph beaten, all the youngsters of the district were surrounding him. He was a swarthy man with black curly hair and wore his bowler hat on the back of his head. His wife had lost an eye which, somehow, gave her a sinister look, but she must have been a kindly creature for she never "shoo-ed" us away. We certainly were an enthusiastic audience but totally unremunerative financially. There was the balloon man who announced his arrival by blowing on a bugle and who, in return for a jelly jar, gave you a balloon. Then, of course, there were the German bands in their peaked caps and who carried music stands and music with them. Another combination was the harpist and two violinists.

The streets were made colourful by our being able to tell a man's calling from his dress. In those days, a baker's shop—frequently at a corner—had a bakehouse attached, usually in a basement, and the bakers went home about 4 o'clock all floury, clothes, faces and all. There were more black-faced sweeps in those days when gas and electric fires were unknown. The fishwife, in her distinctive dress, called her wares "Caller partens" in a high, plaintive note which seemed to call to mind a small, fishing harbour with the seabirds circling round it. Everyone knew what she meant, just as a sobbing child would be comforted when the same kindly woman enquired "Wha ca'd you parten face, ma lamb?" More people spoke their mother tongue in those days and were not ashamed to do so. Some fishwives carried their creels suspended from

their foreheads and you knew they came from Fisherrow, while those who suspended their creels from their shoulders came from Newhaven. Coalmen called "Coal! Coal! Ten-pence a bag coal", and the Italian ice-cream man with his gaily painted barrow called "Hokey, Penny a lump! Hokey". The man with the fruit lorry drawn by a fine fat brown pony had an amusing call which passed into our household vocabulary and has become what Bernard Shaw, in one of his plays, calls "one of those low, stupid, family jokes which no one understands but themselves". Putting his hand behind his ear, and looking heaven-wards, he shouted "Cheery plooms! Cheery plooms! Seven punds a shillin'". Another man who shouted for trade was the knife grinder with his high two-wheeled whetstone. Message boys were more numerous then than now for housewives had the heavier items of their marketing "sent". Elderly ladies didn't require to push little trollies containing groceries in those days. Message boys carried a large wicker basket packed to the brim, over the right arm and balanced on the hip. This made them bend forward and must have been very bad for them as they were (usually) boys in their early teens. But they were, as a rule, a cheery lot and certainly a class apart, with a wonderful gift of repartee. For this, they were not beholden to the films, or wireless, or "the telly" (as none of these had as yet arrived) but to their own native wit. I remember coming down Morningside Road and in front of what until lately was the branch of *The Scotsman* office next to the Baptist Church (but which was then Jenkinson's the Glass and China Merchant whose main shop was in Princes Street where Woolworth is now), two message boys were seated on their empty baskets quarrelling loudly. A third message boy came along and stopped to listen. Although I was a small boy—or perhaps *because* I was a small boy—I have never forgotten the conversation, brief though it was, which took place. One of the quarrellers glared at this third boy and asked truculently,

"What are *you* lookin' at?" only to receive the devastating reply, "I dinna ken; I'm no' guid at puzzles". The message boys were in a different category from the milk-carriers who were usually school children. Milk was delivered in pitchers of various sizes (quart, pint, etc.) and the smaller were hooked on to the larger and those poor children had pitchers hooked round every finger of both hands which, in winter, were literally blue with cold. Mercifully, that is a thing we never see now. Nor do we see in the early hours of the morning—say, six to seven-thirty—youngsters from the poor quarters of the town carrying on their backs pillowslips full of stale bread ("auld bakin", it was called) which the bakers sold cheaply. A very humble trader—for such she was—was the rag-wife. Over her arm, she carried a large wicker basket full of glass and crockery which she gave in exchange for rags or old clothes. These latter she put in a large sack she carried on her back and by the end of the day she was bowed low beneath its weight.

A familiar group were the "stick men"—inmates of Craiglockhart Poorhouse. They had a hand barrow with very high (detachable) sides full of firewood which had been chopped and bundled in the Poorhouse and which these men were delivering to grocers and "Jenny sell a' thing" shops where they were retailed. One man was between the barrow shafts with a man on either side to act as "trace horses". The remainder of the team came behind to push the barrow up the hill and to act as a drag going down the hill. The men wore white moleskin trousers tied under the knee with a piece of string. Many years later, when my work took me to Craiglockhart, I learned that the only "payment" these men received was an extra tobacco-ration. By that time, the barrows had been replaced by a horse-drawn lorry. "Sandwich men" were a familiar sight and were so called because they carried boards back and front suspended from their shoulders. These boards advertised such things as "Bargain

Sales" or a "Wild beast show" (at that time, as I remember, held in a huge marquee in the Grassmarket). The men were real "Down and Outs", their clothing nondescript while they themselves looked half starved and beery; very often from the side of their mouths they had a short-stemmed clay pipe referred to as a "cheek warmer".

Funerals, in those days, were frequently long processions of mourners walking four abreast behind the hearse. People seemed to revel in woe and it would seem that a man's grief literally went to his head, for, on his being bereaved, he at once replaced the band on his silk hat by a broad stocking-like bandage which reached nearly to the top of the hat. The women, but especially widows, were as bad and wore veils suspended from their bonnets which, in extreme cases, reached to their heels. A much cheerier and brighter note was struck by an occasional soldier in full military walking-out dress of scarlet or white tunic, kilt, glengarry and white spats and a swagger cane in his hand. On summer Saturday afternoons the strains of a military band caused us to run up to Bruntsfield Place to see a battalion of Volunteers pass on a route march. I well remember my chum and I trying to keep up with a battalion of what I now know to have been the Queen's Edinburgh Rifles (The Blacks). We trotted along beside them till we reached Meggetland where they had a fall out and where we had never been before and which was then a narrow country road. The soldiers ordered us to get away home and we felt we had had a great adventure. In those days practically every man wore a beard and some were real beauties which reached down to their waists. I remember an old man who sat in the opposite gallery to us in Church. He had such a beard and I was quite convinced he was John Knox, a steel engraving of whom hung in my grandfather's house. Once the sermon had started and I had tired of counting the number of small panes in the windows—never twice getting the same answer—I turned my attention to Mr. Menzies sitting in his

corner stroking his beard. I gazed at him with a fearful fascination and, becoming mixed up in my history, dreading, but secretly hoping, that he would once again throw his footstool at the minister. Not that I had anything against his Reverence, very far from it, but you will agree it would have caused a diversion. One well-known man who did not wear a beard—in fact he was clean shaven—was Mr. John Henry Cooke, whom I regarded with envious awe approaching reverence, for he owned the Circus in Fountainbridge, and all the wonderful horses we saw once a year in the ring, and occasionally throughout the year being exercised in the street. He lived in Gillespie Crescent. One of the tight rope walkers from the circus had the use of my grandfather's stable-loft in which to teach his art to his son. Talking of ministers, just now, reminds me that the older Presbyterian Ministers of that time did not wear clerical collars, and no minister wore his academic hood in the pulpit. They wore stiff flat collars, shaped like those we wear to-day, and white ties and, like every other man of any position at all, a "lum" hat. The younger ministers wore the clerical collar and a wide brimmed low crowned black felt hat known as a "wide-awake". The older generation regarded this innovation with disapproval, betokening as they thought episcopal if not popish leanings.

As evening fell, the lamplighter with his long pole with a light at the end made his appearance in the side streets to light the lamps which then had flat fish-tail burners, returning in the morning to put out the lights. The shops remained open on Saturday nights till 10 o'clock and sometimes later, and Bruntsfield Place between Leamington Terrace and Montpelier Park was like a village street with knots of people standing here and there exchanging news. The shops were quite distinctive. A grocer's shop had a smell of currants, raisins, spices, orange peel, cheese, ham and sawdust (on the floor) which a small boy found delightful. There was no mistaking that the chemist's shop was closely related to the

sick room as it had a smell compounded of antiseptics and medicines. Mr. Paton who presided here looked just like Santa Claus. He had a halo of snowy white hair and a full bushy beard just as white, while his face was pink and his expression genial. Unlike his prototype, he had gold-rimmed spectacles which, when not perched at the end of his nose, were worn on his forehead. He treated a small boy (whom he addressed as Mr. So and So) asking for "six penny worth of paregoric, syrup of squills and ipecacuanha wine" with the same courtesy as he showed to a grand lady with her carriage and pair. Under the clock, facing you as you came in, was a scroll on which was carved in bold letters—"TIME IS THE GREAT HEALER" a hint (if such it was) which no one took as Mr. Paton had a very prosperous business. The Grain Merchant's shop (as my father's was) had a wonderful fresh smell of all kinds of meals and flours (all sold loose) for humans, mixed with the smell of horse and poultry food. Such a shop—like the horse—has almost disappeared. The dairy sold only milk, butter, eggs, oatcakes (home-made) and plain biscuits. The window was "dressed" with a white china cow on the shelf and on the floor of the window was a wicker basket of eggs, an ashet containing rolls of fresh butter and another ashet with oatcakes nicely curled, while in the centre was an aspidistra plant. The doorstep, as I remember, was pipe-clayed blue.

Sunday morning presented a different appearance. No cars ran on Sunday and no shops except the dairy were open (and only for an hour or two), and there were no newspapers. The streets were deserted till about 10.30 when they became alive with churchgoers. Families like ours marched in a crocodile two by two, father and mother bringing up the rear, to church and we had to hurry as it was a disgrace to be late. The church bells at North Morningside and (in those days) at the Barclay started to ring at 10.45.

We could play our games with perfect safety in the street

where there was little traffic in the evenings, but then, as now, the Bruntsfield Links was a favourite playground, in many ways safer for children than it is now as there was a high fence round it. We had more room, too, for there were fewer paths and no putting green. The old quarry holes had not been filled up to the extent they have been since and Tumblers' Hollow, except on very hot summer days, was seldom without water lying in it. Sheep grazed in the Links and I can remember on one occasion seeing cattle there. Down at Leven Terrace, where the swings are now, there was a pump for the benefit of the women who bleached and dried their clothes there.

Looking back over sixty years it seems that all the summers then were hot and brilliant. It is true that carriage horses wore straw hats then as well as men and boys—"straw bashers" we called them. On a June evening every year we had a great thrill waiting in Bruntsfield Place for the fancy dress cycle parade to come, accompanied by the comic collectors. One of these latter stands out in my memory. He was dressed as an old man with long flowing white hair and beard. He brandished a large telescope. On his back there was a placard with the words "Looking for a site for the Usher Hall". This was a gibe at the Town Council who took many years after receiving Mr. Usher's gift before finally deciding to build the hall where it now is. There were no picture houses or wireless and our pleasures were simple.

MISCELLANY

36. A DISPUTE BETWEEN GILD BROTHERS.

12th February 1636. The quhilk day Johne Sinclare, deyne of gild, Peter Blaikburne and Eduard Ferquhare, merchands, James Daniels-toun, goldsmyth, James Guthrie, skynner, and Thomas Paterson, tailzer, of the gild Counsell, being conveyned in Counsell anent the complent given in be Gilbert Kirkwood of Pilrig¹, burges of Edinburgh, aganes Thomas Kirkwood, goldsmyth burges of ye samyn². Makand mentione That quhare the said Gilbert Kirkwood upone his awin chaarges and expenssis haveing educat and brocht upe the said Thomas from his verrie infancie at schoil and uytherwayes till he come to the yeiris of discretione and then tuik him as his prenteis to his calling of the goldsmyth craft And eftir the expyring of his prenteisschip for the bettir enableing him for his said calling The said Gilbert sent him also upone his chaarges to forraine nationes And at his retireing bak agane to this kingdome he purchest the said Thomas to be maid burges and frieman of this burgh And to schaw and kyith [display] his forder love and cair he haid of the said Thomas he then To witt upone the tuentie thrid day of Apryle 1633 yeiris advancit and delyverit to the said Thomas Kirkwoode the sowme of four thowsand fyve hundreth pundis usuall money of this realme pertaining to the said Gilbert to be ane stock for the buith and closit upe his awin buith And put in with him Bartilmew Leiverman his servant being ane expert treddisman with him And delyverit to him conforme to ane inventar his hail workloomes for his graitter benefeit and proffeit Lykas the said Thomas than grantit the ressait of the said sowme of four thowsand fyve hundreth pundis in his compt buik and obleist him to pay to the said Gilbert annuelrent for the samyn Besydis his equal half of the frie proffeit of the buith and all oyther barganes and proffeit maid be the said Thomas as his mot subscrivit with his hand in the sowme fra the tuentie thrid day of Apryle 1633 yeiris to the

¹ Gilbert Kirkwood acquired the lands of Pilrig in 1623 and built Pilrig House. See *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol. XXII, "The Builder of Pilrig House". He was made burgess and guildbrother in 1609, later served on the Town Council and was one of the town's commissioners to Parliament in 1633.

² Thomas Kirkwood, goldsmith, was made burgess and guildbrother as apprentice to Gilbert Kirkwood, goldsmith, on 7th March 1632. He was son of Adam Kirkwood who was possibly a cousin of Gilbert.

xxiij day of December 1635 yeiris instant being tua yeir and aucht moneth extends to the sowme of twelff hundreth pundis And siclyik at Witsonday 1633 yeiris The said Gilbert delyverit to the said Thomas sex dussone of woup ringis¹ weyand four unce thrie drop tuentie four graines to be sauld at xxxvj lib. xij s. the unce is 154 lib. 15 s. jd. Item the fashione thairof at xijs. the peice is 43 lib. 4s. Item mair the said Thomas sauld to him ane sink² of diamonds pryce thareof ane hundreth pundis Item ane table diamond pryce thareof Liiij lib. vjs. viiij. Item ane litill hairt pryce xx lib. And siclyik he sauld and disponit upone ane pair of currell [coral] braicelaittis pertaining to the said Gilbert quherof the said Thomas refusit to mak him compt racking and payment seing he referris the number and pryce of the bead to himself. And siclyik he rests awand to the said Gilbert the rest of ane compt Tua hundreth thriescoir aucht pundis saxtene schillingis Together with the sowme of ane hundreth pundis as the equall half of his boyes prenteissis belanging to the said Gilbert conforme to the pactione and aggriement maid betuiz thame Beseikand tharefore the said Deane of gild and his Counsell to caus and compell the said Thomas Kirkwood to mak him compt racking and payment of the sowmes of money particularie abone writtin for the caussis respective abone writtin, as at mair lenth is contenit in the clame given in thairanent. The saids persewar and defendar compeirand baith personallie this day in judgment And thair richtis reassones and allegationes at lenth hard sene and considerit And uyther certane probationes led and deducit therintill, and thairwith being ryplie advysit the said Deyne of gild and his Counsell decernes and ordanes the said Thomas Kirkwood to content and pay to the said Gilbert Kirkwood betuixt and the tuentie thrid day of Apryle nixtocum in this instant yeir of God 1636 yeiris the said soume of four thowsand fyve hundreth pundis guid and usuall money of this realme contenit in the first article of the said clame as the pryce of the ware given be the said Gilbert Kirkwood to the said Thomas to be ane stock to the said buith Together also with the annuelrent of samekill of the said sowme as salbe fund restand for the space of tua yeiris and ane half eftir the dait of the last compt contenit in the said Gilbert Kirkwoods compt buik futtit betuix thame extending the samyn annuelrent during the said space of tua yeir and ane half to ellevin hundreth tuentie fyve pundis

¹ "Finger-ring of plain metal as distinguished from one set with stones." *Oxford English Dictionary* (1928).

² Meaning unknown.

The stock and annuelrent extending in all to fyve thowsand sex hundreth tuentie fyve punds money foresaid And siclyik decernes and ordanes the said Thomas Kirkwood to pay to the said Gilbert Kirkwood the equall half of the profieit of the said stock maid therupone any maner of way dureing the space of tua yeiris and ane half eftir the said xxiiij day of Apryle 1633 yeiris Conforme to the faithfull compt of the profieit maid thairof To be given upe be the said Thomas Kirkwood upone his grait aith quhilk equall half of the profieit dew to the said Gilbert Kirkwood they decerne and ordane the said Thomas Kirkwood to pay to him Deducing alwayes therof all lawfull chairges debursit be the said Thomas the tyme of thare pairtneris and all uyther sowmes payit be the said Thomas to him in pairt of payment thairof And this becaus be productione of the said Gilbert Kirkwood his compt buik subscrivit be baith the saids pairteis it evidentlie appeired that the said Gilbert haid stokit the said sowme of four thowsand fyve hundreth punds money foirsaid To be ane stok to the buith And to pay annuelrent. As lyikwayes it wes fund that they wer baith equall pairtneris of the profieit maid of the said stock all lawfull chairges being deducit as said is. And nane of the saids persones could schaw any ressonable caus in the contraire. And siclyik, Decernes and ordanes the said Thomas Kirkwood to content and pay to the said Gilbert Kirkwood the sowme of one hundreth fyftie four punds xvs. iijd. money foresaid And that as for the pryce of the sex dussone of Woup ringis weyand four once thrie drop tuentie four graines delyverit be the said Gilbert to him at Witsunday 1633 yeiris to be sauld at xxxvj lib.xijs. the once Together with tuelff schillingis scottis for the fashione of ilkane of the saids ringis extending to fourtie thrie punds four schillingis money foirsaid And this in respect of the said Thomas Kirkwood his confessione maid anent the premisses this day in judgment. And siclyik decernes and ordanes the said Thomas Kirkwood to content and pay to the said Gilbert Kirkwood the sowme of four punds money foirsaid In compleit payment of ane hundreth punds money acclomit for the pryce of ane sink of diamounds pertening to the said Gilbert and sauld be the said Thomas as said is. And assoilzeis and decernes quyte simpliciter in all tyme cuming the said Thomas Kirkwood from payment making to the said Gilbert Kirkwood from payment making to the said Gilbert Kirkwood of the rest of the said sowme of ane hundreth punds acclomit for the pryce of the said sink of diamonds And this becaus the said Gilbert Kirkwood confest the samyn to be satisfeit and payit except the said sowme of four punds

and the said Thomas Kirkwood confest the said sowme of four punds to be justlie awand. And siclyik decernes and ordanes the said Thomas Kirkwood to content and pay to the said Gilbert Kirkwood the said sowme of fyftie thrie punds sex schillingis aucht penneis for the pryce of the said table diamond pertening to the said persewar and sauld be the said Thomas to his use And this in respect of the said Thomas Kirkwood his confessione maid anent the premisses this day in judgment. And siclyik Decernes and ordanes the said Thomas Kirkwood to delyver to the said Gilbert Kirkwood the rest of the worklomes pertening to the said persewar and as yit not redelyverit bak agane be the said Thomas to him And this in respect of the said Thomas his awin confessioun maid anent the premisses this day in judgment And als decernes and ordanes the said Thomas Kirkwood to content and pay to the said Gilbert Kirkwood the sowme of thrie scoir ten punds money foirsaid for ane pair of currell braicelettis pertening to the said persewar and sauld and disponit upone be the said Thomas to his use And this in respect of the said persewaris aith given therupone referrit tharto be the said defendar this day in judgment and sworne be him the premisses to be of veritie And assoilzeis and decernes quyte simpliciter in all tyme cuming the said Thomas Kirkwood from payment making to the said Gilbert Kirkwood of the sowme of tuentie punds money acclomit for the pryce of the litle hairt acclomit. And als fra the sowme of tua hundreth thriescoir aucht punds saxteine schillingis acclomit as the rest of ane compt And als fra the hundreth punds acclomit for the equall half of the said Thomas his boyes prenteissis And this in respect of the said Gilbert Kirkwood his awin consent maid anent the saids thrie last particularis this day in judgment Quherfoir the said Deyne of gild and his Counsell decernit and assoilzeit as said is and ordanes the said Thomas to content and pay to the said Gilbert of expenssis of pley.

Dean of Gild Court Records.

HELEN ARMET.

37. EDINBURGH IN THE PITCALNIE PAPERS.

In "Some Edinburgh Furniture-makers", Mr. Bamford quotes from bills in the Ross of Pitcalnie collection, now in the Scottish Record Office; one of these, signed by Deacon Brodie is given in full below. The collection gives a fine picture of Edinburgh life—from ill-written

baker's bills on scraps of paper to the elegant accounts, with engraved headings, of furniture-makers and music sellers.

The lady who, in the eighteenth century, amassed such a varied collection of bills and papers was an ancestress of the writer, the present head of the family. Naomi, the widow of Alexander Ross of Pitcalnie, by courtesy Lady Pitcalnie, spent her winters and most of her summers from 1734 for almost 40 years in her house in Brodie's Close, Edinburgh. Her landlord and neighbour for part of that time was the infamous Deacon Brodie, but she knew him only as a very good craftsman—he made most of her furniture and hung her pictures. Munro Ross, her son, was from the age of five the pursuer in what was known as "The Balnagown Case", and being a minor every expenditure was noted and bills kept for his Trustees, along with letters and instructions to and from her Tacksmen back home in Ross-shire.

Acct.

Mrs Ross of Picalnie

To Francis & Willm. Brodie

	£	Sh.	D.
1770			
Octr. 10 To a large Oval Mahogany Tea board	-	10	6
To a wainscott Table Desk	-	15	-
To 10 Splitt Back elm Chairs, with hollow Seats, Stuft intirely with baked Hair, covered with Hair cloth, & laced with Pinchbeck nails—15/6	7	15	-
To 2 Elbow Do.—21/-	2	2	-
To a Dressing table, with a botle Drainer under Do.	-	17	6
Novr. 12 To a Mahogany Bed in fashion of a Cloath press, with a duke bottom & Iron rods	4	12	-
To 7 yds. of cotton Check for curtains to Do. 2/2	-	15	2
To 13 yds. of lace for Do. at 1½d.	-	1	7½
To 2 Dozn. brass rings for Do.	-	1	-
To workmanship, tape & thread for Do. curtains	-	1	8
To a Hair Mattress for Do. bed	1	16	-
To a Bolster & 2 pillows for Do.	-	17	-
To 4 Strong brass handles for the Drawers of a chest, 9d. each & 3 shields 2d. each	-	3	6

To putting on Do. and mending the Drawers ½ days work & 30 breds	-	1	-
To repairing & cleaning up 3 Charter Chists 1 day 30 Breds & etc.	-	2	-
To cleaning a table ¾ Day & etc.	-	-	6
	20	11	5½

Edinr. 12th Jany. 1770

Received payt of the above in full

Will. Brodie

Miss R. R. WILLIAMSON ROSS of Pitcalnie.

38. EARLY INHABITANTS OF GEORGE SQUARE.

When material for Volume XXVI of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* was being selected it was found that no fewer than one hundred and twelve of the inhabitants of George Square between 1773 and 1798 could not be assigned to particular houses. Later on some of them appear as buying or tenanting other houses in the Square. This list was held back, at the suggestion of Mr. Forbes Gray, for further research although a few names were selected for mention in the notes on inhabitants of unidentified houses at the end of the volume. It seems now, however, that it might be better to print the list as it stands and so complete the Club's historical record of George Square before the buildings are finally demolished. All names on the list are spelled as in the Edinburgh Directories for the years given. There has never yet been a scholarly examination of the society in which Sir Walter Scott grew up—his own reminiscences are scrappy and dates are few and far between—so that it is to be hoped that the previous list of George Square inhabitants and this short additional list may some day be of use in the production of such an examination.

Alex. Alison, writer. 1788.

David Anderson, examiner of customs. 1793.

Lady Arniston. 1777. (Later at 38.)

Wm. Balderston, W.S. 1788. (Later at 11. Buried in Greyfriars.)

Robt. Biggar. 1788.

- Jas. Bonthron. 1786.
 Chas. Brown of Coalston, advocate. 1797. (Father of Lady Dalhousie.)
 Geo. Brown, commissioner of excise 1784.
 Lieut. Jas. Brown. 1797.
 John Buchanan of Kelly. 1782.
 Arch. Campbell, advocate. 1773.
 Col. John Campbell of Phinab, Receiver General of Customs. 1780.
 Gen. Campbell. 1784. (John, of Strachur ?)
 Mrs Carmichael. 1786.
 Dr Christopher. 1782.
 Mrs Clark. 1780. (Possibly at No. 47.)
 Jas. Clark, advocate. 1786. (Possibly at No. 47.)
 Miss Clerk of Bonnington. 1790.
 Jas. Cochrane, writer, 1794.
 Mrs Cockburn, gentlewoman. 1774. } Probably Crichton St., but
 John Cockburn, writer. 1786. } George Square in Directory.
 Thos. Cockburn (of Rowchester) W.S., Deputy Keeper of the Great Seal. 1782.
 Humphry Colquhoun. 1784.
 Nisbet Combs. 1788.
 Mrs Cunningham of Enterkin. 1782.
 Mrs Currie. 1794.
 Mrs John Dalrymple. 1782.
 Robt. Dalziel, advocate. 1785.
 Prof. Robt. Dick. 1786.
 Mrs Dickson. 1786.
 Jas. Drummond of Perth. 1786.
 Mrs Admiral Duff. 1788. (Probably at No. 16.)
 Lauchlan Duff (Gordon of Park), W.S. (Probably at No. 16.)
 Lady Edmonstone. 1784.
 Lady Elphinstone. 1782.
 Geo. Farquhar, writer. 1780. (Buried in Greyfriars.)
 Mrs Forbes of Waterton. 1790.
 Thos. Fotheringham of Powrie. 1784.
 Jas. Fraser, W.S. 1780. (Of Gortulleg.)
 Thos. Fyers. 1778.
 Chas. Gascoigne. 1786.
 David Geddes of excise. 1788.

- Countess of Glasgow. 1782.
 Wm. Grant. 1793.
 Jas. Haldane. 1796.
 Dan. Hamilton, W.S. 1794. (Of Gilkerscleuch.)
 Jas. Hamilton. 1777.
 Robt. Hamilton, advocate. 1794.
 Vans Hawthorne, W.S. 1778. (Vans Hawthorne of Changuer Garthland.)
 Mrs Hay of Lawfield. 1790.
 Mrs Hay of Spott. 1782.
 Lady Henderson. 1786.
 Pat. Heron of Heron. 1793.
 Mrs Home. 1778.
 Sir Arch. Hope of Craighall. 1778.
 Arch. Hope, Secy., Royal Bank. 1782.
 Alex. Innes, W.S. 1775.
 John Innes, W.S. 1796.
 Major Joass, Fort Major, Stirling Castle. 1790.
 Wm. Leslie, W.S. 1788.
 Hen. Bethune Lindsay, merchant. 1775. (Later at No. 12.)
 Miss Lithgow, boarding School, 1784.
 Jas. Lockhart of Castlehill. 1781.
 Alex. Maxwell, Wine merchant. 1774.
 Lord Meadowbank. 1797.
 Alex. Moir, advocate. 1784.
 Col. Monypenny of Pitmilley. 1782.
 Col. Montgomery. 1784.
 Wm. Morison, advocate. 1786.
 Chas. Murray of Abercairney. 1796.
 Mrs McDonald of Clanranald, 1788. (Probably at No. 13.)
 Mrs McFarlane of Fairnyside. 1780.
 Mrs McKenzie of Coull. 1788.
 Lord Dreghorn. 1778. (Probably at No. 42. Buried in Greyfriars.)
 Jas. Newbiggin, advocate. 1773-84. (Several houses).
 Lady Nisbet of Dean. 1790.
 Thos. Ogilvie. 1788.
 Geo. Paterson of Castle Huntley. 1793.
 Mrs Plummer. 1782.

- Mrs Primrose of Castle Huntley. 1794.
 Mark Pringle. M.P. 1797. (Later at No. 25.)
 Mrs Pringle of Bowland. 1793.
 Mrs John Pringle, grocer. 1793. (Probably Charles, or Crichton, Street).
 Miss Pringle of Honey. 1788.
 Sir Alex. Purves, Bart. 1788.
 Lady Rae. 1782.
 Wm. Ramage, writer. 1786.
 Mrs Rattray. 1788.
 Maj. Wm. Sands, E. I. Co. 1786. (Buried in Greyfriars.)
 Francis Scott of Beechwood. 1782.
 Gen. Scott. 1773.
 Capt. Scott of Gala. 1782. (Several houses.)
 Mrs Scott of Gala. 1786. (*As above.*)
 Miss Scott of Gala. 1784. (*As above.*)
 John Simpson. 1784.
 Mrs Skene of Rubislaw. 1790.
 Miss Somervill. 1784.
 Mrs Steven. 1782.
 And. Stewart. M.P. 1797.
 Miss Swinton. 1780. (Probably Charles Street.)
 Mrs Symmer. 1776.
 Arch. Tod of Drygrange, W.S. 1790.
 Geo. Tod, writer. 1780.
 Maj-Gen. Thos. Trotter. 1794. (Buried in Greyfriars.)
 Capt. Watson. 1794.
 Mrs Waugh. 1796.
 Lieut.-Col. Gilbert Waugh. 1797.
 Thos. Wight. 1786.
 Mrs Wilkie. 1774.
 Alex. Williamson. 1777.
 Edward Witts. 1794.
 Capt. John Wood of Cramond. 1775.

MARGARET TAIT.

INDEX

- Abbotsford Park, 194, 201.
 Abercrombie, Dr. John, 29.
 Adam, Dr. Alexander, Rector of High School, 109, 113, 133.
 Admiral Terrace, 198.
 Advocate's Close, 120, 136, 137, 139.
 Allison, John, teacher, 113.
 Ainslie, Mrs., teacher, 113.
 — Place, 137.
 Aitken, Mr., teacher of singing, 114.
 Albemarle, William Keppel, 2nd Earl of, 132.
 Albert Hall, Shandwick Place, 209.
 — Terrace, 194, 201, 203.
 Aldinstone, David, Session-Clerk of South Leith parish church, 12, 13, 14, 20-1.
 Aldridge, Mr., teacher of dancing, 114.
 Alexander and Bucephalus, statue at City Chambers of, 200.
 Alexander, James, writing master, 114.
 — William, Lord Provost, 82.
 Alison, Alexander, writer, 223.
 Allan, William, teacher, 114.
 Alness, Robert Munro, Lord, Lord Justice Clerk, 197.
 Alvanley, Lord, 196.
 — Terrace, 196.
 Anchor Close, 114, 120, 134, 137, 153.
 Ancrum's Regiment: *see* South Wales Borderers.
 Anderson, David, Examiner of Customs, 223.
 — Edward, teacher, 114.
 — Reverend George, teacher, 114.
 — James, High School master, 114.
 — James, Master of S.S.P.C.K. Charity Working School, 115.
 — James, private teacher, 114.
 — John, teacher, 115.
 — William, teacher, 115.
 — Miss, teacher, 115.
 — Mr., 94.
 — Mrs., teacher, 115.
 Angier, Charles, teacher of elocution, 115.
 Ann Street, 186.
 Anson, Commodore George, 154.
 Antonius, Henry, wright, 42.
 — John, son of above, wright, 42.
 Arbuthnot, George, teacher, 115.
 Archdeacon, Miss, teacher of sewing, 115.
 Archibald, Francis, teacher, 115.
 — Thomas, teacher, 115.
 Argyll, Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl and 1st Marquis of, 10.
 — Square, 131.
 Armed Associations, 158.
 Armstrong, —, 98.
 Arnistom, Lady, 223.
 Arnot, Hugo, 50 and n.
 Arnous, Peter, teacher of French, 115.
 Arran, James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of, 2 and n.
 Arroll, John, teacher, 115.
 Arthur's Land, Canongate, 114.
 — Seat, 1.
 Ashfield, Chamberlain Road, burial place of John Livingstone in garden at, 199.
 Assembly Rooms, 53.
 Association for Aiding Country Lectures, 175 and n.
 Association for the Defence of the Frith of Forth, 171-2.
 Astley-Ainslie Hospital, 202.
 Baillie Fyfe's Close, 119, 120, 122, 134, 139, 143, 150, 151, 155.
 — Grant's Close, 145.
 Baillie, Lady Grizel, 38, 39 and n.
 Baird, Patrick, teacher, 115.
 Baker, Mrs., actress and teacher, 115.
 Balcarras Street, 203.
 Balcarron, William, W.S., 223.
 Balerno, paper mills at, 188.
 Balfour, Robert, teacher, 116.
 Balfour-Melville, E.S., W.S., 187, 188.
 Ballantine, John, Ensign, Loyal Edinburgh Sperrmen, 161, 163.
 Ballantyne, James, publisher, 116.
 — John, publisher, 116.
 Ballingall, David, teacher, 116.
 Balnagown Case, 222.
 Bank House, Churchill, 202.
 Banner Place, 204.
 Baptist Church, Mormingside Road, 201.
 Barbers' Hall, 139.
 Barbour, Robert, teacher, 116.
 Barclay, James, teacher, 116.

- Barclay, The Misses, teachers, 116.
 — Church, 193, 205, 207, 216.
 — Place, 195.
 — Terrace, 206.
- Barker, Mrs., teacher, 116.
- Baron Maule's Close, 122, 135, 141.
- Barrel organs, 210-11.
- Barrell, Lieutenant-General William, 55.
- Barret, James, teacher, 116.
- Barrie, Alexander, teacher of English, 116.
 — Mrs., teacher of needlework, 116.
- Barringer's Close, 123, 137, 139, 152.
- Barrisdale : see Macdonald (or Macdonell), Archibald, of Barrisdale.
- Bartholmeus Bulwerk, 3.
- Bartlet, Alexander, teacher, 116.
- Baxter's Close, 136.
- Bayne, John, teacher, 116.
- Bayne's Land, Blackfriars' Wynd, 130.
- Beat, David, writing master, 116.
- Beatt, William, teacher, 116.
- Beattie, Mr., builder, 200.
- Beauleck, Lord George, 95.
- Beauleck's Regiment : see Nineteenth Foot, or, Princess of Wales' Own (Yorkshire) Regiment.
- Belehes, Thomas, Sheriff Clerk-Depute of Edinburgh, 60.
- Belfast Royal Institution, 179.
- Belgrave Crescent, 185.
- Bell, John, teacher, 116.
- Bell's Wynd, 135, 156.
- Benazack, Mrs., teacher, 116, 137.
- Benevent, Mr., teacher, 116.
- Bennett, Lieutenant-Colonel John, Commandant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170.
- Bernard, Mr., teacher, 117, 126.
- Biggar, Robert, 223.
- Billingsley, Mrs., teacher, 117.
- Bishop's Land, 119, 123, 125, 137, 145.
- Blackford Place, 204.
- Blackfriars' Wynd, 114, 119, 121, 122, 128, 129, 130, 135, 139, 145, 153, 154.
- Blackie, John Stuart, Professor of Greek, 193.
- Blackness Castle, repair of, 69.
- Blacky, W., teacher, 117.
- Blaikburne, Peter, merchant, 218.
- Blaikie, William, teacher, 117.
- Blair, Archibald, Town Clerk, 80, 81, 95.
 — Mr., teacher, 117.
 — Street, 132.
- Bland, General Humphrey, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, early career of, 55, 63 ; correspondence of Richard Coren with, 64-107 ; promotion to be Com-
- mander-in-Chief of Forces in Scotland of, 105.
- Bland's Dragoons : see King's Dragoon Guards.
- Blau, Robert, teacher, 117.
- Bos, Andrew, teacher, 117.
- Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland, 122, 149.
- Bonneton : see Bonnyhaugh House.
- Bonnyhaugh House, 3.
- Bonthron, James, 224.
- Borestone, The, 201-2.
- Boroughmuir School, 195, 198.
- Boroughmuirhead, 201.
- Borthwick's Close, 146.
- Boston, Mrs., teacher, 117.
- Boswell, James, 112.
- Bottarelli, F., teacher, 117.
 — Signora, actress and teacher of singing, 117.
- Bouillaud, Jean-Baptiste, Professor of Clinical Medicine, University of Paris, 179.
- Bow-head, 117.
 — Well, 137.
- Bower, David, teacher of Church music, 117.
- Bowes, George, teacher, 117.
- Brackenridge, William, teacher of mathematics, 117.
- Braid, the Briggs of, 203.
 — Hills, The, 207.
- Braidwood, Francis, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163, 169.
 — Thomas, writing master, 117.
 — William, Jr., Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163, 169.
- Bread Street, 197.
- Bridge Street, 114, 141.
- Brisbane, Mrs., teacher, 117.
- Bristo, 148.
 — Street, 120, 124, 138, 144, 151, 155.
- Broad Wynd, Leith, 7, 156.
- Brodie, Francis, cabinet-making business of, 42-50 ; furniture supplied to Mr. Ross of Pitcalnie in 1759 by, 47 and n., 48 ; election in 1775 as Deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights of, 49 ; work carried out in 1775 for the University by, 49 ; artistic taste of, 45-6 ; top floor of his house let to Mrs. Ross of Pitcalnie by, 46-7 ; death in 1782 of, 49.
 — Ludovic, father of above, 43.
 — William, ancestry of, 42-3 ; cabinet-making business of, 43-50 ; account for work carried out in 1770 for Mrs. Ross of Pitcalnie by, 49, 221-3 ; later career as wright of, 49-50 and n.

- Brodie's Close, 43, 118, 122, 222.
 — Land, Netherbow, 116.
- Brooks, Adam, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
- Brougham Place, 190.
 — Street, 205.
- Broughams, 206.
- Broughton, 2.
- Brounisfield, lands of : see Bruntsfield, lands of, 195.
- Broussais, François Joseph Victor, Professor of Pathology, University of Paris, 179.
- Brown, Charles, of Colstoun, advocate, 224.
 — George, Commissioner of Excise, 224.
 — George, teacher, 118.
 — Lieutenant James, 224.
 — John, teacher of French, 118.
 — Thomas, Professor of Moral Philosophy, 181.
 — Thomas, teacher, 118.
 — William, teacher of English, 118.
 — Lieutenant, 86.
- Brown's Close, 156.
 — Square, 119.
- Bruce, John, Professor of Logic, 49.
 — Thomas, teacher and musician, 118.
 — Mrs., teacher, 118.
- Bruntsfield, lands of, 195.
 — Church, 197, 198.
 — Gardens, 200.
 — Hotel, 197.
 — House, 196.
 — Links, 194, 195, 196, 217.
 — Links Golf Club, 195.
 — Place, 193, 195, 196-7, 200, 205, 206, 207, 209, 214, 215, 217.
 — Terrace, 199, 206.
- Brunton, Alexander, Chaplain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 164.
- Bubonic plague, history of, 8-9 ; regulations of 1644 to try to prevent entry to Leith, Newhaven and Edinburgh of, 9 and n. ; epidemic in 1645 in Edinburgh and Leith of, 8-21 and nn.
- Buccleuch, parish of, 153.
 — Place, 143.
 — Street, 130.
- Buchan, Hugh, City Chamberlain, 198.
 — Robert, teacher, 118.
 — Dr., lecturer, 118.
- Buchanan, George, 133.
 — John, of Kelly, 224.
 — Richard, teacher, 118.
- Buchanan's Court, Lawnmarket, 124, 135.
- Bull's Land, opposite Tron Church, 126.
- Burden, Mrs., actress, 118.
- Burgh Loch, 189, 190, 195.
 — Muir, 17, 194, 195, 196, 202.
- Burline, Francis, drawing master, 118.
- Burn, John, teacher of English, 118.
- Burnet's Close, 128.
- Burnett, Lieutenant-Colonel John : see Bennett, Lieutenant-Colonel John.
- Burns, Robert, 119, 122, 142, 145, 150.
- Burrell, Mr., teacher of drawing, 109, 118.
- Burton, Robert, teacher, 118.
 — William, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 169.
- Butler, T. L., teacher of piano, 118.
- Butterworth, Edmond, writing master, 118, 140, 146.
- Byere Mownt, 3.
- Cabinet makers, statistics in late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century of, 51.
- Calder, William, Lord Provost, 198.
- Callander, Lieutenant-Colonel George, Inspecting Field Officer of the Edinburgh District, 164.
- Calton, 115, 117, 141, 147, 152.
 — Hill, 1, 6, 155.
- Cambridge Terrace, proposed construction of, 185, 186-7.
- Cameron, Alexander, of Genevis, imprisonment in Castle of, 96, 97, 98.
 — Angus, of Rannoch, brother of above, imprisonment in Castle of, 96, 97, 98.
 — Dr. Archibald, imprisonment in Castle of, 91-2, 94, 97.
 — John, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 — John, of Fassifern, imprisonment in Castle of, 96, 97, 98.
 — John, of Lochiel, father of above, 97, 98.
 — Sergeant More, 95.
- Campbell, Alexander, teacher of music, 109, 119.
 — Archibald, 96.
 — Archibald, advocate, 224.
 — George, teacher of mathematics, 119.
 — Sir Hugh, of Cawdor, 36-7 and n.
 — James, 96.
 — John, teacher, 119.
 — Colonel John, of Fonab, Receiver General of Customs, 224.
 — Lauchlan, teacher of writing, 119.
 — Robert, teacher, 119.
 — General, 224.
 — Mrs., teacher, 119.
- Cana Mylles : see Canon Mills.
- Canaan, lands of, 203-4.
 — Lane, 204.

- Canaan, Lodge, 204.
 Canon Mills, 2.
 Canongate, 6, 20, 131, 132, 138, 142, 143, 147, 148, 153, 154, 155.
 — Church, 114.
 — English School, 155.
 — Grammar School: *see* Canongate High School.
 — High School, 109-10, 115, 119, 122, 124, 133, 145, 146, 148, 154.
 Cant's Close, 116, 133, 138, 140, 143, 144.
 Capell, Captain, 2.
 Cappone, Johan Carl de, 123.
 Cargill, David, teacher, 119.
 Carlyle, Dr. Alexander, 136.
 Carmichael, Andrew, 183 n.
 — Mrs., 224.
 Carr, Mrs., teacher, 119.
 Carrubber's Close, 44, 116, 118, 120, 123, 126, 127, 134, 139, 141, 145, 147, 153.
 Carruthers, W., teacher, 119.
 Castles, Miss, teacher of sewing, 119, 139.
 Castlehill, 28, 115, 135, 143; creation in 1752-3 of the Castle esplanade on, 70, 71-2, 76, 80-2, 87, 91, 95, 98.
 Caulfield, Major William, road-making programme in Scotland of, 73 and n.
 Cauvin, Louis, teacher of French, 119.
 — Louis (Jun.), teacher of French, 119.
 Cauvin's Hospital, 120.
 Cawdor, 37.
 Central Hall, Tollerross, 190.
 Chalmers, Reverend Dr. Thomas, 201.
 — Mr., agent of the National Commercial Bank of Scotland, 209.
 — Mrs., wife of above, 209.
 Chalmers' Close, 120, 124, 126, 149.
 Chamberlain Road, 199, 200, 206, 211.
 Chambers' Close, 124.
 Chapman, R., teacher, 120.
 Charity School, 128, 130, 136, 144, 153.
 — School, Blackfriars' Wynd, 139.
 — School, in west of Edinburgh, 126.
 — School, Niddry's Wynd, 127.
 — Workhouse, 131.
 — Working School, 135, 141.
 — Working School of S.P.C.K., 115.
 Charles Street, 226.
 Charlott Square, 51.
 — Street, 17.
 Charteris, Very Reverend Professor Archibald Hamilton, 200.
 — Charles, actor and teacher of pronunciation, 120.
 Chemical industry, foundation in 1770 at Tipperlinn of, 203.
 Chessels Buildings, Canongate, 131.
 Cheyn's Close, Leith, 140.
 Cholera, history and characteristics of, 21-2; epidemic in 1832 in Edinburgh of, 22-31 and nn.; epidemic in 1832 in Leith of, 31.
 Christ Church, Colinton Road, 201.
 Christian, Alexander, teacher, 120.
 Christison, Alexander, Professor of Humanity, 120.
 — John, teacher, 120.
 — Sir Robert, Professor of Forensic Medicine, 22 and n., 24, 182 n.
 Christopher, Dr., 224.
 Churchill, Lieutenant-General George, Commander-in-Chief of Forces in Scotland, 59 and n., 77, 80, 83 and n, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 98, 99, 103, 105.
 Churchill, 199, 201, 204, 205.
 City Guard House, 122, 126, 144, 152.
 — Hospital, Colinton Mains, opening of, 199.
 Clam Shell Turnpike, 115, 126, 127, 156.
 Clark, George, teacher, 120.
 — James, advocate, 224.
 — Richard & Son, chair-makers, 52-3.
 — William, chair-maker, 52.
 — Mrs., 224.
 Clarke, Stephen, teacher of music, 120.
 Cleeve, Reverend Mr., teacher of English, 120.
 Cleland, Elizabeth, teacher of cookery, 120.
 — Lieutenant, 86, 88.
 Clerk, Miss, of Bonnington, 224.
 Clinton Road, 201, 202, 205.
 Clockmaker's Land, 40.
 Cloaks, grandfather, marquetry cases made in Edinburgh for, 39-40 and nn.
 Cochrane, James, writer, 224.
 Cochran, Peter, 14.
 Cockayne, Mr., 46.
 Cockburn, Henry Thomas, Lord, 35, 113, 120, 152.
 — James Maxwell, teacher, 120.
 — John, teacher of English, 120.
 — John, writer, 224.
 — Thomas, of Rowchester, W.S., Deputy Keeper of the Great Seal, 224.
 — Mrs., 224.
 Colinton Mains, 199.
 — Road, 194, 201, 206, 207, 209.
 College: *see* University of Edinburgh.
 — Wynd, 51, 113, 126, 133, 136, 139, 140, 142, 153.
 Collins, Captain Greenville, map of Leith prepared in 1689 by, 7.
 Colonel Holmes' Regiment: *see* Thirty-First Regiment of Foot, or, East Surrey Regiment.

- Colonel Rich's Regiment: *see* Fourth Foot, or, King's Own Regiment.
 Colquhoun, Humphry, 224.
 Colvill, James, teacher, 120.
 Comb, Thomas, golf club maker, 195.
 Combe, Andrew, 177, 181n, 182 n.
 — George, candidature in 1836 for the Chair of Logic at the University of Edinburgh of, 174-84; philosophical doctrines of, 174-5; religious beliefs of, 177-8, 183-4; reputation of, 178-9; relationship with Sir William Hamilton of, 181-2.
 Combs, Nisbet, 224.
 Comiston, springs at, 102.
 Com'on Myles, 2.
 Congregational Church, Chamberlain Road, 201.
 Conway, Captain, 2.
 Cook, Robert, teacher of navigation, 121.
 Cooke, Bessie, 19.
 — John Henry, circus owner, 215.
 Coomans, Mr., teacher of French, 121.
 Cooper, Arthur, teacher, 121.
 Coren, Richard, Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle (1748-62), early career of, 54-5 and nn.; difficulties of situation as Lieutenant-Governor of, 55-7; extracts from letter-book of, 57-105; appointment as member of Commission of Peace of, 87; death of, 107.
 Corri, Domenico, teacher of singing, 121.
 — Signora, singer and teacher of drawing, 121.
 Corstorphine, 168, 204.
 Cossar, Walter, teacher, 121.
 Coulter, William, Lord Provost, 204.
 Couper, John, teacher, 121.
 Court of Session, effect of plague of 1645 on, 11.
 Coutts, John, teacher, 121.
 Covenant Close, 115, 140, 142, 143, 147, 152, 153.
 "Covent Garden," fruit shop in Leven Lodge, 192.
 Cowfeeders' Row: *see* High Riggs.
 Cowgate, 43, 125, 129, 132, 133, 138, 145, 148.
 Cragge Ingalt: *see* Calton Hill.
 Craig, James, teacher, 121.
 — John, teacher, 121.
 Craighend, 21.
 Craigie, Dr. David, 22 and n.
 Craiglockhart Poorhouse, 213.
 Craig's Close, 149.
 Cramond, parish school of, 110.
 Crampton, Hon. Judge, Professor of Law, Trinity College, Dublin, 179.
 Cranston, James, teacher, 121.
 Craven, Captain, 92.
 Crawford, Hugh, teacher, 121.
 — Robert, teacher, 121.
 Creech, William, teacher, 121.
 Crichton Street, 130, 150, 224, 226.
 Crieir, James, teacher, 121.
 Crookshanks, Andrew, teacher, 121.
 Cross: *see* Mercat Cross.
 Cruickshank, Reverend David, teacher, 121.
 — Jenny, 122.
 — William, teacher, 122.
 Cullen, William, Professor of Medicine and of Physiology, 115.
 Cumberland, William Augustus, His Royal Highness, Duke of, 57, 59, 62, 63, 65, 83-4, 86, 87, 88, 95, 100.
 Cuming, Mrs., teacher, 122.
 Cumming, Alexander, teacher, 122.
 Cunningham, Mrs., of Enterkin, 224.
 Currie, 19.
 — Mrs., 224.
 Dalhousie, Countess of, 224.
 Dalkeith Grammar School, 116, 138.
 — Road, 195.
 Dalrymple, Mrs. John, 224.
 Dalziel, Andrew, Professor of Greek, 49.
 Dalziel, Robert, advocate, 224.
 Danielstoun, James, goldsmith, 218.
 Darling, Elissa, teacher, 122.
 — Robert, teacher, 122.
 D'Asti, Alexander, teacher, 122.
 David I, lands given to Edinburgh by, 194-5, 202.
 Davidson, James, teacher, 122.
 — William, teacher, 122.
 — William, of Muirhouse, 40 and n.
 — Lord, of Lambeth, 40 n.
 Davie, Miss, teacher of sewing, 122.
 Davies, Mr., actor, 122.
 Deaconess Hospital, 200.
 Dean, lands of, 185.
 — Bridge, 185.
 — Gardens, construction of, 185-8.
 — Village, 2.
 Dedreux, Mrs., teacher of French, 122.
 De'enne: *see* Dean Village.
 De la Chapelle, Madame, teacher of French, 122.
 — Monsieur, teacher of French, 122.
 De la Cour, Mr., teacher of drawing, 122.
 Demainbray, Stephen, teacher, 123.
 — Mrs., teacher, 123.
 De Ville, Monsieur, teacher of French, 123.
 Dewar, James, teacher, 123.
 — Mr., teacher, 123.

- Dick, Elizabeth, teacher, 123.
 — Robert, Professor of Civil Law, 224.
 — William, Professor of Veterinary Surgery, Royal Highland Society, 183 and n.
 Dickeson, John, of Potterrow, 18.
 Dickson, Mrs., 224.
 Dickson, John, teacher of book-keeping, 123.
 — W., teacher, 123.
 Dickson's Close, 123, 124, 133, 137, 145.
 Dinwiddie, Mr., lecturer, 123.
 Dix, Dr. John H., 180.
 Dodd, Mrs., teacher of sewing, 123.
 Doig, David, teacher, 123.
 Donaldson, Mr., teacher of drawing, 123.
 Don's Close, Luckenbooths, 147.
 Doo Loan : see Albert Terrace.
 Douglas, George, teacher of mathematics, 123.
 — Cause : see Douglas Peorage Case.
 — Peorage Case, 147.
 Dowie, Robert, teacher, 123.
 Dragoon Guards : see King's Dragoon Guards.
 Dreghorn, John MacLaurin, Lord, 225.
 Drumdryan, lands of, 189, 190.
 — House, built c. 1735, 191-2.
 — House, built in 1774, 192.
 Drummond, Alexander, teacher of French, 123.
 — Edward, teacher of French, 124.
 — Gavin, teacher, 124.
 — George, Lord Provost, 37 and n., 70, 71, 80, 81-2, 98, 100.
 — James, Professor of Anatomy and Botany, Belfast Royal Institution, 179.
 — James, of Perth, 224.
 — James Macgregor : see Macgregor *alias* Drummond, James.
 — John, teacher of book-keeping, 124.
 — John, teacher of English, 124.
 — Katharine, teacher, 124.
 — Mrs., teacher of English, 124.
 — Street, 28, 131.
 Drummond's Land, Blackfriars' Wynd, 154.
 Drumslech Forest, 194.
 Dryden, Adam, teacher, 124.
 Drysdale, Mr., teacher, 124.
 Duddingston, parish school of, 110.
 Duff, Lauchlan : see Gordon, Lauchlan
 Duff, of Park, W.S.
 — Mrs., 224.
 Dufresne, Monsieur, teacher of French, 124.
 Duguid, Mr., teacher of Italian, 124.
 Dumfries Academy, 119.
 Dunbar, Mr., teacher of Church music, 124.
 — Mrs., teacher, 124.
 Dunbar's Close, 148.
 Duncan, John, teacher, 124.
 Dundas, Robert, Major, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 162, 163, 168.
 Dundee Grammar School, 155.
 Duning, Alexander, teacher, 124.
 Dunlop, George, W.S., 166.
 Dunsmure, John, teacher, 124.
 Dyce, William, teacher, 125.
 Eales, Richard, teacher of Church music, 125.
 Earl Grey Street, 189, 190.
 East Morningside, lands of, 201, 202.
 — Morningside, mansionhouse of, 202.
 — Register Street, 115.
 Edinbroughs Park, 1.
 Edinburgh, sketch in 1544 of Leith and, 5 and n.; meeting in 1636 of Dean of Guild Court of, 218-21; regulations of 1644 to try to prevent entry of bubonic plague to Leith, Newhaven and, 9 and n.; bubonic plague of 1645 in, 8-12, 17-18, 19-20 and nn.; share by act of 1693 of proceeds of beer-tax to be used to improve water-supply of, 65; supply of water in mid-eighteenth century to, 102 and n.; eighteenth-century improvements to, 70; educational system of eighteenth century in, 108-12; list of teachers of eighteenth century in, 108-157; furniture-makers in, 32-53; creation of the New Town of, 33-4; the furnishing of the houses of the New Town of, 32-3, 34-5; formation in 1803 of Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen in, 159-160; report in 1805 of Superintendent of Police on powers of police in, 167-8; epidemic of cholera in 1832 in, 22-31 and nn.; funerals in late nineteenth century in, 214; street scenes in late nineteenth century in, 209-17.
 — Academy, 207.
 — Castle, 1, 5 and n., 168; extracts (1751-3) from letter-book of Lieutenant-Governor of, 57-105; eighteenth-century disputes about the position as sanctuary of, 57-62; disputed exemption in eighteenth century from Edinburgh beer-tax of, 62-7; office of sutler in 1752 at, 65, 66; accommodation in 1752-3 of sutler of, 69, 72, 79, 91; provision in 1752-3 of heating and lighting for garrison of, 65, 66, 90-1, 99; state in 1752 of garrison of, 67-8; repair, maintenance and building work

- in 1752-3 at, 69-72, 79, 91, 96, 97, 99, 104, 106 and n.; creation in 1752-3 of esplanade at, 70, 71-2, 76, 80-2, 87, 91, 95, 98; use in 1752 for the troops engaged on road-making in the Highlands as winter barracks of, 72, 73 and n., 76-7; use in 1752-3 as prison of, 72, 73, 74-6, 82-3, 84-5, 86, 91-4, 95-6, 97, 98, 99-100, 101, 103, 106; re-arrangement in 1752 of accommodation for officers in, 76-8; malpractices in 1752 with regard to pay of garrison of, 78-9; problem in 1752-3 of supply of water to, 79, 85-6, 87-8, 89-90, 91, 96, 99, 100-1, 102, 104-5, 106-7; escape in 1752 of James Macgregor Drummond from, 82-7; security arrangements in 1752-3 at, 84-5, 100.
 Edinburgh Phrenological Society, 176.
 — Reform Committee, 179.
 — Royal Society : see Royal Society of Edinburgh.
 — Savings Bank, Bruntsfield, 199.
 — University : see University of Edinburgh.
 — Upholstery, Joiner and Mirror Glass Company, advertisement in 1754 by, 44-5.
 Edington, David, teacher, 125.
 Edlin, Edward, Baron of the Exchequer, 103.
 Edmonstone, Lady, 224.
 Elder, Thomas, of Forneth, Lord Provost, 127.
 Eleventh Regiment of Dragoons, 56.
 Elliottson, Dr. John, 179.
 Ellis, Sir W. C., physician to the Lunatic Asylum, County of Middlesex, 179.
 Elphinston, James, lecturer, 125.
 Elphinstone, Lady, 224.
 English schools, 111.
 Errol, Isabella, Countess of, 134.
 Erskine, David, teacher of drawing, 125.
 — Mary, 110.
 Esplin, Mary, teacher, 125.
 — Place, 204.
 Estenbrogh Gate, 3.
 Eton Terrace, 185, 187.
 Evanson, Richard Tonson, Professor of the Practice of Physic, Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland, 179.
 Ewing, Alexander, teacher, 125.
 — Alexander (Jun.), son of above, teacher, 125.
 — James, teacher, 125.
 Fairholme, George, City Chamberlain, 199.
 Fairmilehead, 201, 203.
 Falcon Place, 204.
 Falconar, Alexander, merchant, 204.
 Falconhall, mansion house of, 204.
 Falkirk, battle of, 1745, 140.
 Farmer, James, teacher of writing, 125.
 Farquhar, George, 224.
 — Robert, teacher, 125.
 Farquharson, Alexander, teacher, 125.
 — James, Major, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 164, 168.
 — William, Surgeon, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 164.
 Ferdinand, Mrs., teacher of English, 125.
 Fergus, Mrs., teacher, 126.
 Ferguson, Robert, M.P., 180 nn.
 — William, teacher of languages, 126.
 Fergusson, Hary, teacher of fencing, 126.
 — Robert, poet, 121, 126, 127, 129, 139, 152, 156.
 Ferquhure, Eduard, merchant, 218.
 Fettes, Sir William, Bt., Lord Provost, 167, 170-1.
 — College, 207.
 Fever Hospital : see City Hospital.
 Fife, Mrs., teacher of sewing, 126.
 Findlater, Alexander, teacher, 126.
 Finlater, John, teacher, 126.
 Firenze, Villa in Bruntsfield Place called, 196-7.
 Fisher, James, teacher, 126.
 — R., teacher, 126.
 Fisher's Close, Lawnmarket, 148.
 Fishwives, 211-12.
 Fleshmarket Close, 127.
 Flint, David, Dean of Guild, 81.
 Flodden, battle of, 202.
 Forbes, Isabel, teacher, 126.
 — Sir William, of Pitaligo, 200, 201.
 — Mr., teacher, 117, 126.
 — Mrs., teacher, 126.
 — Mrs., of Waterton, 224.
 — Road, 200.
 Forrest, John, teacher, 126.
 — Road, 189.
 Forrester's Wynd, 115, 130, 134, 144, 146, 150, 153.
 Fotheringham, Thomas, of Powrie, 224.
 Foulis, Sir John, of Ravelston, 37 and nn., 38 and nn., 40.
 — Close, 119.
 Fountain Close, 117, 123, 131, 140.
 — Well, Netherbow, 128.
 Fountainbridge, 28, 189, 193, 208, 215.
 Fountainhall, Lord, 36 and n.
 Fourth Foot, or, King's Own Regiment, 55 and n., 59, 68.
 Foy, James, teacher of writing, 126.
 Fraser, Catherine : see Smith, Catherine.

- Fraser, James, of Gortulleg, W.S., 224.
 — John, teacher, 127.
 — Luke, teacher, 108, 109, 127.
 Fraternity House, Leith, 141.
 Frazer, Alexander, teacher, 127.
 — Robert, barber and wigmaker, 154.
 — Mrs., teacher of cookery, 127.
 Frederick Street, 137.
 Free School, 120.
 Freebairn, James, teacher of French, 127.
 French, James, teacher, 108, 127.
 Fulton, George, teacher, 127, 131.
 Funerals, in Edinburgh in late nineteenth century, 214.
 Furniture-makers of Edinburgh, 32-53.
 Fyres, Thomas, 224.
 Fyfe, Alexander, teacher of drawing and music, 127.
 — John, teacher of music, 127.
 — Mrs., teacher, 127.
 Gairdner, Andrew, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen: *see* Gardner, Andrew.
 Gall, Franz Joseph, 181 n.
 Galloway's Close, 144.
 Garden, Mr., teacher, 128.
 Gardner, Alexander, teacher of Church music, 128.
 — Andrew, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163, 169.
 — James, teacher, 128.
 — Mr., 64, 65, 69, 72, 76, 90, 94, 95, 98, 103.
 — Mrs., teacher, 128.
 Gartly, 144.
 Gascoigne, Charles, 224.
 Gedd, The Misses, 128.
 Geddes, David, Excise, 240.
 — Janet, teacher, 128, 140.
 Geiloch, W., teacher, 128.
 General Bland's Dragoons: *see* King's Dragoon Guards.
 — Johnston's Regiment: *see* Johnston's Regiment.
 — Mordaunt's Dragoons: *see* Tenth Dragoons (Prince of Wales' Own Hussars).
 — Seymour's Regiment: *see* Fourth Foot, or King's Own Regiment.
 — Skelton's Regiment: *see* Twelfth Foot, or Suffolk Regiment.
 Gentleman, Francis, actor and teacher of elocution, 128.
 Geographical Institute, Duncan Street, 204.
 George Square, 130, 150; list of inhabitants in 1773-98 not assigned to particular houses, 223-6.
 George Street, 118, 139.
 Giant's Brae, 7.
 Gibb, James, teacher, 128.
 Gibson, John, teacher of drawing, 128.
 — John, teacher in Heriot's Hospital, 128.
 — Mrs., teacher, 128.
 Gifford's Park, 143.
 Gilchrist, John, teacher, 129.
 Gillespie, James, snuff and tobacco merchant, 194.
 — Crescent, 215.
 Gillespie's Hospital, 194.
 — School for Girls, 194, 195, 196.
 Gillsland Park School, 195.
 — Road, 206.
 Gilmore, John, teacher of writing, 129.
 Gilmore, William, ropemaker, 191.
 — Place, 191, 193, 194, 205, 206.
 Gilmuir, Margaret, 13.
 Gilson, Cornforth, teacher of music, 129.
 Girvan, Thomas, teacher, 129.
 Gladstane, James, teacher, 129.
 — Thomas, 129.
 Gladstones, Thomas, of Leith, grand-father of W. E. Gladstone, 203.
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 129, 203.
 Glasgow, Countess of, 225.
 Glendinning, Simon, teacher, 129.
 Glengyle Lodge, 197.
 — Terrace, 192, 193, 205.
 Godskirk, Robert, teacher of writing, 129, 133.
 Goldie, John, teacher, 129.
 Goldsmiths, in Edinburgh in seventeenth century, 218-21.
 Golfhall, 195.
 Gones, John: *see* Jones, John.
 Goodall, John, Professor of Hebrew, 129.
 Good's Land, College Wynd, 142.
 Gordon, Mrs. Betty, 43-4.
 — Lauchlan Duff, of Park, W.S., 224.
 — Thomas, clockmaker, 40 and nn.
 — William, teacher, 129.
 — Mrs., teacher of sewing, 129.
 Gorgie, 191.
 Gosford's Close, Lawnmarket, 114, 120.
 Govan, William, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 169.
 Gow, Peter, teacher, 130.
 Grafton Restaurant, Tolleross, 191.
 Graham, Hugh, teacher, 130.
 — James, son of above, teacher, 130.
 — Brigadier-General Samuel, 164, 170.
 — Mrs., teacher, 130.
 Grainger, William, teacher of writing, 130.
 Grandpré, John, teacher of French, 130.
 Grange Loan, 202.

- Grange Road, 205.
 Grant, David, teacher, 130.
 — William, 225.
 — William, of Prestongrange, Lord Advocate, 64 and n., 103, 104.
 — The Misses, teachers, 130.
 — Reverend Mr., teacher, 130.
 Granton, 2.
 Grassmarket, 116, 189, 214.
 Gray, John, teacher, 130.
 — Mr., teacher, 130.
 Gray's Close, Cowgate, 132, 149.
 Greenhill, lands of, 199, 200, 201.
 — mansionhouse of, 199, 200.
 — Gardens, 200, 206.
 Greenlees, Mrs., teacher, 130.
 Greenside Place, 51.
 Gregory, Dr. James, Professor of Medicine, 204.
 — John Mack, teacher, 130.
 Greig, J., teacher of English, 130.
 Grey of Wilton, William Grey, 14th Lord, 2 and n.
 Greyfriars Churchyard, 20, 117, 223, 225, 226.
 Grieve, John, Ensign, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 Griffith, Gunner, 77.
 Grindlay, Miss, teacher, 130, 141.
 Guard: *see* City Guard House.
 Guest, Lieutenant-General Joshua, Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 55.
 Gullan, William, teacher, 131.
 Guthrie, James, skinner, 218.
 Hadderton, Mr., 68, 91.
 Haddington, epidemic of cholera in 1832 in, 21, 29.
 Haig, William, teacher, 131.
 Hailes Street, 194.
 Halbertson, John, teacher, 131.
 Haldane, James, 225.
 — William, teacher, 131.
 Haliburton, William, teacher, 131.
 Halker, Miss, teacher, 131.
 Halkerston's Wynd, 129, 130, 149, 151.
 Hall, Miss, teacher of French, 131.
 Hallyburton, Hon. D. G., M.P. for Forfarshire, 179.
 Halywell, William, teacher, 131.
 Hamilton, Daniel, of Gilkerscleuch, W.S., 225.
 — James, 225.
 — James Hamilton, 6th Duke of, 77.
 — John, teacher of English, 131.
 — Robert, advocate, 225.
 — Mrs. Sarah, actress, 131.
 Hamilton, Thomas, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 — William, teacher of book-keeping, 131.
 — Sir William, Professor of Logic, 174; relationship of George Combe and, 181-182; election to Chair of Logic of, 183; philosophical reputation of, 183-4.
 — Mrs., teacher, 131.
 Hammermen's Close, Canongate, 148.
 — Land, Cowgate, 138.
 Hand and Pen, The, 125.
 Hanking, John, 96.
 Hardasty, Captain, 101.
 Hardie, Mr., teacher, 132.
 Harvard University, 180.
 Harvie, Helen, teacher, 132.
 Hastie, Mr., teacher, 132.
 Hautbois, Mr., teacher of cookery, 132.
 Hawkesbury, Lord: *see* Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of.
 Hawkhill, 6.
 Hawthorne, Vans, of Changue and Garthland, W.S., 225.
 Hay, Alexander, 14.
 — William, teacher, 132.
 — Mrs., of Lawfield, 225.
 — Mrs., of Spott, 225.
 Henderson, John, teacher, 132.
 — Lady, 225.
 — Miss, teacher of sewing, 132.
 Henderson's Stairs, 124, 151.
 Hendry, Mrs., teacher, 132.
 Hepburn, John, teacher, 132.
 — P., teacher, 132.
 Heriot, Alexander, teacher of book-keeping, 132.
 — Thomas, teacher, 132.
 Heriot's Green, 165, 166.
 — Hospital, 110, 111, 114, 116, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 144, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156.
 Hermitage, 6.
 — of Braid, 205.
 Heron, Patrick, of Heron, 225.
 — Miss, teacher, 132.
 Herries, Reverend John, lecturer on elocution, 132.
 High Riggs, 189.
 — School, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 148, 151, 152, 154, 156.
 — School Wynd, 132.
 — Street, 134, 137.

- Hill, John, Professor of Humanity, 49.
 His Royal Highness: *see* Cumberland, William Augustus, His Royal Highness Duke of.
 Hog, Thomas, of Newliston, 52.
 Hogg, James, teacher of English, 132.
 — Mrs., teacher, 133.
 Holmes, Colonel Henry, 98, 100, 103, 104, 105.
 Holmes' Regiment: *see* Thirty-First Regiment of Foot, or, East Surrey Regiment.
 Holy Trinity Church, 185.
 Holyrood Abbey, 6.
 Holyroodhouse, 1, 6, 59, 202; exemption in eighteenth century from Edinburgh beer-tax of, 64, 65, 66.
 Home, George, of Paxton, 35.
 — Mrs., 225.
 — Mrs., teacher, 133.
 Home-Rig, family of, 190.
 Home Street, 190, 191, 208.
 Home's Close, Cowgate, 133.
 Hope, Archibald, Secretary of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 225.
 — Sir Archibald, of Craighall, 225.
 — Dr., 166.
 — Park Terrace, 206.
 — Terrace, 205.
 Hopefield, Chamberlain Road, 200.
 Horn's Land, Princes Street, 129.
 Horse buses, route along Melville Drive of, 206.
 — cabs, 206, 207.
 — Wynd, 115, 116, 125, 139, 142, 146.
 Howe, Samuel G., 180.
 — Mrs., teacher, 133.
 Hoyland, Mrs., teacher, 133.
 Hughes, Hugh, comedian, 133.
 Hume, James, teacher of writing, 129, 133.
 Humfrey, William, teacher, 133, 139.
 Hunter, John, teacher, 133.
 — Dr. Robert, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, Andersonian University, Glasgow, 179.
 — Robert, Professor of Greek, 133.
 Imrie, Andrew, teacher, 133.
 Inaerlythe: *see* Inverleith.
 Incorporation of Cordiners of the Canon-gate, 20 and n.
 — of Hammermen, 41.
 — of Wrights, 42, 49.
 Inglis, J., Rector of Canongate High School, 133.
 Ingram, Alexander, teacher, 133.
 Innes, Alexander, W.S., 225.
 — John, teacher, 134.
 Innes, John, W.S., 225.
 — Marjory, teacher, 134.
 — Dr., teacher, 134.
 Inverleith, 2.
 Inverlochy, defeat of Argyle by Montrose in 1645 at, 10.
 Irvine, George, teacher, 134.
 — John, teacher, 134.
 Jack, Richard, teacher of mathematics, 134.
 — Miss, teacher, 134.
 Jack's Land, Canongate, 138, 155.
 Jackson, Charles d'Orville Pilkington, sculptor, 198.
 — Mary, teacher, 134.
 — Mrs., teacher, 134.
 Jackson's Close, 149.
 James IV, 202.
 James' Court, Lawnmarket, 115, 130, 137, 138, 147.
 Jameson, Edward, teacher, 134.
 — Mrs., teacher, 134.
 Jeffrey, Francis, Lord, 120, 178, 183 and n., 184 and n.
 Jenkins, John, teacher, 135.
 Jenkinson's Ltd., glass and china merchants, 212.
 Joass, Major, Fort Major, Stirling Castle, 225.
 Johnston, Charles, teacher of English, 135.
 — James, physician extraordinary to the King, 179.
 — James, teacher of writing, 135, 144.
 — Johannes, musical instrument made in Edinburgh by, 50.
 — John, master of Charity Working School, 135.
 — John, teacher of English, 135.
 — William, teacher of English, 135.
 — Mrs., teacher of French, 135.
 Johnston's Regiment, 100, 103.
 Johnstone, Andrew, teacher, 135.
 — John (Jun.), teacher, 135.
 — Walter, teacher, 135.
 — Mrs., teacher of cookery, 135.
 Jones, John, imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle in 1752-3 of, 94, 96.
 — Mr., teacher of dancing, 146.
 Jordan Lane, 204.
 Jordanburn: *see* Pow Burn.
 Kay, Jean, 83.
 Keith, Archibald, teacher, 135.
 Kelso, 18, 36.
 — Grammar School, 114.
 Keltie, Miss, teacher, 135.

- Kemp, Mrs., teacher of sewing, 136.
 Kennedy's Close, 156.
 Ker, Guillaume, teacher of French, 136.
 — John, Professor of Humanity, 136.
 — John, teacher of writing, 136.
 Kerr, General Lord Mark, Governor of Edinburgh Castle (1745-52), 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, 64, 68.
 Kew, 123.
 Kilgraston Road, 205.
 Killeith, 19.
 King, William, teacher, 136.
 King James's Hospital, Leith, 13, 110.
 King's College, Aberdeen, 123, 136.
 — Dragon Guards, 63, 76, 103.
 — Own Royal Border Regiment, 73.
 — Park, 17.
 — Theatre, 191, 192.
 — Wark, Leith, 7.
 Kinloch, Lieutenant David, of Conland, 77; bankruptcy of, 57-8, 60, 61.
 — Mr., 96.
 Kinloch's Close, 145, 150, 153.
 Kirk, Reverend John, 200.
 — Reverend John, son of above, minister of Evangelical Union Church at Gergie, 200.
 — Mrs., mother of above, author of "Tried Favourites" cookery book, 200.
 Kirkbraehead, 135.
 Kirkgate, Leith, 7, 130, 133, 138.
 Kirkwood, Adam, 218 n.
 — Gilbert, of Pilrig, goldsmith, 218 and n., 219-21.
 — James, teacher of Latin, 136.
 — Thomas, goldsmith, 218 and n., 219-21.
 — Thomas, teacher, 136.
 Kitchen, William, teacher, 136.
 Knife grinder, 212.
 Knight, Andrew, teacher, 127.
 Knipe, Reverend Rest, teacher, 136.
 Knox, Robert, teacher, 136.
 — William, teacher, 136.
 Koch, Dr. Robert, 22.
 Lady Fyfe's Brae, 7.
 — Stair's Close, 123.
 — Yeater's Church, repair in 1680s of, 41 and n.
 La Hersie, Mr., dancing master, 136, 137.
 Laidlaw, William, teacher, 137.
 Laidley, Archibald, teacher, 137.
 Laime, Francis, teacher of drawing, 137.
 Laing, Alexander, teacher, 137.
 — William, teacher, 137.
 Lamb, Mr., 96.
 La Motte, Mr., dancing master, 137.
 Lang, Reverend Dr. Cosmo Gordon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 202.
 La Tour, Fantin, teacher of French, 137.
 — Madame Fantin, teacher of harpsichord, 137.
 Latta, Dr. Thomas Aitchison, 31.
 Lauchlan, Robert, teacher of mathematics, 137.
 Lauder, Sir John: *see* Fountainhall, Lord.
 Laurie, John, teacher of mathematics, 137.
 — Robert, teacher, 137.
 — Mr., teacher of dancing, 137.
 Lauriston, 189.
 — Gardens, 189.
 — Place, 189.
 Lawnmarket, 43, 45, 114, 124, 128, 130, 135, 137, 148.
 Lawrie, Alexander, Second Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Sparmen, 169.
 — Mr., 189.
 — Mr., teacher, 137.
 Lawson, William, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Sparmen, 169.
 Leamington Spa, 197.
 — Terrace, 196, 197, 198, 205, 215.
 Learmonth, John, of Dean, Lord Provost, 23, 185.
 — Colonel, son of above, 185, 186, 187.
 Leblanc, Madame, teacher, 116, 137.
 Le Brun, Mr., teacher of French, 138.
 Lee, Major, 62.
 Leechman, John, teacher of English, 108, 138.
 Leekie, Sir Francis, 2.
 Lees, John, Rector of High School, 138.
 Legonier, Sir John: *see* Ligonier, John, Fieldmarshal Earl.
 Leith, 113, 119, 122, 123, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156; map of siege in 1560 of, 1-7; sketch in 1544 of Edinburgh and, 5 and n.; shore of, 7; regulations of 1644 to try to prevent entry of bubonic plague to Newhaven, Edinburgh and, 9 and n.; bubonic plague of 1645 in, 12-21 and n.; share by act of 1693 of proceeds of Edinburgh beer-tax to be used to improve harbour of, 65; epidemic of cholera in 1832 in, 31.
 — Links, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20.
 — Mills, 4.
 — Street, 153.
 — Terrace, 124.
 — Tolbooth, 13.
 — Walk, 52.
 Leiverman, Bartilmew, 218.

- Lennox Street, 185.
 Le Picq, Antony, dancing master, 138.
 — Charles, dancing master, 138.
 — Mrs., teacher of French, 138.
 Leslie : *see* Leven, Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of.
 — William, W.S., 25.
 Leven, Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of, 9.
 — Earl of : *see* Melville, Alexander Melville, 5th Earl of Leven and 4th Earl of.
 — Lodge : *see* Drumdryan House, built c. 1735.
 — Street, 192, 193, 194, 204.
 — Terrace, 217.
 Libberton's Wynd, 124, 126, 147, 148.
 Liberton, parish school of, 110.
 Ligonier, John, Fieldmarshal Earl, 71, 72.
 Ligonier's Regiment : *see* Queen's Horse Guards.
 Lindsay, Alexander, teacher, 138.
 — David, teacher, 138.
 — Henry Bethune, merchant, 225.
 — John, teacher, 138.
 Linen Hall, Canongate, 148.
 Links Place, 17.
 Linlithgow, 11, 12.
 Liston, Matthew, teacher, 138.
 Lithgow, Miss, 225.
 Little London, 4.
 Littlejohn, Sir Henry Duncan, 25.
 Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of, 165, 169-70, 171.
 Livingstone, James, teacher of writing, 138.
 — John, of Greenhill, 199.
 Lochend House : *see* Restalrig House.
 — Loch, 6.
 Lochrin, 190.
 — House, 191, 197.
 Lockhart, James, of Castlehill, 225.
 Logan, James, spinet maker, 51.
 Logan's Lie, 19.
 Lonsdale Terrace, 206.
 Lord Advocate : *see* Grant, William, of Prestongrange.
 — George Beauclerk's Regiment : *see* Nineteenth Foot, or, Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire) Regiment.
 — Justice Clerk : *see* Tinwald, Charles Erskine, Lord.
 — Provosts : *see* Alexander, William ; Calder, William ; Coulter, William ; Drummond, George ; Elder, Thomas, of Forneth ; Fettes, Sir William, Bt. ; Learmonth, John, of Dean ; McVicar, Neil ; Steel, Sir James, of Murieston, Bt. ; Trotter, Sir William, of Balhindean.
 Lorimer, James, teacher, 138.
 Lothian, Robert Kerr, 1st Marquess of, 56.
 — Thomas, Assistant Surgeon, Loyal Edinburgh Sp. Spearmen, 164.
 — Road, 189.
 — Road School, 191.
 Lothianburn, 203.
 Love, John, Rector of Dalkeith Grammar School, 133, 138.
 Low Calton, 144.
 Lowghe House, 2.
 Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 158-73.
 Luckenbooths, 36, 147, 156.
 Lundin, Robert, teacher, 133, 139.
 Luttit, Mrs., teacher, 139.
 Lyndsay, John, teacher of English, 139.
 Lyon, Miss, teacher of sewing, 119, 139.
 — Mr., Storekeeper of the Ordnance, 87, 89, 96.
 Lythe Mills : *see* Leith Mills.
 Lythgow, Jean, teacher, 139.
 — Magdalene, teacher, 139.
 Mabane, Thomas, teacher of English, 139.
 McArthur, Samuel, teacher, 139.
 McCaren, David, 87-8.
 Macdonald (or Macdonell), Archibald, of Barrisdale, 98.
 McDonald, Gilbert, teacher, 139.
 — Mrs., of Clanranald, 225.
 Macdougall, Patrick Campbell, Professor of Moral Philosophy, 174.
 Macfai, Dr. Ebenezer, teacher, 109, 139.
 McFarlane, John, teacher, 139.
 — Robert, teacher, 139.
 — Mrs., of Fairnyside, 225.
 Macghie, Alexander, teacher of book-keeping, 139.
 McGibbon, William, teacher of music, 139.
 McGilvray, James, teacher of English, 139.
 Macgregor *alias* Drummond, James, 75 ; escape in 1753 from Edinburgh Castle of, 82-7.
 Macgregor, Robin Oig, 83.
 — Rob Roy, 82.
 McGregor, John, teacher of mathematics, 139.
 Macintosh, Mr., teacher of violin, 139.
 MacIntyre, John, teacher, 139.
 McIntyre, Archibald, 104.
 McIver, Mrs., teacher of cookery, 140.
 McKaill, Margaret, teacher, 140.
 Mackay, Dr., 191, 197.
 — Mrs., teacher, 140.
 McKay, John, teacher, 140.
 — William, teacher, 140.
 — Reverend William, teacher, 140.

- McKean, Andrew, teacher, 140.
 McKellar, Mr., teacher of writing, 140.
 — Mrs., teacher, 140, 154.
 Mackenzie, Alexander, teacher of mathematics, 140.
 — Sir George, of Coul, F.R.S., 177, 179.
 — Mrs., teacher, 140, 147.
 McKenzie, Colin, teacher, 140.
 — Mrs., of Coull, 225.
 MacLachan, Mr., 171-2.
 McLagan, Mrs., teacher, 140.
 MacLaren, Charles, editor of *The Scotsman*, 178 and n.
 McLean, James, Ensign, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 169.
 — Miss, teacher of sewing, 140.
 MacLennan, Madame, dancing teacher, 209.
 — D. G., Highland dancer, 209.
 McLure, John, writing master, 140.
 McMichen, William, teacher, 141.
 McMillan, Mr., 204.
 McMillan, Mr., 62, 64.
 Maconochie, Captain, Secretary, Royal Geographical Society of London, 179.
 McPherson, David, teacher of English, 141.
 — Miss, teacher, 130, 141.
 McRonald, Theodore, teacher, 141.
 McVicar, Neil, Lord Provost, 160, 172.
 "Magazine Mary", 209.
 Main Point, 189-90.
 Mair, Mr., teacher, 141.
 Maire, Mr., teacher of French, 141.
 Maitland, James, teacher, 141.
 — John, teacher, 141.
 Malcolm, Alexander, teacher of mathematics, 141.
 Malleny, 19.
 Malloch, David, exciseman, imprisonment in 1752-3 in Edinburgh Castle of, 92-4, 95, 96, 100, 101, 103, 106.
 Man, Gilbert, teacher, 141.
 — John, teacher of navigation, 141.
 Marischal College, Aberdeen, 123.
 Marlborough, John Churchill, 1st Duke of, 63.
 Marlin's Wynd, 113, 114, 119, 134, 139, 142, 153, 155.
 Marquis of Tweeddale's Close, 136.
 Marsh, Thomas, gunsmith, 59, 68.
 Marshall, John, 193.
 Marshall's Garden, on the site of Glengyle Terrace and Leven Street, 192-3, 207-8.
 Martin, The Misses, teachers, 141.
 Mary King's Close, 118.
 Mary Kirke : *see* St. Mary's Church, Kirk-gate.
 Masson, Alexander, teacher of English, 141.
 — Arthur, teacher, 120, 124, 141.
 Masterton, Alexander, teacher, 142.
 — Allan, teacher of writing, 142.
 — Dugald, teacher of writing, 125, 142.
 — Dugald (Jun.), son of above, writing master, 142.
 Matheson, Alexander, Rector of High School, 142.
 — William, teacher, 142.
 Maxwell, Alexander, wine merchant, 225.
 — Herbert, 204.
 — Street, 204, 205.
 Meadowbank, Allan Maconochie, Lord, 225.
 Meadows, The, 190, 195.
 Meal Market, Cowgate, 132, 137.
 Mealmarket Stairs, 151.
 Meggetland, 214.
 Mein, Richard, teacher, 142.
 Mellerstain House, furniture made in Edinburgh for, 38-9 and n.
 Mellis, Patrick, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161.
 Melrose, Andrew & Co. Ltd., tea merchants, 204.
 Melville, Alexander Melville, 5th Earl of Leven and 4th Earl of, 191.
 — Harry, teacher, 142.
 — Drive, 206.
Memorial concerning the Castle of Edinburgh etc., 74 and n., 75, 93-4.
 Menzies, John, Ensign, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 — Mr., 214-15.
 Mercat Cross, 121.
 Merchant Company of Edinburgh, 110.
 — Maiden Hospital, 110, 111, 114, 133, 134, 137, 144, 152, 155.
 Merchiston, lands of, 193.
 — Castle, site of dovecot of, 201.
 — Castle School, 207.
 — Mews, 209.
 — Rooms : *see* Napier Villa.
 Merlin Roadhouse, 203.
 Methven, James, teacher, 142.
 — Thomas, teacher, 142.
 Michel, W. B., teacher of drawing, 142.
 Middleton, Patrick, teacher, 142.
 Mill, T., teacher of Greek, 142.
 Millar, Hugh, teacher, 142.
 — James, teacher of Latin, 143.
 — William, teacher, 143.
 — Miss, teacher of drawing, 143.
 — Mrs., fishmonger, 209.
 Miller, David, teacher, 143.
 Milne, Andrew, teacher, 143.

- Milne, Thomas, Town Councillor, 183 and n.
 Milne's Court, 117, 136, 141.
 — Square, 122, 138, 141.
 Mint, 145.
 — Close, 117.
 — Street, 115.
 Minto, Walter, teacher of mathematics, 143.
 Mitchel, William, teacher of French, 108, 143.
 — Mrs., teacher, 143.
 Mitchell, Hugh, teacher, 143.
 — John, teacher, 143.
 — Miss, teacher, 143.
 Moffat, John, teacher of French, 143.
 Moir, Alexander, advocate, 225.
 — Andrew, teacher, 143.
 — Dr. D. M., 21.
 — James, teacher, 144.
 Moira, Francis Rawdon Hastings, 2nd Earl of, 165, 166, 170.
 Monro, George, 178 and n.
 Monteith's Close, 138.
 Montgomery, Jean, 41 and n.
 — Margaret, teacher, 144.
 — Colonel, 225.
 Montpellier Park, 197-8, 206, 209, 215.
 Montpellier, 202.
 Montrose, James Graham, 5th Earl and 1st Marquis of, 9, 10.
 Monypenny, Colonel, of Pitmilny, 225.
 Moodie, Roger, teacher, 144.
 Moray, Earl of, lands in Edinburgh of, 186, 187.
 — Place, 185, 187.
 Mordaunt's Dragoons: *see* Tenth Dragoons (Prince of Wales' Own Hussars).
 More, Josiah, teacher, 144.
 Moreste, 2.
 Morison, John, teacher of mathematics, 144.
 — William, advocate, 225.
 — Mrs., teacher of sewing, 144.
 Morningside, village of, 203, 204, 205.
 — Athenaeum, 201.
 — Bank, 204.
 — House, 203.
 — Parish Church, 201, 203.
 — Public Library, 203.
 — Road, 212.
 — Schoolhouse, 203.
 — Toll House, 204-5.
 Morrison's Close, 133.
 Morton, Ann, teacher of writing, 140, 144.
 — J., teacher, 144.
 — Ralph, teacher of writing, 144.
 — W., teacher of writing, 108-9, 144.
 Moulin, J., teacher of French, 144.
 Mound, The, 52, 165, 166.
 Mount Falcon, 7.
 — Pelham, 3, 6, 7.
 — Somerset, 3, 7.
 Mountford, Grizel, teacher, 144.
 Mowbray, Thomas, furniture-maker in Edinburgh in early eighteenth century, 37-8 and nn., 39, 40, 41, 42 and n.
 Moyes, Madam, teacher of French, 144.
 Muat, James, teacher, 144.
 Muir, Mr., teacher, 145.
 Muirhouse, 40.
 Mundell, James, teacher, 112, 131, 145.
 Murdoch, John, teacher of French, 145.
 Murray, Archibald, teacher, 145.
 — Charles, of Abercainey, 225.
 — Mrs. Katherine, teacher, 145.
 — Thomas, teacher, 145.
 — Mrs., teacher of sewing, 145.
 Musical instruments, making in eighteenth-century Edinburgh of, 50-1.
 — Society, 129, 146, 147, 150.
 Muskelbrogh Gate, 4.
 Musselburgh, epidemic of bubonic plague in 1645 in, 15; epidemic of cholera in 1832 in, 21, 22, 26.
 Nairne's Close, 135.
 Napier, family of, 193-4.
 — Theodore, 208.
 — Colonel, 59, 61, 62.
 — Villa, 199.
 National Commercial Bank of Scotland, Bruntsfield Place, 209.
 — War Memorial, 5.
 Neagle, George, Sergeant-Major, Loyal Edinburgh Spersmen, 162, 164.
 Neil, William, teacher, 145.
 Neill, Patrick, LL.D., Town Councillor, 180 n., 183.
 Neilson, Miss, teacher, 145.
 Netherbow Port, 5, 116, 128, 139, 141, 153.
 Nevell, Sir John, 2.
 New Assembly Close, 156.
 — Bank Close, 152.
 — Church, 129, 149.
 — Concert Hall, 122.
 — Mills Factory, Haddington, 132.
 — Mownt, 3, 7.
 — Stairs, 135.
 — Street, 51, 147.
 Newbattle Terrace, 201, 202, 203.
 Newbiggin, James, advocate, 225.
 Newcastle, capture in 1644 by Scottish army of, 9.
 — Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of,

- Newhaven, 4; regulations of 1644 to try to prevent entry of bubonic plague to Leith, Edinburgh and, 9.
 Newington, 204.
 Newliston House, account for furniture made in Edinburgh at, 52-3.
 Newton, James, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spersmen, 161, 163.
 Nichol, Robert, teacher, 145.
 — Professor, 181 n., 183 n.
 Nicol, William, teacher, 145.
 Nicolson Street, 118, 137, 149, 150, 154, 155.
 Niddry Street, 115.
 Niddry's Wynd, 114, 119, 120, 126, 127, 133, 137, 139, 143, 144, 145, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156.
 Nile Grove, 204.
 Nineteenth Foot, or, Princess of Wales' Own (Yorkshire) Regiment, 85, 92.
 Nisbet, Lady, of Dean, 225.
 Niven, David, teacher, 145.
 Noble, William, teacher, 145.
 Nor' Loch, 33, 34, 37; proposals in 1752 for draining of, 62, 70-2.
 North, Christopher: *see* Wilson, John, Professor of Moral Philosophy.
 — British Hotel, 35.
 — Hanover Street, 137.
 — James's Street, 143.
 — Leith Grammar School, 118, 143.
 — Morningside Church, 216.
 Ogilvie, Duncan, teacher, 145.
 — Thomas, 225.
 — William, teacher, 145.
 Old Assembly Close, 119, 134, 141, 142.
 — Baxter's Close, 144.
 — Post Office Close, 130.
 — Post Office Stairs, 121.
 — Posthouse Close, 116.
 Oliphant, Mrs., teacher of sewing, 146.
 Oliver, Mrs., teacher, 146.
 — and Son, Ltd, auctioneers, 207.
 Olivieri, Ubald, teacher, 146.
 Organ grinders, 210-11.
 Orphan Hospital, 118.
 Oswald, James, teacher of dancing, 146.
 Pale, The, 3, 4.
 Panton, William, teacher, 146.
 Park, Doctor, 62.
 Parker, John, teacher, 146.
 Parliament, effect of plague of 1645 on, 11.
 — Close, 119, 135, 139.
 — House, 53.
 Pasquale, Nicolo, teacher of music, 146.
 Passerini, Signor, teacher, 146.
 Pastry School, James's Court, 115.
 Paterson, Andrew, teacher, 146.
 — George, teacher, 146.
 — George, of Castle Huntly, 225.
 — James, teacher, 146.
 Paterson, Thomas, tailor, 218.
 Paterson's Court, Lawnmarket, 128, 140.
 Paton, George, writing master, 146.
 — Mr., chemist, 216.
 Paulitius, Dr. John, appointment in 1644 by Edinburgh Town Council to visit suspected plague victims of, 10.
 Paul's Work, 115, 156.
 Pavillon, Charles, artist and teacher of drawing, 146.
 Paxton House, furniture made in 1814-15 in Edinburgh for, 35.
 Pearson's Close, 156.
 Peat, Admiral David, 198.
 — John, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spersmen, 161, 163, 169.
 Peebles Wynd, 134, 140, 156.
 Pelrygo: *see* Pilrig House.
 Penicuik, lairds of, 202.
 Penington, Sergeant, 86.
 Penman, John, teacher, 146.
 Penny bridals, prohibition in 1645 by Edinburgh Town Council of the holding of, 10.
 Pepper, Charles, teacher of French, 147.
 Perry, William, teacher, 147.
 Perth, 11.
 — Grammar School, 150.
 Pescatore, Signor, teacher of singing, 147.
 Petrie, Patrick, teacher, 147.
 Phillips, James, teacher, 147.
 — William, teacher, 147.
 Picard, Monsieur, teacher of fencing, 147.
 Piershill Barracks, 24.
 Pilrig, 19.
 — lands of, 218 n.
 — House, 3, 218 n.
 Pine, Mrs., teacher, 140, 147.
 Pirrie, George, teacher of mathematics, 147.
 Pittligo Road, 200.
 Pittit, Peter, sailmaker, 41.
 Plague: *see* Bubonic plague.
 Plaids, prohibition in 1645 by Edinburgh Town Council of the wearing of, 10.
 Plover, James F., riding master, 191.
 Plover's riding school, Tollcross, 191, 207.
 Pleasance, 118, 125, 151.
 Plummer, Mrs., 225.
 Polwarth Terrace, 198, 206.
 Poog, Mrs., 37.
 Porteous, James, 192.
 — Captain, 93.

- Porter, Reverend Mr., teacher, 147.
 Porterfield, James, teacher of English, 147.
 Portsburgh, 121.
 Post-house stairs: *see* Old Post Office Stairs.
 Potterrow, 18, 130, 136, 145.
 — Port, 115.
 Fow Burn, 194, 204.
 President's Stairs, 156.
 Preston, The Misses, teachers, 147.
 Primrose, Mrs., of Castle Huntly, 226.
 Princes Street, 35, 52, 129, 134, 207, 212.
 Pringle, Mark, M.P., 226.
 — Walter, teacher of English, 147.
 — Mrs. John, grocer, 226.
 — Miss, of Honey, 226.
 — Mrs., of Bowland, 226.
 Punch and Judy man, Chamberlain Road, 211.
 Puppo, Guiseppe, teacher of singing, 147.
 — Stephano, teacher, 147.
 Purves, Sir Alexander, Bt., 226.
 Queen's Edinburgh Rifles (The Blacks), 214.
 — Horse Guards, 94.
 Queensberry House, 28.
 Quesnot, Mr., teacher of French, 147.
 Rae, Dr. George, appointment in 1645 by Edinburgh Town Council to visit plague victims of, 10.
 — John, teacher, 148.
 — Lady, 226.
 — Mrs., teacher, 148.
 Raeburn, Sir Henry, 35, 186.
 Ramage, William, writer, 226.
 Ramsay, Allan, poet, 136, 146.
 Ramsay's Land, opposite City Guard House, 122.
 Randall, Reverend Dr. Thomas, 40 n.
 — Captain, 2.
 Rankellor Street, 206.
 Ranken, William, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 Ratteray's Close, Cowgate, 129.
 Rattray, Francis, teacher, 148.
 — Mrs., 226.
 — Mrs., teacher, 148.
 Ravelston, 37.
 Reade, Captain, 2.
 Register House, 35.
 — Street, 120, 123, 137.
 Reid, Mrs., teacher, 148.
 — Mrs., teacher of sewing, 148.
 Remon, M., teacher, 148.
 Restalrig, 3, 6, 21, 147, 151.
 — Church, 3, 6.
 Restalrig House, 2, 6.
 Restarycke: *see* Restalrig.
 — Place: *see* Restalrig House.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 40.
 Ricci, Baron Charles, teacher of Italian, 148.
 Rich, Colonel, 64.
 Rich's Regiment: *see* Fourth Foot, or King's Own Regiment.
 Richardson, James, teacher, 148.
 Richmond, John, teacher, 148.
 — Street, 132, 143.
 Riddle, John, teacher of English, 148.
 Riddle's Close, 136.
 Riding Academy, 153.
 Ridpath, Reverend George, minister of Stichel, 46.
 Riego Street, 189.
 Rig, Elizabeth, wife of John Livingstone of Greenhill, 199.
 Right Squadron (Edinburgh) Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, 159.
 Rintoul, J., 180 n.
 Ritchie, Charles, Jnr., Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163, 169.
 — David, Professor of Logic, 174.
 — William, Rector of Canongate Grammar School, 148.
 Ritter, Mrs., teacher of sewing, 148.
 Rob, W., teacher, 148.
 Robertson, Dr., 180 n., 181 n.
 — Ensign, 77, 88.
 — Major, Fort Major at Edinburgh Castle, 67, 76, 77 and n., 78-9, 99, 100.
 Robertson, David, First Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163, 169.
 — George, teacher, 148.
 — John, teacher in South Bridge Street, 149.
 — John, teacher of English in Leith, 148.
 — Robert, architect and lecturer, 149.
 — Robert, teacher of English, 149.
 Robison, William, teacher of English, 149.
 Rothead, Andrew, spinet maker, 51.
 — Messrs. Andrew and Sons, spinet makers, 51.
 Roebuck, Samuel, guns invented by, 172.
 Ronaldson, Mrs., teacher of sewing, 149.
 Rood Chapel, Greenside: *see* Rude Chapel, Greenside.
 Rose, Hugh, teacher of English, 149.
 — Street, 133, 137, 149, 151.
 Roslin, 207.
 Ross of Pitcalnie, family papers of, 221-3.
 Ross, Alexander, of Pitcalnie, 222.
 — Munro, son of above, 46-7 and n., 222.

- Ross, Mrs. Naomi, of Pitcalnie, mother of above, lodging in Edinburgh in 1770 of, 46-7; furniture bought in 1770 from the Brodies by, 49, 222.
 — Robert, teacher, 147.
 Roumieu, Paul, junior, clockmaker, 39-40.
 — Paul, senior, clockmaker, 40, 41.
 Roy, Mrs., teacher of French, 149.
 Royal Bank Close, 124.
 — Blind Asylum, 194.
 — Burgess Golfing Society, 195.
 — College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 23.
 — College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, hall in Drummond Street of, 28.
 — College of Surgeons of Ireland, 179.
 — Edinburgh Volunteers, 158, 159.
 — Exchange, 122, 153.
 — Geographical Society of London, 179.
 — Highland Society, 183.
 — Infirmary, 27.
 — Inverness Fencibles, 168.
 — Society of Edinburgh, 181.
 — Warwickshire Fusiliers, 73.
 — Welch Fusiliers, 73.
 — Zoological Society of Scotland, 204.
 Rude Chapel, Greenside, 2 and n.
 Ruffin, Mr., teacher, 149.
 Runciman, Alexander, painter, 45, 149.
 Rutherford, Archibald, teacher of drawing, 149.
 St. Andrew Square, 134.
 — Andrew Street, 130.
 — Anne Street, 125.
 — Anthony, Friary of, 4.
 — Anthony's Chapel, 1, 6.
 — Anthony's Hospital, 4.
 — Bennet's, Churchhill, 208.
 — Bernard's Bridge, 186.
 — Cuthbert's Church, 1, 79, 192, 201.
 — Cuthbert's, parish of, 118, 153, 201.
 — Cuthbert's, parish school of, 110, 137.
 — David Street, 128.
 — Giles Church, 1, 5, 7.
 — Giles, Grange of, 195, 202.
 — James' Square, 117, 143.
 — John's Episcopal Church School, Tollcross, 190.
 — Katharine's Convent, 189, 196.
 — Leonard's 117; lands of, 195.
 — Margaret's Convent, 194, 197.
 — Mary's Church, Edinburgh Castle, 5.
 — Mary's Church, Kirkgate, 4, 7.
 — Nicholas' Chapel, 5, 7.
 — Ninian's Church, 4, 7.
 — Paul's Chapel, Skinners' Close, 117.
 — Roque's Chapel, 202.
 Saints Mary and James, Chapel of, Newhaven, 4.
 Salton, Mr., teacher, 149.
 Sanders, Mrs., teacher, 149.
 — William, Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews University, 150.
 Sands, Major William, East India Company, 226.
 Sandwich men, 213-14.
 Sangster, John, teacher, 150.
 Schetky, John G. C., teacher of music, 150.
 Scot, Mr., teacher of French, 150.
 Scot's Close, Cowgate, 145, 148.
 — Land, High School Wynd, 132.
 Scott, Francis, of Beechwood, 226.
 — Dr. John, 182 n.
 — Sir Walter, 223; educational career of, 108-9, 113, 120, 127, 138, 140, 144, 150, 153; monument of, 200.
 — William, teacher, 150.
 — Mr. and Mrs. William, china shop in Leven Lodge owned by, 192.
 — Captain, of Gala, 226.
 — General, 226.
 — Miss, of Gala, 226.
 — Mrs., teacher, 150.
 — Mrs., of Gala, 226.
 Scouler, William, teacher, 150.
 Seafield, 17.
 Seagate, The, 4.
Sermon anent the Plague, 21.
 Seymour's Regiment: *see* Fourth Foot, or King's Own Regiment.
 Shandwick Place, 209.
 Shean, Christian, spinet maker, 51.
 — Mrs., 51.
 Sheen's Walls, 17.
 Sheriff, Matthew, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163, 169.
 — William, teacher, 150.
 — Erse, Leith, 142.
 Sibbald, Jane, teacher, 150.
 Signet Library, 35.
 Simpson, Bailie Andrew, 18.
 — John, 226.
 — John, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 Sinclair, Mrs. Eupham, teacher, 150.
 Sinclair, John, Dean of Guild, 218.
 Singer, Archibald, teacher, 150.
 Skeldie, Reverend Archibald, 21.
 Skelton's Regiment: *see* Twelfth Foot, or Suffolk Regiment.
 Skene, Mrs., of Rubislaw, 226.
 Skinner, Lieutenant-General William, Chief Engineer of Board of Ordnance, 69-70, 71, 72, 73, 79, 80, 81, 82, 87, 89, 91, 96, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106.

- Skinnars' Close, 117, 123, 126, 135, 138, 146, 147, 155.
 — Hall, Castlehill, 143.
 Skirving, Mr., teacher of violin, 150.
 Slaughter-house, Tollcross, 191, 208.
 Small, Bailie George, 25.
 Smart, Reverend William, teacher, 150.
 Smith, A., teacher, 150.
 — Adam, economist, 115.
 — Reverend Andrew M., 198.
 — Catherine, teacher, 151.
 — David, teacher, 151.
 — Duncan, teacher of writing, 151.
 — John, spinet maker, 51.
 — Kenneth, painter, 41-2 and n.
 — Thomas, Captain, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163, 169.
 — The Most Reverend William, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, 208-9.
 — Mrs., teacher, 151.
 Smyth, William, teacher of English, 151.
 Somerset and Cornwall Light Infantry, 73.
 Somerville, Miss, 226.
 South Bridge, 51, 146.
 — Bridge Street, 123, 149.
 — Hanover Street, 116.
 — Leith Churchyard, 20.
 — Leith Grammar School, 110, 116, 117, 121, 126, 136, 137, 138, 142, 146, 154, 155.
 — Wales Borderers, 73.
 Spankie, James, teacher, 151.
 Spence, Robert, cook's mate, 154.
 — Robert, teacher, 151.
 Spinets, making in Edinburgh of, 50-1.
 Spylaw Road, 195, 198.
 Stalker, James, teacher of English, 151.
 Stayley, Mr., actor and lecturer on elocution, 151.
 Stedman, C. H., Surgeon and physician, U.S. Marine Hospital, 180.
 Steel, Sir James, of Murieston, Lord Provost, 199.
 — Dr. Thomas, 203.
 Steell, Sir John, sculptor, 200.
 Steel's Place, 203.
 Steven, Robert, teacher, 151.
 — Mrs., 226.
 Stevenlaw's Close, 124, 127, 140, 147, 156.
 Stevenson, James, teacher of English, 151.
 — Robert, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 — William, teacher of book-keeping, 151.
 Stewart, Andrew, M.P., 226.
 — Anthony, 50 and n., 61, 68.
 — John, teacher, 151.
 Stewart, Neil, spinets sold by, 50-1.
 — Captain, 77, 79, 88.
 — Colonel, Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 61.
 — Miss, 47.
 — Mr., notary public, 96, 98.
 — Mr., teacher of writing, 151.
 — Mrs., teacher, 151.
 Stewart's Close, 134.
 Stick men, from Craiglockhart Poorhouse, 213.
 Stirling, 11.
 — James, teacher, 151.
 — John, teacher of English, 149, 151.
 — Castle, 225.
 Stoddart, Mr., teacher, 152.
 Strange, Mr., teacher of French, 152.
 Street entertainers, 211.
 — singers, 209-10.
 Strichen's Close, 115.
 Stuart, Prince Charles Edward, 92, 202.
 — James, editor of the *Courier*, 178-9 and n.
 Stuart's Green, 206.
 Strathearn Place, 206.
 Sutter, William, teacher, 152.
 Sutton, Captain, 2.
 Swanson, William, teacher, 152.
 Swanston, 203; springs at, 102.
 Swinton, Miss, 226.
 Swinton's Land, Forrester's Wynd, 150.
 Sydserff, William, teacher of English, 152.
 Syme, James, lecturer in anatomy and surgery, 182.
 — Miss, teacher, 152.
 Symmer, Mrs., 226.
 Tailors' Hall, 130, 147.
 Tainsh, John, teacher, 152.
 Tait, James, teacher, 152.
 — John, Superintendent of Police, 166, 167, 168.
 Tarvit House, 190.
 — Street, 190, 191.
 Taylor, Isaac, candidature in 1836 for the Chair of Logic of, 174, 183.
 — Thomas, teacher of writing, 152.
 Taylor's Land, Cowgate, 140, 144.
 Telfer, Cortes, teacher of English, 152.
 Tenducci, Ferdinando, teacher, 152.
 Tenth Dragons (Prince of Wales's Own Hussars), 94.
 Tewis, Henry, 68.
 Thain, Andrew, teacher of writing, 152.
 Theatre Royal, 120.
 Thirty-First Regiment of Foot, or, East Surrey Regiment, 98, 103.
 Thomas, Godfrey, teacher, 152, 156.

- Thomson, Alexander, teacher of English, 153.
 — James, teacher of writing, 153.
 — John, teacher of mathematics, 153.
 — John, teacher of writing, 153.
 — Patrick, 10.
 — Thomas, teacher, 153.
 — William, teacher, 153.
 — Mrs., teacher, 153.
 Thornybauk, 190.
 Tinwald, Charles Erskine, Lord, Lord Justice Clerk, 72, 74 n., 92, 95, 103.
 Tipperlinn, village of, 203; chemical industry founded in 1770 at, 203; a holiday resort for people from Edinburgh, 203.
 — Road, 194, 203.
 Tod, Archibald, of Drygrange, W.S., 226.
 — George, writer, 226.
 — James, teacher, 153.
 Todrick's Wynd, 123, 134-5.
 Tolbooth, 72, 93, 98, 126.
 — Wynd, Leith, 7.
 Tollcross, 189, 190, 205.
 — School, 191.
 Touch, John, teacher, 153.
 Tournier, Abbé, teacher of French, 153.
 Town's College: see University of Edinburgh.
 Trace-boys, 205.
 Trades Maiden Hospital, 110, 111, 123, 126, 133, 146, 148.
 Tramcars, route between Tollcross and Morningside area of, 205; route between Churchill and Marchmont of, 205-6; route along Gilmore Place of, 206.
 Traneut, epidemic of cholera in 1832 in, 21.
 Tremamondo, Mrs. Angela, teacher, 153.
 — Signor, master of Riding Academy, 153.
 Trinity College, Dublin, 179.
 — House, Leith, 121, 137, 156.
 Tron Church, 122, 126, 128, 134, 142.
 Trotter, Major-General Thomas, 226.
 — Sir William, of Ballindean, Lord Provost, furniture-maker, 35 and n., 36, 51, 53.
 Trunk Close, 150, 152.
 Tuedie: see Tweed, river.
 Tulloch, Mrs., teacher, 153.
 Tumbler's Hollow, Brumtsfield Links, 217.
 Tummel-burn, 24.
 Turk's Close, 139.
 Tweed, river, 36.
 Twelfth Foot, or, Suffolk Regiment, 77.
 University of Edinburgh, 120, 129, 133, 136, 141, 146; effect of bubonic plague of 1645 on, 10, 11, 12; share by act of 1693 of proceeds of Edinburgh beer-tax to be used to provide salaries for certain professors at, 65; work carried out in 1775 by the Brodies at, 49; bookcases made by William Brodie for Divinity Hall in Old College of, 50; candidature in 1836 of George Combe for the Chair of Logic at, 174-84.
 University of Paris, 123, 138.
 — of St. Andrews, 134.
 Upper Common Close, Canongate, 118.
 Urbani, Pietro, teacher of singing, 153.
 Usher Hall, 191, 217.
 Valleyfield, lands of, 193.
 — House, 192.
 — Street, 192, 207-8.
 Vanves Institute for the Treatment of the Insane, 180.
 Victoria Terrace, 43.
 View Park, 195.
 — Park School: see Gillsland Park School.
 Viewforth, 198.
 — Place, 197.
 — United Presbyterian Church: see Brumtsfield Church.
 Vinegar Close, Leith, 146, 150.
 Virginals, purchase in Edinburgh in 1680 of, 37.
 Voisin, Dr. Felix, 180.
 Volunteer Acts of 1782 and 1794, 158, 162, 164, 165, 167.
 Wade, General George, road programme in Highlands of, 73.
 Wakes, prohibition in 1645 by Edinburgh Town Council of the holding of, 10.
 Walker, Alexander, teacher of English, 153.
 — George, teacher of drawing, 109, 153.
 — John, teacher, 154.
 — Katharine, teacher, 154.
 Warden, John, teacher of English, 135, 154.
 — John, (Jun.), son of above, teacher of English, 154.
 — Mrs., teacher, 154.
 Wardor, Mrs. Mary, teacher, 140, 154.
 Wardrop's Court, 135.
 — Land, Peebles Wynd, 134.
 Waredye, 3.
 Wareston: see Warriston.
 Warren, Dr. John C., Professor of Anatomy, Harvard University, 180.
 Warrender, lands of, 196.

- Warrender, Lady, 196.
 — Park Crescent, 195.
 Warriston, 2.
 Warriston's Close, 122, 126, 139.
 Water of Leith, 2, 4, 7, 185, 188.
 Watson, A. Swan, photographer, 195, 196.
 — George, accountant, 110.
 — Reverend George, teacher, 154.
 — James, teacher, 154.
 — Janet, teacher, 154.
 — John, teacher, 154.
 — Peter, teacher of mathematics, 154.
 — Captain, 226.
 Watson's (George) College, 206.
 — (George) Hospital, 111, 114, 116, 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 127, 130, 132, 133, 138, 140, 145, 146, 148, 150, 151, 154.
 — Land, Gifford's Park, 143.
 Watt, James, teacher, 154.
 — Thomas, teacher, 154.
 — Terrace, 204.
 Watts, Isobell, teacher, 154.
 — Margaret, teacher, 154.
 Waugh, Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert, 226.
 — Mrs., 226.
 Waverley Market, 35.
 Weavers in the village of Tipperlinn, 203.
 Webster, William, teacher, 155.
 Weigh House, Lawnmarket, 125.
 Weir, Mr. Hope, 69.
 — Major James, proprietor of Tollcross, 189.
 Well House Tower, spring in, 79.
 Wellington Monument, 200.
 — Street: *see* Earl Grey Street.
 Welsh, Reverend David, 176, 177.
 — John, teacher, 155.
 Wenson, Mrs., teacher, 155.
 West Bow, 22, 38, 39, 40, 42, 118, 131, 134, 138, 139, 145, 147, 155, 156.
 — Castle Road, Theodore Napier's house in, 208.
 — End, Princes Street, 120, 134.
 — Gate, 5.
 — Kirk: *see* St. Cuthbert's Church.
 — Kirk, parish of: *see* St. Cuthbert's, parish of.
 — Linton, 202.
 — Mormingside, lands of, 203.
 — Port, 24, 62, 140.
 Westhall Gardens, 197, 198.
 — Tennis Club, 198.
 Whately, Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, 177, 179, 180 n.
 Whitehouse, lands of, 195.
 — mansionhouse of, 196.
 — Loan, 196, 199, 201, 207.
 Whytock and Reid, Messrs., upholsterers, 51.
 — Grieve & Co., Messrs., furniture warehouse of, 51.
 Wight, Thomas, 226.
 — Mr., 134.
 Wightman, The Misses, teachers, 112, 126-7, 155.
 Wilkie, Mrs., 226.
 — Mrs., teacher, 155.
 Wilkies' Land, 116.
 Williamson, Alexander, 226.
 — Charles, teacher, 155.
 — Reverend David, 192.
 — James, teacher of Latin, 155.
 — John, teacher of languages, 155.
 — Joseph, Town Clerk, 192.
 — William, teacher of music, 155.
 Willich, Dr., teacher of German, 109, 155.
 Willis, George, teacher of Latin, 155.
 Willmott, Mrs., teacher, 155.
 Wilson, Andrew, Ensign, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161.
 — Andrew, teacher, 155.
 — David, teacher, 155.
 — John, Master of South Leith Grammar School, 155.
 — John, Secundus, Master of South Leith Grammar School, 155.
 — John, Professor of Moral Philosophy, 181.
 — John, teacher in West Bow, 156.
 — Robert, teacher, 156.
 — William, teacher, 156.
 — Captain, 58, 59.
 — Mrs., teacher, 119.
 Wingate, James, teacher, 156.
 Witherspoon, Reverend Dr., President of Princeton University, 127.
 Witte, Edward, 226.
 Wood, Alexander, teacher of mathematics, 156.
 — Captain John, of Cramond, 226.
 Woodburn, William, Ensign, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 Woodcroft, mansionhouse of, 202-3.
 Woodhouselee, 194.
 Woods, William, actor and teacher of elocution, 156.
 World's End Close, 141.
 Wright, John, teacher, 156.
 — John, teacher, 156.
 Wrightshouses, village of, 193, 194, 195.
 — mansionhouse of, 194, 196.
 Writers' Court, 116.
 Wrychtishousis: *see* Wrightshouses.
 Wylie, John, teacher of English, 149, 156.

- Wylie, William, teacher, 156.
 — Mrs., teacher, 156.
 Wyse, Thomas, M.P., 179, 180 n.
 Yardheads, Leith, 12.
 York Place, 35, 135.
 Yorke, C., 160.
 Young, Andrew, teacher, 156.
 — John, teacher, 156.
 Young, Patrick, teacher, 156.
 — Thomas, teacher, 156.
 — and Trotter, Messrs., upholsterers, 36, 49, 51.
 — Street, 121.
 Yule, John, Lieutenant, Loyal Edinburgh Spearmen, 161, 163.
 Zoological Park, Edinburgh, 204.

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APPENDIX

ANNUAL REPORTS FOR THE YEARS 1962-63, 1963-64 AND 1964-65, ETC.

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THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Thursday, 4th April 1963*.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN GREIG DUNBAR, LL.D., LORD PROVOST, presided.

During the year, five lecture meetings and one summer excursion were arranged. On 15th January, Mrs. R. Mitchison, M.A., gave a talk on "Edinburgh Goods and Gear in the Eighteenth Century", an interesting sidelight on the social life and customs of the period which evoked much discussion. On 5th February, Mr. John Turpie, B.Sc., gave a further talk on "The Mills on the Water of Leith", covering the region untouched in his previous lecture—the stretch of water from Colinton to the sea. The lecture was illustrated by colour slides. On 1st March, Mr. J. G. C. Buchan gave a talk on "Portobello Potteries"—the origin of the craft in the region, the sources of the raw materials and the distinctive features of Portobello pottery, past and present. An attractive display of pottery enhanced a meeting that proved extremely interesting to a large audience. On 29th March, through the good offices of Dr. H. P. Tait, members of the Club visited the Royal College of Physicians, where Dr. Tait spoke of the history of the College and its achievements. Thereafter, the members were shown round the rooms, a much esteemed privilege.

A motor coach tour of Arthur's Seat, under the leadership of Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., was undertaken on a sunny Saturday afternoon on 26th May, when a study was made of the farms and fortifications on the hill. This excursion was a supplement to an illustrated lecture on this subject given by Mr. Stevenson during the previous year.

On 10th December, Mr. John G. Gray, S.S.C., gave an illustrated lecture on "Facets of Edinburgh's South Side", with particular emphasis on the Newington region.

Volume XXXI of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club was distributed to members in December and among the varied and interesting contents are articles on "The Tower of Merchiston" and "George Heriot's Hospital", as well as appreciations of the services given to the Club by the late Dr. Charles A. Malcolm and the late Miss Marie A. Balfour.

The roll of the Club stands at 363.

The Account of Income and Expenditure, duly audited, is appended.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

as at 31st December 1962

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Balance in Bank at 31/12/61	£1,111 7 7	Printing, Postages, Stationery and Expenses of Meetings	£195 6 1
Subscriptions received :—		Schedule "D" Income Tax	10 17 0
318 Members at £1, 1s.	£333 18 0	Balance in Bank :—	
45 Libraries at £1, 1s.	47 5 0	Savings Account	£962 9 0
Sale of Volumes	381 3 0	Current Account	349 19 4
Bank Interest	3 7 1		
	22 13 9		
	<u>£1,518 11 5</u>		<u>1,312 8 4</u>
			<u>£1,518 11 5</u>

W. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Edinburgh, 25th January 1963.—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for year ended 31st December 1962, 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 received include arrears collected and payments in advance.

J. H. N. WILSON, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Tuesday, 17th March 1964.*

BAILIE MISS E. M. MEIN, B.L., presided.

During the year six lecture meetings and three excursions were held. On 26th January Mr. William Dey, F.R.I.B.A., gave an illustrated lecture on The Story of Corstorphine and in February this was followed by an account of the Pre-Reformation Church in Edinburgh by Dr. Ian Cowan. In March Mr. R. Maxwell Young, T.D., B.L., S.S.C. gave a description of Some University Buildings, aptly illustrated by slides. In response to a request, heartily approved by the members present, a visit to the Old College was arranged in May when Mr. Young and Mr. Hossack acted as guides. At the close of the meeting members were hospitably entertained. The second summer outing was a visit in June to The Dean Village and the Water of Leith under the leadership of Mr. Basil C. Skinner, M.A. In July a large gathering met at South Queensferry and was conducted round the ancient Royal Burgh by Dr. Mason, including a visit to the Preceptory and to the Council Chambers where the Provost addressed a welcome to the members.

The autumn meetings commenced with a description of places and peoples recalled by Mr. Andrew Patterson, B.Com., under the title Tollcross to Morningside in the Olden Days. This will appear in the next volume of the Book of the Club. In November Professor Gordon Donaldson gave an illustrated lecture on A Century of Leith and East Coast Shipping at a joint meeting with the Scottish Historical Society and the concluding talk, A Day in the Edinburgh Room of the Central Public Library, was given in that place by Mrs. N. Armstrong, A.L.A., librarian.

Congratulations are offered to our Vice-President Dr. Gordon Donaldson on his appointment to the Chair of Scottish History in Edinburgh University. He succeeds another Club member, the late Professor W. Croft Dickinson who died earlier in the year. It is with deep regret that the death of our President, Dr. Evan W. M. Balfour-Melville, the result of an accident, is recorded. Dr. Balfour Melville, a brilliant historian, gave distinguished service to the Club and it is difficult to realise that his felicitous choice of phrase in introducing or thanking a speaker will be heard no more. The death of Mr. Butchart, M.A., formerly City Librarian and a former Vice-President also falls to be recorded. These and other losses leave the Club the poorer but it is heartening to note that through new enrolments the membership is well maintained at 376.

The Account of Income and Expenditure, duly audited, is appended.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

as at 31st December 1963

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Balance in Bank at 31/12/62	£1,312 8 4	Printing & Binding of Volume XXXI issued in 1962	£778 0 3
Subscriptions received :-		Printing, Postages, Stationery and Expenses of Meetings	£181 19 5
333 Members at £1, 1s.	£349 13 0	Schedule "D" Income Tax	8 18 3
43 Libraries at £1, 1s.	45 3 0	Balance in Bank :-	
Sale of Volumes	394 16 0	Current Account	£176 11 1
Bank Interest	20 13 8	Savings Account	672 10 6
Gift and Legacy	10 1 6		
	80 0 0		
	£1,817 19 6		£849 1 7
			£1,817 19 6

J. W. MORT, *Hon. Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 17th February 1964.—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1963, 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 received include arrears collected and payments in advance.

J. H. N. WILSON, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

Old Edinburgh Club

1964

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