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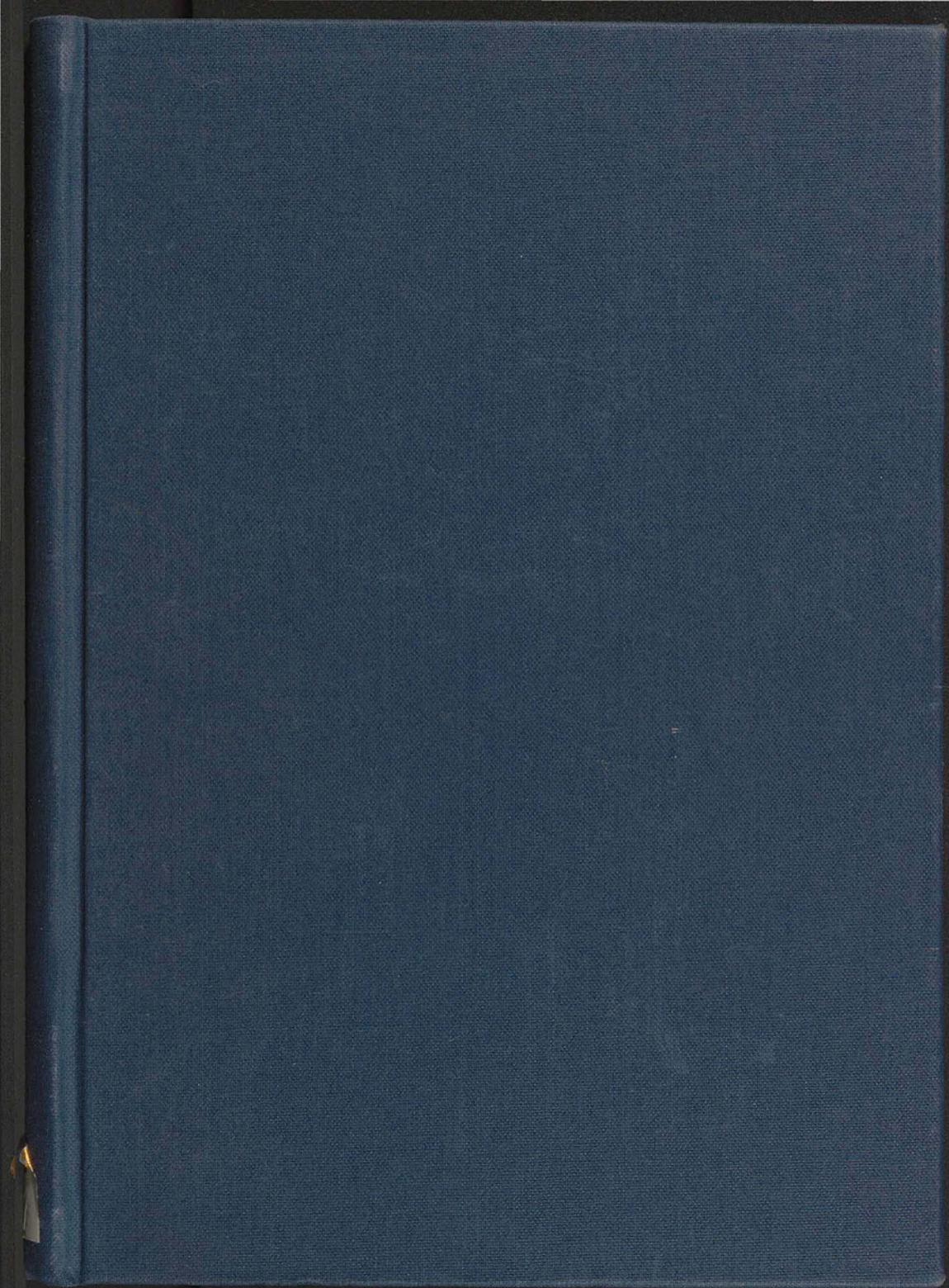
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THE REGALTY AND BARONY OF BROUGHTON;
SOME OF ITS CHARACTERS AND PERSONALITIES,

1592-1600

by ANDREW H. ANDERSON

The article is based on the unpublished Court Book of the regality of Broughton, which is in the City Archives. "Court Book" in the Notes refers to this.

The regality and barony of Broughton of the late sixteenth century arose out of the lands, rights and pertinents conferred upon his canons of Holyrood by David I.¹ Broughton and its sister regality of Kerse made their formal appearance in the fourteenth century.² With the approach and consummation of the Reformation, Holyrood was saddled with three successive commendators, Robert Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V,³ Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney and, from 1582, his son John Bothwell.⁴ The latter disposed of the bulk of the abbey lands in 1587 to Sir Lewis Bellenden, the Lord Justice Clerk, retaining the abbey and its buildings and yards, the barony of Dunrod and a feu of half the barony of Whitekirk.⁵ Bothwell was later confirmed in possession of the barony of Whitekirk with privilege of regality and bailiary, and eventually, in 1607, the Bothwell possessions were erected into the lordship of Holyroodhouse.⁶

Sir Lewis Bellenden received his extensive lands and privileges as the secular regality and barony of Broughton, Kerse disappearing within the senior jurisdiction.⁷ In terms of lands, Bellenden was granted not only the burgh of the Canongate and the feus immediately adjacent but also the more extensive territories of Saughton and Saughtonhall, Coates and Meldrumsheugh, Broughton, Warriston, Pilrig, Bonnington and North Leith, all now within the present bounds of Edinburgh. He was also endowed with lands in Stirlingshire and West Lothian, Peeblesshire and East Lothian.⁸ Among his economic perquisites was the burgh of the Canongate, by then largely bereft of its trading privileges but still with its gilds of hammermen, cordiners, baxters and tailors and its many unincorporated maltmen. While the burgh was not the regality's head-place, the manor of Canonmills succeeding the abbey, it was its judicial and administrative centre,⁹ a feature shared by many private jurisdictions.¹⁰ Sir Lewis, indeed, did not enjoy his prize for long; in 1591, he raised the Devil and died of fright.¹¹ He was succeeded by his son, James, a minor.¹² The responsibilities of the superiority fell upon Margaret Livingston, the heir's mother, acting as testamentary tutor, and then, by February, 1598, upon his curators. These entrusted the active exercise of the superiority to Walter Bellenden and, from October, 1598, to his brother, Adam.¹³ Both were uncles of the heir and Adam ended an ecclesiastical career as Bishop of Aberdeen. The young James was also the regality's hereditary justiciar and bailie, offices granted to Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoll in 1565.¹⁴ He acted through several bailies-depute. Of these, John Bellenden, who held office from at least 1588 to May, 1596, was a likely kinsman. Almost certainly a maltman in Leith, he was a portioner of Fluiris. He was also the husband of Helen Tempill, the widow of James Logan, maltman and portioner of Fluiris.¹⁵ Another deputy, until his

death in July, 1597, was Thomas Bellenden, a former Lord of Session and an uncle of the young James.¹⁶ John Graham was also a baillie-depute; a shadowy figure, he was a Canon-gate burghess and indweller. Until 1585, he may also have been the parson of Sanday in Orkney.¹⁷ The sole presiding baillie-depute by 1597 was Master Archibald Wilkie, the son of James Wilkie, a Canon-gate burghess, and probably a graduate of St. Andrews. Wilkie was a former burgh baillie and with his wife, Janet Inglis, the holder of several Canon-gate tenements.¹⁸ Prominent among the burgh bailies were John Hairt, doctor of medicine and the owner of Ironside and Godbairnsroft, the baxter John Smith, Andrew Borthwick, a kinsman of the Borthwicks of Glengell and Bancreiff, John Schoirt, the goldsmith George Cunningham and Hector Balclawie, one of the burgh's band of bowmakers.¹⁹ Associated with them were James Logan, public notary and Canon-gate indweller, and clerk of both courts from 1567, David and Laurence Robeson, successively deputy clerk, Alexander Ramsay, the dempster and burgh bellman, and various regality and burgh sergeants and officers.²⁰ These officials, together with men prominent upon inquests and assizes, ensured the smooth functioning of the courts. These met jointly, usually in the Canon-gate Tolbooth, on Wednesday mornings, with Saturday as an additional day, during the legal terms. The regality court often ceased to meet a few weeks before the end of session, the burgh court continuing to the final date.²³

The Canon-gate was very small but the prosperity of many of its burghesses owed much to the proximity of the court at Holyrood. The court was provisioned by men like John Robeson, the royal butcher and Patrick Rannald, the king's baker and poulturer, John Seton, the royal coalman and Alexander Crawford, cordiner to Anne of Denmark. Thomas Fenton, keeper of the Palace, had a house in the Canon-gate as did James Boig, the master porter, and a number of lesser servants. The diversity of Canon-gate craftsmen, dagmakers [*pistolmakers*], cordiners, cutlers, tailors, steelbonnetmakers, bowmakers, halbertmakers, swordslippers, goldsmiths, stblers, saddlers, clockmakers, websters and the numerous and highly influential maltmen was caused, in large measure, by the demands of the royal and noble market. The burgh was a colourful place. Thomas Nemouth fell heir to a black Florentine cloak, a burat [*coarse woollen cloth*] doublet; a pair of green shanks [*stockings or trunks*] and a stand [*suit*] of brown clothes. John Dougal, a servant of Sir Robert Melville, the royal treasurer-depute, owned four fustian doublets, a cloak of fine green English cloth and several pairs of grey, blue and red stemming [*a woollen cloth*] breeches. The tailor William Seton owed John Acheson, "... ane secreitt doublat [*probably a doublet worn over light mail for protection*] Togedder with samekile feliemort bombasie [*as much yellow/brown bombasine*] quihlk the said Williame Ressauit [*received*] to haif coverit the same ...", while the cordiner John Paterson had "... ane new quhit fusteane dowplate pasmentit [*trimmed or decorated*] with thrie pastmentis of yallow silk in all partis. ...".²⁴

The burgh was already congested. Its tenements, stretching down from the common way to either the Strand or the lands of Meadowflatt, were divided into foreland, backland, garden and waste. The first contained dwelling houses, brewhouses, lithouses [*dyehouses*] and maltbarns, which were grouped around the narrow entry or close running through the centre of the tenement or down its side. Buildings tended to abut upon each other, and this together with divided ownership and extensive leasing, gave rise to endless problems of neighbourhood. The tailor James Black neglected to make the passage of a new common

stair, "... frie betuix corbill and corbill. ...". When James Wilson, a litster, extended the western side-wall of his house, he was allowed by his neighbour, the dagmaker George Rathman, to build against his back "twffall" or lean-to, raising the wall to the required height, provided the common gutter remained eleven inches wide and in servitude to both tenements. Less happily, in North Leith, a mason broke a decree of neighbourhood by building a house in his backland, using and raising the boundary wall beside the stair in his neighbour's close. In the Canon-gate, Patrick Rannald was more ready to agree to Richard Storie attaching his structure to the gable of his easter land, raising the chimney and crow-stepped gable to the necessary height. Rannald made sure the gable remained part of his tenement, a precaution in the event of disputed boundaries. In 1596, John Robeson, weary of the untidy bank of earth and grass dividing his tenement from his neighbour's on the east, tore it down. He planted a much more pleasing row of plum trees and gooseberry bushes, destroying a boundary which required a court upon the ground to restore. Houses and other buildings were often occupied by tenants. John Ahannay, in June, 1593, obtained decrees of removing against John Castellaw, a dagmaker, who occupied a mid-dwellinghouse and a booth, Robert Telfer, a cutler, in possession of a booth and shop, and Henry Murray, a bowyer, who dwelt in a high dwellinghouse. Elsewhere, Patrick Speir, a burgh officer, was the tenant of "... ane bak laich hous with chalmer loft four stabillis and ane aill hous ...", while Andrew Kellop rented a mere fore chamber and stable. A low dwellinghouse cost from 5 to 9 marks a year, a high from 14 to 32. Alison Craig agreed to take a fore dwelling house and a brew house from Moses Sinclair for 10 marks over two years and to sustain him, "... in cleathing lynnyng wowne als sufficientlie as he haid wont till haif bene befor the deceis of his father. ...". A booth or shop cost its occupier anything from 12 to 22 marks and a yard from 10 to 14.²⁵

The nearness of the Canon-gate to both court and Edinburgh was partly responsible for the burgh's floating criminal population. The regality was sparing in the use of its judicial powers as its officers were reluctant to proceed in the absence of private pursuers.²⁶ Moreover, it was the task of the Canon-gate bailies to keep the Tolbooth in repair, appoint the gaoler and make injunctions upon the care of prisoners. Often, the bailies simply banished without trial the petty rogues who had been apprehended.²⁷ Prisoners warded could be released under sureties to appear for trial, always provided they were neither thieves nor slaughterers caught redhanded. The latter were supposedly, and usually were, tried within twenty-four hours, but delays could happen with the former.²⁸ John Nicholson, a butcher accused of receiving stolen cattle, seized his opportunity and broke out of the Tolbooth while Andrew Matheson, who had deprived a man of his sword and purse and stabbed another in the pursuit which led to his arrest, clambered to freedom through the Tolbooth window. Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Janet Gray, the daughter of a former sheriff's officer in Edinburgh, who confessed to the theft of clothes, sheets and an iron pot in Leith, John Craig from Torphichen, who broke into a dagmaker's booth, and William Speir, David Campbell and John Finlay, all Ayrshire men and denizens of the Thieves' Hole, were banished without trial.²⁹

The fate of thieves actually tried and convicted was either banishment under pain of death, often with branding and scourging through the burgh, or death. By law, the theft of cattle, horses, sheep and, indeed, of any article over the value of 32 pence was a capital offence. Regality justice generally agreed, although the bailies-depute were influenced not

only by the value but also by the nature of the stolen goods. Cloth or money removed from a house even once brought death to the thief, but victual and foodstuffs by themselves did not, even if the offender had made several raids by night. Pickery, or petty theft, was punished by banishment.³⁰ Death for men meant hanging upon the gallows, at the Gallowlee beside the present-day Shrubhill, and for women drowning at the Quarryholes near Easter Road in the London Road and Carlton Terrace area.³¹ Banishment, even with a branded cheek, and flogging from the Watergate to the Netherbow, was a lenient punishment. It meant expulsion usually from the bounds of only the Canongate or Pleasance or North Leith, and the habitual criminals involved usually betook themselves to Edinburgh. As the capital had the same limited notions upon exile, thieves circulated through the jurisdictions until they overstepped the mark and were halted by the gallows. William Speir was chased out of both Edinburgh and Leith before he returned to the Canongate, and, breaking into a house, stole two five pound pieces. John Finlay, another of the Ayrshire rogues banished in August, 1598, had already been expelled from the Pleasance for the theft and reset of corn. His female accomplice, Christiane Dickson, found fresh companionship in the Canongate from Henry Rutherford and Archibald Archer. She helped them to steal from James Douglas's cellar in Scott's close, "... specialie vpoune the second day of May instant thai ... come to the said James sellar & betuix elleuin & twelf houris at ewin thifteously brak the windo ... & ... tuik away with thame thrie firloittis aittmeill certane beiff grottis estimat to ane pek of grottis with sax tailyies of beiff with sum quantetie of aill." The three were whipped, branded and banished the burgh, and much the same fate befell the impudent pair who stole half a boll of wheat from Archibald Wilkie's house.³² John Leith, who stole a purse from the sleeve of John Barclay, was also flogged and banished.³³

The wretched Margaret Smith from Gogar was much more hardly done by. Banished from Edinburgh on a Saturday for stealing clothes and other goods, she broke into the Canongate house of George Melville between two and three on the Sunday morning. Disturbed, she fled, leaving the goods behind her. Margaret, however, early on the Monday morning, stole more clothing from the house of the Frenchman Francis Brundie. Tried on the Wednesday, she confessed and was sentenced to death. The much more enterprising James Wilson and James Aitkenhead went to the house of the Englishman Laurence Diccounne and "... thair betuix elleuin & twelf houris at ewin vnder clwde of nicht oppinning vpe his lithous [*dyehouse*] duir with ane fals key & thifteous steilling & takking furth thirof of thrie stiekkis [*pieces of cloth*] of growgrane and ane steik of tweill burrate [*twilled woollen cloth*]." They hastened their passage to the gallows by breaking into several houses and by "... spwilyeing and reiffing of ane boy of the Ladie Culrose & taking fra him of aucht pundis."³⁴

Among the cattle stealers were the Borderers Sym Allat of Hawick and James Scott of Selkirk. Scott, by 1597, was a butcher in Leith and the two had stolen cows and calves from Linlithgow, sheep from the flocks of John Robeson, the royal flesher, in the park of Holyroodhouse and a mare from the craigs of Craigengalt. In a last escapade, each carried a wether on his back from Leith to a house in the Pleasance. There the stolen animals were slaughtered, but the men were arrested when they tried to sell the carcasses. Earlier in the same year, Patrick Young, another Borderer from Glenholm on Tweedside, had stolen twenty-two sheep from Richard Paterson in Woodhouselee, delivering them to his butcher accomplice, John Nicholson. Nicholson escaped from the Tolbooth, but Young was not so

fortunate and his road to the gallows was followed in January, 1598 by Peter Machlane who helped himself to ewes from the lands of Broughton, John Robeson's nag in the park and a minister's brown mare. Already, in February, 1597, another gang had been brought to justice. In the cold January and February nights, five or six men, mostly weavers, had raided the croft of the Pleasance and the teind barn yard of Restalrig. They had also ransacked the loft of Andrew Borthwick, a burgh baillie, taking away wheat and peas. Finally, three of them descended upon the Craigs of Corstorphine, stealing a pair of oxen belonging to Archibald Greiff, "... passing In the nicht to the craigis of corstorphin dryving hame the said ky be the lang gaitt and bringing of thame to the sheip fauld of craingalt And the said thomas lowrie for taking and slaying of the said nolt himselff ... & felling of thame with ane knocking mell." Thomas Lowrie, the ringleader, was sentenced to death and the others to be scourged through the Canongate and banished from its freedom, their goods escheating to the superior.³⁵

Murder within the regality was usually simple slaughter or murder committed openly and followed by immediate pursuit. Henry Allan of Kirkwall ran the cordiner Cornelius Inglis through the heart with his rapier. Caught redhanded, Allan received speedy trial and was decapitated before the booth where the crime had been committed.³⁶ The same swift fate overtook John Wilson, the son of an Edinburgh cordiner, when he and his accomplices set upon George Dempster, a son of the constable of Brechin, and two of his kinsmen, "... in feir of Weir with suorde plaitt sleiffis & gantallit [*gauntlet*] & ... cruellie slew the said Vmquhile George hwirt & woudit the ... [*others*]" Wilson killed Dempster on the evening of 21 July, 1600 and was tried before a special justice court the following morning.³⁷ Earlier, in 1592, Andrew Lindsay was set upon and fatally wounded by a mob at the Flesh-stocks armed with "... swoirdis pestillotis Jedder staffs [*Jeddart staves*] halbtertis and vther vaponis." Isabella Grub, the widow, supported by seven of her Lindsay kin, pursued three of the principals.³⁸ Only one was convicted, and in January, 1593, a similar brawl at St. John's Cross in the Canongate ended in the death of John Henryson, a tailor burghess of Edinburgh. John Smith, perhaps the burgh baillie of the same name, and his three sons were involved. At their trial in April, the widow refused to pursue and the prosecution was undertaken by John Graham as procurator fiscal. The prolocutor for the panel was Archibald Wilkie and, perhaps not unexpectedly, the accused were found innocent by the assize.³⁹ The same tenderness for local men of good repute was probably extended to the burgh cordiner John Moreson, when in March, 1595, he came close to murder proper or "forthocht felony," being accused "... of the cruell & vnmercifull murthir & slaughter of ... Iohne Robesoune seruand to ... Thomas Ker brother germane to Andro Ker of Fairneihais commitit & done be him & his complices vnder clwid & sylence of nicht betuix nyne and ten houris at ewin vpone the fyft day of marche." At the croce of the burgh of the Cannogaitt with his complices strwik him cruellie with ane drawne swoird vpone the foirheid by the quhilk straik & wound the saim Vmquhile Johne hes depairtit fra this lyve."⁴⁰

While the Canongate juries perhaps preferred their own kind to Border lairds and their followers,⁴¹ they were not so indulgent towards the regality's most notorious criminal. This was Jean Livingston, the wife of John Kincaid of Warriston, who, in the summer of 1600, "... accompanyit with robert weir domestick seruand to Iohn levingstone of dwnypeace hir father vpone twysday the first day of July ... betuix elevin & tuelf houris vnder clwde

& sylence of nicht Murtherit & slew the said vmquhile John he beand sleippand . . . the said Ieane haifand the said robert weir with the rest of hir seruand women reddie on the fluir in the chalmr than pat violent handis in the said vmquhile Iohne Lyk as the said Ieane causit the said Jonet murdo deliuer to the said Robert ane small seruiet quha be hir persuasione pat the samin about the said vmquhile John craig And he and sho with the nwreise [nurse] vnnaturalie Wirriet & slew him. . . ." Lady Kincaid and the nurse were apparently apprehended on the spot but the women, Barbara Bartane and Agnes Johnstone, remained at liberty sufficiently long to be accused of hiding Weir in the ale cellar at Warriston. Jean Livingston and her nurse were tried in a regality justiciary court on 3 July, the king associating with Wilkie, as bailie-depute, Master William Hart, a royal justice-depute. The women confessed and were adjudged to be taken to the Gallowlee, bound to a stake, strangled and burned. James VI, with due regard for her gentle blood immediately altered the doom of Lady Kincaid to decapitation. The nurse paid the penalty in full; Weir was eventually captured and broken at the wheel and only the maidservants were acquitted.⁴²

The Kincaids, probably descended from a late fifteenth century bailie of the regality,⁴³ were a dark and troubled family. The murdered laird was elderly and possibly tainted by madness.⁴⁴ His younger brother, Master William, certainly was insane.⁴⁵ Kincaid's mother, Jean Ramsay, had been abducted by Mekle Hob, or Robert Cairncross, probably the regality vassal of Colmslie, while in 1599, William Murray, a Highlander resident in Leith, with a reputation for witchcraft, caused ". . . margaret pait to make ane bonnok [bannock] to the guidwyfe of Wairreistone sone of meill salt & ane eg to haif bene eittin be him quha eitit the samin & that the said William at the eitting thirof maid thrie pater nosteris in erishe [Irish, i.e. Gaelic]. . . ." Murray was examined by the ministers Robert Pont and John Brand for this and other pranks. They disregarded his plea that he had learned his arts from Amy Nicarochie, whom he would have married but that the Kirk refused, and handed him over to regality justice. Murray was perhaps lucky to escape with an hour in the jogs, a scourging through North Leith and permanent banishment.⁴⁶ Witchcraft, abduction and mariticide failed to chasten the Kincaids. Led, at first, by Patrick, tutor to Jean Livingston's young son, and aided by the Towers of Inverleith, they waged a bitter feud with the Logans of Bonnington. The conflict included a pitched battle in which the inhabitants of North Leith rallied to the Logans, and ended in 1607, for the time being, with the leaders warded in Edinburgh Castle.⁴⁷ Branches of the Kincaids were also established in Coates and Meldrumsheugh and Broughton.⁴⁸ John Kincaid of Craighouse, portioner of Broughton, followed the family tradition by abducting a girl first in 1598 and again in 1600, when he raided the house of the bailie of the Water of Leith, threw her over his saddle and set off across country to Craighouse. He ran straight into the king and a hunting party and escaped the consequences only upon payment of a composition of 2,500 marks.⁴⁹

In Saughtonhall, the portioner George Wilkie was murdered in 1592.⁵⁰ His neighbour, John Watson, was in constant hot water. He bought Smithslands in 1591, a markland still occupied as liferent by the aged Elizabeth Hamilton, mother of Gavin Carmichael, the former owner. Elizabeth's tenant, John Reid of the Haughs of Dalry, ". . . daylie and monethlie . . . cwist [cast] doun the house[s] dykis and bigit work bot also hokit out the breking of the ground and casting of hoillis and sewchis thirintill leidis away of the ground sellis and disponis to sik personis as he pleisis the said fewall dewot and vther materiallis of the said ground and brekis the swaird girse & pasturage of the samin. . . ." ⁵¹ Watson

halted Reid's waste but, even after he had probably got rid of Smithslands, remained on bad terms with Reid. On a summer's evening in 1599, Watson rode into the Haughs where Reid was pasturing his horses, ". . . And thir . . . Iniurit the said John reid be calling of him fals lowne he haid troublit him in the law he sould haif ane mendis of the said John And thireftir drew ane sword . . . And at the glans thirof the samin being cleir the hors being skeith [startled] Ran away with him ane gritt space and Returnand bakagane . . . with his drawin swoird in his hand licit af his said hors . . . And . . . Strwik at the said compliner . . . & hes cruellie hwirt and woundit him in his left hand . . . To the effusioune of his bluid. . . ." Watson was found guilty "in the blood and bloodwit" but went on to assault Katherine Preston, the wife of John Moreson, the Edinburgh burgesse to whom he had alienated part of his estate. For this, Watson was lodged in the Canongate Tolbooth but, undaunted, he bickered with Clement Russell, another burgesse of Edinburgh, who, from 1602, owned Smithslands.⁵² While Watson brought his troubles upon himself, his neighbour Nichol Dalzell of Saughtonhall mills was more passive but equally unfortunate. His mother, Margaret Stewart, claimed that he had ejected her from her liferent and his daughter was abducted by Archibald, the second son of the laird of Dalzell. Archibald followed this outrage with a series of raids in 1600. Nichol's millers were chased, one being thrashed for a mile and a half; Catherine Wood, Nichol's wife was assaulted and the mill wrecked. Young Dalzell was outlawed, but, venturing into the Highlands, he captured a member of the proscribed Clan Gregor. For this he received a remission, under condition of compensating Nichol and his family.⁵³

Lady Kincaid, John Watson and even Nichol Dalzell were not typical of the regality's immediate vassals in the landward areas. These held from the superior in feu-farm, a non-military tenure of fairly recent origin not only in Broughton but also in Scotland as a whole. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, feu-farm was confined largely to the Canongate, North Leith, the crofts along St. Leonard's way, Ironside, Battlehaughs, Hillhousefield, Pendreich and portions of Kerse and Whitekirk.⁵⁴ By 1567, with the feuing of the two Abbey gardens, feu-farm embraced the entire jurisdiction, the process having reached a peak after 1550, when Robert Stewart, the commendator, attained his majority.⁵⁵

To some extent, the feu-farmers were drawn from existing tenants and tacksmen, the Crawfords in Bonnington and Broughton, the Watsons, Stenhopes, Learmonth and Archibalds in Saughton being already present at the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Robert Stewart, supposedly restoring the abbey after its destruction by the English, was driven by his financial needs and granted charters of feufarm to those who could afford to buy them. These included regality officials and servants and familiars of the abbots and commendators. James Crawford of Broughton owed his possession of a quarter as much to his descent from William Crawford, a regality bailie, as his long family connection with the territory. The MacNeils, present in Broughton until about 1590, derived from John MacNeil, a clerk of court. Halkerston's Croft was feued in 1538 by Abbot Robert Cairncross to William Cairncross, while Robert Stewart placed John Bellenden of Auchnoull in Battlehaughs, Canonmills and Walkmills and John French, the Abbey's *magister hospitii*, in the commendator's gardens.⁵⁷ These feu-farmers merged with the lairds and barons with lands outside the regality and extensive possessions within it. Pride of place went to the mad earl of Arran with twenty-three lands in Kerse. The remaining Kerse feus were mostly occupied by Livingstons, Bruces, Forresters and Grahams. Whitekirk was divided between

the Bothwells, Henry Sinclair of Pitcairns and Robert Wauchope, the laird of Niddrie. Henry Forrester of Corstorphine occupied Frierton, Bedlormie and the Saughton lands of Broomhouse, Sacristan's Land and Claysire, while the Logans of Restalrig had penetrated Bonnington. Families intermarried, Kincaids with Livingstons and Bellendens, Logans with Fairlies of Colinton and Hepburns of Gilmerton. Among feu-farmers noted in other fields were the great lawyer Sir Thomas Craig, in Wrightslands, and, earlier, Master Thomas MacCalyeane, a senator of the College of Justice. MacCalyeane's daughter, Euphemia, was convicted of treason and witchcraft and burned alive, in 1591, upon the Castlehill. Her daughters succeeded to the Broughton lands in March, 1594.⁵⁸

Superficially, the pattern of feu-farm was tidy, single owners of Warriston and Pilrig, eight portioners of mid-century Broughton, four of Bonnington, two of Coates, holders of quarters, eighths and sixteenths in Saughtonhall and of the twenty-four and more oxgates of Saughton. A process of alienation, however, by no means completed in 1600, had made many portions purely nominal. Alienation was usually forced by financial necessity and, as often as not, was preceded by debts, annual rents, wadsets and appraisings of lands. In Broughton, George Towers of Bristo, between 1578 and 1590, disposed of his lands piecemeal to James Hairt, a Canongate maltman, to the burgh baxter John Smith and John Vaus, an indweller of Leith.⁵⁹ John Matheson alienated 20½ acres to David Vaus in 1588 while a large part of the Crawford portion was subinfeudated to the MacCalyeanes. The MacNeil lands mostly passed to John Acheson, the son of the royal coiner. In November, 1591, however, Acheson gave an annual rent of £59-11-6 to John Robertson, an Edinburgh burgess. In May, 1593, Robertson obtained a decree of poinding and by April, 1595 was in possession of the ground.⁶⁰ In Bonnington, the unredeemed wadsets of George Logan brought the presence of John Logan of Cowston and the Leith family of Waldie.⁶¹ John Moreson, an Edinburgh merchant, had the six Saughton oxgates of Sighthill and also held Plewlands and Broomhouse in blench from Henry Forrester of Corstorphine. By 1602, Moreson had also gained possession of almost a hundred of the Dalzell, West and Watson acres.⁶² Men such as Hairt and Moreson, generally inhabitants of Edinburgh, the Canongate and Leith, were eating into territories like Broughton and Saughtonhall and into the Logan lands in Restalrig, Coatfield, Parsonsknowes and East Granton.⁶³

The gradual displacement of the feu-farmers of the early and mid-century had already, by 1600, distorted the structure of landholding in the towns and lands involved. Saughtonhall, allowing for the different fractions into which it was divided, had been apportioned rig for rig among its original feuars. Thirteen of the Dalzell acres fell into nine distinct parts, an acre in the Whinrigs, three acres in the Easterhaughs, two dales in the Easter Breirflat, two acres or two dales in the Langcoitley, three separate portions in the Millshot, three rigs or an acre in the east part of the Meadowshot, two rigs to the west of Saughton Whins and a half-acre rig in the Carrick. Of another seven acres, almost half lay between Wilkie and Watson lands in the Millshot while the remainder marched in single and double rigs with the West and Winrhame feus in the Carrick and Meadowshot.⁶⁴ Any extensive alienation produced a complicated although not illogical pattern of ownership. In Broughton, where all the original feu-farmers made large disposals, John Matheson followed the usual custom when he sold twenty acres to David Vaus. He allocated the holdings of specific tenants, the twelve rigs and two dales of Agnes Johnstone in the Overshot, the three and four rigs of John Kello in the Overshot, the three rigs and headrig occupied by James

Henryson in the Mathmanratheshot and the four rigs in the Nethershot of the Scabbit lands. Vaus was also given John Schoirt's eight rigs in the Twiphillis. He acquired Schoirt's share of the hills or Knowes and the cultivated and waste lands on the Twiphillis. Such alienation of outfield rights was not uncommon. John Watson of Saughtonhall had his "infeild Muckitland" acres and his rights to ". . . lie myre quhinnis sykis panneis . . ." and to the "ingerse and commoun gerse." Both he and Nichol Dalzell sold at least part of these privileges. Watson also disposed of his south barn and byre, three houses and gardens in the town of Saughtonhall. Similar alienations by the Achesons and Mathesons in Broughton and by both Kincaids in Coates had the practical result of creating feu-farmers with a foothold in the town only and of excluding others altogether.⁶⁵

The feu-farmers complicated the pattern of ownership, rendered annual returns to the barons of Broughton in money and kind, were liable to duplicands [*double yearly payments*] upon entry and service of court and other burdens.⁶⁶ They played little active part in the cultivation of their lands. George Wilkie in Saughtonhall was in trouble in 1572 for supplying victual to the supporters of Queen Mary in Edinburgh, and he and his wife were tenants upon the Winrhame lands and tacksmen of forty of the Moreson acres.⁶⁷ John Hill of Multraise occupied, at various times, the Edinburgh Greenside, parts of the Hairt and Acheson feus in Broughton and the Fairneyhill near Pilrig.⁶⁸ In general, however, the feu-farmers disrupted the broad pattern of runrig cultivation by introducing their own tenants and tacksmen and their ". . . seruandis bairnis famelie subtennentis cottaris. . ." Tenants ranged from James Cleghorn and his wife, Agnes Bell, who held the six oxgates of Sighthill in tack until 1594, to the twelve upon the Falkirk 16s. 8d. land of James Livingston, the eight on a single portion of Coates and the six upon the Acheson 21½ acres in Broughton.⁶⁹ Rents were probably high and hardly surprisingly the average tacksman was of good social position and often a burgess of the Canongate or Edinburgh or an inhabitant of Leith.⁷⁰ Many must have subtacked or had tenants upon some less secure tenure but, nonetheless, Canongate burgage holders had once been bound to give service in the abbey's harvest fields.⁷¹ The rural connections of the burgh were still sufficiently strong to add its inhabitants to the complicated and largely anonymous structure of the regality's landward tenants.

NOTES and REFERENCES

- ¹ Bannatyne Club, *Liber Cartarum (Sancte Crucis)*, (Edinburgh, 1840), no. 1.
- ² *Ibid.*, nos. 1, 65, 95, App. II, nos. 16, 18; in 1343 and 1393 respectively.
- ³ Sir James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, (9 vols., Edinburgh, 1904-14), vol. vi, p. 572.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 429, and v, 432; *R(egistrum) M(agni) S(igilli) Regum Scotorum*, vol. v, no. 337.
- ⁵ *R.M.S.*, v, no. 1304.
- ⁶ *Scots Peerage*, iv, 432-3; *R.M.S.*, v, no. 1484.
- ⁷ *R.M.S.*, v, no. 1304; the regality of Kerse is rarely correctly designated as such beyond the early years of James II. In 1461 Airth was described as being "in baronia de Brochtoune" while in 1541, there appears ". . . balliuis nostris regalitatis et baroniarum nostrarum de Brochtoune et Kerse"; cf. *Liber Cartarum*, nos. 128 and 130.
- ⁸ No attempt is made in this general article to describe the exact bounds of the regality. Previous volumes of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* give considerable information as do also, most notably, the Protocol Books of James Logan, in the Scottish Record Office—later cited as, Logan.

* *R.M.S.*, v, no. 1304; the abbey is not mentioned specifically as the *caput* or head place but *casines* and *resignations* were at one time made in the monastery, its great hall, abbot's hospice, cemetery or elsewhere in the policies, cf. *Liber Cartarum*, no. 95; *Protocol Books of James Young, 1485-1515*, (Scottish Record Society, pts. i-v, Edinburgh, 1941-52) nos. 63, 123 and 157.

¹⁰ W. Croft Dickinson, *The Sheriff Court Book of Fife, 1515-22*, (Scottish History Society, 1928), pp. xix-xx; by the Court Book, 31 July, 1599, "... the Burgh of the Canongait being the heid burgh of the Regalitie and Baronie of Brochtoune. . ."

¹¹ John Mackay, *History of the Burgh of Regality of the Canongate*, (Edinburgh, 1879), p. 26.

¹² *Scots Peerage*, v, 443; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. v, 671, 24 January, 1596; Court Book, 25 February, 1597-8. Sir Lewis married Margaret, seventh child of William, 6th Lord Livingston in 1581. Margaret was still her son's tutor in 1596 but had been replaced by curators by February, 1598. As curators were nominated on completion of an heir's 14th year, James must have been born by 1584 at the latest.

¹³ Court Book, 25 February, 1597-8, 16 December, 1598; Walter was commissioned on the first date. The heir's curators were initially John Livingston of Dunipace, probably Sir George Livingston of Ogilface, second surviving son of the 6th Lord Livingston, Alexander, 4th Lord Elphinstone, husband of Jane, eldest daughter of Lord Livingston and Adam Bellenden.

¹⁴ *R.M.S.*, iv, no. 1985; M. Wood, *The Court Book of the Regality of Broughton and Burgh of the Canongate, 1569-72*, (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1937), pp. 184-5 and 186-7; Bellenden was made hereditary baillie and justiciar, the rights of Alexander Bruce of Airth in Kerse and Ogilface being cancelled in 1566. In 1569, Master David Makgill, baillie-principal, surrendered his "right kyndnes propertie and possession" in the bailliary of the regality of Holyroodhouse. Bellenden took formal possession of his offices in 1570.

¹⁵ Court Book, 7 January, 1594-5; Logan, (see note 8), 31 July, 1588, 22/23 October, 1589, 3 November, 1590; *Scots Peerage*, ii, 66; *R.P.C.*, vi, 195; Bellenden was also step-father of the young John Logan. Both were involved in 1599 with Walter Bellenden in the double rescue of Master Adam Bellenden, arrested under letters of caption. The fifth child of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoll was John; a John Bellenden was also chamberlain of the regality.

¹⁶ *Scots Peerage*, ii, 66.

¹⁷ Court Book, 2 May, 1592, 6 April, 1594; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticanae*, (Edinburgh, 1915 on), vii, 262.

¹⁸ Court Book, 6 March, 1595-6; Logan, 16 October, 1577; "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of the Canongate, 1561-88," (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club*), II, (Edinburgh, 1840), pp. 323, 330 and 348-9; J. Maitland Anderson, *The Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, 1413-1579*, (1926), pp. 266, 270; James's son Robert acquired the Craigengalt lands of William MacNeil in 1577. He may also have been at St. Andrews from 1563 until 1566. An Archibald Wilkie matriculated at St. Leonard's in 1558. Wilkie was a burgh baillie, 1591-2, 1593-4, 1595-6.

¹⁹ Court Book, *passim*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 26 September, 1592, 16 March, 1593-4, 10 July, 1594, 27 November, 1594, 13 December, 1598; Logan was supposedly appointed clerk of the burgh court annually by the council. In practice, he held both offices for life and was succeeded by his son in 1607.

²¹ Assizes and inquests relied heavily upon a limited group of mainly Canongate men, often prominent in other fields of curial and burghal activity. The group included the maltmen Richard Baxter, Alexander Bernis and John Wilson, the dagmakers John Kello, a member of the burgh council, and William Fendar, deacon of his craft, and the cordiners John Paterson, also deacon of his craft, John Moreson and Cuthbert Pinkcarton.

²² Court Book, *passim*; the burgh court was, of course, inferior to the regality, possessing a civil jurisdiction within the bounds of the burgh.

²³ *Ibid.*, 22 November, 1592, 14 February, 1592-3, 5 May, 1593, 5 June, 1594, 9 October, 1594, 9 July, 1597; for the domination of the council by the maltmen in the early seventeenth century, cf. *R.P.C.*, ix, 462-4, 494-6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 16 February, 1593-4, 11 December, 1594, 18 February, 1595-6, 19 June, 1596.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 September, 1592, 18 October, 1592, 14 February, 1592-3, 10 March, 1592-3, 20, 28

April, 1593, 6, 9, 13, 20, 30 June, 1593, 20 October, 1593, 25 September, 1594, 5, 6 February, 1596-7, 20 July, 1597, 1 February, 1597-8.

²⁶ This was, of course, in keeping with the law, which gave the private person prior right to pursue, cf. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, III, especially 1597, c.77.

²⁷ Court Book, 21 January, 1597-8; *Maitland*, pp. 336-7; presumably in the absence of a private pursuer.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 October, 1592, 31 January, 1594-5, 3, 4, 22 July, 1600; *A.P.S.*, II, 1426, c. 89 and 1436, c. 142.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 23 November, 1594, 1 March, 1594-5, 11 April, 1597, 4 April, 1598, 12 August, 1598.

³⁰ Rt. Hon. J. A. Clyde, *Hope's Major Practicks 1601-1633*, (Stair Society, 1938), ii, 296-7; Sir George Mackenzie, *The Principles of the Law of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1764), IV.4.30, p. 485.

³¹ Logan, 16 October, 1577, 22 April, 1580; Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 87; (*The Early Views and Maps of Edinburgh*, (R. Scottish Geographical Society, Edinburgh, 1919), Ainslie, 1804, and Lothian Map, 1825; Master Robert Wilkie received, inter alia, in 1577, 2 acres below the West and Over Quarryholes, Wrightslands on the north. The Nether Quarryholes lay in Coatfield to the east of the present Easter Road near Lorne Street.

³² Court Book, 6 December, 1592, 17 May, 1598, 16 April, 1600.

³³ *Ibid.*, 16 August, 1598; as the purse contained ten pieces of gold and thirty shillings worth of silver coins, Leith seems to have been very fortunate.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 26 July, 1598, 30 April, 1600.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 February, 1596-7, 11 April, 1597, 5 July, 1597, 18 January, 1598-9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2 June, 1596.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22 July, 1600; the pursuers were James Dempster at the North Water Bridge and Robert Dempster son to the laird of Melrose.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 September, 1592, 6 October, 1592; she was assisted by Hugh Lindsay, son to the laird of Colvingtoun, his son William, by Alexander, David and Patrick Lindsay, all burgesses of Edinburgh, and Walter Cunningham.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 April, 1593; Smith was accused along with his sons John, James and Andrew; the baxter baillie and his wife, Egidir Malcolm, were the parents of Andrew, George and probably of John Smith, younger, who appears occasionally in the Court Record.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 May, 1595; cf. *Hope's Major Practicks*, VIII.12.2.

⁴¹ Bowie, Lamby, Smith and Moresoune were accorded much fuller trials than the hasty affairs of Inglis and Wilson. Bowie was released under caution before his trial and while Lamby was convicted there is no record of his punishment. Perhaps significantly, the only instance of assythment in the Court Book involved a Leith indweller, James Borthwick, guilty of the slaughter of Thomas Boig; cf. Court Book, 4 July, 1594, 31 July, 1594.

⁴² Court Book, 3 July, 1600, 4 July, 1600, 19 July, 1600; Robert Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1833), II, pt. 2, 446-7.

⁴³ *Young*, nos. 4, 1046, 1118; George Kincaid, already a baillie in 1485, was still in office in 1501. By then his son George was baillie of the Canongate.

⁴⁴ Pitcairn, *op. cit.*, II, pt. 2, 446 etc.

⁴⁵ Court Book, 6 August, 1600; William was returned as idiot. This enabled Patrick the next brother to be retoured tutor to the heir. Jean Livingston was the daughter of the younger John of Dunipace who succeeded his father about 1598. Her marriage contract was dated 21 October, 1588, cf. Logan.

⁴⁶ Court Book, 14 August, 1599; Pitcairn, *op. cit.*, I, pt. 3, 244, (27 May, 1591).

⁴⁷ *R.P.C.*, vii, 292-3, 663; John Russell, "Bonnington; Its Lands and Mansions," *B.O.E.C.*, xix; Patrick Kincaid had died by 1606; the leaders imprisoned in 1607 were George Logan and Thomas Kincaid.

⁴⁸ Kincaids from outside the regality who appeared upon Kincaid inquests included Robert Kincaid of Cowston, James Kincaid of Carlowrie and his son Robert, James Kincaid of Craiglockhart and James Kincaid, younger, of that ilk. There was also a John Kincaid, ygr., of Carlowrie.

⁴⁹ Court Book, 11 July, 1597, 5 August, 1598; *R.P.C.*, v, 453, vi, 187, 674; Pitcairn, *op. cit.*, II, pt. 2, 336 and 339.

⁵⁰ Court Book, 21 September, 1592; the accused, who was acquitted, was William Barker, servant to Robert Brown in Saughtonhall, and son to Andrew Barker in the Water of Leith. The pursuers were the sons of the deceased, Thomas, Master John, Robert and James, assisted by Sir William Lauder of Haltoun, Thomas Megget of Masterton, James Somerville, younger of Humbie, and Master Robert Winrhame of Ratho.

⁵¹ Court Book, 22 March, 1593-4, 28 May, 1595; Logan, 11 June, 1590, 16-18 March, 1590-1; Elizabeth was probably the widow of Sir Robert Carmichael, servant of the commendator Robert Stewart. In 1593, she was the wife of Alexander Stewart. John Reid was the son of Alexander Reid, indweller in the Haughs.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 6 June, 1599; Logan, 28 April, 1602, 11 June, 1602; *R.P.C.*, vi, 419 and vii, 555.

⁵³ Court Book, 29 March, 1597-8; *R.P.C.*, vi, 140, 423, 483, 862; *Scots Peerage*, ii, 406; between June, 1600 and August, 1603.

⁵⁴ By evidence mainly in *Young*; by nos. 32, 52, 190, 263, 840 it is clear that Hillhousefield was held completely in feu-farm by 1496; Fluiris was held in feu-farm in 1502, *cf.* no. 1212, while the Towers family were in possession of Walkmills by 1486 and definitely feu-farmers of Battlehaughs in 1494, *cf.* nos. 42, 759.

⁵⁵ *Scots Peerage*, vi, 572; *R.M.S.*, iv, nos. 1385, 1593, 1662, 2386, 2557, 2777, v, nos. 409, 645, 1240; *Liber Cartarum*, pp. 276 etc.; *Calendar of the Laing Charters. . . in Edinburgh University*, (Edinburgh, 1899), nos. 600, 662; Robert was born in 1532; there was practically no feuing between 1539 and 1550.

⁵⁶ *R.M.S.*, iv, no. 2777, v, no. 409; *Young*, no. 892; *B.O.E.C.*, xix, 147; G. Upton Selway, *A Mid-Lothian Village; notes on the Village and Parish of Corstorphine*, (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 38.

⁵⁷ Court Book, 20 March, 1593-4; *R.M.S.*, iv, nos. 1385, 2557; Wood, *op.cit.*, pp. 383-4; *B.O.E.C.*, xiii, 81.

⁵⁸ Court Book, 20 March, 1593-4; Pitcairn, *op.cit.*, I, pt. 3, 247, 248, 255; the greater part of the MacCalyeane lands in Broughton were held in sub-feu from James Crawford. The family estate of Cliftonhall was not returned by the crown.

⁵⁹ Logan, 4 February, 1577-8, 10 March, 1579-80, 6 April, 1580, 10 May, 1580, 24 May, 1580, 14 March, 1580-1, 25 May, 1588, 11 December, 1590; the mid-century portioners of Broughton were George Towers of Bristo, John Matheson, James Crawford, Steven Kincaid, Master Thomas MacCalyeane, Master John Guthrie, William MacNeil and John Watson.

⁶⁰ Court Book, 10 November, 1591, 20 March, 1593-4, 30 April, 1595, 23 May, 1598; Logan, 25 May, 1588.

⁶¹ Logan, 10 November, 1577, 8 November, 1578, 9 March, 1590-1; Logan redeemed part of the lands in Bonnington and Newhaven upon payment of the principal borrowed.

⁶² Court Book, 5 February, 1594-5, 15 December, 1599; Logan, 16 May, 1577, 9 February, 1579-80, 26 February, 1579-80, 17 May, 1580, 28 April, 1602, 15 January, 1603; *R.M.S.*, vi, no. 966; George West in 1599 owed Moreson £892-6-8 of arrears of an annual rent and of borrowed money. Moreson drew annual rents of £22-0-0 from the Winrhame feu and of £20-0-0 from the Watson. He also received an annual 45 bolls of barley from Canonmills granted by Sir Lewis Bellenden.

⁶³ Logan, 14 March, 1580-1, 11 December, 1590; Hairt was granted annual rents of 91 marks by George Towers in 1580-1. Including these, Hairt, or his widow Isobel Lyon, drew a yearly 350½ marks from Broughton, Pleasance, Lochflatt, Craigengalt and the Logan lands. Not all feu-farmers were in financial difficulties. John Watson and Thomas Wilkie in Saughtonhall, the Watsons and Haldanes in Saughton were all acquiring lands from their neighbours.

⁶⁴ Court Book, 23 February, 1593-4; Logan, 16 May, 1577, 11 June, 1590, 26 June, 1590; *B.O.E.C.*, xix, 147; single rigs were from as little as 22 falls to just under one acre.

⁶⁵ Logan, 6 April, 1580, 25 May, 1588, 8 July, 1590, 28 April, 1602.

⁶⁶ Money returns were paid at Whitsun and Martinmas; payments in kind, now largely limited to offerings of capons, hens or pigs, were made at the usual terms or at Pasche, Christmas or other festivals, and were largely translated into money equivalents. Arriage and carriage were due from the Saughton and Saughtonhall feus and harvest work was imposed upon the Falkirk feuars. Thirlage to the appropriate mill was laid upon all feu-farmers, including those in the Canongate, and their tenants.

⁶⁷ Court Book, 5 October, 1597; Logan, 16 May, 1577; Pitcairn, *op.cit.*, I, pt. 2, 33.

⁶⁸ Court Book, 4 April, 1593, 4 June, 1595, 20 August, 1595; Logan, 29 May, 1588; *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-1589*, p. 532.

⁶⁹ Court Book, 8 November, 1592, 23 December, 1592, 25 March, 1594, 10 August, 1597; Logan, 28 July, 1577.

⁷⁰ Court Book, 4 April, 1593, 28 March, 1594, 13 March, 1594-5, 19 January, 1596-7; rents were still expressed in terms of bolls or pecks of victual, loads of coals and in capons. These were commuted and, near the Canongate, could be £10 to £15 an acre. The money equivalent could be regulated by the current prices of the commodities. While Sir Thomas Craig paid the superior an annual £9, he received almost £15 an acre for three acres occupied by a tenant.

⁷¹ *Young*, no. 1269.

APPENDIX

THE VASSALS OF THE REGALITY OF BROUGHTON, 1592-1600

The lists are based upon Head Court lists of absentees, retours and other information in the Court Book and upon material in the Protocol Books of Young and Logan. It is intended to present only a general view of the feu-farmers over the period 1592-1600. The Canongate itself and North Leith have been necessarily excluded.

(1) The Baronies of Kerse and Ogilface

Land	Vassal
Airth	Alexander Bruce of Airth.
Ogilface	Patrick Cockburn, laird of Clerkington; d. 1575; John Cockburn, son, sold superiorities of lands of Ogilface to: Sir George Livingstone. ¹ Henry Forrester of Corstorphine. Thomas Forrester. John Oswald. Janet Graham, widow of William Graham, probably of Gartmore. ² Robert Graham, son. Robert Cairncross, laird of Colmslie. William Cairncross, from April, 1595. William Crawford. Robert Gib; James Gib; from October, 1593. John Scott, d. by October, 1598; Relict of John Scott. James Livingston of Inches. ³ liferenter. James Livingston; son and feuar; 16s 8d land. Relict of John Robb; Barthill Robb, from April, 1598; Relict of Barthill Robb, from October, 1599; 16s 8d land. Robert Livingston of Westquarter. Alexander Livingston, ⁴ portioner of Falkirk. Mr Henry Livingston; possibly minister of St. Ninian's. ⁵ Robert Livingston of Bantaskin; probably error for Alexander L. of Bantaskin. ⁶ John Swoird, son of Patrick Swoird, bailie of Falkirk; retoured 6 April, 1597;
Bedlormie & Torbraxis	
Saltcoates (?)	
Saltcoates (Wester)	
Little Saltcoates	
Reddoch	
Bearcroft & Soulisland	
Killycanty (?)	
Falkirk	

Relict of John Swoird; from January 1599; 16s 8d land.

Mr Robert Livingston.

John Kincaid of Warriston.

James Hamilton, earl of Arran.

Heuck

Little Kerse, Hill, portions of Saltcoates, Carronflat, Polmont and its mill, Little Kerse, Cauldcoates; c. 23 lands in all.

Cauldcoates (?)⁷

Alexander Bruce of Airth.

Not Identified

Richard Bruce, Robert Bruce, the Heirs of George Weddell.

NOTES and REFERENCES

¹ Head Court lists occasionally include Patrick Cockburn among the absent and in April, 1597 assign the lands of Newbigging or Abbotsgrange to his family. These are more regularly "in manibus domini" until April, 1599. John Cockburn sold the superiorities of Woodquarter, Gartmoir, etc. to William, Lord Livingston and his son George in February, 1590 (T. H. Cockburn-Hood, *The House of Cockburn of that Ilk*, (Edinburgh, 1888), p.276). George also later acquired The East Craig of Ogilface. He appears among the absent only from January, 1598. The East Craig appears irregularly as "in manibus . . ." until that month.

² Not specifically mentioned as of Gartmore. The contemporary Grahams of Gartmore, however, possess the same names, cf. W. Fraser, *The Red Book of Menteith*, (Edinburgh, 1880), vol. 1, p.314.

³ E. B. Livingston, *The Livingstons of Callendar*, (Edinburgh, 1920), p.215.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 379.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 361-2.

⁷ W. B. Armstrong, *The Bruces of Airth and their Cadets*, (Edinburgh, 1892), p.xxxiv.

(2) The Baronies of Broughton and Whitekirk

Land	Extent	Vassal
Whitekirk	Half lands & barony Half lands Four marklands in Ford	Margaret Murray, liferenter; widow of Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. Henry Sinclair of Pitcairns. Robert Wauchope, laird of Niddrie.
Preston	Half	George Hamilton, laird of Fingalton.
Frierton	Whole	Henry Forrester, laird of Corstorphine. Janet Lauder, tercer, widow of James Forrester.
Pendreich	Whole	James Bellenden; succeeded by son, John Bellenden, 16 July, 1602.

Fore Spittal		Robert Cairncross of Colmslie; succeeded by William Cairncross before April, 1595.
Back Spittal		James Bellenden; alive in 1603.
Harlaw & Barbourlands	Whole	Mark Acheson of Milnhaven.
Lands near Linlithgow	114 acres	James Bellenden of Broughton
Little Fawside		In manibus domini; belonged to Hugh Douglas of Borg.
Sandersdaill Half (?)		In manibus domini until January 1600; Patrick Brown of Colston.
	Half (?)	<i>Not identified.</i>
Saughton	6 oxgates	Sighthill; John Moreson, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh; wife, Katherine Preston; bailie in 1592-3.
	8 oxgates	Master James Watson; Watsons in Saughton at end of 15th century.
	2 oxgates	Richard and James Watson probably immediate predecessors of Master James.
	1 oxgate	Lairdship [place-name]; Robert Girdwood, (d. 1576); thereafter his widow; relict of James Girdwood also mentioned.
	6 oxgates	Agnes Gardiner, feuar.
	1 oxgate	James Haldane.
	—	The Oxgang [place-name]; James Archibald; by 1497 two generations of Archibalds in Saughton.
	—	Broomhouse, Sacristan's Land, Claysire; Henry Forrester of Corstorphine; Plewlands and Broomhouse held in blench by John Moreson.
Saughton Mill and Lands		John Stenhope, ygr.; the elder Stenhope, husband of Margaret Kincaid, still alive in 1593.
Saughtonhall	$\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{16}$	The mills were both grain and fulling.
	Quarter	John Watson; son of James Watson (d. 1577), and grandson of William Watson (d. 1570).
		Mr Robert Winrhame, probably of Ratho; resigned in 1590-1 in favour of, James Winrhame (d. August, 1593); wife, Janet Carmichael.
		John Winrhame; son and minor retoured March, 1593-4, but died.
		James Winrhame; ygr. son, retoured 28 June, 1598. John Winrhame was under guardian-

		ship of mother and David Winrhame, brother of Mr John Winrhame of Craighton.
		Lands in manibus domini 1593-8.
	Eighth	Aleson Pratt, widow and conjunct feuar of George Wilkie, murdered <i>c.</i> September, 1592.
	Eighth	George West.
	$\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{16}$, Mill and mill lands.	Nichol Dalzell; son of John Dalzell and Margaret Stewart; husband of Katherine Wood.
		Margaret Stewart held $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres and more in liferent.
	<i>c.</i> 100 acres	John Moreson, as Saughton. These obtained: 24 acres from John Dalzell, 1577, 1580. 16 acres from George West, 1580. 58 acres from John Watson, 1602.
	20 acres	Thomas Wilkie, eldest son of George Wilkie; obtained from Nichol Dalzell, 1590. With another 3 acres from Dalzell they passed to John Watson, May, 1602.
Smithslands	Markland in Saughtonhall	1. Gavin Carmichael of Wrightslands; wife probably Margaret Polwart. 2. John Watson of Saughtonhall; from March, 1591. 3. James Stewart, ygr., of Brighthouse; until February, 1600. 4. John Reid in the Haughs of Dalry; wife and conjunct feuar, Aleson Coutts. 5. Clement Russell, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh; from June, 1602.
		Elizabeth Hamilton, mother of Gavin Carmichael, wife of Alexander Stewart, liferenter.
		Clement Kincaid, bailie of barony of Dalry.
	Half	John Kincaid, son of James Kincaid who d. 1585; John retoured in general, 10 July, 1594, in special, 30 July, 1595.
	Half	John Kincaid of Warriston; alienated by James Kincaid, 1577; Jean Ramsay, tercer.
	26 acres	Edward Kincaid, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh; alienated by James Kincaid.
	8 acres	Alexander Scott, burgess of Edinburgh, alienated by James Kincaid; William Scott.
	20+ acres	Mungo Russell, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh; wife Katherine Fisher; acres alien-
	7 acres	
Coates		

		ated by James Kincaid. Gideon Russell, son, paper maker and burges, occupier of Dalry Mills; retoured 21 November, 1593. Russell was also retoured to 2 separate sub-feus, one held from each portioner, 7 May, 1595.	
		Mariote Fyffie, daughter of John Fyffie and indweller at Water of Leith, similarly held 2 sub-feus in town of Coates; retoured 7 September, 1597.	
Meldrumsheugh	4 acres, the mill & "mayne" barn	Edward Kincaid, ygr., son of Edward Kincaid, maltman, burges of Edinburgh; a minor, retoured 5 August, 1598 when probably not more than 23.	
Broughton	Quarter	John Matheson; a man of same name in possession in 1569.	
	Quarter	James Crawford; Thomas Crawford indweller in 1488; family derived from Crawfords of Bearcroft.	
	57 acres	John Kincaid, laird of Craighouse; Steven Kincaid portioner from at least 1577; John retoured 11 July, 1593.	
	9 acres	Elizabeth MacCalyeane, wife of Mr James Wardlaw; Martha MacCalyeane, wife of Mr David Ogilby; Euphemia MacCalyeane, wife of Henry Sinclair of Whitekirk.	
		The sisters retoured 20 March, 1593-4, lands having been in manibus domini since execution of their mother in June, 1591. An additional <i>c.</i> 23 acres held in sub-feu from James Crawford.	
	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	John Matheson, ygr.; son of above.	
	10 acres	John Smith, baxter and bailie of the Canon-gate; alienated by George Towers of Bristo, 1580, 1590.	
	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Catherine Dickson; widow and liferenter of David Vaus in Leith; alienated by John Matheson, May, 1588.	
	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	John Vaus in Leith, son of above; wife Helen Robertson; alienated by George Towers, May, 1588.	
	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	John Acheson, son of the royal coiner; lands part of MacNeil and Watson portions. John Acheson, the elder and his wife, Margaret Hamilton, also acquired in 1579 lands of the	

		chapel of St. Anthony. John Robertson, merchant, burges of Edinburgh, from 1595, after appraisal of lands.	
	1 acre	David Watson; son of John Watson, bailie-depute and Agnes Johnstone; John d. 1585, being probably son of Richard Watson. David retoured 19 January, 1596-7; the Watsons of Saughton and Saughtonhall were on the inquest. The acre was not part of former Watson portion but had been alienated by George Towers. By December, 1592, Agnes Johnstone was married to John Crawford, maltman in Leith Wynd.	
	16 acres	James Hairt, ygr., goldsmith in the Canongate.	
	2 acres	William Hairt, his brother; the sons of James Hairt, maltman, and Isobel Lyon; 16 acres alienated by George Towers, 1578, 1580, 1581; 2 rigs by John Watson, 1581. In November, 1602, James Hairt settled <i>c.</i> 7 acres in Broughton and 1 in St. Leonard's Way upon his future wife, Jean, daughter of John Matheson.	
	—	Robert Gillespie, merchant, burges of Edinburgh.	
	18 acres	John Bothwell, commendator; by November, 1602.	
	—	John Hill in Multraise; Relict of John Hill, from October, 1597.	
		James Bellenden of Broughton	
		Canonmills, Walkmills & Battlehaughs Warriston	
		Bonnington	
	Quarter	John Kincaid; murdered 1 July, 1600. Jean Ramsay, tercer, conjunct feuar of half.	
		Grissell Fairney, widow and conjunct feuar or liferenter of John Logan, and George Logan, son; probably betrothed to Elizabeth Hepburn, daughter of late William Hepburn of Gilmerton, 1 September, 1599.	
	Quarter	George Logan, a different portioner.	
	Quarter	Janet Cockburn, widow of James Wood; William Wood, son or nephew.	
	Quarter	James Sandiland, laird of Calder.	
	5 acres	John Logan, laird of Cowston; alienated by George Logan, November, 1577.	
	2 acres	James Waldie in Leith; d. 1591; John Waldie,	

		brother, retoured 19 January, 1596-7; alienated by George Logan, March, 1591.
	9½ acres	Isobel Mowbray, widow and conjunct feuar of John Thomson, maltman, Leith; wife of William Logan.
Hillhousefield	3 acres	Christina Douglas, widow and conjunct feuar of John Luiff in Leith, wadset by John Dummo, March, 1580.
	4 acres	John Kincaid of Warriston; Jean Ramsay, tercer; the feu of John Dun in 1498 and ½ feu of Jonet and Margaret Spencer.
	6 acres	John Vaus; as Broughton; and Catherine Dickson; feu alienated by William Dawson, May, 1588; in possession of Dawsons in late 15th century.
	————	Relict of John Wardlaw.
	————	Relict of Andrew Bartan.
	22 acres	Relict of James Gourlay; probably Frances Napier; received feu from Alexander Stevenson, September, 1589. This feu made up of the Mossman, John Gardener, Jonet Joyffrason, Marion Dalrimple feus of c. 1496.
	————	John Logan of Cowston.
	1 acre	Isobel Mowbray; as Bonnington.
	————	Grissell Fairney; the original Crawford 3½ acres were divided among heiresses of Bonnington.
Fluiris	10 acres	Helen Tempill, widow and conjunct feuar of James Logan, maltman in Leith. John Logan, son, from 1599.
	13 acres	John Bellenden, bailie-depute, and wife, Helen Tempill; 12 acres sold by Alex. Hay, October, 1589, 1 acre wadset by Mariote Dick, June, 1590.
Wrightslands		John Bellenden (as above); sold by Gavin Carmichael to him and Helen Tempill in November, 1590.
		Mr Thomas Craig, advocate, in possession by 1594.
Pilrig		Patrick Money penny, laird of Pilrig.
Common Moor & Gallowlee, Greenside & The Green		The Burgh of the Canongate

Abbey Gardens		Agnes Forrest, widow and liferenter of John French, servitor of Robert Stewart, commendator.
Ironside and Gods bairns Croft		Mr John Hairt, doctor, burges and bailie of the Canongate.
Fergusson's Croft		William Cockie, goldsmith, burges of Edinburgh; croft resigned by Andrew Fergusson in 1504; granted in feufarm to Robert Henry & wife Helen Mowbray, 23 October, 1577. Henry granted Cockie annualrent of 57 mks. 10s., 15 November, 1577.
White's Croft		Alexander Douglas; Mr William Douglas, from 18 January, 1598.
Halkerston's Croft Meadowflatt & Dishflatt		David Crichton, burges of Edinburgh.
St. Leonard's Croft	c. 63 acres	Sir James Bellenden of Broughton.
Terrar's & Hermit's Crofts Lochflatt Slipperfield	§ 1 §	Partick Crichton, laird of Lugton; David Crichton, son, retoured 17 December, 1595. Andrew Chalmers; d. by April, 1594.
The Pleasance		Halbert Maxwell.
East side of St. Leonard's Way	Half-acre	Gilbert Penicui of that Ilk.
	Half-acre	John Cockburn, laird of Skirling.
	One-acre	Thomas Henderson, merchant, burges of Edinburgh. John H., indweller, also mentioned.
	Half-acre	James Liberton in Over Liberton, succeeded by Robert Simpson, maltman.
	Half-acre	William Sprottie; son & heir John Sprottie.
		Robert Simpson, maltman; having secured decrees of poinding & apprising for 480 marks, 1594; John Simpson, son, retoured 7 September, 1597.
		David Bairnsfather; a half sold to Alex. Halbert, December, 1602.
		James Biggar in Over Newton; a foreland, sold to Robert Logan, August, 1599.
		Alexander Aitton, burges of the Canongate; John Aitton, January, 1598; sold to Alexander Halbert, December, 1602.
	Half-acre	Alexander Halbert, gardener in White's Croft.
	Half-acre	Elizabeth Boyis, wife and conjunct feuar of Walter Young, maltman; Grissel and Isobel Blaikkie apparently succeeded in 1595.

St. Leonard's Way	One-acre	Archibald Hume, merchant, burghess of Edinburgh; from 1599, half to Alexander Halbert.
	Half-acre	Thomas Blaikkie, d. by April, 1597; Christina Young, widow and conjunct feuar.
	1½ acres	John Wilson, maltman, burghess of the Canon-gate.
	1½ acres	Nichol Vdwarte, merchant, burghess of Edinburgh
	Two-acres	James Hairt, ygr., and William Hairt (as Broughton); alienated by William MacNeill in 1581. James settled his acre on his future wife, Jean Matheson, in November, 1602.
	One-acre	John Gibson.
West Side (?)		John Gardiner.
		George Dewar.
		Robert Smith.
St. Ninians Row		In 1595, at least part of this village was in possession of William Cockie and Mr John Bannatyne (or Bellenden), <i>cf.</i> Court Book, 20 July, 1595.
		<i>Vassals not identified</i>
		Thomas Hunter; relict of Thomas Hunter, from January, 1594; Alexander Hunter, from October, 1594.
		William Hamilton.
		John Drummond.
		Thomas Hamilton.
		John Hamilton.
		Andrew Hamilton.

SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDINBURGH

by DR MARGUERITE WOOD

We are indebted to our member, Mr Walter Makey, Edinburgh City Archivist, for drawing attention to the manuscript of this article, which is preserved among Dr Wood's papers in the City Record Office. A short section covering the period before 1329 has been omitted; otherwise her text is printed unchanged. I have, however, amplified the references and drawn attention to recent publications where relevant. The reader will find early maps of the city helpful—see note 55.

Ian Fisher.

In the year 1329 Robert I, in accordance with his practice in other cases, granted to the burghesses of Edinburgh their own burgh in feufarm for a duty of 52 marks a year.¹ He confirmed to them the liberties and privileges which they had enjoyed in the reign of Alexander III. The first clause granting the feufarm does not define the bounds of the burgh, but includes in them the port of Leith and their mills, of which the number is stated. It has been assumed that the inclusion of the port of Leith was a new grant. From the phrasing *una cum Portu de Letha molendinis et ceteris pertinentiis suis*—of which the mills were a former possession—it seems that the port had been previously in the burgh's hands. This ownership of a port at some distance from the actual burgh is not confined to Edinburgh. Stirling, Linlithgow and Haddington had ports regarded as their own. However, the importance of its inclusion is that the burgh had had, or was at least beginning, a measure of overseas trade. The loss of Berwick-on-Tweed [1334] was to render Edinburgh the principal trading centre for the Lothians and indeed the whole south of Scotland. Hence the growth of the town and its development along lines which accounted for the congestion of its buildings.

From this time charters by succeeding kings add small details as to the burgh. David II in 1364 granted to the burghesses and community a piece of ground, 100 feet by 30 feet, on the High Street on the west side of the old Tron on the way up to the Castle, for a new Tron.² John, Earl of Carrick, later Robert II, in 1385 granted to the burghesses the right to build themselves houses in the Castle—an obvious precaution for time of war.³ As Robert II he granted to them in 1386 a piece of ground, 60 feet by 30 feet, on the north side of the High Street in the market place, for buildings for the adornment of the burgh. This is endorsed as the charter of the foundation of the Bellhouse and is said to mark the building of the Old Tolbooth.⁴ A group of charters by Robert III making gifts to various persons out of the "great customs" of Edinburgh are useful as proving that the burgh was growing wealthy.⁵ Two grants by Robert Logane of Restalrig to the burghesses of facilities in the town of Leith, dated 1398 and 1413/4, prove expanding trade. The growth is proved further by the burgh's bond in 1423/4 to pay 50,000 merks for the ransom of James I.⁶

With all this there is no record of the structural development of the burgh. In 1450 a charter of James II empowered the Provost and community to "Fosse, bulwark, wall, toure,

turate and uther wais to strengthen our foresaid Burgh."⁷ It is matter of debate, still unsettled, whether this was the first wall of the town. While no trace remains of earlier fortification, it would seem highly improbable. Only fragments of this wall can be traced, but enough to show the small area of the burgh. It passed along the ridge south of the High Street about halfway between that street and the Cowgate. There was a port about the middle of the West Bow and traces of the wall, on the south slope of the Castlehill, which appears to have continued till it met the Castle wall. In spite of theories to the contrary, there is no record of fortifications to the north, and on the east there was no actual wall north of the Netherbow port, but the houses on the west side of Leith Wynd were constructed so as to admit of fortification in case of need. This encloses an area very small for a community so prosperous as to be able to guarantee the large ransom alluded to.

The first recorded extension of the burgh is contained in the charter by James II in 1456 of the valley between Craigengalt [Calton Hill] and the road to Leith, known as Greenside, for "tournaments, sports and proper warlike deeds."⁸ This, the burgh's first sports ground, is alluded to usually as the playfield and for centuries appears to have been kept for the use to which it had been assigned.

Another significant stage in the history of the burgh was the erection of the parish Church of St. Giles into a Collegiate Church, of which the various stages were dated 1466, 1467 and 1470.⁹

Letters patent of James III in 1472 empowered the burgesses and community to wall the town in much the same terms as the charter of his predecessor, James II.¹⁰ It has the significant addition that provision was made for exacting contributions, not only from burgess inhabitants of the burgh, but those who lived outside its bounds. Also the King granted powers to the Provost and bailies, his sheriff and sheriffs depute within burgh, to demolish any houses built upon or outside the wall which would hinder the defence. How far such a permission must have involved the establishments of the Black Friars, Grey Friars and the Collegiate Church of St. Mary of the Fields is matter for conjecture if the letters were carried out. The latter possibly was far enough from the wall to be of no danger.

A letter under the Privy Seal of James III in 1477¹¹ notifying the statutes made by the Provost, Bailies and Council as to the places of the markets, shows the layout of the High Street and Wynds to be as it was to remain till the improvements of the late 18th century. It also shows that the Town boundaries extended beyond the Netherbow Port to St. Mary Wynd. That is one of the curious things about the bounds of Edinburgh, how the royalty extended down the south side of the Canongate as far as St. John's Cross or the Lopley Stone. When and how it was thus included never has been shown.

That the burgh was growing is shown by the charter by the Provost of the Collegiate Church in 1477/8, granting a part of his yards beside his manse for a burying ground.¹² The charter proceeds upon the narration that his parishioners were increasing so that there was no room for burials within or outside the church. Almost twenty years later, in 1496, he granted part of his manse and of the glebe for the same purpose.

In 1508 a charter of James IV indicates indirectly the growth of the population of the burgh. By this the Council were empowered to lease the common moor of Edinburgh, called the Boroughmuir and the Borough myre. This is the first allusion in any charter to the common land or pasturage of the burgh which extended along to the south and west, bounded by estates of various other persons.¹³ This encroachment upon the common lands of the

burgesses had two motives; one, as with Crown lands similarly feued, the provision of a constant revenue, the other the supply of land which could be cultivated to take the place of those tofts or tenements within burgh which had been arable land, but then were to a large extent built over.

In 1510/11 another accession to the property of the Town was Newhaven, granted to the community by James IV.¹⁴ Properly speaking this was no real extension of the burgh. The burghal authorities had feared that the harbour of Newhaven, recently used for the building of the King's great ship, the Michael, might rival and indeed supersede their port of Leith. Therefore they bought it from the King, but seem not to have used or developed it in any way.

The disaster of Flodden and the subsequent troubles of the Kingdom make a long break in the history of acquisitions by the burgh. One of its consequences was the extension of the Town wall to protect the buildings which had spread far beyond the limits of the King's Wall. Although the national defeat lent urgency to the construction, it must be noted that town walls had other uses. Royal burghs were self-contained entities with rights and privileges which could be maintained only within walls. Burgess rights of trade and handicrafts, of customs from strangers bringing supplies or trading on market days, could be safeguarded only if outsiders could be supervised and checked at the ports. Otherwise infiltration of unauthorised persons could not have been controlled.

How long the new wall took in building is nowhere indicated. An act of the Town Council, dated 4 October, 1514, suggests that progress was slow, although an act of 17 March, 1513/4 had authorised the levying of a tax of £500 for the purpose.¹⁵ The act of October, narrating the necessity of isolating the burgh during an outbreak of plague, ordered that certain persons outside the burgh on the south side should build up the entrances in their "head dykes" of their waste lands there. Gradually however the wall was completed. It took in the Grassmarket, enclosed the Greyfriars' convent and lands, the Kirk of Field and the Place of the Friars Preachers. Running thence to the Netherbow Port it continued down the west side of Leith Wynd in the manner noted earlier, that is houses whose entrances to the Wynd could be blocked up in an emergency. Leith Wynd Port excluded from the fortified area the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, and the only defence on the north was the North Loch. This continued westward to the Castle rock. It is sometimes stated, apparently on the sole authority of Maitland, that the wall continued up the slope of the North Castle Bank to a port at the top of the Castlehill street.¹⁶ For this there is no evidence. Details of the line of the new wall are fairly accessible and in a few places fragments can still be seen. By reference to the picture plan of an attack on the Town by the Earl of Hertford in 1544, it may be seen that no wall is depicted on the north bank of the Castle. It may also be noted that none of the Protocols dealing with tenements on the north side of the High Street, from the Castlehill to the Netherbow, even mentions a wall. The inference is that the North Loch was judged sufficient protection. Indeed it must have been so, for there is no record of attacks on the town from that direction. On the other hand Gordon of Rothiemay's map shows a wall to the south of the loch, which, however, does not run up to the Castlehill, but is diverted towards the outer defences of the Castle. A useful indication as to the growth of the burgh to the south is that the new line took in the Place of the Friars Preachers and the Kirk of Field and crofts and orchard ground noted in protocols.

For the rest of the 16th century the disturbed state of the country probably was responsible for the fact that no acquisitions to the burgh are recorded. Edinburgh suffered from two enemy attacks [1544, 1547] and the prolonged siege of the Castle [1571-3]. By all these there was much destruction, although tradition has attached to English hostile action more extensive damage than actually seems to have been done. It was inevitable, however, that the burgh suffered to a considerable extent since already the ground within the burgh was much overbuilt.

While records of the burgh, apart from charters, are extant from about the beginning of the 16th century, there are only two series, one unprinted and the other partially printed, which can give any information as to building within the town. The so-called "Neighbourhood Book"¹⁷ and the Protocol Books of the various notaries show in what manner and how far the burghal authorities concerned themselves with the manner of building. So far as information is accessible, it tends to show that control was at a minimum, concerned chiefly with the necessity that one man's housebuilding should not interfere with his neighbours. Of systematic planning there was none. Indeed it would have been difficult, if not unnecessary and impossible. The situation of Edinburgh practically dictated its own development. Originally the burgess holdings, usually alluded to in the books noted above as tenements of land, had fronted on the High Street. On the south side the tenements stretched downhill to the Cowgate. There is no record whether these were divided by the King's Wall, or later extended to the lower street, but more probably the former was the case. On the north side the tenements sloped down to the North Loch. In the Castlehill street its tenements on the south were usually described as bounded on the south by the King's Wall. From the south western side of the part of the High Street later known as the Landmarket, the Bow curved down to a continuation of that street, later known as the Grassmarket. The tenements on the north side of this street are described as bounded by the Castle Wall and those on the south by the lands of High Riggs. In the Cowgate there are indications that the tenements on the south side long remained partly arable and garden ground, while those to the east were bounded, if not possessed, by the Black Friars and the community of the Kirk of Field. In that part of the burgh outside the Netherbow port the tenements stretched from the street to the strand, or stream, on the south.

As is known from the various Burgh Laws the ownership of a toft or tenement by a burgess originally had as a fundamental condition the building of a dwellinghouse on the land within a year and a day. The rest of the tenement was cultivated, for among the burgess property which might not be alienated from the heir were all necessary agricultural instruments. There is no record how soon the need for more houses to accommodate the growing population induced the practice of building upon the tenements in addition to the owners' dwelling. With regard to this there is a problem which also cannot be explained for lack of evidence. It is how and when the status of burgess became dissociated from the tenure of a toft or tenement. Possibly the granting of the burgh in feufarm to the burgesses may have had some influence in the matter. But while tenements became subdivided, persons whose houses were within the tenement of another, were, so it appears, equally capable of being burgesses. It was, of course, inevitable, but in the case of one other royal burgh at least, Lauder, the burgesses still retain certain lands and privileges not open to other inhabitants.¹⁸

Be that as it may, in 1500 when John Foular's Protocol Books begin, there is abundant evidence that tenements within the burgh were being covered with buildings.¹⁹ The

designation generally for these was "lands" although other words may be used to describe them, such as *mansio*, *locus*, *domus*, *locus habitationis*. The house facing the street was the foreland, those behind were the backlands. There are mentions of yards (*horti*) and orchards, showing that there were still open spaces. Also the term "waste land" occurs frequently. There is nothing to show whether these had ever been built upon, or whether they were merely uncultivated ground upon which the owner had not yet built. Access naturally had to be provided for the backlands from the street. This usually is called *passagium* or *transitus*. The word *clausura* (close), is rare, showing that this term, transferred from the enclosed space of the tenement to its passage, was not of early universal use. These passages appear in most cases to have been between adjoining tenements. Occasionally they passed under buildings on the fore street, chiefly, it is probable, when one person owned two adjacent tenements. In one such case it was stipulated that a person building over such a passage must make the arch high enough for a maid-servant with a pail on her head to pass.

Among all this building, recorded in the Protocols and later in the Neighbourhood Book, there is nothing relative to the appearance of the buildings. The latter book deals with complaints as to breaches of "good neighbourhood," the only test apparently with which the burghal authorities were concerned. This concerned the position of mutual gables, of stairs, and of lights, danger to others from ruinous properties, from ill-paved passages, from dwellings without chimneys and hearths. Even the materials used are rarely noted. It seems safe to assume that, from an early date, the houses in the town were stone, with thatched roofs. Very occasionally a tiled house is noted, as something quite exceptional.

The day of high lands was yet to come during the first quarter of the 16th century. In the Protocols the most frequent description of house property shows the lands to have been not more than three storeys high. The forelands were composed of booths on the ground level, sometimes under the forestair, on the first floor of hall and chamber and above that lofts. The kitchens, when mentioned, probably were on the ground floor. Cellars, too, are mentioned, but these, owing to the slope of the ground, may have been behind the lands. Back lands usually were much the same and in cases of their conveyance there frequently are detailed bounds given for the entry to them. Mention occasionally is made of galleries, those timber erections which, when replaced by stone, encroached considerably on the width of the street. Of this traces can be seen in some of the old houses now standing, of which the Hammermen's House in the Canongate, mis-named Huntly House, is a good example. Incidentally it may be noted that that house, as it now stands, never was one self-contained dwelling, for additions were made to it by the Hammermen for the purpose of letting to different tenants.²⁰ Mention, too, is found of "thortour" or "croce" houses, those built across a passage or close, sometimes on the street front, sometimes further back.

To this general description of 16th century Edinburgh there naturally are some exceptions; some dwellings, such as the one to which was attracted the name of the Black Turnpike from a building on the other side of the street,²¹ definitely were larger. But it is incorrect to say that the town dwellings of the nobles were invariably differentiated in size from those of the burgesses. In the Protocols there is evidence that noblemen's "lodgings" might be situated within a burgess tenement, down a close or wynd in quite undistinguished surroundings.

As the century advances the use of the word "close" to describe the passages between tenements becomes more frequent. They appear originally to have got their names from the owner of the tenement or, at least, of the foreland. Thus, at the head of Liberton's Wynd stood the foreland of the Liberton's of that ilk. Halkerston's Wynd seems to have been lined with houses belonging chiefly to the members of that family. Cant's Close lay between two tenements both belonging to Henry Cant, an early 16th century burghess. Between wynds and closes the essential difference was that wynds were common passages and that closes could be and frequently were closed at top and foot by gates, emphasizing that they were private, although all occupiers of lands in the close had free entry. Stress was laid on this occasionally, when it is found stated that the owner of the foreland must not close his yett to such persons.

How the population was increasing during that century is difficult to ascertain. In 1566 a tax roll for a loan to Queen Mary and her husband gives a list of the persons and incorporations liable for payment. The names are given of 358 neighbours, or merchant burghesses, who paid. In addition to these were ten craft incorporations, which paid collectively as crafts, not as individuals, so that their number can not be known. It is tolerably certain that their members were far more numerous than the merchants. Finally there were twenty-six lawyers and clerks who contributed. Considering that each of these merchants had families, servants and apprentices, as also the members of the craft incorporations, and that there was a considerable floating population of other inhabitants, who were not burghesses, it may be assumed that Edinburgh was of some considerable size.

While Edinburgh had acquired by the gift of Robert I, if not indeed earlier, the port of Leith, this gift appears, curiously enough, not to have included the territories adjoining the harbour. Those on the north side of the Water of Leith belonged to the Abbey of Holyrood, those on the south to the Logans of Restalrig. Although agreements with the latter had resulted in sufficient facilities of access and accommodation, the situation was unsatisfactory. During the regency of Mary of Lorraine this threatened to become worse, indeed to lose them the use of the port. For the Queen Regent came to an agreement with the inhabitants of South Leith in return for a certain payment to erect the town into a burgh. The money was paid, but, owing to the disturbed times, the charter of erection never was granted. Much alive to the danger to their trade, the Town Council of Edinburgh took the first opportunity to acquire the place from her daughter, Queen Mary. In return for a loan they acquired from her the superiority of South Leith. As the grant was upon reversion their tenure of the town was not secure for about forty years. James VI sold the reversion to Lord Thirlestane and the Council were forced to purchase it from him for another considerable sum. Their possession was then secure in law, but not free from question by the inhabitants of South Leith. Founding upon the promise by and payment to the Queen Regent, the inhabitants did all in their power to dispute the capital's authority. This transaction, while giving security to Edinburgh, bred an ill-feeling between the two places which lasted for centuries and still is remembered, in spite of subsequent developments. Apart from this, the latter half of the 16th century showed no further extensions of the capital.

Shortly after his accession to the throne of England James VI granted to Edinburgh a charter confirming all its rights and privileges.²² This, dated 1603 and known as the Golden Charter, has one particular point of interest for the present survey. It was part of the privilege of royal burghs that each held the monopoly of trade in a certain area around it. This was

jealously guarded and not infrequently burghs protested against the erection of a new royal burgh in too close proximity to an existing one, by which the monopoly might be infringed. The Golden Charter describes the boundaries of this area within which only the inhabitants of Edinburgh might use merchandise. These extended from Edgebuckling Brae on the east to the river Almond on the west, and from the boundary of the sheriffdom of Edinburgh on the south to the middle of the Firth of Forth on the north. Edgebuckling Brae lies at the east end of Musselburgh links. The fact that their privileges extended to that point was to influence the Council's successful protest against the erection of Musselburgh into a royal burgh.

The next recorded extension of Edinburgh was the purchase of seventeen acres of the lands of High Riggs from the Laird of Inverleith in 1617. The royal charter which confirmed the transaction²³ granted that this ground should be held by the old burghage tenure, the sole example of such tenure being extended to new parts of the burgh. It may be noted in this place that the legacy of George Heriot to Edinburgh for the foundation of a hospital on the model of Christ's Hospital was employed by the Council in buying land around the burgh, purchases which were not without influence on the later development of the city.

In the 17th century the Town was troubled in its rights and privileges by persons working outside the Wall. Whether or not their actions were systematic, the Town Council in that period managed to acquire the necessary control over these, although not immediately admitting them into the royalty. An old rival had been the burgh of Canongate, the more to be dreaded in that many of its craftsmen, notably the goldsmiths, were exceedingly skilful. An attempt in 1559 to prove that the burgh had no legal right to existence founded on the assertion that a word in David I's charter had been misinterpreted. It was ingenious, but unsuccessful. The desire of the Council was fulfilled in 1636. The King, Charles I, and the Earl of Roxburgh, Superior of the Canongate and of Broughton and North Leith, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Holyrood, were both heavily indebted to the Town, the former on account of loans both by Edinburgh and by George Heriot, the latter for loans by Heriot only. In commutation of these sums of money, the whole superiority was transferred, that of Canongate and North Leith to the Town, and the lands of Broughton to the administrators of Heriot's legacy, comprised of the Town Council and ministers of Edinburgh. As superiors of Canongate and North Leith the Town no longer needed to fear the rivalry of its neighbour, which until 1856 continued its existence as a separate burgh of regality with officials chosen by the Town Council.

This accomplished, the Council turned its attention to smaller places, not so dangerous, but with potential nuisance value. To the south of the Town, outside the Potterrow Port, was a small community, called the Potterrow. Outside the West Port was another, named after the port. The inhabitants seem to have been chiefly craftsmen and brewers, who were not burghesses of the burgh, paid no dues and were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Council and crafts incorporations. In 1648 the Council acquired the superiority of these places from Sir Adam Hepburn of Humble for 20,000 merks. They were erected into a burgh of regality under the name of Portsburgh by a charter under the Great Seal dated 4 April, 1649. Henceforward they were governed by bailies appointed by the Town Council. In the charter under the Great Seal of Charles II, dated 12 October, 1663, after the acquisition by the Town of the King's Stables, it and Portsburgh were erected into a burgh of barony.²⁴ It is worthy of note that a burgh of barony had a more restricted jurisdiction than

that of a burgh of regality. Having acquired these superiortities, the Council turned to the acquisition of another piece of land in the neighbourhood. The Barras and King's Stables, Crown property, were at that time in the possession of one James Boirland. Negotiations were begun in June, 1649, but were interrupted by the war. They were resumed in March, 1655, but were not completed till after the Restoration. In June, 1661 the superiority of the property was bought from James Boirland for £1,000 Scots and a gildbrothership of Edinburgh. After this time no extension of the Town took place for many years.

It is within this period that traces are found of attempts by the Town Council to improve the appearance of the Town. One alteration early in the century had been the building of a new church at the Greyfriars and the transference to the yards there of the Town's burial ground. The Council had dictated the building of the interior of the church with rows of pillars and arches. It must be said that for the most part the Council seem to have troubled little about the adornment of their public buildings, so that it is hardly surprising if they wasted little trouble over private ones. Some attempt was made to ornament the rebuilt Netherbow, but the Market Cross, transferred from its original place to a spot opposite the Fishmarket Close, seems to have been built without alteration, while the weigh-house and the new Meat market were merely utilitarian.²⁵ There are, however, suggestions about this time that the Council tried to control some part of the building of houses. The wooden galleries, mentioned earlier, and the thatched roofs prevalent in the Town were dangerously inflammable. Repeated acts of Council, reinforced by Acts of Parliament, enjoined the use of tiles or slates in all rebuilding of ruinous lands. So often are these found that it is apparent obedience was not always forthcoming. As to the galleries, the house known as Gladstone's Land shows the expedient which the Council recommended.²⁶ It was one which might have commended itself to the builders of houses in that it made permanent in stone and lime the encroachment on the street begun in the building of galleries. Later in the century the Council were to insist on its adoption.

While in the earlier part of the century new public buildings in the Town were plain, two later buildings remain to show what could be done. The Parliament House was planned at the suggestion if not command of Charles I in 1632, although not completed until 1641, nearly ten years later.²⁷ The Tron Church was begun also at the same suggestion, for the King, having established a Bishopric of Edinburgh, required the removal from St. Giles of the partitions which divided it into four churches. Two new churches were required by him, but only the Tron Church was achieved by the Council, at considerable expense. Planned in 1635 it was not ready for use until 1647 and even then there were details uncompleted till some years after the Restoration. In the estimate made by John Milne, Master Mason, for the stonework of the church there appears some attempt at adornment, although not of an elaborate kind.²⁸

While the Tron Church, placed between houses in the High Street did not involve any alteration in the plan of the Town, it was otherwise with the Parliament House. The site chosen was that of the Ministers' houses, formerly the dwellings of the Provost and prebendaries of the collegiate foundation of St. Giles with the abandoned burial yards lying between them and the church and also to the south down to the Cowgate. The Parliament House and its close, now known as Parliament Square, became a focus for much of the life of the burgh and some years later the unbuilt ground to the east became the site of an early venture in planned building. The Council after the Restoration made an attempt to turn

part of the ground to the south and east of the Parliament House into a garden for the adornment of the Town. The plan failed, partly, it seems, because of their almost invariable habit of imposing so many restrictions that the venture could not pay, partly in all probability because the ground was too valuable as a building site.

With regard to gardens it may be noted that the Council had a garden once in an unidentifiable spot to the west of St. Giles and the Council House, which produced flowers and herbs for the Council Room.²⁹

The map of Edinburgh made by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647 is useful as showing the lay-out of the burgh in general at this time, although the detail, particularly on the north side of the High Street is not reliable. Among other things, it shows a church, planned, begun, but never completed on the Castlehill. But the south side of the High Street, with its wynds and closes, the wall and ports and the communities outside these ports are clearly indicated and correspond with later maps.

Closely packed as Edinburgh was with houses, the danger of fire was an ever present one. It was against this danger that the Town Council made so many acts against the use of thatch for roofs, the storing of combustible materials near dwellings and the practice of making fires in houses without chimneys or hearths. Two great conflagrations in the Town, one in 1674 and the other in 1676, were the cause of Council regulations³⁰ which showed their desire to have a certain plan of building at least in the High Street.

The first of these fires was in the south-east portion of the street at and about South Gray's Close. Although its actual extent cannot be determined, owing to the habitual vagueness in giving the bounds, it is certain that several tenements were involved. The Council issued precise regulations for rebuilding, among which was a prohibition of the use of wood for construction. Indeed, some persons who had rebuilt their houses in wood were ordered to take them down and reconstruct them in stone. Among other details were precise directions as to the level and size of windows and their sills. The most interesting part of their instructions was that the buildings were to be made with an arcade—"pillars and arches"—on the street level. Mention already has been made of an earlier attempt to enforce this, and Gladstone's Land shows that builders of an earlier date than this act of Council had adopted this plan, although whether on their own initiative or by command cannot be stated.

The scheme was, however, an advantage both to the Council and to the owners of property. From the former's point of view the substitution of stone fronts instead of the timber galleries lessened the danger of fire. The owners, while faced with the extra trouble of mason work, had the encroachments upon the street made by their wooden galleries definitely sanctioned. In this connection it may be noted that much, if not all, of the timber used in Edinburgh had to be imported from Norway. The Council's order, therefore, may have saved the expense of buying imported material.

The Council seem to have been clear upon one important point, that the new arcade was to be left clear as a passageway and that shops were not to be built between the arches.

It has already been suggested that the Council favoured this method of building at an earlier date. Definite information as to when they adopted it is lacking. But in a protocol of Alexander Guthrie, dated 18 August, 1587, it is stated that permission had been granted to Sir Alexander Clerk of Balbirnie, sometime Provost, on 26 January, 1570 by the King to build his tenement in Niddry's Wynd with stone pillars and massive wall above.³¹ This

seems to be the earliest mention. In 1612 when Bernard Lindsay was rebuilding the King's Wark in Leith, of which he had obtained a charter by James VI, that place was made with a piazza, although a wooden gallery is also mentioned in connection with it. The proof of the Council's eagerness to enforce this style of building is found in their Act of 10 February, 1675, which shows that the acts stating the obligation on neighbours to build in that way had been printed.³³

The fire of 1676 destroyed the block of lands to the east of St. Giles and Parliament Close and at the top of the Kirkheugh. The opportunity was seized by the Privy Council to demand that the entry to the Parliament Close should be made wider to admit of the passage of coaches. They required a passage thirty feet wide, of which a part was for foot passengers only. Definitely it was an improvement, but difficulty arose over the claims of the various heritors of the lands from which the ground had to be taken. The delay was great and was not diminished by the Privy Council's constant interference.

Much of the rebuilding of this part of the Town seems to have fallen into the hands of one man.³³ In other Town business it frequently was the practice of the Council to give large ventures to one person, who was supposed to recoup himself out of the profits. This may, indeed must, have happened although, with the many restrictions imposed by the Council, it is hard to see where the possibility of profit came in. In this case most of the venture appears to have been private. One Thomas Robertson, a merchant who had held office as a baillie, set about a considerable building scheme, which included rebuilding in stone the Town's meal market, constructing houses to the north of the market and on the east side of the Kirkheugh on part of the waste ground behind the Parliament House, feued by him from the Town, and on the east side of the Parliament Close. The scheme was completed by the erection of an Exchange and more houses on the south side of the Parliament Close east of the Parliament House. Of the architecture of the houses little is known, save that those on the east side of the Close were also made with pillars and arches. That the tenements, especially in the Kirkheugh and behind Parliament Close rose to a considerable height is known. Lands on the seventh storey are mentioned. It appears also that many of these were capacious enough. Dwellings of nine, eight and seven fire rooms were not infrequent and the smallest houses in a tenement facing the Cowgate never had less than three fire rooms. The proof that they were an improvement on other houses in the Town is found in the nature of their inhabitants. Lords of Session and other lawyers and government officials doubtless found them conveniently near the Parliament House, but merchants, among them several Provosts past and present, and landed gentry also bought the new dwellings.

The greatest part of this building venture was the Exchange. The records of the period do not indicate from whom the idea emanated, except that it does not seem to have been the Town Council. The Privy Council were sufficiently interested to insist upon the employment of the King's Architect, Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie,³⁴ but there is no definite suggestion that the necessity for an Exchange was initiated by them. It is unlikely that the Merchants of Edinburgh were the devisers for, at a much later period, it was noted that they preferred doing business round the Market Cross. Perhaps it was the builder himself, Robertson, who proposed it. Still, once proposed, the Council and the Privy Council concerned themselves about the appearance of and restrictions on the proposed Exchange, making alterations and additions to the plans enough to drive any builder frantic.

Unfortunately, because of the short life of the building, no plan or illustration of it exists. The descriptions of it in the Council Minutes are not precise and it is difficult to picture it. That arches formed part of the front is known by the fact that the Privy Council wished them built up. That carving was used is stated in a Town Council minute which suggests that, as costly additions to the original plan had been made, Robertson should receive a supplementary payment from the Privy Council. There must have been a hall where the merchants could meet, but this is never mentioned. All that appears from the descriptions is that a black and white marble paved passage ran through the building lined with booths or shops, some of which were sold to the Edinburgh Merchants, while apparently Robertson retained others in his own hands for letting, doubtless to recoup himself for his expenses. Above this, the street level, were chambers bought by Government officials and houses or flats. The description, however, does not mention to how many storeys the building rose.

Whether the merchants used the building, finished about 1683, is not known. If they did, their occupation of it was short, for the Exchange and most of Robertson's property in the Kirkheugh and on the east side of the Parliament Close were destroyed in the famous fire of 1700. Two years prior to this Robertson's son had gone bankrupt, much of the property had been sold, while the purchasers had not had time to have their titles properly made out before their new properties were destroyed.

While acquisitions to the area of the burgh during the reign of James VI had been restricted to the purchase of High Riggs and those of the reign of Charles I in one transaction had added the Canongate and North Leith, the reign of Charles II, in addition to the creation of Portsburgh, had seen a discreditable transaction in North Leith. One of the fortresses for the subjection of Scotland had been built in North Leith by Oliver Cromwell with the help of a forced contribution from the Town. At the Restoration, by a ruse which hinted to the Town Council that the King was about to erect the Citadel, renamed Charleston, into a burgh in favour of the Earl of Lauderdale, the Council for retention of their superiority of North Leith, found themselves compelled to purchase from the Earl for a large sum that fortress built on their own land largely with their own money. The Great Seal Charter confirming the transaction was dated 13 October, 1663.³⁵

From James VII and II the Town received no extension of their bounds, but something more significant and with greater potentialities than any preceding gift.³⁶ There is no available evidence as to the source of the gift, but it must have come from someone farsighted enough to see the time coming when the city must spread beyond its walls. The important clause in the Charter granted power to the City to extend its bounds on all sides, to make streets, acquire grounds and houses compulsorily and to levy taxes for the same. This was dated 25 September, 1688. But within a few months the grantor was a fugitive and Scotland entered upon a long period of poverty and unrest. Yet, in the latter part of the 17th century, one scheme carried through by the Town Council is particularly important, namely the introduction of a water supply to the City. Previously the population had relied upon the public wells, which were few, and upon private ones, whose number there is no means of estimating. But the new supply from the Pentlands allowed of at least eight fountains, while, very shortly after its introduction, the Council found it possible to allow the use of the surplus water first to such trades as brewers then very gradually to private houses. Another improvement, the establishment of a Physic Garden, is worth noting as the precursor of the Botanic Gardens in the City.³⁷

Through the first half of the 18th century with its sequence of misfortunes, the siege of the Castle in 1689, the changes brought about by the Union of the Parliaments, the unrest caused by three Jacobite risings and the threat to the City's very existence by the Porteous affair, Edinburgh remained practically a mediaeval town, enclosed within its wall, which had been extended since the Flodden period only by taking in the lands of High Riggs. True, it had the subsidiary burghs of Canongate and Portsburgh outside the wall, as well as North and South Leith, but residence in these places did not qualify for the full privileges of a burgh and therefore was not open to those who desired to trade or work within burgh. The consequence was inevitably that the town grew to height. In the tall lands of the High Street and down the wynds and closes houses grew to nine, ten and even eleven storeys. In these dwelt a strange conjunction of people of all classes. Between the cellar dwellings and the garrets of the very poor, was a graded hierarchy of inhabitants. Merchants and tradesmen had their shops on the street level and above them might be found landed gentry, nobility, Lords of Session, lawyers, all sharing one common stair, yet not all possessing the convenience of a water supply. With this overcrowding it is not surprising that the dirt of the streets and closes, always a problem, became unmanageable and acute.

During these troubled times one other extension was made in the manner of former ones. Outside Leith Wynd Port at the north Back of the Canongate was St. Ninian's Row, the last small area outside the jurisdiction of Edinburgh, a small burgh of barony with appurtenances at the Yardheads in Leith, mills on the Water of Leith and a large part, though not all, of the Calton Hill. It was too small to be more than an annoyance, but the Town Council thought good to round off their possession of the suburbs of the City by purchasing it from Lord Balmerino. The Great Seal Charter of 1725 confirmed the disposition to the Town.

It was not, any more than the other suburbs, a relief to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who were beginning to feel acutely the inconvenience of their cramped existence, of the lack of public buildings and of the general unhealthiness of their surroundings. Also national pride appears at last to have become sensitive to the state of the capital, and plans for its improvement received much-needed impetus from the introduction of persons not directly concerned in the government of Edinburgh. In 1753 an Act of Parliament initiated the first of a series of Improvement Acts, of which the accomplishment was entrusted to a body of Trustees or Commissioners.

It should be realised that the idea of improvement was not in itself a novelty, nor did it spring from a sudden realisation that there was much to be done. Neither was the fundamental idea changed that the capital was responsible for public buildings for national affairs. It had been on this understanding that, centuries past, the Tolbooth had been enlarged and that in 1632 the Parliament House was begun. Since the time of Charles I when the duty on ale had first been granted to the Town the revenue from that source had been allocated to two purposes, the redemption of the Town's debt and the erection of public buildings. That it had sufficed for neither was due partly to contemporary and inefficient methods of collection, to excessive and complicated exceptions to its general application and, unfortunately, to maladministration of the revenues by successive Town Councils. Still the theory persisted that the Ale Duty furnished sufficient provision for new public works in the Town, and the need for these appears to have been stressed on each occasion when a new gift of the duty was required. This practice is found in two Acts of Parliament of George I,

one in 1716 and the other in 1723 which showed that the Town Council were aware of improvements required, which differ little, except in precision, from many of those in the Act of 1753, and that they believed, or wished it to be believed that the Ale Duty could be made to cover the cost of the necessary developments in the City as well as to redeem the unwieldy city debt.

The preamble of the Act of 1716³⁸ narrates the decrease of the revenue since the Union and the further indebtedness incurred through the recent rebellion and the urgent public works required, the renewal of the pipes for the Town's water supply, the construction of two new churches, the enlargement of the harbour and the building of a new quay at Leith, and some arrangement for the support of the poor. The term for which the Ale Duty was granted was nineteen years and further more the Council were authorised to borrow for their accomplishment if it should be necessary.

The Act of 1723³⁹ extended the period of the Ale Duty for a further nineteen years, in view of the magnitude of the schemes before the Council, while abolishing the Petty Port Customs, of which the yield did not justify the annoyance of retention. The purposes for which, along with debt redemption, the duty was to suffice are narrated at length in the preamble. They included those given above with the addition of the repair of the City Wall and the paving of highways. It was stated that the Council had already attended to the water supply by renewing the pipes, enlarging the springs and rebuilding the High Street fountains. They had begun work on Leith harbour and had completed 600 feet of the new quay. They had built one church [New Greyfriars], collected paving stones and made a highway to Leith. They had built and repaired a house for the accommodation of the poor. While the duty to be collected by virtue of the Act was applicable to these projects, a further list was appended, which does show that the Town Council were aware of the need for them. It included the narrowing of the "noxious lake" called the North Loch into a canal of running water, the making of a communication street or way to the fields and grounds belonging to the City on the north, the purchase of ground and houses for the sites of the second church, of a proper hall for the Court of Justiciary, for a hall for records under the charge of the Lord Clerk Register and other government officials and the payment of the Professors of two newly-established chairs in the University, as well as debt redemption. The makers of the Act were optimists. They even envisaged a possible surplus which might be devoted to further public works.

Their hopes were unfulfilled, most of the projected works remained undone and the City debt increased. For the disappointment of their intentions the rising of the Forty-five may have been in part accountable, yet it must have become evident that some other administration and means of revenue were required to put such plans into operation. The act of 1753⁴⁰ provided for both of these. The preamble bears that the Town Council itself petitioned for the appointment of named Commissioners for the purpose of "designing, ordering and causing to be erected or otherwise provided" the public buildings listed in the Act. These were thirty-five in number and were to include the Lord Provost, the Dean of Guild and the Deacon Convener *ex officio* with merchants of the Town, although these, as stated before, were a minority. It was recorded also that "several Noblemen, many of the Members of the College of Justice and other Gentlemen, and also the most considerable of the Incorporations of Edinburgh, sensible of the great Benefit that would accrue to the Publick, by carrying on the said works, and at the same time being sensible that the City of Edinburgh is

unable out of its proper Funds to undertake and accomplish the same, have for carrying on the said Design, under the direction herein aftermentioned, agreed to contribute certain Sums of Money, and they and others may hereafter be induced to subscribe further Sums of Money for that Purpose. . . ." It was at one and the same time an admission of failure by the Town Council and a mark of the real interest of the inhabitants in the modernisation of their Town.

The list of improvements was long and the Commissioners under the Act were far from accomplishing all of them, but the recognition of the urgent need and the interest evoked served to start in earnest the definite expansion of the City. It was stated that there were required a building for the public records under the care of the Lord Register and for those of the Court of Session, a concentration of the offices of the Clerks of the Supreme Courts, an Exchange for the merchants, a Town House for the Convention of Royal Burghs, a Council Chamber for the magistrates, a hall for the Clerks of the Signet, a place for the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, all near the centre of the City, as well as "convenient communications" to the High Street from the north, south and west. All these buildings undoubtedly were urgent. All were finally to be accomplished, although not by the Commissioners appointed under this Act, nor all in the places or by the means suggested. Not the least needful, the "convenient communications" were to be made by the erection of the North and South Bridges, the Mound, George IV Bridge and the "Western Approach".

It appears that the Town Council had made some attempt to prepare the way for the improvements. It is narrated that they had bought several "decayed" houses near the Parliament House suitable for buildings for the Records, the Advocates' Library and other Government offices as also in a place suitable for an Exchange, as well as properties where the new accesses to the north and south could be made. Whether this was of their own initiative does not appear, but, if it were, then they were responsible for the new lay-out of the City.

Also among the various clauses of the Act is one that prescribes that the Commissioners, who have powers to sell lands acquired but not needed, have also power to exact in what manner these shall be built upon and of what width streets may be. This seems to be important as productive of the symmetry which later was to be found in the earlier buildings of the New Town—a recognition that the day of promiscuous building was gone.

In the study of the Improvement Acts which brought about the creation of Greater Edinburgh, one thing is remarkable throughout. It seems never to have occurred to the planners to work for more than the immediate benefit to be desired. Since systematic town-planning of towns and cities is even more modern than respect for antiquities, probably no blame should be attached to them. It could be shown easily that most Scottish towns were more or less fortuitous in their development and that building was in the main governed by custom and utility, and subject to no restrictions other than those made by the rights of others. Thus, while Edinburgh's earliest development was affected by limitation of site, and later growth by the existence of the Town Wall, construction within that area proceeded only as the need for accommodation and the wish of proprietors dictated.

The first interest of the Commissioners under the earliest of these Acts was the provision for the City of much-needed public buildings, the second the matter of opening communications to the north and south. Particulars of the communications are found in later Acts. That they were necessary is indisputable, but exactly how necessary even the Commissioners

failed to appreciate. Nor do they seem to have grasped how the opening up of such communications might have been made in relation to the highroads to the City, an omission now regrettably evident in the main approaches. Even in their own time the fact is curious since the capital still exercised a monopoly of trading rights over a large area besides being the centre of much of Scottish affairs. Still it remains evident that the new communications were planned only for the temporary need and without allowing for possible extension. In other words, the new communications were planned to connect the outskirts of the city with the centre, which in the imagination of the planners for at least fifty years remained the Old Town. Had these been devised to link up with the high roads converging on the Town, its development might have taken a more formal shape and one better adapted for later planning.

It is quite clear what the Commissioners had in view. At the time of the first Improvement Acts there was more or less adequate access to the Town from the east and west. From the foot of the Canongate, with its coaching and posting inns, a road branched into the easter road to Leith and the highroads to the south. From Leith Wynd ran the old road to Leith by St. Ninian's Row and the Low Calton, one which though steep was possible for wheeled traffic. The road through the West Port led to the highroads from the west and south-west, while by the old road to St. Cuthberts and the mills ran the way to Queensferry and the north-west. On the north Halkerston's Wynd was no more than a passage leading to Trinity College Church, while on the south only St. Mary Wynd was connected by the Pleasance with highways to the south. Indeed even to reach the southern suburbs of the Town the only way was to descend to the Cowgate by one or other of the steep wynds and climb by other wynds or Candlemaker Row, a journey, if not long, at least wearisome not to say unclean. It must be admitted that the Commissioners' solution of the difficulties was original and successful in that limited respect.

Again, it is possibly incorrect to criticise too much the Commissioners' schemes, or rather what they did not accomplish. Quite apart from the topographical difficulties of Edinburgh's site, the adjoining lands were by no means all in the possession of the city. To the north, the North Loch and the lands to be covered by the New Town were theirs, although at the east end there were various small pieces of ground in private ownership which were to hamper development, such as the site destined for St Andrew's Church, appropriated by Sir Laurence Dundas. Apart from that the land towards the north and east mainly belonged to the Heriot Trust. To the west and north-west lay privately-owned properties, Coates, the Earl of Moray's lands near Drumshough and others. To the south-east were privately-owned lands, as well as the Pleasance, which was within the superiority of the Town, while to the south stretched the Town's common lands of the Meadows, formerly the South Loch, and the Boroughmuir and Boroughmyre.

These common lands have come little into the picture so far and it was not for some time that Edinburgh's extension affected them. Yet their possession had considerable influence on the extension of the City to the south. There is no evidence as to the date at which the Boroughmuir was granted to the burgh, although it is believed that the moor was bestowed by David I at some time in the 12th century. The earliest, or almost the earliest mention is in 1508 when James IV allowed the Council and community to feu out the moor and common mire.

The bounds of the moor, as it originally was, are roughly represented as follows⁴¹: in the

west by Leven Street at the south west corner of Tarvit Street, along the line of the tramway [Bruntsfield Place] to Colinton Road, then southward along the eastern garden walls of Abbotsford Park to Albert Terrace (formerly the Dove or Dow Loan), then west to Tipperlin Road, which it followed southward to the Pow or Jordan Burn; this burn, now largely covered by the suburban railway, formed the southern boundary so far as the lands of Cameron; the east side of Dalkeith Road formed the eastern boundary. On the north it was bounded by the lands of Drumdryan, the South or Burgh Loch—now the Meadows—and the lands of St. Leonards, which included the lands of Valleyfield and Wrightshouses. The Common Mire was a piece of marshy ground of 52 acres at the junction of the Braid and Pow Burns, extending eastward from Cameron to Peffermill and northward towards Duddingston Loch and the King's Meadows.

It may not have been a large extent of common land, compared with that of other royal burghs, and it was restricted by the fact that three areas in the very heart of the moor were possessed by others as early, if not earlier than the grant to Edinburgh. These were the Grange of St. Giles, the sergeantry lands of Brounisfeld or Bruntsfield, and the Provostry lands of Hogistoun, otherwise known as Whitehouse.

To go over all Moir Bryce's explanation of these three estates is unnecessary. He proves that they were held directly from the Crown. St. Giles Grange, as separate territory, probably antedates the Town's possession of the Boroughmuir. In the case of Bruntsfield, out of an area of 71 acres the original 49 acres have been held from the Crown since 1381 and the progress of titles is perfectly clear. The remaining acres did belong to the moor and were feued from the Town at various periods, but no earlier than the late 17th century, and joined to the estate by the Warrenders. It is, however, incorrect that Sir George Warrender, sometime Lord Provost [1713-14], obtained large tracts of the moor for a nominal payment. The titles of Whitehouse as Crown vassals are traceable back to before 1444.

While the Council might and did attempt to prove at various times that these lands should have been in the superiority of the Town, they also continued by one means or another to diminish the area of their common lands by building upon them and by feuing out various portions. The earliest feuing, under the charter by James IV in 1507, limited feus to about 3 acres set to burgesses of Edinburgh,⁴² probably to provide them with the arable land lost to them when their tofts in the Town were built over. This was succeeded by grants of larger areas. In addition, since there was no restriction as to the number of feus which a man might hold, it happened that several feus did pass into the possession of one person. It is doubtful how far the return from the feus ultimately compensated for the loss of the common lands. Yet the Council continued their practice and, but for protests, might have alienated the whole. The feus of part of the links to the Warrenders has been noted. Others got pieces of land, and at one time it was proposed to make a new road over the links to the east of the present Wrightshouses and to build there. The links were saved, partly by the protests of Edinburgh golfers, partly by the fact that the ground, formerly a quarry for the Town, was rocky and unsuitable. Details are needless. A comparison between the size of the old moor and what remains today shows clearly enough the way in which the Town Council had allowed their common lands to be whittled down with little compensating gain to the common revenue.

The Meadows, though the apparent continuation of the Boroughmuir, was not actually a part of it. Until the middle of the 17th century it remained as the Borough or South Loch,

one of the sources of the Town's water supply. It was partly artificial, with a sluice at the north-west end, recalled in the name Lochrin. In 1658 the Town Council first set the loch in tack for draining and improving the loch and its banks. The venture failed as did a later one in 1695. In 1722 Thomas Hope of Rankeillor took over the work with a fifty-seven years' lease. The Improvement Act of 1768 gave parliamentary sanction to the drainage of the Meadows. From his labours resulted the Meadows as known to-day. Even here the Town Council's policy has resulted in reducing the area of the old loch by feuing the ground bounded by Meadow Lane, Buccleuch Street and Hope Park Crescent.

From all the schemes advanced in the preamble to the first Improvement Act resulted the Royal Exchange, now the City Chambers. The others were to be undertaken gradually, some under different auspices, such as the "repository" for the Records of the Kingdom. This took shape ultimately in the Register House, of which the site itself was an innovation as being outwith the Ancient Royalty. It also marked a departure from the old idea that the Town was bound to build and maintain buildings for national purposes and that these became and remained town property. The funds for the building were obtained by the Lord Clerk Register of the day in the form of a grant from the estates forfeited after the Forty-five. The foundation stone was laid in 1774 on land gifted by the Town Council and the building, designed by Robert Adam, was completed in 1827. An Act of 1821⁴³ provided for its completion.

That, however, is a digression from the Exchange. The Improvement Act was passed in 1753. In the following year a contract was drawn up.⁴⁴ The Commissioners appointed by the Act had approved its plans and committed their execution to the Town Council, who accordingly made the contract with the tradesmen. This gives the details of the construction of the Exchange and the various purposes for which it was designed. On the street level, within and outside the courtyard were forty-two shops. Six dwelling-houses were in the wings and four beneath the level of the court. There was room for two printing-houses, three coffee-houses and a customs house. It was one of the conditions of the contract that the contractors were to be responsible for disposal of the houses and shops on terms stipulated. The cost of this building, including the site, was £31,457.⁴⁵ Yet, when it was finished, the merchants showed no great eagerness to use it. The new building wiped out three closes, Mary King's, Stewart's and Pearson's. Traces of the former are still visible under the City Chambers, built into the vaults upon which the Exchange and its quadrangle were raised.

The proposal made in the Act for communications to the north of the city was the next to be carried out. An attempt was made in 1759 to have the Royalty extended over the lands to the north before the project of building a bridge over the site of the North Loch was started. This failed for the time, but the Town Council did not give up the plan of the bridge. Towards its cost they received £3,000, the balance of subscriptions left over from the cost of the Exchange, made over by the Trustees. In 1763 the draining of the loch was begun and the foundation stone of the bridge was laid on 21 October of that year. The architect was William Mylne, brother of the builder of Blackfriars' Bridge. He engaged to finish the work before Martinmas, 1769 at a cost of £10,140. His promise both as to cost and completion was unfulfilled. The Bridge was almost complete when defects in its plan and foundations caused the fall of the southern arches. However it was available for traffic by 1772 although not quite finished in 1778.⁴⁶ The first widening was carried out about a hundred years later, in 1873. A scheme for doing this advanced in 1845 included the lining

of both sides of the bridge with shops, but after some hesitation the Town Council rejected the plan.⁴⁷

In 1767 the Town Council succeeded in obtaining their Act for the extension of the Royalty to the lands north of the Town.⁴⁸ To their original acquisition had been added small patches belonging to various owners, all of which are enumerated in the Act. It was provided that the new royalty should be disjoined from the parishes of St. Cuthbert's and South Leith and joined to that of St. Giles, and that the patronage of any new church built in the extended royalty should belong to the City of Edinburgh. It provided, among other things, for the erection of a licensed theatre. Fortified by this Act, the Town Council set about the development of the New Town. It is said that they advertised for plans for the new buildings, but if such were sent in none remain on record but the one adopted, made by James Craig.⁴⁹

The sites were feued to private individuals or building firms upon the condition that all houses and buildings must conform to the plan. While this condition was observed well on the whole, there were certain divergences. Thistle Court is one of them. Another is seen in Kirkwood's Plan (1817) showing the elevations of the streets in the New Town; this is the so-called Bow House towards the east end of Princes Street, near the modern site of Jenners. The action of Sir Laurence Dundas in buying up the ground at the east side of St. Andrew Square over the head of the Town Council and building his private house upon it, prevented the carrying-out of Craig's plan which showed a church at either end of George Street. But the greatest divergence from the plan was the work of the Town Council themselves and provoked protest from the feuars of Princes Street, ending in litigation which finally was appealed to the House of Lords. The matter at issue was the Town Council's sanction of the erection of streets (Canal and St. Ann's) and workshops and houses under and to the west of the North Bridge where Craig's plan had shown terraces and an ornamental canal. A Decree Arbitral in 1776 put a stop to further building on the south side of Princes Street, although it did not re-establish the detail of Craig's plan. Nor was the decree enough to prevent later railway developments.

This first instalment of the New Town was complete in itself, but shows how little the Council contemplated the way the City was to grow. The block of new streets and buildings was placed on the ground with, apparently, little thought of possible communications to east and to west. It is true that it was viewed chiefly as a residential suburb, while the Old Town was to remain at the centre of all the activities of the city, and that to the west there was no hint of any possibility of building on the private estates which lay there. Still, the idea of improving the road to Leith might have occurred to them, while the placing of the Register House opposite the end of the North Bridge, precluding any continuation of that thoroughfare, seems to show how final the extension was thought to be.

While the Town Council were concentrating their attention on the north side of the Town they let slip an opportunity to control its development to the south. A piece of land, measuring about 26 acres between their suburb of Potterrow and the Meadows was offered to and refused by them. It was bought by a private builder [James Brown] who proceeded to build George Square and the adjoining streets, Buccleuch Place and Buccleuch Street. The work began in 1766. For long this was a favoured locality owing partly to distrust of the stability and dislike of the exposed nature of the North Bridge, partly to the fact that it lay outside the Royalty and thus was not liable to the heavy taxation of the City proper.⁵⁰

Its only disadvantage was the lack of easy communication at a time before the South Bridge had been begun.

In 1785 that defect was remedied. An Act was obtained for opening a way from the High Street to the south.⁵¹ Other plans were for making a passage from the Lawnmarket to Princes Street to supplement the crossing by the North Bridge, and a bridge over the low-lying Calton Street, both recognitions of the fact that one passage was inadequate. It was planned also to rebuild the University, still housed in the remains of the Kirk of Field with various patchwork additions, and to make a street from Nicholson Street to Bristo Port. Again Trustees were appointed among whom the Town Council were represented. Among other powers granted to the Trustees was that of determining the design of houses to be built on land disposed of by themselves, as also of the breadth of new streets. This clause is similar to one in the first [1753] Improvement Act, but was omitted, possibly with no ulterior motive, from the Act of 1767. Finally a section of the Act provided for a further extension of the Royalty.

The proposals, before they became law, met with a varied reception. One pamphlet of the period suggested that the need for a new road to the south could be met by enlarging St. Mary's Wynd. The promoters of the Bill on the contrary were confident that the new South Bridge would pay for itself by the sale of the building lots on either side of the street. So the South Bridge was built and the passage by the Mound begun. The magnitude of the former is little seen, since all but one of its twenty-two arches are concealed. The latter involved the destruction of certain tenements and two closes to make Bank Street, which was to join the Earthen Mound, formed from earth excavated from the foundations of houses in the New Town.

One year later [1786] another Act⁵² provided for a communicating street from the east end of Queen Street to Broughton Loan. This, prolonged to Leith Walk, is now York Place. The Act prescribes the exact width—80 feet. It also gave powers for the extension of the burial yard at Greyfriars and for the removal of the Luckenbooths, the Tolbooth and the Weigh-house from High Street and the Lawnmarket, powers which, except as regards the Weigh-house, were slow of fulfillment. It was followed in 1787 by an Act⁵³ which gave powers for further developments in streets, including the Mound, the street between Bristo Port and the new Lothian Road and one from Bernard Street in Leith to the Foot of Leith Walk. The Walk is said to have been made on the line of the trenches dug by David Leslie's men to ward off Cromwell's attack in 1650,⁵⁴ and a few years later the Town Council are found having the passage drained as a road. But the wester road to Leith, if not on the precise position of the Walk, had followed roughly the same line. It had been the Town's earliest and principal way to their port, for the Easter road, although reputed easier for wheeled traffic, started from the foot of the Canongate and Abbeyhill and thus in the rival burgh, and it was not till Edinburgh's acquisition of the superiority that it could be used freely. Yet the Town's exit to Leith was poor. Leith Wynd in 1660 was judged too steep for the stage coach running from Edinburgh to Leith and the stables and starting point were fixed at Leith Wynd Port. The mention of this new street in the 1787 Act may have been caused by the fact that one of the reasons advanced for the building of the North Bridge was the improvement of the way to Leith, although by the placing of the Register House on its site this reason appears to have been forgotten. A map in the possession of the Corporation⁵⁵ dating from 1759 is the earliest extant which shows Leith Walk.

A proposal for the formation of the Lothian Road was before the Town Council in 1783. It is described as a new road 60 feet wide to be made leaving the Linton road a little way to the south of the entry of the road that leads to Lauriston, to be carried northward across the Glasgow Road, Linlithgow Road and Queensferry Road and to join Princes Street a little east of the toll bar at the west Kirkbraehead (this line does not appear to have been followed exactly). It was practically finished two years later and is shown in Ainslie's map of 1804 as extending to Tollcross. The evidence in the Council minutes as to its construction completely destroys the absurd story told by Robert Chambers, namely that it was built in one day for Clerk of Penicuik. In 1875 an abortive scheme was considered by the Council for connecting Lothian Road with the Markets under the North Bridge by a road which should have run below the Castle and passed in a tunnel under the Mound.

Controversy about the completion of the Mound lasted long. Originally the roadway passed to the east of the spot where the National Gallery was built later. The Council were slow in settling the matter and numerous plans were produced for its improvement, most of them fantastic and impossible. The best known are those by Thomas Hamilton, architect [1830], and Alexander Trotter of Dreghorn [1829]. His plan was favoured by Lord Cockburn,⁵⁶ a judgment which does no honour to that gentleman's taste, eager though he was for the preservation of the beauty of Edinburgh. Ultimately, the construction of the Bank of Scotland [1801-6] and, some years later, of the New College [1846-50], and of the National Gallery [1850-7] influenced the layout.

A lull followed in the obtaining of Improvement Acts for a time, but evidence of the gradual expansion of Edinburgh is shown in the Act of 1805 for regulating the Police of the Town.⁵⁷ The appointment of a body of officials known as the Police Commissioners had been found necessary because of the limited powers of the Town Council. These Commissioners were granted powers to administer cleaning, lighting and watching in the Ancient and Extended Royalties as well as in the surrounding built-up areas and to assess and collect money for carrying out these duties. They were elected by qualified representatives of the wards into which Edinburgh, its suburbs and surrounding districts were divided. There were six wards of which the first included roughly the Ancient Royalty. The second took in part of the Extended Royalty, from the westernmost point to St. Andrew Square, St. Andrew Street and Duke Street with Bellevue, Kirkbraehead and Water of Leith. The third included the Extended Royalty east of St. Andrew Street, "the part of Princes Street over which the royalty does not extend," Canal Street, Calton, St. Ninian's Row, St. James Square, Picardy, Leith Walk and Canonmills. The fourth covered Canongate, Leith Wynd, St. Mary Wynd, Pleasance, St. John's Hill, Holyroodhouse, Abbeyhill and Easter Road, including Restalrig, Jock's Lodge and Portobello. The fifth covered the southern districts east of the Middle Meadow Walk, including Teviot Row, Park Street and Park Place; the sixth, those districts west of the Middle Meadow Walk with Wester Portsburgh (or West Port) and Fountainbridge. A special clause exempted the Palace and Sanctuary of Holyroodhouse from both police jurisdiction and assessment. It was the shadow of things to come, for the old burghs of regality and barony were to be merged in the Royalty, which much later was to extend to cover the distant village of Portobello.

In 1806 the improvement schemes switched back to the provision of new accommodation for the Treasury Chambers and offices of the Court of Exchequer. The Act of Parliament⁵⁸ granted a sum from the Forfeited Estates to finance the building as well as for the main-

tenance of the buildings for the Courts of Session and Justiciary. This Act does not come under the category of Improvement Acts, but is useful as showing that the old conception of the capital's obligation to build and maintain all places needful to the government of the country as a whole had been abandoned.

While legislation continued to grant powers for extension, the growth of the city can be best traced by reference to its maps. Ainslie's Map of 1780 shows the progress in the New Town. Princes Street and George Street were finished so far as Castle Street, while Queen Street had only reached Hanover Street. St. Andrew Square was complete and St. Andrew's Church, the Register House and two sides of St. James Square. The new theatre stood in Shakespeare Square, now the site of the General Post Office. The North Bridge was complete and the line of Bank Street and the Mound established. But behind Shakespeare Square still lay the old buildings between the former east end of the North Loch and the Calton Hill, the Orphan Hospital, Lady Glenorchy's Church, Trinity College Church and the Physic Garden, while St. Ninian's Row and the Low Calton joined Leith Wynd to Leith Walk. The South Bridge is shown, but George IV Bridge had not yet been planned and the Town Wall still surrounded Heriot's Hospital, Greyfriars and the Charity Workhouse. South of the Wall was George Watson's Hospital on a spot now covered by the Royal Infirmary. George Square, also outside the Wall, was practically complete and the Meadows already laid out much as they are to-day. Buccleuch Place and Street were planned, but barely started, while beyond the Archer's Hall there was hardly a building.

Ainslie's map of 1804 shows the development alluded to in the Police Act. While Leith Walk was not yet built up, a plan was shown for detached small houses on the north side. To that side the Physic Garden had been removed from its original place below and to the east of the North Bridge. The whole of Craig's plan for the New Town is shown as finished to the Church in Charlotte Square. This, however, was premature as regards the church, for the foundation stone was not laid until 14 May, 1811. It may be noted that after the ceremony was performed by the Lord Provost, the Town Council walked to the Royal Exchange, where they took possession of their new Council Chambers. Below Queen Street is shown the next extension northward, not as yet accomplished. This admirable series of streets on property belonging to the Heriot Trust was planned by the architects Reid and Sibbald in 1802 and building proceeded till about 1820. It was not under single control yet private builders conformed to the detail of the design. There was no building west of Hope Street and to the east the Calton Hill was unaltered save for the new Bridewell. The erection of a Bridewell had been planned as early as 1780, but the Calton Hill Site was the later alternative, as originally its erection in the High Street had been considered a possibility. But the choice of so conspicuous a site as the Calton Hill is another proof how little the authorities envisaged possible farther expansion and the suitability of buildings in view of new entrances to the City. From Kirkbraehead at the west end of Princes Street, Lothian Road made connection with Fountainbridge, Portsburgh and the road from the south-west. To the east of the Meadows Buccleuch Place and Buccleuch Street were finished and no expansion south of that point is shown.

An Act in 1808 for better accommodation for the College of Justice⁵⁹ includes the project of a new gaol, an improvement very long overdue. The site of this was the east side of Parliament Square, but although the foundation stone was duly laid, the place ultimately was judged unsuitable and abandoned.

In 1809 a further extension of Edinburgh is noted.⁶⁰ Several parts of the parish of St. Cuthbert's were added to other lands in the Royalty or the holding of George Heriot's Trust to form a parish for the church of St. Andrew, and the Royalty was extended to cover the whole of the new parish. On the north and west its demarcation line ran from Canonmills to Stockbridge and thence by Church Lane, the eastern boundary of the Earl of Moray's property, to Queen Street. Thence it ran eastward to York Place. The Act granted power to the Town Council to build two new churches, one at once and the other when there should be 5000 inhabitants in the Extended Royalty. It also granted powers to the Council to complete the draining of the Meadows, already sanctioned in the Act of 1787.

Two years later the population of Edinburgh is given as 103,143. It was the third city of the United Kingdom in point of population, London being first, Glasgow, with 108,890 inhabitants, second and Manchester fourth. In 1812 an Act dealing again with the Police records that there were twenty-six wards under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners.

The project for a new gaol came up again in an Act of 1813.⁶¹ The urgent need for one to supersede the Tolbooth, still the public prison for all criminals presented for trial at the Justiciary Court, is stated. It was "much decayed, insecure and incommodiously situated." That was an understatement of its condition. The need for a new court-house for the Lords of Justiciary also was advanced. From the wording of the Act, which is precise, the schedule of properties attached and other sources it appears that the site for the gaol was still planned as in the High Street at the east side of Parliament Square. For people still retained the old habit of centralisation within the bounds of the Ancient Royalty and even the New Town still was considered far from the centre of city life. The Act bore that the Town Council were to contribute £8000 towards the cost of the gaol which, once completed, was to become their property. Further clauses in the Act provided for the erection of buildings for the accommodation of the County Courts with premises for the Sheriff Clerk.

This Act was amended in 1814⁶² because the site at last was found to be unsuitable and had been abandoned. Protests from the inhabitants and members of the College of Justice had contributed to that end. It was resolved to build the gaol on the Calton Hill beside the Bridewell. This conclusion was not arrived at without another alternative site having been proposed, which now seems too fantastic ever to have been taken seriously. The place suggested was East Princes Street Gardens. It too was only dropped after protests had been made. The authorities appear to have had some qualms about using the Calton Hill for building and a clause⁶³ restricted the uses to which it might be put. It was enacted that no building might be erected there, on the part belonging to the Town, of which the roof should be higher than the Bridewell except the gaol, an observatory and a church, or such other public buildings as the council might approve, and that no other buildings might be erected without the consent in writing of the President of the College of Justice, the Lord Justice Clerk and the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. (Such arbiters were no new thing in the history of the city. In the 17th century, members of the College of Justice, exempt as they were from bearing burden with the Town, had been charged with a measure of control over the administration of the duty on ale for its specified purposes). The foundation stone of the observatory mentioned in the Act was laid in 1818. The Edinburgh Confirmation Act of 1933, while retaining the special provision that buildings shall not be erected on the Calton Hill, omits the detail of the 1814 act and the arbiters (Part XI, 204). The mention of the Town's part of the hill is a reminder that only the western part had

composed the barony of Calton and that the eastern portion, upon which stand Royal, Regent and Carlton Terraces, is the property of the Heriot Trust. These terraces, with Gillespie Crescent are all that materialised of a plan for the development of the ground to the east of Leith Walk, designed in 1814. This development was the subject of a competition in which the plan of William Playfair was adopted.⁶⁴ Progress in building was slow and the completion is said to have been prevented by the beginning of the railways.

The Commissioners for the gaol were empowered also to construct the bridge over the Low Calton and the street from the east end of Princes Street along the Calton Hill to join the Easter Road or Abbeyhill. Finally it was enacted that the royalty should be extended over the Town's part of the Hill, at that time still the barony of Calton, of which the Town were superiors. A long schedule is attached to the Act of properties affected, including Shakespeare Square, Leith Street, Low Calton, High Calton and the Hill. Among these was the burial ground of the Incorporated Trades of Calton which was cut in two by the new street. The Council utilized powers conferred upon them by the Act to grant land for another burial ground beyond the gaol on the south slope below the road. The foundation stones of the gaol and the bridge were laid on 19th September 1815. The Regent Bridge over the Low Calton was finished by 1819.

In this year a grant of £10,000 to be continued for seven years was made by Parliament for the completion of the new University Buildings designed by Robert Adam. This work, approved in the Act of 1785 for the South Bridge,⁶⁵ had been begun in 1790, but progress had been delayed for lack of funds. With the help of the grant, work was resumed on a modified form of the original design, although not completed till 1834.

The agreement which the Town Council had reached with the feuars of Princes Street⁶⁶ prohibiting any further building on the south side of the street made it necessary to obtain an Act before the Chapel, now St. John's Episcopal Church, could be built. This Act, procured in 1816,⁶⁷ provided for the chapel and its graveyard and confirmed previous legislation against building west of the Mound. It also gave powers for laying out the ground between the Mound and the West End as gardens by the Proprietors of Princes Street. It enacted, too, that the Town Council might erect buildings on the Mound subject to the consent of the proprietors. In case of disagreement certain arbiters were named. Lastly, the Act sanctioned certain alterations to buildings and streets at the north end of and beneath the North Bridge.

Since the streets mentioned in this clause were swept away by the extension of the railway, they are not of importance. The clause as to the gardens was given effect to by the proprietors. They leased from the Town Council the ground from Hanover Street to St. Cuthbert's and at their own expense transformed it into the present gardens.⁶⁸ They had their difficulties when the Crown claimed the Castle Banks as Crown property, but an agreement was reached as to the boundaries between the banks and the ground of the old North Loch and the banks were leased to the Town and by them to the proprietors.

The question of buildings on the Mound was much discussed. For long the condition of that access to the New Town was far from desirable. The road itself ran to the east of the present buildings, and on the site of the present National Gallery the ground was let by the Town Council to all manner of cheap shows, penny theatres and travelling menageries. To complete the picture were a tanner's yard and a coachbuilder's shed. The first building on, or more correctly at the foot of the Mound was the Royal Institution [now occupied by the

Royal Scottish Academy] built by the Board of Trustees for Arts, Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland partly to house the Institution for the Fine Arts founded in 1819. The ground was feued from the Town in 1823 and in 1826 the galleries were in use. The statue of Queen Victoria was added in 1843. After the abandonment of the elaborate schemes noted earlier, the present lay-out was adopted and the Board of Trustees provided funds for the National Gallery,⁶⁹ the foundation stone of which was laid in 1850. The Trustees were empowered to divert the existing roadway on the Mound. Prior to this the Bank of Scotland and the New College had been built.

Amendments to the Act for the Calton Jail were obtained in 1816.⁷⁰ The new Act included provision for a small gaol beside the County Buildings, which were finished in 1817. It shows also that attempts to build on the ground behind the Parliament House and Advocates' and Signet Libraries had been abandoned to avoid interference with their lights. It also ensured that the ground cleared in front of the west face of St. Giles should remain open. The benefit of this may be seen by comparison of Ainslie's map of 1804 with the Lothian map of 1825, showing the removal of the buildings at the head of Forester's and Bess Wynds.

In the year of this Act began the removal of the Tolbooth, Creech's Land, the last of the old Luckenbooths and of the shops built against the walls of St. Giles.

In 1819 the National Monument on the Calton Hill was planned as a memorial of the Napoleonic Wars. That funds for its completion were not forthcoming is hardly a matter for regret since the finished monument was to have included a church and other buildings.

Two of the Acts passed in 1822 have direct relation to the development of the city. One granted to the proprietors of Queen Street, Heriot Row and adjoining streets the same right to their gardens as the Princes Street proprietors.⁷¹ The other, a Police Act,⁷² shows that the number of wards had increased to thirty. The bounds show how the jurisdiction of the Police Commissioners covered areas later to become part of the royalty, particularly to the west. A clause refers to the architecture of the Old Town, condemning the pillars and arches, or piazzas, still to be found there as receptacles of filth and the resort of undesirable persons and allowing proprietors to bring forward their buildings to the front of the pillars, a final encroachment on the width of the street, which had begun with the permission to make wooden galleries. An exception was made for the piazzas of Parliament Square. Even these were to be swept away by the great fires of 1824.

While the Commissioners under the Improvement Acts and the Town Council were concerned with the royalty, other parts were being built up by private enterprise.⁷³ The development of the Heriot lands has been noted. In 1825 building was started on the Earl of Moray's property near Drumsheugh according to Gillespie Graham's plan. There have been critics of the use of the site, among whom was Lord Cockburn. About the same time Sir Henry Raeburn began building on his property to the north of the Water of Leith at Stockbridge. This venture resulted in St. Bernard's Crescent and the adjoining streets, including Ann Street, called after his wife. Later, development of the Coates property began with Melville Street.

To about the middle of the 19th century belong various new buildings, in and on the outskirts of Edinburgh, to house charitable institutions new and old. The new Orphan Hospital on the Dean estate dates from 1832, the year in which the Dean Bridge was built. Its architect was Thomas Hamilton. To the old Orphan Hospital, situated east of

the North Bridge, were moved in 1836 the children of the Charity Workhouse at Bristo, when the old City Wall at Teviot Place was taken down and the ground was being cleared for the continuation of George IV Bridge. Donaldson's Hospital, built between 1844-5, lies on the road to Coltbridge. John Watson's Hospital, built in 1825, faces the Orphan Hospital, while Daniel Stewart's College, built in 1849, faces the Queensferry Road. All these institutions with their grounds have prevented over-building in these directions.

While the inhabitants of Edinburgh as a whole were apathetic as regards development of the town, there are one or two hints that some consciousness of the need for amenity was growing. In 1828 at a meeting of the Highland Society, Lord Glenorchy, later 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane, protested against building over public pieces of ground near towns, which, he said, should be kept open for games and sports. His protest was couched in general terms. Not so that of a meeting of the gentlemen of the Canongate held in 1839 on the subject of sanitary improvements. It was stated that the area between Arthur's Seat and Croft-an-righ, measuring between 400 and 600 acres, was undrained and unhealthy. Representations were made that H.M. Commissioners of Woods and Forests might attend to this, as well as to the state of the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Earlier than this, a movement in 1826 for the preservation of the Salisbury Crags from use as a quarry for road metal was successful.⁷⁴ Lord Cockburn in 1850⁷⁵ noted the success of the Commissioners in preserving and improving the Park of Holyroodhouse, which covers the grounds of the ancient regality and Sanctuary.

Even had there been a central authority for planning, the divided ownership of the peripheral area would have made the task difficult, but no such thing was dreamed of. Other factors too would have made such planning difficult. One is the question of the main roads running into the City. Most, if not all of these were immeasurably older than the new developments, and building on the outskirts of the Town was circumscribed by their line of approach. Only two main approaches were added later, that by Haymarket and Maitland Street [1813] and that by the Dean Bridge [1831], from which the entrance to the City at Princes Street was limited by the prior existence of Queensferry Street. In one case, the building of the North Bridge, the Lord Provost is said to have advanced in favour of the project that it would serve as a better approach to Leith Walk. Whether this was meant in all seriousness or not, no real effect was given to it. The Register House was built opposite the bridge and Waterloo Place was constructed leaving so narrow an approach to Leith Street and the Walk that in 1850 the facade of the Register House had to be thrown back in an endeavour to widen the entrance to the street, with how little real effect is visible today. The planning of York Place may have been intended to make another approach to Leith Walk, and the South Bridge did open a way for the roads from the south, but George IV Bridge chiefly served the purposes of the immediate neighbourhood, being blocked by the Meadows, and no attempt was made to connect it with roads from the south, although the street to the south of Heriot's Hospital brought it to Tollcross. Lothian Road, too, began well, but ended in the cramped southern part, now Earl Grey Street.

Possibly one reason for this unfinished state of the new thoroughfares may be found in the manner in which the making and repairing of roads was arranged, productive of rivalry between different authorities. Another definitely was that the Town Council and Improvement Commissioners were thinking chiefly in terms of the city, and of the Old Town in particular. This is seen in the case of the much-debated Western Approach.

Another consideration passed them by, that of amenity. Indeed, as is recorded below had it not been for the opposition of a part of the community, the present beauty of Princes Street would have been utterly ruined. Even such opposition was not enough to prevent considerable damage, as is seen to-day. But the Town Council were occupied chiefly in the question of material prosperity, getting an adequate return for their outlay to relieve the perilous finances of the City and, unfortunately, to derive advantage from the improvements for themselves and their friends. This indifference is responsible for much, and its results are seen most clearly in the railway mania. Yet, even before the mania came another, the canal mania. In the beginning of the century the construction of canals seized public imagination as a solution of transport problems as the railways were to do only a few years later. From this Edinburgh was not exempt. A map dated 1817 [Kirkwood's], dedicated to the Lord Provost of the time, Sir John Marjoribanks, showed three canal routes planned to pass through the Town. Two of these certainly were shown as possible alternatives to each other and possibly only one was intended. As only a part of one, the Union Canal, took shape, the plans are now of little importance except as showing to what lengths people were prepared to go during this temporary madness. For that end their courses are summarised as briefly as possible.⁷⁶

The most southerly canal, designed by Mr Rennie, entered the outskirts of the Town at Tipperlin, passed to a reservoir above Wrightshouses, skirted the north side of the Meadows to a basin on the site of St. Patrick Square, crossed to St. Leonard Street and behind the Pleasance, ending at a basin on the site of Milton House.

The next, proposed by Mr Baird, entered a little further north, had a basin at Lochrin Distillery and thence branches in two directions, one to end in a basin at the east end of the Meadows, the other to a basin on the site of Port Hopetoun, through the bed of the old North Loch to a basin on the site of the old Physic Garden, along the North Back of the Canongate and thence to Leith.

The third canal, planned by Mr Stevenson, is the most northerly. It ran north of Jamaica Street to St. Cuthbert's, through the bed of the North Loch, on a line nearer the Castle Rock than the last-mentioned, followed much the same line round Calton Hill and divided into two branches, one of which ran to Leith Docks and the other, with fourteen locks, ran across Leith Links and into Leith harbour.

How far any of these schemes were seriously considered is not known. The last two express an old hankering of the Town Council to have direct water communication with the sea, which had found expression so early as 1552 and 1593.⁷⁷ In any case it is doubtful whether they could have been more unsightly than the railways. From these three plans, one simplified form emerged. The Union Canal between Edinburgh and Glasgow was begun in 1818. The starting point was in Fountainbridge at Port Hopetoun, now partly covered by Lothian House. It was opened for traffic in 1821 and writers of the period praise in no measured terms the comfort and convenience of such a mode of travel, as well as its usefulness for the transport of goods. Five years later the first Railway Act was obtained and the enthusiasm for canals was transferred whole-heartedly to this new form of travel.

While the City's water supply does not come within the scope of this survey, it is worth noting the earliest attempt to care for the Water of Leith. An Act of 1825⁷⁸ authorised the formation of a company by those interested to regulate its flow. This, the Leith Reservoir Company, was to be composed of the Incorporation of Bakers and other proprietors of mills

along its banks. It may have been a beginning, but it was long before the question was properly solved.

The next Edinburgh Improvement Act was obtained in 1827.⁷⁹ It dealt with the construction of a "Western Approach" to the Old Town, the building of George IV Bridge, the alteration of the street from the Grassmarket to the Lawnmarket and the so-called restoration of St. Giles. While the last, with its devastating consequences to the appearance of the ancient parish church, attracted no attention, controversy raged round the other clauses. A report by a general committee in 1826, prior to the passing of the Act, by its very tone shows what objections there must have been to the proposals. The line of the new road from the Bow to the proposed King's Bridge was supported because it spared "almost the whole of the houses on the south side of the Castlehill," because it was the least expensive and "best calculated to preserve the picturesque effect of the Castle,"—an excuse about which it is permissible to have doubts. Similar apologies were found for the line of George IV Bridge.

The Act further granted powers for the improvement of Bank Street and the Earthen Mound and for widening the Castlehill by removing the houses on the north side, a project which took no effect and saved for a time the old buildings in that part, of which most subsequently were swept away for the Assembly Hall.

Some regard for the appearance of the Castle on the south may be found in the clause which forbade any buildings on the new Western Approach and provided for the repair of Castle Wynd.⁸⁰ Also the land on the east side of the projected George IV Bridge was safeguarded for extension to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. The Act also forbade building on Bruntsfield Links and the Meadows and on the South Side of Princes Street, save for the buildings on the Mound planned by Playfair, and sanctioned the building of two new churches, made necessary by the proposed alterations to St. Giles. Powers were given to remove buildings near the University and to open a street from Adam Square to Brown Square. The former was neglected, the latter was not achieved for more than fifty years. Powers also were granted to remove the Trades Maiden Hospital, the Charity Workhouse and Bedlam to other sites. Finally a clause enacted that prospective builders in the district between the new Western Approach and Lothian Road must produce plans and elevations with a description of the materials to be used. In the year of the passing of the Act, the foundation of the new [George IV] Bridge, which was to be formed of ten arches, was laid.

For the benefit conferred by this Act the inhabitants were not grateful. Complaints were made of the burdens under which they lay for that and earlier Improvement Schemes, bearing that Edinburgh was the most highly assessed town in the Kingdom. From that statement they passed to criticism of the new approaches, planned, as they asserted in the interests of a few. It was alleged that the High Street never had been a thoroughfare, that the Western Approach was of no use to the New Town, that the new bridge led only to the Meadow Walk and gave rise to the suspicion that the Town Council interferred to feu the Meadows, while the southern districts, which might be benefited by these schemes, were still outside the royalty and not liable for taxation.

The pamphlet which voices these grievances⁸¹ proceeded to complain of plans for removing old buildings and replacing them by others "in the Flemish style," of the intention of altering the Castlehill and the Parliament Square, the latter in a way which would hide the original front of the Parliament House, and of the disfigurement of the Castle Rock by the

new road. Another pamphlet, dated 1828, while attacking the Western Approach, approved the bridge as useful in opening out Lauriston, communicating with Port Hopetoun and the roads from Peebles and Colinton, Dumfries, Moffat and Biggar as well as the Glasgow Road. It also attached importance to the new street from the Grassmarket, which should enter George IV Bridge near the County Buildings. In 1830 the Commissioners reported upon the progress made. The two schemes had proved more costly than was anticipated and an appeal to Parliament was necessary for powers to increase the assessment and for borrowing. They investigated accusations of extravagance and the causes of the increased expenditure, one of which was the clearing of the grounds of the Charity Workhouse for the new street. Ultimately the Act⁸² was obtained in 1831.

All the improvements or alterations planned in the City were not carried out. Plans for development east and north of the Calton Hill were many, but even Playfair's, which was adopted, was never finished. A map of 1825 [Lothian's] shows a projected lay-out of the lands on both sides of the Lothian Road, including a broad street, to be named St. Cuthbert's Street, starting opposite the place where the Usher Hall now stands and joining Morrison and Torphichen Streets. The failure of that plan was accounted for by the railway. Another plan, which was strenuously opposed, would have blocked the eastern entrance to Parliament Square and the Old Fishmarket Close.

From the date of the formation of these new roads till 1856 there was comparatively little extension of the City boundaries and no important Improvement Schemes. The Town Council and the inhabitants were otherwise occupied. First the Reform Bill and then Burgh Reform became law. Then the growth of the railway mania took up attention. There is, therefore, little to record. St. Giles was renovated in 1829, and a new church planned but never started on the spot now occupied by the Tolbooth Church. In 1830 the foundation of the new Surgeons' Hall was laid. In 1832 the Dean Bridge and the New Orphan Hospital were built. In 1836 the old Town Wall at Teviot Place and the Charity Workhouse were removed.

In the year 1826 was passed the first of the Railway Acts.⁸³ These were to follow in tolerably close succession, all regardless of any amenity of the City, or indeed of anything but their own development. This Act authorised the construction of a railway from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, nicknamed the Innocent Railway. The preamble bears that it would be of benefit for transporting "Coal, Corn, Stone, Agricultural Produce, Lime and other Commodities" to the City and from it "Merchandize, Manure and other Articles." The Company included the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Lothian, the Lord Provost and Corporation of Edinburgh and the magistrates of Musselburgh.

This was followed in 1830 by the formation of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company under the chairmanship of James Gibson Craig. The railway was opened three years later. In 1836 an Act of Parliament was obtained for the construction of the Edinburgh, Leith and Newhaven Railway, starting at the east end of Princes Street, with its station at Canal Street and proceeding in a tunnel to Scotland Street, whence it branches off to Newhaven and Leith.⁸⁴ It is surprising to find that there were not more violent objections to this, the first of the railways within the Town. Had there been more active opposition it is possible that the later even more objectionable developments might have been checked, but protests seem to have been not so much as regards amenity as about possible damage to property. It possibly was due to the establishment of a station there that the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company in 1836 put forward the plan for bringing their line to the east end of

Princes Street. There was, however, sufficient public agitation to shelve the plan for the moment. Two alternatives were proposed for the terminus, Maryfield at the Kirkbraehead Road, now King's Stables Road, and Haymarket. The latter was chosen. Lord Cockburn, whose interest in the beauty of Edinburgh was deep, notes that the bringing of the railway through the gardens would "very greatly injure the west half" and "worse than ruin the east half."⁸⁵ He also records that the protests were made not on account of good taste, but of injury to property. In 1841 the Railway Company intimated their abandonment of the plan to bring the railway through the Gardens. Their change of heart was short-lived for, a few months later, they were preparing a new Bill for the purpose they had renounced. By 1844 the proprietors of Princes Street had given up the unequal struggle and attempted only to modify the plans so as to reduce disfigurement of the gardens to a minimum. The Act which legalised the extension contained clauses for mitigating the unsightliness. It was enacted, among other things, that the station buildings should be no higher than 30 feet above the level of the railway and that the plans should be approved by the architect, William Playfair.⁸⁶ The Railway schemes had threatened the place of the markets and they desired the highest possible compensation, so much discussion ensued. Since, however, they gave way in the end, these disputes do not matter.

The fate of that piece of ground was made certain by the formation of the North British Railway Company in 1842. It was planned to connect East Lothian and Berwickshire with Edinburgh to join with the line from London. In 1845 the long tunnel under the Calton Hill was begun. In 1846 connection was made with Berwick-on-Tweed and in the same year the line from Berwick to Newcastle completed the connection with London. The Edinburgh and Glasgow and the North British Railways thus met in the same station. The Act for the Railway in 1844⁸⁷ imposed the same restrictions for the North British as for the Edinburgh and Glasgow station and included various clauses for the appearance of the line near Holyrood. But it authorised the taking over by the Railway of the Old Orphan Hospital, Lady Glenorchy's Church and Trinity Hospital—the Trinity College Church being spared for the time. It also allowed the removal of the Town's Fish and Vegetable Markets and of the Shambles. The latter was no loss. The former were the subject of long conflict between the Town Council and the Railway, since the Council required the maximum compensation and alternative accommodation for their markets. In 1846 an Act authorising the taking over by the North British of the Edinburgh, Leith and Newhaven Railway,⁸⁸ enacted that the Trinity College Church should be removed upon condition that it should be re-erected at the expense of the Railway Company on another site, or otherwise that the Company should pay a certain sum of money. The story of the difficulties before the remains of the church were re-erected in the newly-formed Jeffrey Street is a long one and creditable to no party concerned.⁸⁹ Still the list of new railways continued. The Edinburgh and Bathgate Railway was begun in 1847. In 1848 the Caledonian Railway was opened with a station in Lothian Road. That Company obtained an Act in 1866⁹⁰ for altering their terminus and building an hotel on the ground formerly occupied by St. Cuthbert's Poorhouse; this was opened in 1870. In 1862 was built their branch line from Granton to Leith. In 1884 the suburban railway was opened. An Act of 1853⁹¹ as to the construction of new access between Waverley Station and High Street, among other things, which resulted in the construction of Cockburn Street, shows some unusual care for appearances. It was stipulated that it was "desirable to preserve as far as possible the architectural style and antique character of the buildings of that



part of the old Town in the line and neighbourhood of the said street." Plans of style and elevations were to be laid before the referee acting for the Company and the Town Council. The present street is an eloquent commentary on what was judged a reproduction of the architecture of Old Edinburgh.

Although the Town Council were too concerned with other matters during the years between 1830 and 1856 to undertake new improvement schemes, they did obtain in 1837 another Police Act,⁹² which embodies some stipulations as to the new approaches. Its greater interest is in the wards, showing how far the police jurisdiction had extended, as also, by the new names, what streets were in existence. To take a few instances—Gilmore Place Ward, the 14th, extended from Fountainbridge to North Merchiston, thence to Jordan Burn, including Merchiston and Morningside, to the east boundary of Canaan Bank, Grange Loan, Wrightshouses, Leven Street, Tollerross and Cowfeeder Row. Ward 16, Atholl Crescent, was bounded by Queensferry Street, Drumsheugh, Lynedoch Place, the road to Craigleith by Back Dean, Whitehouse Toll, the Glasgow Road, Haymarket, Morrison Street, Jamaica Street, St. Cuthbert's Lane and Lothian Road. Ward 17, Moray Place, was bounded by the Water of Leith, Lynedoch Place, Melville Place, Queensferry Street, Princes Street, South and North Charlotte Street, Charlotte Square, Albyn Place, Wemyss Place, Church Lane and Doune Terrace. Of building across the Dean Bridge there was as yet none except at St. Bernard's, for Clarendon Crescent, the first to be built, was not begun till 1850. The outskirts of the city had many small estates with houses of known historic interest. Lord Cockburn in 1845 gives a list of some of these;⁹³ Merchiston Castle, Bruntsfield House, Grange, Caroline Park, Lauriston, Craig House, Ravelston, Woodhall, Malleny, Hatton. Even in his time two, the Dean and Wrightshouses, had disappeared, the former for a cemetery, the latter for James Gillespie's Hospital. Most of these remain although the Town has extended round them and farther afield, and it is only recently [1936] that Grange has gone.

About the latter half of the century, while new houses were beginning to extend westward and across the Dean Bridge, the matter of working-class housing came under discussion, as a consequence of an enquiry into conditions in the Old Town. These proved to be almost incredibly bad. At a meeting in March, 1849, a proposal was made that private enterprise should acquire the worst closes in the Old Town, demolish them and rebuild one side, leaving the other open for light and air. The idea does not seem to have appealed to anyone. In the same year was mooted the construction of working-class houses, according to a plan brought forward by Dr. Begg. This resulted in the formation of the Edinburgh Co-Operative Building Society and the construction in Stockbridge and various other parts of the Town of two-flatted workmen's houses with separate entrances and garden.

In 1865, Dr., later Sir Henry Littlejohn published his *Report upon the Sanitary Conditions of the City of Edinburgh*. The previous reports and an accident in High Street in 1861 when a tenement in Chalmer's Close collapsed, had prepared the public for the need for reform of conditions. A demand for improvements was general and the Town Council, as a preliminary step, appointed Dr. Littlejohn as Officer of Health. His report and the zeal of William Chambers as Lord Provost began a period of reconstruction in the Old Town. Briefly, the scheme proposed and in part adopted was to construct new streets with a view to demolishing the worst houses and opening up the closes. It was also planned to form a wide street from the South Bridge at Adam Square to Brown Square at George IV Bridge, a scheme which had been thought of earlier in a slightly different form.

This plan and its cost met with surprisingly little opposition. The criticism of the Architectural Institute of Scotland was that it did not go far enough. They expressed an opinion that the north side of the new street (Chambers Street) should be left an open space and desired the elimination of all closes and wynds and the complete reconstruction of the Old Town.

The plan for the Improvement Scheme,⁹⁴ submitted in 1866 by Messrs Cousin and Lesells, later architects to the Trust created for the purpose, shows the new streets proposed with the buildings and open spaces to be left. Diagonal streets were planned to run behind the High Street and Canongate, new streets were to be made on the north side, and on the south two wynds, Niddry's and St. Mary's, were to be widened. Lady Lawson's Wynd was to be widened as well and a broad new street constructed from Bristo Street through Nicolson Square. The architects claimed that they could have done much more, but had tried to retain the characteristic features of the Old Town. The necessary Act of Parliament,⁹⁵ obtained in 1867, gave wide powers for acquiring properties and named the Town Council as Trustees.

As a consequence of the Act, ten new streets were formed including Chambers, Market, Blackfriars', St. Mary and Lady Lawson Streets. The actual building was done by private enterprise, but the Trustees retained powers to dictate the design and sanction any deviations from it. In the case of St. Mary Street, it was enacted that the houses were to consist of shops on the street level, two storeys and attics above. When work on Jeffrey Street was begun the Trustees and architects agreed that an extra storey would improve the appearance of that street. They also, after much discussion, fixed the width of Chambers Street at 85 feet.

While the new housing provided could not fail to be better than the old, it is curious to note what was considered adequate. When workmen's houses were being built near Guthrie Street, the question arose as to how far it was practicable to divide each dwellinghouse into two, in case the Trustees desired the rent to be £5 a year. The conclusion was arrived at that "from the construction of the tenements it is quite practicable to carry out the original intentions of the Trust by letting the houses *in two rooms or single rooms* should that be expedient."

The list of old closes and wynds which disappeared is long, and includes High School and College Wynds demolished and Blackfriars, Niddry's and St. Mary's Wynds altered out of recognition. Old houses with interesting associations went too, among them Cardinal Beaton's house. With the removal of the piazza at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, went one of the last traces of the distinctive architecture in the High Street. Some of the Trustees' plans for building were not carried out, others at the north side of the Canongate were altered by the extension of the railway.

It was ten years before this Improvement Scheme that the latest Extension Act was obtained. In effect it was not so much an extension as a consolidation. The Act of 1856⁹⁶ abolished the subordinate jurisdictions of the Canongate, Calton and Portsburgh, with their magistrates nominated by the Town Council. It united to the Ancient and Extended Royalities the areas over which the Police Commissioners had authority, making the Parliamentary boundaries those of the City proper. It also united the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Police with that of the Town Council, thus doing away with a dual control. But it and the following Extension Acts were in no way concerned with the development of Edinburgh as it is now understood. The acquisitions to the area of the city were a matter of

convenience for the most part, for the more effective planning of public services for persons living in the suburbs. It is true that valuable open spaces were acquired for the City, Blackford Hill in 1885, the Braid Hills in 1890, Portobello with its shore in 1896 and Corstorphine Hill in 1920, when the parishes of Corstorphine and Cramond were taken in. But all of these were annexed more or less fortuitously—that is, none were taken out of a settled policy, gradually carried out, to surround the city with a belt of green, such as definitely was planned and carried out in the city of Vienna.

It would be possible to illustrate this at length from post-war [1914-18] clearance and housing schemes and thus to finish the proof that Edinburgh, even Greater Edinburgh, grew without any planned central scheme at any time. Its appearance and lay-out is due to its topographical position and, very largely, to private enterprise, haphazard or planned. The same thing is more or less true with regard to the placing of some of its industries. For instance, the breweries in the Canongate are due to the excellence of the water in the wells there. The factories in and near Fountainbridge owe their existence to the Canal and the railway.

NOTES and REFERENCES

The following abbreviated titles are used:

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

Charters—*Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh. A.D. 1143-1540* (Edinburgh, 1871).

Extracts—*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1869-1967).

Inventory—Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *An Inventory of . . . the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1951).

R.M.S.—*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).

Acts of the British Parliament are classified as Public and General Acts, and Local and Personal Acts. The former are distinguished by the use of Arabic numerals for the chapter headings, and the latter by Roman numerals.

¹ *Charters*, No. 4; cf. facsimile in *Edinburgh 1329-1929* (Edinburgh, 1929), opp. p. xvi.

² *Ibid.*, No. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 16-19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 20, 21, 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 30. For the walls, cf. *Inventory*, pp. lxii-vi, F. C. Mears in *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, and W. Moir Bryce, "The Flodden Wall of Edinburgh," in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. II.

⁸ *Charters*, No. 36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 42, 43, 45. Cf. also J. C. Lees, *St. Giles', Edinburgh, Church, College and Cathedral* (Edinburgh and London, 1889), pp. 37-47.

¹⁰ *Charters*, No. 47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 49.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 50.

¹³ Cf. W. Moir Bryce, *The Burgh Muir of Edinburgh* (*B.O.E.C.*, vol. X, 1918).

¹⁴ *Charters*, No. 64.

¹⁵ *Extracts* (1403-1528), pp. 146, 150.

¹⁶ W. Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1753), p. 138.

¹⁷ Cf. M. Wood, "The Neighbourhood Book," in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIII.

¹⁸ For Burgess status, cf. W. M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs* (Edinburgh and London, 1949), p. 141 and *passim*.

¹⁹ *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1501-28* (ed. W. Macleod and M. Wood, Scottish Record Society, 1930-53). Cf. also *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515* (ed. G. Donaldson, Scottish Record Society, 1952).

²⁰ Cf. M. Wood, "The Hammermen of the Canongate: part ii," in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XX, pp. 78-83. Huntly House originally contained three tenements, united in the ownership of the Acheson family (and given a unified frontage) during the 16th century and acquired by the Hammermen in 1647. Cf. *Inventory*, No. 104.

²¹ Cf. C. B. Boog Watson in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. LXXIV (1939-40), pp. 116-23.

²² *R.M.S.* (1593-1608), No. 1427; Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-57.

²³ *Extracts* (1604-26), pp. 176-7.

²⁴ *R.M.S.* (1634-51), No. 2021; *Ibid.* (1660-8), No. 536.

²⁵ For the Netherbow, cf. *Extracts* (1604-26), pp. 28-9, 147, App. xxi; also H. Kerr in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. LXVII (1932-3), pp. 297-307. For the Mercat Cross cf. S. Harris in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 150-8.

²⁶ *Extracts* (1665-80), pp. 177-8. For Gladstone's Land, cf. *Inventory*, No. 14, and R. Hurd, *Gladstone's Land* (National Trust for Scotland guidebook, 1966).

²⁷ Cf. R. K. Hannay and G. P. H. Watson, "The Building of the Parliament House," in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XIII

²⁸ *Extracts* (1626-41), pp. 307-11.

²⁹ *Ibid.* (1604-26), p. 53.

³⁰ *Ibid.* (1665-80), pp. 177-8.

³¹ Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh Protocol Books, B 22/1/33, fols. 50v-51. The original Privy Seal writ is quoted in W. M. Mackenzie, *The Mediaeval Castle in Scotland* (London, 1927), p. 229.

³² *Extracts* (1665-80), pp. 214-15.

³³ Cf. M. Wood in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXIV.

³⁴ Cf. R. Miller, *The Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1895), pp. 126-9.

³⁵ *R.M.S.* (1660-8), No. 537.

³⁶ *Extracts* (1681-9), pp. 277-9.

³⁷ Cf. H. R. Fletcher and W. H. Brown, *The Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, 1670-1970* (Edinburgh, 1970).

³⁸ 3 George I, *cap.* 5.

³⁹ 9 George I, *cap.* 14.

⁴⁰ 26 George I, *cap.* 36. For the background of this act, cf. also A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1966), chapters 1 and 3.

⁴¹ Cf. W. Moir Bryce in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. X.

⁴² Foular, *Protocols* (1503-13), No. 708.

⁴³ 3 George IV, *cap.* 62. Cf. H. M. Paton, "The General Register House," in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XVII; Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-8, 192.

⁴⁴ *Contract of Agreement for Building an Exchange, 1754*. Cf. Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-8.

⁴⁵ H. Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1788), p. 312.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 313-6.

⁴⁷ H. Cockburn, *Journal* (Edinburgh, 1874), vol. II, pp. 117-18.

⁴⁸ 7 George III, *cap.* 27.

⁴⁹ An advertisement was published in April 1766; Craig's was one of six plans submitted, the others being by architects whose names are not recorded. Cf. Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1.

⁵⁰ Cf. M. Tait and W. Forbes Gray, *George Square: Annals of an Edinburgh Locality, 1766-1926*, (*B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXVI).

⁵¹ 25 George III, *cap.* 28.

⁵² 26 George III, *cap.* 113.

⁵³ 27 George III, *cap.* 51.

⁵⁴ J. C. Irons, *Leith and its Antiquities* (Edinburgh, 1897), vol. II, p. 109.

⁵⁵ Reproduced as No. 2 in *The Early Views and Maps of Edinburgh, 1544-1852* (Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 1919), where it is wrongly dated about 1730.

- ⁵⁶ H. Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time* (Edinburgh, 1856), p. 465.
⁵⁷ 45 George III, *cap.* xxi.
⁵⁸ 46 George III, *cap.* 154.
⁵⁹ 48 George III, *cap.* 146.
⁶⁰ 49 George III, *cap.* xxi.
⁶¹ 53 George III, *cap.* lxxvii.
⁶² 54 George III, *cap.* clxx.
⁶³ *Ibid.*, clause 6.
⁶⁴ Cf. Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-56.
⁶⁵ *Supra*, p. 41. For the completion of the University, cf. Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-202.
⁶⁶ *Supra*, p. 40.
⁶⁷ 56 George III, *cap.* xli.
⁶⁸ Sederunt Books of the Princes Street Proprietors, in Edinburgh City Archives, quoted in D. Robertson, *The Princes Street Proprietors* (Edinburgh, 1935), pp. 1-61, and D. Robertson and M. Wood, *Castle and Town* (Edinburgh, 1928), pp. 29-51.
⁶⁹ 13 and 14 Victoria, *cap.* lxxxvi.
⁷⁰ 56 George III, *cap.* xlii.
⁷¹ 3 George IV, *cap.* xxviii.
⁷² 3 George IV, *cap.* lxxviii.
⁷³ For the chronology of these developments, cf. Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-23.
⁷⁴ W. Forbes Gray, "The Quarrying of Salisbury Crags," in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XVIII.
⁷⁵ *Journal*, vol. II, p. 318.
⁷⁶ For the origins and construction of the Union Canal, cf. J. Lindsay, *The Canals of Scotland* (Newton Abbot, 1968), pp. 66-85.
⁷⁷ *Extracts* (1589-1603), p. 91.
⁷⁸ 6 George IV, *cap.* clxxiii. Cf. also J. Colston, *The Edinburgh and District Water Supply* (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 51-6.
⁷⁹ 7 and 8 George IV, *cap.* lxxvi. For this improvement scheme, which was initiated in 1824, cf. Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-89.
⁸⁰ The principal reason for this clause was the strict conditions laid down by the Board of Ordnance before allowing encroachment on the Castle Bank.
⁸¹ *Considerations on the Nature and Consequences of the Improvements Bill, by a Committee of the Inhabitants* (Edinburgh, 1827).
⁸² 1 and 2 William IV, *cap.* xlv.
⁸³ 7 George IV, *cap.* xcvi.
⁸⁴ The existing remains are described by A. Graham, "The Edinburgh, Leith and Newhaven Railway," in *B.O.E.C.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 159-64.
⁸⁵ Cockburn, *Journal*, vol. I, p. 129.
⁸⁶ 7 and 8 Victoria, *cap.* lviii.
⁸⁷ 7 and 8 Victoria, *cap.* lxxvi.
⁸⁸ 9 and 10 Victoria, *cap.* lxxiv.
⁸⁹ J. Colston, *Trinity College and Trinity Hospital* (Edinburgh, 1897), vol. I, pp. 161-89.
⁹⁰ 29 and 30 Victoria, *cap.* cccxxv.
⁹¹ 16 and 17 Victoria, *cap.* xxxv.
⁹² 7 William IV, *cap.* xxxii.
⁹³ Cockburn, *Journal*, vol. II, pp. 142-6. For these buildings, cf. *Inventory and Inventory of Midlothian, passim*.
⁹⁴ D. Cousin and J. Lessels, *Plan of Sanitary Improvements of the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1866).
⁹⁵ 30 and 31 Victoria, *cap.* xlv.
⁹⁶ 19 and 20 Victoria, *cap.* xxxii.

EARLY BATHS AND BAGNIOS IN EDINBURGH

by the late W. N. BOOG WATSON

The first baths in Scotland were those of the Roman occupation along and south of the Antonine Wall. At each of the excavated forts a bath-house has been found which served the needs of the occupying troops and their households. The withdrawal of the Romans from Britain in the beginning of the fifth century was followed by a millenium during which the practice of bathing was in eclipse, though not to the extent often represented. It became rather more common in the later middle ages and by the fifteenth century "baith-fatts" were in use in some Scottish households.¹ These were wooden tubs in which the bather sat, screened, it might be, with a canopy for the sake of modesty. Being portable they could be set up in any convenient apartment in the house but sometimes a special chamber came to be used for bathing.

The first mention of a bath-chamber in Edinburgh occurs in 1518.² On 25th February Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, granted to a chaplain serving the high altar in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Fields "her foreland of tenement olim of Hugh Bar and little chamber adjacent to said land and cellar below same excepting the bath above and a little penties." A later mention, dated 28th December 1633, is found in a mortification for the benefit of the poor made by Lady Yester; "Adam Fullerton at top of great turnpyke containing hall, fore gallery, kitchen, two small baths, two back bed chambers and a study."³

In the Near and Middle East, unlike Europe, the use of hot air sweating baths on the Roman model was kept up in full vigour after the Roman Empire fell. Later the Arabs brought them to Spain and returning crusaders contributed to their spread in other western countries, where the Eastern name *hummum* or the Italian title *bagnio* was applied. Later they came to be known as Turkish baths. At the same time the use of hot vapour sweating baths, habitual in East Baltic lands since very early days, was spreading through the more northern countries of Europe. They were known as Russian or Finnish baths and their direct descendants are the much advertised sauna baths of today. After the beginning of the thirteenth century there were few large continental cities without bathing establishments run on Turkish or Russian lines but it was not until the sixteenth century that they were introduced into London.⁴ The simplest kind was called a bath-stove, the more elaborate a hot- or sweating-house. Soon the terms *hummum* and *bagnio* were in use. In the end the latter became synonymous with a bawdy house, for many bagnios were frequented by disreputable characters for disreputable purposes. In the following century they made their first appearance in Scotland, where they seem to have maintained their respectability. They were few in number and situated within the boundaries of the Edinburgh of today with one exception—the double *hummum*, or bath-stove, one for men and one for women, opened in Perth in 1702 by an apothecary and "approved by physicians to be of great use for the cure of several diseases."⁵

The earliest of the Scottish bagnios finds its place in Edinburgh's municipal records in 1654.⁶ A minute of a Town Council meeting in March states that "forsamuckle as William Paul has erected a bath stove in Leith the Counsell grants to him ordour and warrant to make publication of his printed papers be towk of drum threw the burgh and liberties

thereof and to affix the same in the usual public places of the Cittie." The only other thing recorded about this person is that on 7th May 1669, "William Paull, bath stove keeper" married Jakline Shevalier.⁷ In the opinion of A. W. C. Hallen both Paul and his wife were foreigners.⁸ A description of Paul's bath-stove is to be found in Iron's *Historical Notes on Leith*: "About 1730 an imposter in the healing art established himself in Leith. In a handbill preserved in the Advocates' Library without date he informs the public that 'There is to be found in Alexander Hayes' Close over against the entry to Babylon, betwixt the Tolbooth and the Shore, a Bath Stove, set up by William Paul after the fashion of Poland and Germany, which is approved by all the doctors of physic and apothecaries in Edinburgh and elsewhere.—a sovereign remedy in curing of all diseases and preventing sickness of both old and young with the help of doctors of physic thereto. This bath is able to give content to fourscore persons a day. The diseases which are commonly cured by the said bath are these, the hydropsie, the gout, deafness, the itch, sore eyes, the cold, insensibleness of the flesh, trembling axes,⁹ the Irish ague, cold defluxions inwardly, the melancholick disease, the cholic and all natural diseases that are curable, *probatum est*. This bath is to be used all times and seasons, both summer and winter, and every person that comes to bathe must bring clean linens with them, for their own use, especially clean shirts. All the days of the week for men except Friday which is reserved for women and children.'"¹⁰ It is regrettable that search in the National Library (formerly the Advocates' Library) has failed to produce the original handbill containing this puff and that Irons offers no argument in support of the foundation date given by him, which is grossly inaccurate.

In 1686 another bagnio appears in the archives through the action of one of the citizens, James Rae. The Raes were a family of substance owning property in the Canongate. James, a barber member of the Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers, built Rae's Land on the north side of the Canongate, became a Burgess and Guild-Brother in 1678 and was Treasurer of the Canongate in the same year.¹¹ In June 1686 the Town Council minutes record that "Anent the petitions given in by James Rae his Majestie's barbar mentioning that he has be advice of the physitions and chirurgeons erected baith stoves upon the north syde of the head of the Cannongate with several convenienses thereto belonging and his furnished the same the lyke whereof was never erected in this Kingdom which his been great expenses to the petitioner And seeing the same is verrie usefull to the leidges as to ther health and leist other persones may sett up the lyke baith stoves efter they have gotten inspection of his and render the petitioner's labour of noe vallew to him efter he hes bestowed two Hundred pound starling by erecting the saide baith stoves and building the convenienses thereto belonging And therefor craveand the saids provost baillies and counsell to interpon ther authority as to the said erection And to grant warrand to him to make use of the said baith stoves for the weill and benefit of the leidges And to discharge all other persones fra erecting the lyke baith stoves for such years as the Counsell shall think fitt the Counsel approves of the design and discharges any other person to erect baith stoves within the city or liberties thereof for seven years."¹²

Further information about Rae's bagnio is provided by one of its patrons, Lady Grisell Baillie. From 1692 to 1700 this lady and her husband, George Baillie, lived in Warriston's Land, from where the first visits to the bagnio must have been made. In 1700 the family moved to Foulis Close, which they left when they made their home at Mellerstain in Berwickshire in 1707. The following entries are extracted from Lady Grisell Baillie's house-

book, the prices quoted being in pounds Scots. "1695 (no closer date), For bathing in Rees bathing hows 4-16-0. *June 1695*, to the Bainio in the Canigate 9 lbs. *Feb 5 1701*, To Mr Knox for head bathes 12-0-0. *Aug 26 1707*, For lodging 2 nights in the Banio and 4 times bathing 14-8-0. For drink money £3-4s. drink etc, 2-8-0. For chairs 1-9-0. To Mr Knox apothecar's account 46-0-0."¹³

These entries show that Rae's bagnio, like the London bagnios¹⁴ and that of the Surgeons described later, had bedrooms for the use of clients and that the Baillies took advantage of these when they received treatment in the bagnio from the family doctor.

About the end of the seventeenth century the medical profession in this country was infused with a new interest in the use of baths and bath-houses. The man mostly responsible was an English physician, Sir John Floyer of Lichfield (1649-1734), whose book, *An Enquiry into the Right Use and Abuses of the Hot, Cold and Temperate Baths in England* (1697), was quoted as authoritative for nearly a century after its first publication. Floyer's propagandist zeal was particularly favourable to the regular use of cold baths in health and disease and he may be looked on as the father of the Briton's cold morning tub. Not surprisingly, therefore, it was medical men acting in concert who were the agents responsible for bath-houses in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. The body first to take action was the Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers, founded in 1505.¹⁵ After the vicissitudes of early years it erected for itself a hall and anatomical theatre in High School Yards to which a laboratory, library and bath-house were to be attached. This was in 1697, well outside the period of interdict granted by the city fathers to James Rae. In November of that year the Incorporation, considering that the bagnio would soon be ready for use and being resolved to let it out at the best advantage, arranged for the rouping of it to members. There were no bidders, one reason being that the Surgeons' own well was inadequate and the Town Council, in view of the poor water supply throughout the rest of the city, was unwilling to make that supply available to the Surgeons' new hall.¹⁶ No progress was made until 1701 when the Town Council was told that the Surgeons "intend to provyde a Baigne or Bathing place with all necessar accommodations at their house nigh the High School of Edinburgh, and therefore desyre that they may be allowed to carry the superfluous water from the trochs of the wells upon the High Street to the said Bathing place." The Council, considering that this design deserved all encouragement as a thing to public advantage to the good town and the lieges in general, allowed the Incorporation the use of the surplus water from the well in Niddrie's Wynd or any other well.¹⁷ The Surgeons were hard put to it to find the money and it was not until the spring of 1703 that "being informed that there was a John Valentine, a Venetian by birth, who had the report of being very skilful of such kind of work" they agreed with Valentine and Mr James Smith, architect, to complete the bagnio.¹⁸ In May the walls of the bagnio and dressingroom were ready to be lined and John Forrest, an Edinburgh merchant, was dispatched to Holland to buy four hundred black and four hundred white marble stones, a foot square, for paving the floor, and seven hundred white tiles, five inches square, for lining the walls.¹⁹ The bath-troughs were of copper and a touch of elegance was added to the building by a large copper globe set on the top of the cupola, surmounted by a sun, both globe and sun being gilded.

In January 1704 the Bagnio was declared open and an advertisement issued. This informed the public that "there is now erected at the Surgeon Apothecaries' Hall in Edinburgh two fine Bagnios after the Turkish fashion where all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ladies

and others may be conveniently sweated and bathed. The men on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and the women on Tuesdays and Fridays (on which days no man is allowed to come into the garden) at the price for each person of three pounds scots." As well as the two sweating rooms there was another room, or rooms, with cold and hot baths. In charge was the Incorporation's officer, Andrew Raeburn, who was responsible for coal, linen, utensils etc. and had a monopoly of the sale of ale to clients. Under him was the Venetian, John Valentine, who with his daughter occupied two rooms in the establishment, one a bedroom, the other a coffee-room where coffee, tea, chocolate and cordial liquors were sold. Valentine received eight shillings scots for each person visiting the place; Raeburn's sister-in-law washed the linen and helped to bath the women clients for six pounds scots a month; finally came Valentine's daughter, Mary, who waited upon the Ladies and Gentlemen for two shillings scots a head.²⁰

The rooms on the upper floor of the bath establishment were furnished as bedchambers for the use of those who elected to spend the night at the Bagnio for reasons of convenience or who wished to rest and relax after sweating or bathing.

Among the first of the leading citizens to make use of the place was Sir John Foulis of Ravelston whose town house stood at the head of Foster's Wynd. An entry in his account book reads "*March 18 1704*. For sweating in the balnes 3 lib; for canarie 14 sh, coffee and brandie 14 sh. to the servants waited on 14 sh 6d; is all 5-3-6. To the chairmen carried me there and back one pound."²¹

From time to time throughout the years the Incorporation had to concern itself with defects in the water supply, with their Bagnio's meagre finances and with difficulties in the management of the place. In 1709 because of a serious fall in income they raised the cost of a bath to four pounds scots and fixed the price of a year's season ticket at £3:10/- sterling. These prices were affixed upon public places and advertised in the *Courant*. In 1712 new water pipes had to be brought into the building at a cost of half a crown for every ell of pipe laid.²² Use was again made of the press in 1718 in an attempt to attract custom, this time by cutting prices. An advertisement in the *Courant* stated that people were allowed to come and wash themselves in the little Bagnio for half an hour on payment of eighteen pence.²³ In 1728 the Incorporation was incensed by the discreditable doings of Hugh Paterson, one of its own more distinguished members, whose portrait by Medina is preserved in Surgeons' Hall. At a meeting of members it was learned that he was nightly in the habit of entering the place, taking up his quarters and obliging the officer to provide him with food and drink. The Surgeons, therefore, empowered their officer to refuse Paterson admission to the Hall, the Bath or the Sweat except by warrant from the Deacon.²⁴

During the eighteenth century the value of massage was more and more appreciated in the spas and bath-houses of the country, a "rubber" being employed for the work. In the early days of the Surgeons' establishment John Valentine and his daughter no doubt carried out rubbing as part of their duties but no direct mention of this is found in the records. In 1723 however, they were officially designated the rubber and rubberess in an overture concerning the Bagnio. It must have been soon after this that the Valentines left the Surgeons' service, to be succeeded by James Johnston. In 1729 the latter was recommended by the Surgeons to the Town Council and the Barbers "for procuring for Johnston a liberty to shave and make wigs within the town and its suburbs after he left their service." The request was successful and Johnston received his Burgess ticket, gratis. He was still in the Surgeons'

employ in 1731, when he became dangerously ill and the treasurer charitably paid him five shillings.²⁵

No farther mention of Johnston is found for by this time the days of the Bagnio were numbered. The income derived from it had rarely been substantial and was now grossly insufficient. An attempt to sell the place in 1729 had failed and in 1731 a final effort was made to keep it going by farming it out on lease to the Surgeons' officer. The effort was unsuccessful, the functioning of the Bagnio came to a stop and for a time its apartments and certain others in the Hall were leased for thirty pounds a year, all things pertaining to the Bagnio being sold except the water cistern. The last act of all, in 1740, was to strip from the walls and sell the tiles brought from Holland by John Forrest nearly forty years before.²⁶

The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh was founded in 1681. In 1704 it acquired for its own use as a Hall the house and ground of Sir James Mackenzie in Fountain Close. The property, more extensive than any other in the city, was laid out in gardens and shrubberies. At the lower end of the garden and adjacent to the Cowgate lay an old ruinous house, to the east of which was the well of St Michael, situated where today St Mary's Street and the Pleasance come together in the Cowgate. Here in 1712 the College with the use of stones and timber from the old building constructed a pavilion containing a cold bath. Attached to it was a dressing-room where gowns, bath sheets or "lynnings", sandals and other necessities were provided. Water was supplied from the nearby St Michael's well through a pump and a lead cistern. It was not the purpose of the Physicians to provide a bagnio like that at Surgeons' Hall. They, even more than the surgeon apothecaries, had absorbed the teaching of Sir John Floyer and they wished to make the blessings of cold water available to their own patients and also to the general public. In the summer of 1712 the bath was ready and opened at a charge of twelve shillings scots for each visit and two-pence as drink money to the attendant. A committee of management was appointed and every College member was adjured to procure subscribers among the public who would pay a guinea yearly for the use of the bath as often as they wished. The duties of bath attendant were undertaken by the gardener in charge of the grounds of the Hall.²⁷

The committee, finding it inconvenient that they themselves should give frequent personal attention in the pavilion, decided to farm out the baths to anyone of their own members who wished to take it. There were no bidders. In 1714 the tack was offered to the public and accepted successively by Alexander Murray, merchant, jointly with John Russell, W.S.; by George Murray, apothecary, brother of Alexander Murray, and in 1726 by two Edinburgh surgeons, James Robertson and John Douglas.²⁸

From the beginning the enterprise suffered from lack of funds. Dilapidated material had been used for construction of pavilion and bath, as little as possible was spent on maintenance and there were occasions when the place had to be closed because of defects. Profits to the tacksman were meagre though at times the bath was well frequented. Cold bathing was largely a seasonal activity and its pursuit could be affected not only by the time of year but by social or political disturbances. So it was that in February 1716, at the time of the first Jacobite uprising, the tacksman asked for an abatement of tack duty for the preceding twelve months "because of the Rigore of the Season, the present calamity of the Warr and loss of time the space of six weeks that the Cold-bath was a-repairing." The College allowed two guineas rebate for the six weeks of repair but made no allowance for the Rigore or the

Warre which, we may assume, were looked on as hazards incidental to the course of any tack.²⁹

In 1728 the Physicians withdrew the tack from Messrs Robertson and Douglas and undertook to run the bath themselves. Three years later, on the advice of Mr Alexander McGill, architect, the bath pavilion was demolished and rebuilt with new material. It was hoped in this way to ensure efficient working but the bath itself, which had been left untouched, continued to give trouble. By 1742 things had come to such a pass that a plumber was engaged to renew the whole bath with lead. At the same time the Physicians added to their clientele, though not to their income, by allowing the use of the place gratis to any patient of the Royal Infirmary, recently transferred to its new site nearby, who held an order to that effect signed by the physician attending him.³⁰ Three years later request was made to the Town Council that the well supplying the much used bath which was of public benefit to the town and was in a ruinous state should be repaired and maintained by the Corporation. Instead, the city fathers granted to the Physicians the sum of £20 sterling so that they might themselves take down the masonry of the well, cover it with long stones and install a double pump in the side wall of the pavilion, one section of which was to be connected to the bath, the other to supply water for the neighbourhood. These improvements were effective and no more complaints about insufficiency of water are recorded.³¹ Entries in the College minutes show that citizens of rank were glad to bathe in the cold water of the pavilion. In 1736 the Physicians allowed the Marquis of Tweeddale at his own cost to construct a door in the wall separating his garden from that of the College for his more convenient access to the cold bath, and in 1746 a key, cut at his own expense, was granted to Sir Thomas Calder to enable him to come to the pavilion "he being lodged close by the Cold Bath which he uses daily for his lameness."³²

In 1756 the Physicians reverted to the early form of management by tack and the bath was leased for ten pounds a year to Dr James Walker, surgeon in Edinburgh and agent to the Navy in North Britain. It continued in use until 1767 when the Hall, outbuildings and garden were put up for sale, this being the first step in the Physicians' removal from the Old to the New Town.³³

When the surgeon, John Douglas, relinquished his tack of the Physicians' bath in 1728 he did not lose interest in the provision of a bath-house in the town. In 1736 he joined John Douglas, architect, in a scheme to construct a bagnio at the foot of Carrubber's Close. In February they got permission from the Town Council to lay a water pipe and at the same time received a grant of five pounds "for encouragement." Seven months later the Corporation showed still farther approval by granting the Douglases a bond for building the bagnio and instructed Patrick Camell, plumber, to lay a lead pipe from the well in Niddrie's Close at a cost to themselves of £17 4/-. The pipe was laid but the scheme which had promised well at the start never came to fruition. In 1758 during a wrangle between a Mr Charles Butter and the Town Council it was expressly stated that the bagnio in Carrubber's Close was never built. The reason is nowhere explained.³⁴

Edinburgh Royal Infirmary was founded in 1729, the original hospital, with only six beds, being a small house at the head of Robertson's Close. Here in 1731 bath appliances for the use of patients were installed in the form of a bathing tub and a sweating box.³⁵ A sweating box was a bagnio in miniature—a wooden box in which the patient was seated with his head protruding through a hole. Under the stool on which he sat was a tub containing

either boiling water or a mixture of quicklime and water which filled the box with an abundance of hot water vapour. The original hospital being grossly inadequate, the foundation stone of a new building to house two hundred patients was laid in 1738. This was the so-called Old Infirmary at the foot of Infirmary Street, designed by the leading Scots architect of the day, William Adam, father of three architect sons, John, Robert and James.

William Adam's plan included accommodation on the ground floor of the east wing for hot and cold baths for the patients, but these were not, in fact, installed when the east wing was completed in 1741, perhaps because water at that time was provided simply by means of buckets carried into the building.³⁶ In 1743 a special pipe was laid to connect the place with the main conduit of the city but when the hospital was completed in 1748 there were still no baths. In that year Alexander Monro ("Monro Primus"), professor of anatomy, moved that a bagnio be built such as might serve the general public and this was approved. Four years of inaction followed. At last in 1752 a committee was convened to make the necessary arrangements and moved with dispatch. An appeal was issued asking for subscriptions to meet the cost of a bagnio and cold bath and advice was sought on the planning of the place.³⁷

The Infirmary's representative in London at that time was a Mr Anderson, agent for the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. He was now asked for detailed information about the public bath-houses and bagnios in London. By the middle of the eighteenth century the metropolis had several such places, the most famous being the Duke's Bagnio in Long Acre, erected in 1682 and named after James, Duke of York. Mr Anderson replied that these were large establishments, constantly open at all hours and not suitable for Edinburgh to take as models. He went on to say that St Thomas's Hospital had a small bagnio comparable to that projected by the Royal Infirmary and he supplied a plan of the rooms with a description of the place.³⁸ This shows a suite of three apartments with entrance hall, furnace and cistern room and a coal cellar. Of the three apartments one is the dressing-room with two beds, doubtless for patients to rest on after bathing and receive treatment from the rubbers; one is the bathing room, having two lead-lined bath tubs, each with a hot and cold tap; the third is the sweating room with a couch. The plan shows that sweating must have been achieved by the hot-air, Turkish method, the room being heated with a flue under the floor. No plan or description of the Infirmary bagnio survives but we may assume that it followed the St Thomas's pattern. Certainly the committee sought for no more designs on which to base their plans.

William Adam was dead and his successors, the firm of John, Robert and James Adam, undertook the work. It was John who drew up the plans and he pledged himself to finish the rooms most neatly in all parts of their furniture and to provide marble bath troughs in the most handsome manner. To this end, two hundred and eighty marble paving stones were imported from Rotterdam. Two marble panels for the cold bath were bought from a marble cutter at Abbeyhill, one of which bore an engraved and gilded inscription but the managers drew the line at marble bath troughs and were satisfied with lead-lined tubs made by a local plumber.³⁹

In the summer of 1756 a bagnio-keeper was appointed, advertisements of the new venture were published and in July the public was admitted to the bagnio, which was situated in the west wing of the hospital. According to the managers' regulations it was open for fourteen hours daily in summer and ten hours in winter. Different sessions were arranged for men and

women, charges being four shillings for a sweat, two shilling for a warm and one shilling for a cold bath. "Wine, milk and such like" were supplied to clients by the housekeeper out of hospital stores; "Possets, food or such like," prepared by the hospital servants, were also to be had. Clients were attended by rubbers of their own sex who were employees of the bagnio but they had the right to bring with them suitable persons as rubbers if they so wished. A guinea to the bath fund gave bathing rights for a year, ten guineas secured those rights for life.⁴⁰

At that time no bath treatment of any kind was provided in the building for the sick poor who made up the Infirmary's patients. This neglect was not so reprehensible as at first appears for they still had the use free of charge of the cold bath at the Physicians' Hall. That privilege came to an end in 1767 with the selling of the Hall, and two years later on the recommendation of the physicians of the hospital a warm bath was installed in the east wing for the benefit of the patients.⁴¹ For fear of infection strict precautions were taken to ensure that patients had no contact with clients of the bagnio. In 1771 the bath troughs had to be repaired and a suitable servant engaged to attend to them. In particular the cold bath had to be rebuilt and relined with two hundred and eighty square feet of lead.⁴² When this was done an advertisement soliciting custom was published in the two leading Edinburgh papers. It reads: "The Managers of the Royal Infirmary having fitted up HOT and COLD BATHS in an elegant and proper manner hereby advertise that they are opened for the Public at the following prices;—For warm bathing 2s beside 6d to the servant; and baths 1s each time. Subscribers of one guinea are entitled to the use of the warm and cold baths for one year from this date N.B. The above hot and cold baths are newly fitted up for the use of the Public and are in a different wing of the house from those which were and still are appropriated for the use of the patients in the Infirmary and are under the care of different servants. If any person chooses to sweat after the warm bath they may be accommodated for two shillings each time."⁴³

Among those clients who attended the bagnio about this time were members of the family of John Gregory (1724–1773), professor of medicine from 1766 to 1773, whose account book is preserved in the University Library. In the section evidently written by his wife are these entries: "7th July 1770 2 bathing caps, 9/4; 16th ditto 2 bathing gowns 9/-; 18th ditto to the bathing woman 5/-; 8th Sept. 1771 to the bathing woman 5/-; 17th ditto to the bathing woman 2/6d; 27th October bathing woman for Anne 2/-." These entries must refer to the Royal Infirmary since no other place in or near Edinburgh had facilities for fresh or salt water bathing at that time. The "bathing woman" was the matron of the hospital, whose duty it was to take the entry money.

At the end of the eighteenth century attendances dropped to such a low level that advertisements had to be published in the papers and notices affixed in hotels in the city. At the same time an additional attraction was introduced in the form of a hot vapour bath, this having been asked for by the Royal College of Physicians.⁴⁴ For the next fifty years the services of the bagnio were maintained with little change, such scanty references as occur in the archives recording only expenses, replacements of staff and minor repairs. Meantime the work of the Infirmary itself was always increasing and there was growing need of accommodation for patients and for those who ministered to them. Towards the end of 1838 the managers set up a committee to consider the propriety of continuing the public bath establishment on its former footing. In January 1839 this committee put out its report,

advocating closure of the baths and giving two reasons for its recommendation. The first concerned finance; as a rule the accounts showed a small profit derived from the baths but the cost of coal was not included and the committee considered that no profit was really made. The second was summarised in a sentence; "It is not a necessary nor creditable arrangement for managers to be responsible for public baths when space occupied by them is wanted by the Infirmary." The report went on to advise that the patients' baths in the east wing be discontinued for they were very faulty. Instead, the bagnio in the west wing should be closed to the public and given over for use by the patients. Additional vapour and medicinal baths should be provided by taking over adjacent rooms which had served as a dwelling house for the bagnio-keeper. These recommendations at once received the managers' approval.⁴⁵

In 1839 the Infirmary bagnio came to an end and with it the use of the words "sweat" and "bagnio", but the citizens of Edinburgh were not left without facilities to sweat and bathe, for the era of the bath-house run on commercial lines was now well established. The Edinburgh Directory of 1839–1840 no longer lists the Infirmary bagnio but gives the names of six other bath establishments. It is not surprising that four of these were in Leith near the sea, since the use of sea-water had gradually become fashionable all over the country ever since Dr Richard Russell introduced it at Brighton about 1753. No information other than names and addresses has been found about three of those six institutions—the Frithfield Baths at the east end of Leith Links run by P. Macpherson, a grocer; James March's Trinity Baths, Leith, and the Bath at 10 Barony Street belonging to T. Learmonth, a bell-ringer; but advertisements in the *Scotsman* and the *Evening Directory* give details of the other three bath-houses, from which it is seen that the facilities provided were more or less the same as those in the Infirmary bagnio.

The oldest of these, Seafeld Baths at the east end of Leith Links, set up in 1813, is described in 1839 as a splendid establishment with comfortable, warm rooms, open from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. and providing hot, cold, shower, sea-water and superior vapour baths at a cost of one shilling.⁴⁶ Leith Baths at no. 6 Broad Wynd, opened in 1831 by the London, Leith and Edinburgh Steam Mill Company and given up by them in 1837, were reopened in 1839 by a Mr Brakinrig who, to quote his own words, "respectfully announces to the Public that these much frequented and old established baths are now re-opened and fitted up in a superior style of elegance and comfort. They are supplied with filtered water upon the same principle as the Liverpool Baths. Open 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. Hot, Cold, Sea Baths 1/-; Vapour 1/6."⁴⁷ Most pretentious of all the advertisements is that of the Bath Establishment at 17 and 19 Hill Street which runs; "Guide to Health. HOT, SHOWER, VAPOUR and MEDICINAL BATHS are prepared and regulated on a system recommended by the highest medical authorities in this country at that splendid Establishment Nos. 17 & 19 HILL STREET, EDINBURGH, which are admirably calculated to insure the *utmost comfort with longevity* to those who are in the *regular practice* of resorting to that truly healthy and delightful enjoyment. Open 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. Prices moderate."⁴⁸

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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JOHN KNOX IN THE BISHOP OF DUNKELD'S "GREAT LODGING"

by W. STANFORD REID

John Knox came to Scotland from Geneva in 1555 to help forward the cause of ecclesiastical reform by preaching and by organising the growing body of Protestants in the country. So successful was he that in the spring of 1556 he was summoned to appear on 15 May before the Roman Catholic bishops in Edinburgh. When he arrived at the synod, however, he was supported by so many followers that the authorities called off his interrogation. He then held services for ten days in "the Bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging" with capacity audiences attending his preaching.¹

The important question at this point in his history is not, however, the numbers who attended his sermons, but what he was doing in the Bishop of Dunkeld's "great lodging." There has been relatively little attention paid to this matter by historians, but it does seem strange if he did actually preach, as one biographer claims, in the "palace" of Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, for Knox himself calls the bishop one of "the chief pillars of the Papistical Kirk," and he in turn referred to Knox in 1560 as "an old condemned heretic."² Obviously they were not on the most cordial terms. To insist, therefore, as one scholar did to the present writer, that Knox and the bishop were friends simply does not stand up under investigation. Hence, since the bishop would obviously not have loaned his house voluntarily to Knox, the only way the latter could have employed it for preaching would have been by force, of which we have no extant evidence, although surely any such action would have had reverberations in the available burgh documents. What then was this "great lodging" and how did Knox come to use it for his preaching?

In a foot-note referring to the lodging in his edition of Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, the late Professor W. C. Dickinson quotes the former Edinburgh City archivist, Dr Margaret Wood as stating that the house referred to was on the north side of the High Street about the location of the present Cockburn Street.³ The present writer, however, not entirely content with this description and still puzzled by the fact that Knox was preaching in such a situation, has carried the matter somewhat farther with results which throw new light on Knox's activities, and also may give some indication of the state of affairs in Edinburgh at the time.

To begin with, it would seem fairly certain that the house referred to by Knox was not Bishop Crichton's palace, for according to H. F. Kerr, this building was on the south side of the Cowgate, at that time one of the fashionable residential areas, and a stone's throw from the Black Friar's Wynd. Knox's building on the other hand, in line with Dr Wood's comment was on the High Street, which is borne out by a plan which she prepared and which Mr Makey, the Edinburgh City archivist, has made available to the present writer.⁴

The reason for saying this was the location is found in a charter of 1486 in which Sir Alexander Barcar, vicar of Petyname, grants to the altar of St Blasius in St Giles Kirk, rents from various properties, one of which is that of David Flucar whose contiguous owners are William Karkettill on the west, James Cameron on the east and the Bishop of Dunkeld on the south. This bishop, James Livingston who died in 1483, apparently held the tenement

not as episcopal, but as personal property, for it is referred to as "the tenement of the late James, Bishop of Dunkeld" down to the second quarter of the next century.⁵

From the later documents referring to this property we gather that the name "Bishop of Dunkeld's tenement" was applied to the whole parcel of land which ran from the High Street down to the North Loch. As early as 1486 it was divided transversely into two or three properties and later into four with the "great house" or "mansion," after which the tenement was called, occupying the lot contiguous with the Highgate. The situation of the tenement was between Silliman's Close on the west and Robert Barton's Close on the east. Although there are no traces of Barton's Close on existing plans, even in that drawn by Dr Wood, references to it in contemporary documents indicate that it ran between the Bishop of Dunkeld's tenement on the west and that of Murray of Blackbarony on the east. According to Dr Wood and Mr Makey, Silliman's Close lay one tenement east of Sclater's Close which was demolished with the construction of Cockburn Street. Consequently the land of the Bishop of Dunkeld's tenement is now occupied by the North Bridge, almost directly across from the Tron Kirk.⁶

In order to obtain an understanding of what happened to this property and why we may conclude that Knox preached in "the Bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging" in this location, it is necessary to know something of its history. While there are mentions of the tenement of the late Bishop of Dunkeld in a number of charters from 1506 onwards, there is no indication of the ownership of the property until 1515 when Helen Flucar, sister of the late Sir Thomas Flucar, chaplain, and presumably daughter of David Flucar, resigned to Sir William Francke, curate, an annual rent from the tenement of the late bishop now held by Margaret Livingston.⁷ It would seem from this that Margaret was either a niece or perhaps an illegitimate daughter of the bishop, but at any rate the land was still in the hands of a Livingston.

On 28 March, 1526, William Drummond of Smythiston, who must have acquired the property from Margaret Livingston, resigned the part of the tenement of the late Bishop of Dunkeld facing on the High Street to Robert Barton of Overbarnton, Comptroller of the Household and Lord High Treasurer, who in turn resigned it into the hands of his son Henry, reserving only his liferent. By 1529 the tenement had come to be known as "Robert Barton's tenement." In the same year the northern third of the tenement extending to the North Loch was held by Janet Kennedy, heiress of Donald Kennedy, and her husband, David Bonar, who also acquired the middle third from Helen Flucar, reserving to her the life tenement of that property.⁸

The English invasion and sack of Edinburgh in 1544 had a disastrous effect upon Robert Barton's tenement as on the rest of the burgh, for we read in subsequent documents that all the property was "waste and burnt by the English." Soon after this traumatic experience, Janet Kennedy, now the wife of Patrick Thomson, most appropriately in view of the former location of Patrick Thomson's store on the North Bridge, sold the middle section of the tenement, the former Flucar property, "waste and burnt" to James Bannatyne, W.S., his wife and son.⁹ Shortly afterwards she must have sold the northern parcel of land to Thomas Arthur, for two years later Henry Barton and James Bannatyne took action against him for placing a gate across the lower end of Barton's close, blocking access to the loch, probably required for the disposal of refuse. This matter went to "The Neighbourhood" which

ordered the removal of the gate in order to allow the other heritors on the close to have free access to the loch. By this time houses were being built on "the waste and burnt" land, for the judgement of "The Neighbourhood" mentions the wall of Arthur's lodging.¹⁰ This rebuilding may explain the sudden appearance of Barton's Close, as the land up to that time had been devoid of all buildings. Only as construction took place would a close again come into existence.

That reconstruction was taking place on the tenement is indicated by a document of 13 January, 1549/50 in which Thomas Boyis, baker, referred to land in the tenement of the late Robert Barton upon which he had newly built a house.¹¹ The appearance of Boyis on the scene at this time indicates that either Arthur or Bannatyne had sold part of his land, or that some arrangement had been made by both so that Boyis could obtain a piece of land between them. This is confirmed by a formal receipt of 16 September, 1555 in which it is stated that Boyis' land had Arthur's property on the north and Bannatyne's on the south side.¹² Since we already have evidence that Arthur had rebuilt a house on the north end of the tenement and by 1555 Boyis had done the same on his land and if Bannatyne had followed suit on his section of the tenement, Barton's Close would be almost completely bordered on one side by buildings. Similarly if the owners of the tenement of Murray of Blackbarony on the other side of the transe had done the same, the close would by that time have taken shape. Edinburgh was beginning to recover from the English attacks.

But what of the front third of the property, the tenement of the late Bishop of Dunkeld and of the late Robert Barton? By 17 December, 1550 Henry Barton was dead, succeeded by his brother James who inherited Henry's land on both the south side of the Cowgate and on the north side of the High Street. This latter tenement he resigned on 27 October, 1551, to his brother-in-law Sir John Sandilands of Calder, one of the leading Protestant lairds of Lothian. It is interesting to note that this property is still described as "burnt and waste." The front portion of the tenement had not as yet been rebuilt, although it is difficult to estimate how severely the English had damaged the Bishop of Dunkeld's mansion which may have been constructed of stone.¹³ Sandilands did not hold the property for any length of time, perhaps because he found that it would be too costly to restore; on 8 November he resigned it in favour of Mr Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho, advocate and Clerk Register, who on 12 March, 1551/2 in turn resigned it in favour of his son James, reserving his liferent.¹⁴ It may be that he then proceeded to restore the Bishop of Dunkeld's "great lodging." There are two resignations in his favour of "two quarters" of the tenement, one by Alexander Lamb, formerly of Leith, on 11 April and another by Thomas Makcalzeane, advocate, on 17 August. These do not give all the details one could desire, but they were probably wadsets which may have provided Marjoribanks with the cash for the rebuilding which he had to do. If this is the case, he was able to liquidate these liens in rather short order although John Edmonston still held a wadset on one quarter.¹⁵

From the foregoing it seems clear that the Bishop of Dunkeld's tenement had gone through many hands since the bishop had owned it, and when John Knox returned from Geneva in 1555 it was in the hands of Mr Thomas Marjoribanks. What Marjoribanks' religious views were at this point is not entirely clear. He may have been one of those burgesses who was by no means decided in his religious beliefs, although at least one remark by Knox in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* does point to Marjoribanks as, if not a convinced protestant, at least one who was sympathetic.¹⁶ Perhaps he felt that he could not

commit himself too openly since he held the important government position of Clerk Register.

The crucial question still remains however, as to why Knox used Marjoribanks' property as a place for the holding of services, and why he calls it in 1555 "the Bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging"? The answer to these questions seems to be found in a rather unexpected quarter. The present writer's suggestion is that the reason for Knox's use of Marjoribanks' house was that it was a tavern. To support this view there are both some general and some specific pieces of evidence which point in this direction. In general from various legal documents available one discovers that Edinburgh had a considerable number of taverns and inns on the High Street, one of which it might be added was owned by a John Marjoribanks, probably a relation of Thomas. In most cases where a description of the tavern is given it is referred to as "hall and chamber" along with pertinents which are sometimes specified as booths, vaults etc. This phrase appears in both Lamb's and Makcalzeane's resignation, although the pertinents are not specified. Furthermore, the term "great mansion" or "great lodging" is sometimes used as a synonym for an inn or tavern as in the case of William Aikman in 1558.¹⁷ Consequently general considerations would seem to point in this direction.

More specifically, however, we know that in 1539 Robert Barton owned a public house on the north side of High Street, and since this property is the only one which the present writer has been able to discover in Barton's possession in that location it looks as though this was the property.¹⁸ Furthermore, because of the tenement's early association with the late James, Bishop of Dunkeld, it may have been called "The Bishop of Dunkeld's Great Lodging," perhaps with the bishop's arms displayed as a sign. That the tradition of its being a public house continued after the rebuilding seems to be indicated by the fact that Gilbert Grote records in a protocol of 11 June, 1557, that an agreement was signed in Mr Thomas Marjoribanks' tavern. Although he does not give the exact location of the tavern, except that it was on the north side of the High Street, there is no indication that Marjoribanks owned another such property, and this reference would seem to point to the Bishop of Dunkeld's former lodging. Moreover, situated almost directly opposite the Tron in the centre of the business district, it would be a most suitable place for concluding an agreement with "drinks all round."

What appears to clinch this speculation is a passing reference in the *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrants*. It records that in 1567, when the Earl of Moray returned from France to assume the regency on Mary's abdication, he was lodged "in the bishope of Dunkell his ludgeing foranentis the salt trone in Edinburgh."²⁰ This statement confirms what we have deduced from other sources, although we probably would not have understood the *Diurnal's* reference without the previous investigation.

When we consider all the evidence, therefore, it is clear that Marjoribanks' tavern was the scene of Knox's preaching. It may be asked, however, why did he preach in a tavern? In answer to this, the present writer would say that a modern parallel should make this clear. His father was superintendent of Presbyterian missions in the Province of Alberta in Canada, 1910-12, responsible for establishing new congregations as the settlers moved on to the land. When he came to a newly established settlement which contained no building suitable for holding a service, although a convinced total abstainer he on more than one occasion went to the local saloon keeper from whom he obtained permission to use the

public bar as a place in which to hold a service and organise a congregation. He did not usually continue to hold services there as the "spiritual" atmosphere would be hardly conducive to worship, but it was there that he made a beginning. In the same way, Knox who had had his services in private houses crowded out the previous November, and who had few inhibitions about the cup that cheers, may well have used the public bar of Marjoribanks' tavern for his ten days' campaign, especially as it was in the centre of the business district, a location which would be easily reached by most of the tradesmen and merchants in the burgh.

To conclude, therefore, it seems evident that "the Bishop of Dunkeld's great lodging" was not the palace of Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld in 1555, situated on the Cowgate, but was the public house on the High Street owned by Thomas Marjoribanks, advocate and Clerk Register and probably one of Knox's supporters. This may add one more piece to the jigsaw puzzle of Knox's activities in Scotland during his visit in 1555, while also giving some indication of Edinburgh's physical condition in the 1540s and '50s.

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EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE CHAPEL OF ST MARY AND ST JAMES, NEWHAVEN

by J. C. WALLACE

At the beginning of the sixteenth century James IV created a New Haven on the Firth of Forth to be a royal dockyard. Here was built the "Great Michael," intended as the mainstay of a Scottish navy. To ensure the spiritual welfare of the shipwrights, dockyard employees and mariners, a chapel had to be built in the New Haven.

This chapel, dedicated to St Mary and St James, was commenced in 1506 and must have been completed by 1508. In 1513, Scotland's dreams of becoming a European power were shattered at Flodden, and the royal dockyard was abandoned. In 1544, during the Siege of Leith, the chapel may have suffered at the hands of the English, although there is no evidence of this. In 1560 the Reformation came to Scotland. From all these causes the chapel seems to have fallen out of use as a place of worship, and by 1611 was in ruins. In 1766 the site was acquired by the Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven and was in use as a burial ground until 1848.

In 1972, the Department of Educational Studies in the University of Edinburgh, knowing that plans were afoot for the redevelopment of Newhaven, felt that excavation should take place on the traditional site of the chapel, to see if the remains of the building could be identified. The proposal was approved by the Department of the Environment, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, and the architects concerned with the redevelopment plans. Financial aid was granted by the Corporation of Edinburgh, The Old Edinburgh Club and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Permission to excavate was given by the Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven, still owners of the site, and the writer was appointed to undertake excavation with the assistance of volunteer labour.

THE SITE

The site is an area of open ground bounded on the South by the old Main Street of Newhaven and on the West by Westmost Close. The West end of the building traditionally identified with the chapel comprises a West wall over 10' (3 m) high, having a blocked up window with chamfered jambs to the outside; a South wall of the same height extends for 23' (7 m) to the East, ending in what appears to be one side of a doorway with chamfered jambs; the North wall extends for 22' (6.7 m) to the East and forms the South gable of an existing cottage. The East end of the site is bounded by part of an East wall and part of a South wall, both of which are incorporated in other structures.

THE EXCAVATION

Five trenches were opened and examined; their locations are shown on the accompanying plan.

Trench 1 This was cut to determine if the existing South wall extended to the East. Immediately the turf was removed, human bones were found in large quantities and in a

confused state, as though the skeletons had been deposited there after having been removed from some other area. The filling of the trench was a nondescript mixture of ashes, pottery, building material and rubbish. At the South end were heavy deposits of shells, possibly indicating line-baiting activity in the cottages which formerly stood nearby. A quantity of glazed late mediaeval pottery and a coin of Charles I were recovered from the filling.

At a depth of 3' (0.9 m) below the surface heavy stonework was revealed and was traced to its meeting with the existing wall. It proved to be a wall or wall foundations about 3'3" (1.0 m) broad, of heavy stones laid in mortar, and bearing on its top surface a spread of mortar 2'3" (0.69 m) broad, exactly corresponding to the thickness of the existing wall. The foundation wall seemed to continue under the existing wall.

The vertical East face of the existing South wall did not continue right down to the foundation wall, but ended in masonry about 9" (0.23 m) high by 2'3" (0.69 m) broad, extending about 8" (0.2 m) along the top of the foundation wall. This foundation wall was traced to its lowest level on the South side; below the top course of boulders about 8" (0.2 m) thick, the face of the wall was set back about 2½" (0.06 m) and comprised five courses of stones about 3' (0.9 m) deep in all, resting on what appeared to be beach material of sand and boulders.

Human skeletal remains were present at all depths, but the deeper skeletons were more complete and undisturbed.

Trench 2 Once again, human bones appeared immediately below turf level and continued to be found at all depths, mixed with pottery and rubbish similar to that found in Trench 1.

At a depth of about 2'6" (0.76 m) below the surface, walling appeared, 2'3" (0.69 m) broad and running to meet the existing wall. In the East part of the trench, the North half of the wall had been robbed for a depth of 6" to 8" (0.15 m to 0.2 m). The wall gradually increased in height as it approached the existing North wall. On the South or inside face of the wall were three courses of rectangular stones each roughly 7" (0.18 m) thick, surmounted by a course of larger stones about 1'3" long by 1'1" thick (0.38 by 0.33 m); this inner face appeared to have been covered with mortar. Below this face, the foundations projected about 6" (0.15 m) and went down for a further 2' (0.61 m). The North or outer face of the wall was of rougher material than the inner; the foundations projected about 7" (0.18 m), giving an overall width of 3'4" (1.0 m), and began at about 6" (0.15 m) deeper than on the inner face, but the ultimate depth could not be ascertained.

Trench 3 This was opened to see if the chapel ended at a point where there was a decided fall in the ground level. Once again, skeletal material mixed with rubbish was at all levels, although the rubbish was less evident at deeper levels. When no walling had appeared at a depth of 4' (1.2 m), the trench was abandoned.

Trench 4 In view of the non-appearance of the East wall in Trench 3, a further cutting was made to determine if the length of walling at the East end of the site had any connection with the chapel. At a depth of 1'3" (0.38 m) below turf level a wall 2'2" (0.66 m) broad appeared on the line of the North wall already discovered in Trench 2. This wall ran for about 2'6" (0.82 m) towards the East, but then became obliterated by the insertion of a waste pipe from the neighbouring buildings. The outer or North face of this wall had incorporated

a worked stone 8" (0.2 m) thick lying on three courses of smaller masonry; below this the foundations projected about 6" (0.15 m); the ultimate depth was not traced because of the dangerous state of the trench. The inner or South face of the wall was formed of stones of varying sizes and thickness, the largest being 1'6" by 1' by 8" (0.61 m by 0.38 m by 0.48 m).

The East wall, 2'8" (0.81 m) thick, was found to continue about 4'8" (1.4 m) to the North on the line of the existing wall, but had been cut through for a water supply pipe just about the junction of the North and East walls. It was built of large stones on the outside face, while the inner face had six courses of smaller stones faced with mortar. At turf level in the existing wall, and partly outside our trench, was a large stone 2' by 1'3" by 1'7" thick (0.61 by 0.38 by 0.48 m), giving the impression of having been inserted at some time.

In the corner where the North and East walls would have met was a large stone 1'9" by 11"/1'3" by 10" thick (0.53 by 0.38 by 0.25 m) covered with mortar. A burial lay partly beneath the stone and it was difficult to decide whether the stone had fallen from the wall or had been deliberately placed at some time to strengthen the corner.

The filling in the upper levels had rather more building material than in the other trenches. No human bones were found outside the East gable, but were present in quantity everywhere else. At the lower depths the skeletons were in good condition, orientated and associated with wood, metal and cloth.

Trench 5 It now remained to see if the existing fragment of South wall at the East end of the chapel continued westwards to meet the remains encountered in Trench 1. At a depth of about 3' (0.91 m) appeared a platform of heavy stones with a maximum overall width of 4'7" (1.4 m) and a thickness of about 1' (0.31 m), the stones being almost obscured by mortar. The platform became only 3'3" (1.0 m) wide where it met the existing wall, and was about 3'9" (1.1 m) wide at the West end of the trench. Time did not allow exploration of the ultimate depth. The West face of the existing wall had been undermined to allow the passage of two water supply pipes, but it could be seen that a vertical joint went upwards through the wall face at a distance of 2'3" (0.69 m) from the North face, suggesting that the wall had originally been of that thickness before additions had been made to the South.

On the inside of the platform and at the same level was a line of slabs about 2½" (63 mm) thick with an overall length of at least 4'3" (1.3 m) and a width of about 1'7" (0.48 m). These lay over a skeleton, orientated and associated with wood, metal and cloth. It seems possible that these slabs may have formed part of the flooring of the chapel and been re-used as a covering for a burial.

Before refilling the trench, the water piping was protected by being carefully covered with stones.

DISCUSSION

From the evidence of the excavation, it would seem that the Chapel of St Mary and St James was a roughly rectangular building with an internal length of about 63' (19.2 m) from West to East, and an internal breadth of between 20'6" and 21' (6.2 m and 6.4 m). The North and South walls seem to have had a thickness of about 2'3" (0.69 m), and the West and East gables of 2'8" or 2'10" (0.81 m or 0.86 m). In trenches 1 and 2 the base of the

foundations was discovered at about 19' (5.8 m) above O.D., and one might expect the base elsewhere to be found at the same level. The North wall seems to have been reduced to a common level of about 23' (7 m) above O.D., and the masonry at the West end of Trench 1 may suggest that this level may at one time have applied also to the South wall. It will be noted that the upper surfaces of the foundations in Trenches 1 and 5 are at about 22'3" (6.8 m) above O.D., suggesting that they may have been prepared for some subsequent superstructure.

The inner faces of the walls are better finished than the outer and there is some evidence for an inner facing of mortar. No traces of flooring were found, apart from the slabs in Trench 5, nor of a beaten earth floor. If the floor were of slabs, these may have been removed when the chapel ruins became a burial place. In Trench 1 was found a fragment of what might have been stone flooring with traces of colour on the upper surface.

No sign of an altar was discovered. Neither was there any sign of a doorway, although the East face of the South wall at Trench 1 has stones with holes for hinges. There are, nevertheless, reasons for doubting this evidence, as the stones do not seem to correspond to any possible floor level, nor are they chamfered to match the stones above and between them. It has been suggested that the chamfered stones may have been built into the wall to provide a good facing, after having been removed from some other feature, perhaps a window. It may be significant that there are oyster-shell pinnings under the lower of the stones prepared for hinges.

Burials must have taken place on the site from an early date. Both outside and inside the chapel area, at a low level, were found skeletons complete, orientated and having apparently been enclosed in wooden coffins, lined (?) with metal, the bodies being wrapped in shrouds. At the higher levels the skeletons were jumbled up, lying at all angles, and may have been thrown into the chapel area when the surrounding ground was being excavated for the neighbouring buildings. A number of iron coffin handles and nails, presumably coffin nails, were found, mainly in the upper levels.

SMALL FINDS

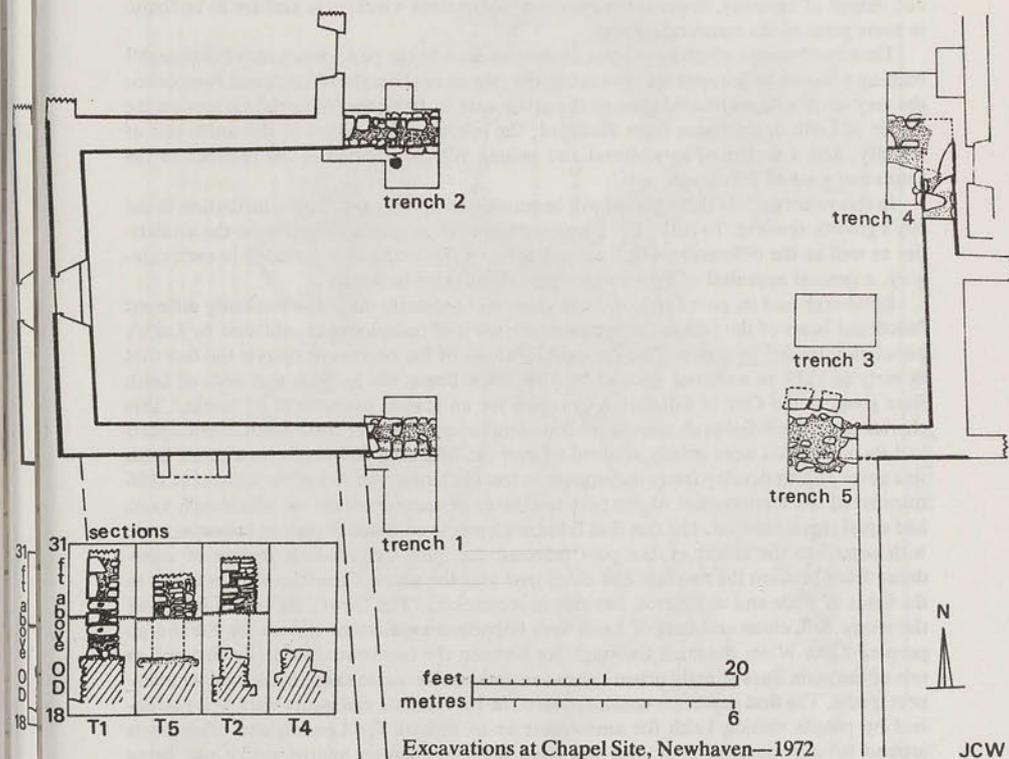
The small finds are to become the property of the Edinburgh City Museum, Huntly House. Until they have been examined by specialists no report would be of value. Briefly they comprise some sixty sherds of glazed late mediaeval pottery, some selected pieces of more modern pottery and glass, a few examples of clay tobacco pipes, some fifty coffin handles, and some items of fairly modern domestic and industrial use. The coin found in Trench 1 was a turner, or two-penny piece, of the second issue of Charles I, minted in 1632; it was of copper, in poor condition, and found in no significant position.

THANKS

Mention has already been made of the various bodies which helped with finance or advice. The Preses and Society of Free Fishermen of Newhaven are thanked for permission to excavate. The excavators are grateful to the Rev. Mr Birrell and the congregation of Newhaven St Andrew's Church for the use of church premises and for their keen interest in the work. The excavation aroused widespread interest and the site was visited by Town Councillors, officials of the City Museum and National Museum of Antiquities, members

of the Old Edinburgh Club, the Headmistress and pupils of Victoria School, Newhaven, and many members of the general public.

In particular, the writer wishes to thank all those who helped with the work of excavation and recording; Mr Hill and Mr Shillabeer for photography; Miss Hunter, Miss Thomson, Messrs Campbell, Jacobs and Williams for planning; Mr Skinner for transport and organisation; Mistresses Boyle, Humphrey, Little, Turner and Yeoman, Misses Brockie, Campbell, Cruft, Macdonald, McKie, McLean, McMillan, Philip, Sanderson, Simpson, Thomson, Wood, Young and Hunter, Messrs Boyd, Campbell, Curtis, Hendery, Marks, Simpson, White and Williams, for hard and cheerful labour.



EDINBURGH'S VILLAGE SUBURBS 1800-1939

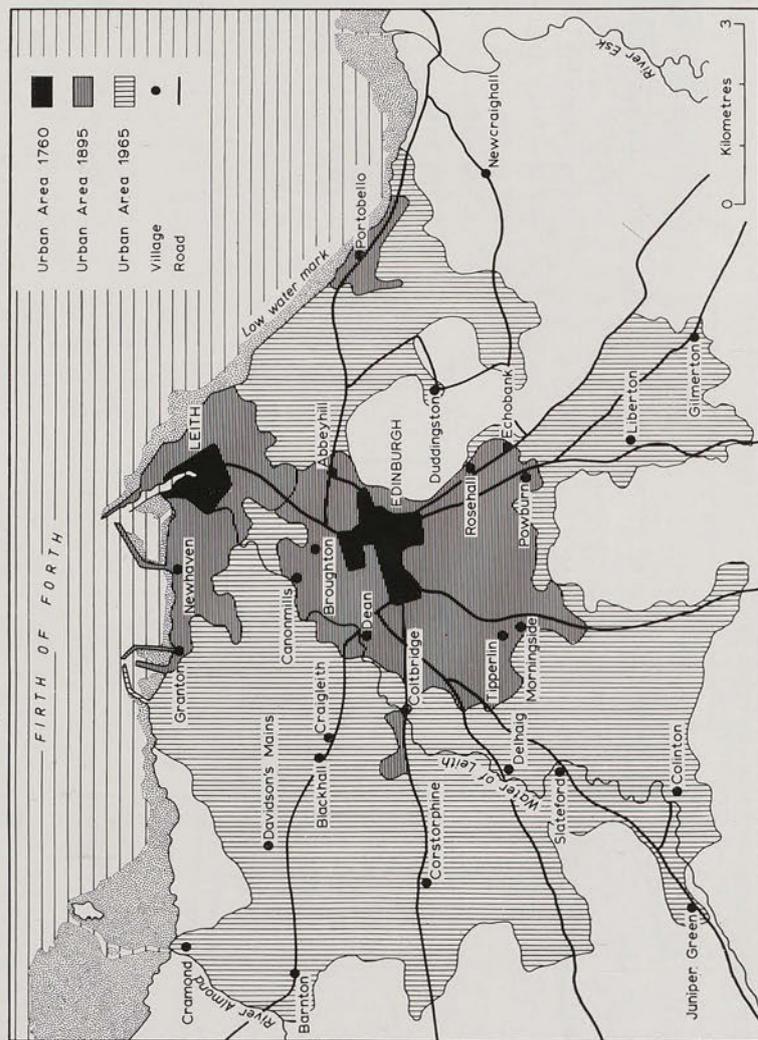
by ALAN J. STRACHAN

Edinburgh, like most cities, grew partly as a result of accretion and partly through absorbing surrounding villages and towns. This latter form of growth has been characterised by one outstanding feature, namely that its direction has by choice been towards those communities in areas of scenic beauty which were relatively easily accessible to the city and not, except of necessity, towards the industrial settlements which were and are to be found in some parts of the surrounding area.

Those settlements which have been, at various dates in the past, drawn into Edinburgh's built-up area can be grouped into five categories; the coastal burghs of Leith and Portobello; the very small villages located close to the urban area in 1800; the industrial villages on the Water of Leith downstream from Slateford; the mining communities to the south-east of the city; and a scatter of agricultural and milling villages situated in the parishes to the south and west of Edinburgh.

In this paper each of these groups will be considered in turn, and their contribution to the city's growth assessed. To make the discussion more cohesive and to emphasise the similarities as well as the differences which existed between the settlements included in each category, a general appraisal of Edinburgh's growth will also be made.

Edinburgh and its port Leith, did not grow up as a single unit. The markedly different functional bases of the two settlements and the spirit of independence exhibited by Leith's population tended to preserve the separate identities of the two towns despite the fact that as early as 1329, in a charter granted by Robert the Bruce, the harbour and mills of Leith were given to the City of Edinburgh in return for an annual payment of 52 merks.¹ This charter gave the Edinburgh merchants considerable control over their Leith counterparts and its regulations were strictly adhered to over the following 500 years. As a result Leith was never able to develop freely in response to local initiative. An Act of Parliament in 1826 transferred the management of the port to a body of commissioners on which each town had equal representation. The fact that Edinburgh was to continue to play an important role with regard to the affairs of the port reflected the quite considerable degree of interdependence between the two that had developed over the years. These ties were not only in the fields of trade and commerce, but also in recreation; "The Gowf" on Leith Links, and the music hall, clubs and bars of Leith were important amusement outlets for Edinburgh people.² Leith Walk, the main thoroughfare between the two towns, naturally emerged as one of the main lines of early urban expansion and was the route taken by the public transport media. The first passenger coach appeared in 1610 and its successors were well patronised by people visiting Leith for amusement or to embark for London and other ports around Britain; demand grew over the years until by 1836 an hourly service was being operated and by 1869 a ten minute one had been introduced. The coming of the railway in 1849 added a new and highly competitive form of transport between the towns; and the opening by the Edinburgh Street Tramway Company of a line down Leith Walk in 1871



Edinburgh's Village Suburbs.

Plate 1

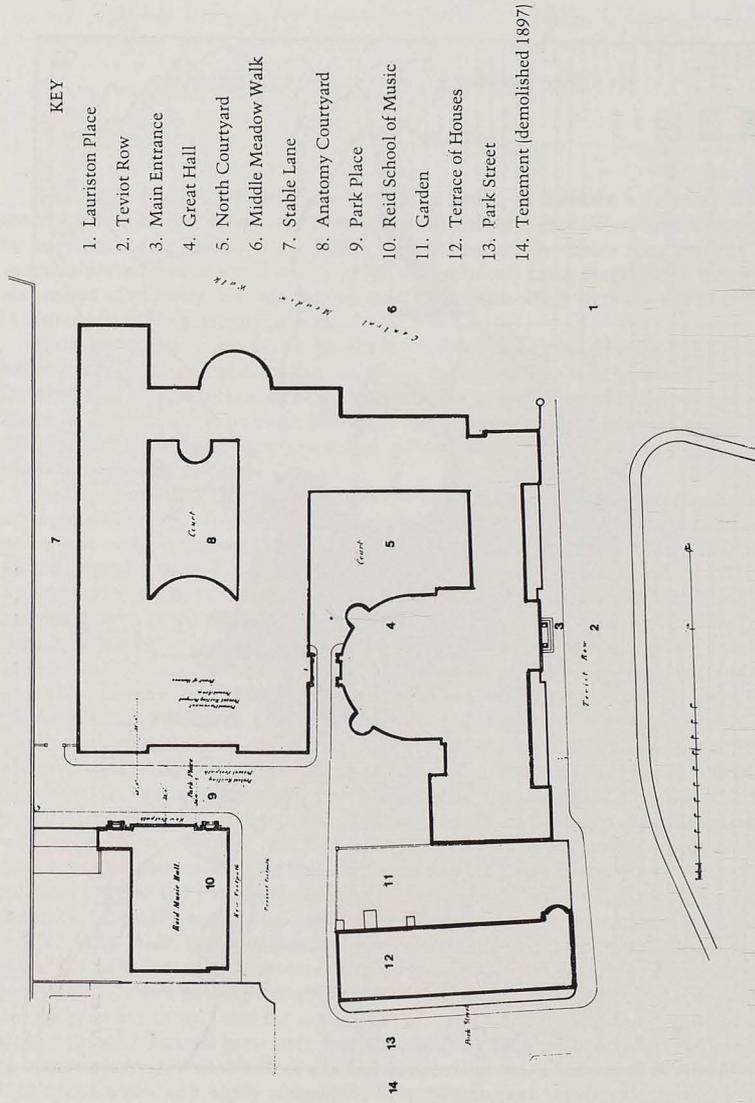


Plate II

Edinburgh University Medical School. Site plan by R. R. Anderson, 1874.

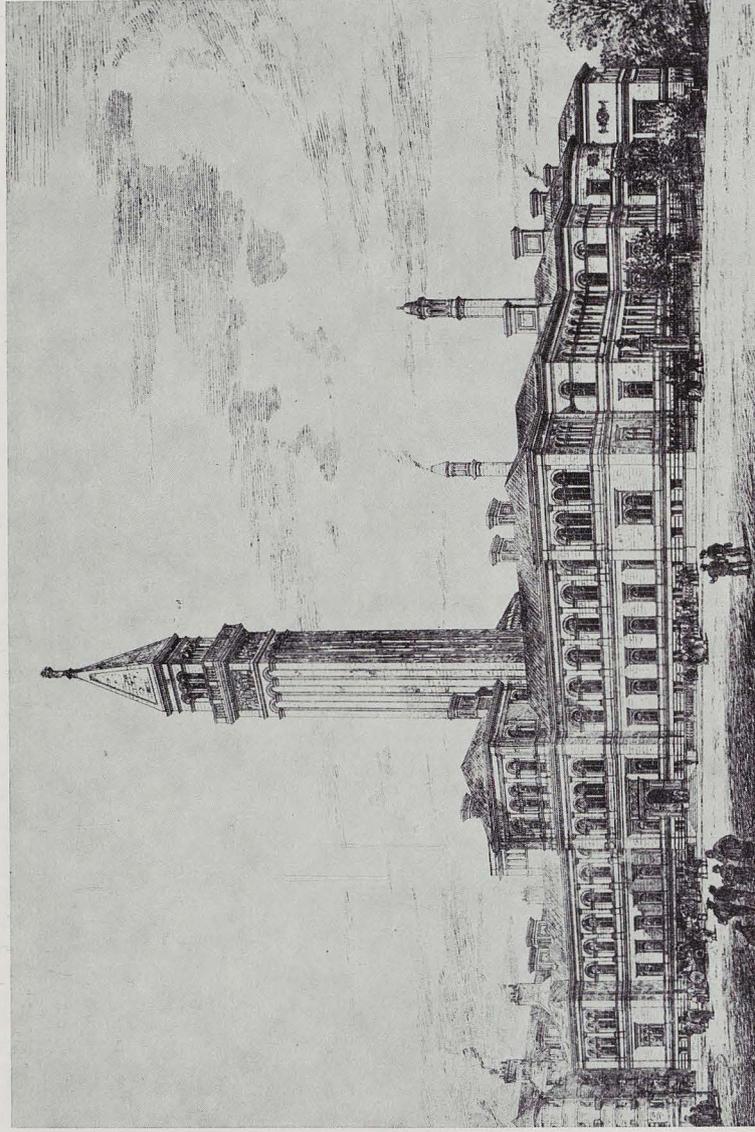


Plate III

Competition design by R. R. Anderson, 1874.

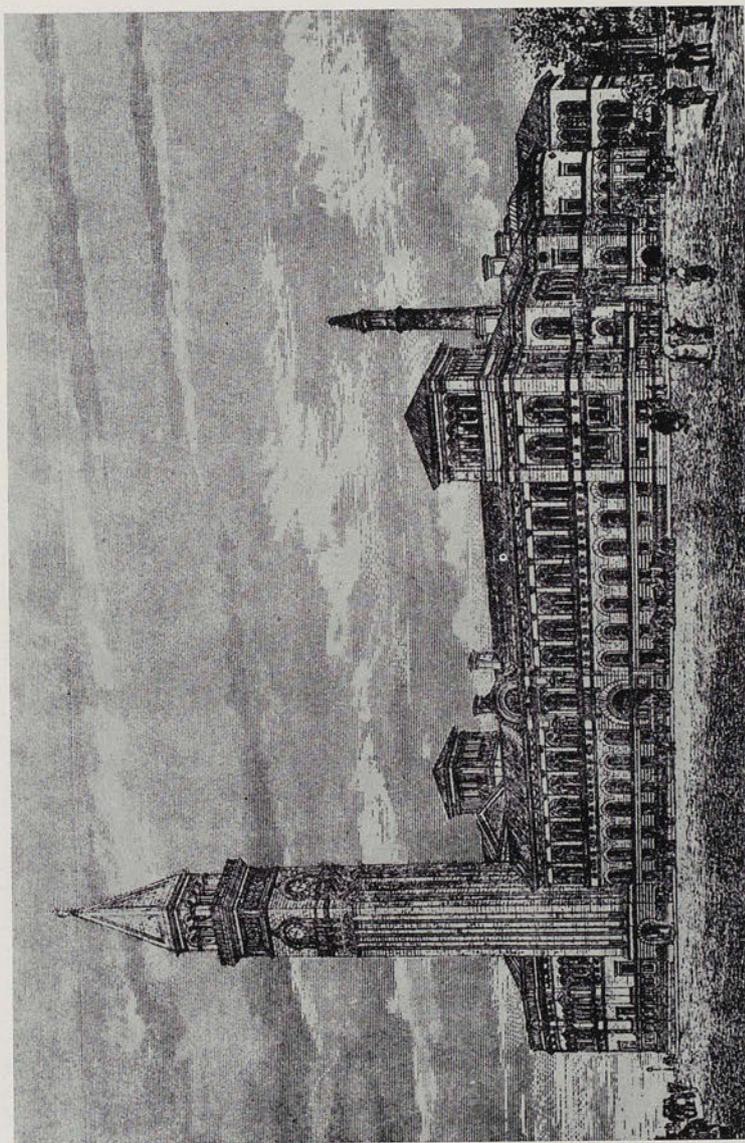


Plate IV

Revised design including Great Hall, 1883. Excavations at Chapel Site, Newhaven, 1972.

(one of the first lines in the Edinburgh area) finally brought about the closure of the stage-coach service.

During the second half of the nineteenth century both towns continued to grow towards one another and they became both physically and to a considerable degree functionally a single unit—so much so that Ballingall writing in 1877 was prompted to refer to Leith as a suburb of Edinburgh.³ By the 1890s Leith had been engulfed by the city's urban and administrative expansion to such an extent that Edinburgh's Town Council proposed that the port should become part of the city, a sentiment that was to a large extent based on the residential expansion that had taken place adjacent to the coastal villages of Newhaven and Granton. This was mainly of Edinburgh families who had been attracted to the pleasant rural surroundings in the Trinity district which had spread northwards towards the coast infilling the former open spaces between Leith and the coastal communities. This move, however, was vigorously opposed by the Council and people of Leith, and after careful consideration the 1896 Boundary Commission turned down the proposal on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence to warrant the amalgamation of the two towns. This was, however, simply a stay of execution since the expansion of Edinburgh during the early twentieth century completely encircled Leith and left the Commissioners no option but to create a single authority in 1921. This decision was contrary to the wishes of the people of Leith who voted in a plebiscite by 29,891 to 5,357 against the proposed amalgamation.⁴

Portobello's incorporation within Edinburgh in many ways parallels Leith's as the following paragraphs will show.

As late as the middle of the eighteenth century the mouth of the Figgate Burn was little more than a wasteland of scrub and blown sand devoid of settlement save an inn for travellers on the road to London. It was only when the clay in the area was found to be suitable for brick-making that a settlement, Portobello, began to develop. To begin with the community simply housed the brickwork's employees: the work's main trade outlet was Edinburgh's "New Town." Within a few years these ties with the city were rapidly strengthened as Portobello's potential as a holiday resort was appreciated;⁵ with this second phase of growth came the provision of all the amenities which a town of the period enjoyed. The rapid rise in the town's population from around 300 in 1800 to 1,900 in 1821 was mainly attributable to the expansion of the brickworks and the opening of a flax-mill and a bottle-works. Despite this industrial expansion the popularity of Portobello as a vacation resort and residential centre for people working in the city grew; evidence for this is to be found in the large number of land sale advertisements in the Edinburgh newspapers of the period, it can also be deduced from the exploitation of the mineral springs, the opening of the public baths in 1804 and the inception of a stage-coach service between the two towns in 1806. Initially this service must have catered for the more affluent of Edinburgh's citizens as the cost at 4½p (10d) plus 1p (2d) tip for the driver was quite expensive.⁶ By the middle of the nineteenth century Portobello's seaside function had become so important that the coach company was operating a more frequent and cheaper service and increasing numbers of city workers were able to take advantage of this regular transport service and to choose to live permanently in the coastal resort. The future of Portobello as a commuter and resort centre was assured by the opening of the rail link with the city in 1846.

The completion of Edinburgh's "New Town" was followed by a decline in the demand for bricks and a fall in local employment opportunities; this did not, however, result in a

corresponding drop in Portobello's population (Table 1). This was due to the increased numbers of people living there who worked in the city, and to the expansion of employment in those activities associated with Portobello's resort function. The opening in 1875 of one of the first out-of-town horse-tram services was a clear reflection of Portobello's attractiveness as a residential and holiday suburb. Competition from the tram and train resulted in the withdrawal of the coach service in 1876. In 1871 the opening of the pier with its incorporated theatre, camera obscura, numerous tea-rooms and its associated steamer facilities further helped to establish Portobello as a "Victorian Playground."

Table 1
The Population of Portobello 1821-1911

Year	Number	% increase
1821	1,912	—
1831	2,721	30%
1841	3,588	24%
1851	3,497	-3%
1861	4,366	20%
1871	5,481	20%
1881	6,794	19%
1891	8,182	17%
1901	9,180	11%
1911	11,037	17%

By the end of the century the continued growth of the burgh resulted in an ever increasing space problem, a product of its restricted administrative area and of the limitation imposed by the North British Railway Company's east coast line. This, together with the recognition of the close ties that existed between Portobello and Edinburgh, prompted the opening of negotiations between the two towns designed to bring about their amalgamation. This was finally achieved in 1896 not, as was pointed out by the Provost of Portobello, through the absence of able men in the burgh to administer its affairs, but because it was in the best interests of the inhabitants of the two towns.⁷

Although this brought Portobello under Edinburgh's administrative control the two remained physically separate and the area between, Duddingston, remained under the control of Midlothian County until 1901 when a boundary change brought it within the city. After this the development of residential suburbs in the area was rapid and by 1939 it was completely built over.

Leith and Portobello are to a certain extent anomalous in the context of Edinburgh's urban expansion in that both grew into towns, each with its own charter and burgh status and consequently separate identities, so that while closely tied to Edinburgh they were never completely dominated by it. The very small villages around the city, however, suffered a different fate since they were unable to retain their identity in the face of the outward spread of the city's built-up area. Settlements falling into this category are Broughton, Abbeyhill, Rosehall, Echobank and Powburn.

The first of these to be engulfed by the city's rapid overspilling from the castle ridge, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was Broughton. This village lay adjacent to the "New Town" and had grown in response to industrial activity in its neigh-

bourhood. By the middle of the nineteenth century it had emerged as the focus of an extensive working-class suburb.

The siting of several breweries at Abbeyhill during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries greatly enlarged what had formerly been a small agricultural community. Despite its proximity to the city, however, the open space formed by the Calton Hill and the incomplete development of the adjacent districts ensured that it retained its separate identity until the 1870s. By then several large tenement blocks had been erected to accommodate the growing labour-force employed in the local breweries and in the newly opened St. Margaret's railway-workshops at nearby Meadowbank. At the same time Edinburgh had expanded outwards by the development of Regent and Royal Terraces on the flanks of Calton Hill. Their completion linked Abbeyhill to the city.

South of the city on Dalkeith Road lay the village of Rosehall, formerly known as Gushet, a quiet hamlet noted by W. Forbes-Gray to have had literary, scientific and agricultural tastes.⁸ Between it and Edinburgh lay Newington estate which was disposed of in 1808 for building purposes. Its subsequent development allowed the city gradually to expand towards Rosehall, but it was not until around 1840, when the north side of Blasket Avenue was completed, that the village became a continuous part of Edinburgh's urban area.

A short distance south of this and adjacent to the Grange were the villages of Echobank and Powburn. According to Forbes-Gray the former contained 70 houses while the latter, despite the proximity of Reid's tannery, was a summer resort for city people.⁹ Houses spread southwards over the Grange District in a very sporadic fashion giving rise to a scatter of villas with quite extensive areas of vacant land between them. It was not until the 1870s and 1880s that the front of urban expansion had advanced as far as these villages. They were not, however, as was the case with Broughton, Abbeyhill and Rosehall, incorporated within the built-up area, but were completely redeveloped so that little evidence remains as to their precise locations and layout.

While the five villages discussed in the previous paragraphs were all fairly close to the city, and were all absorbed into its built-up area, the *raison d'être* behind this development was not the same in each case. Broughton and Abbeyhill emerged as industrial suburbs, characterised by high-density working-class housing—the spread of the city towards and around them reflected the increasing importance of Edinburgh as an industrial centre. Rosehall, Echobank and Powburn were by comparison engulfed by expansions of the city into relatively pleasant rural areas; residential developments were at a much lower density, and were not designed merely to house a local working population.

The proximity of the Water of Leith to the city ensured its development as a ribbon of riparian industrial enterprises around which several villages emerged. Moving upstream from Leith the most prominent industrial clusters (category 3) were to be found at Canonmills, Dean, Coltbridge, Delhaig and Slateford. As Edinburgh grew in size so the number of industries established along the river multiplied.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the "New Town" had expanded northwards to overlook the industrial complex at Canonmills with its mills, maltings, distilleries, oil-works, cooperages and gas-works. The unsavoury character of this area was a deterrent to the continued expansion of the "New Town." During the 1850s and 1860s, however, rows of working-class houses were built adjacent to these works and the expansion of this form of development eventually linked Canonmills with the city.

Dean village nestling almost hidden in the deep steep-sided valley of the Water of Leith upstream from Canonmills remained separate from the built-up area. Even after it had been overstepped by the city it retained its individual identity since the gorge sides prevented a physical linking of the two settlements and the high-class housing areas above the village had little or no contact with the flour-mills and tanneries below.

The village of Coltbridge, or Roseburn, grew up as a milling and fording place where the Water of Leith was crossed by the road from Edinburgh to Corstorphine. Unlike those riverside communities already discussed there were no obnoxious works adjacent to Coltbridge. This together with its route-centre function and its situation in attractive rural countryside resulted in its emerging early in the nineteenth century as a holiday and residential centre for Edinburgh families. Those functions were the bases of the settlement's growth. As would be expected in an era of limited mobility main roads tended to emerge as the lines of initial residential development and by development in this form along the Edinburgh to Corstorphine road, Coltbridge was linked to the built-up areas by 1890 and overstepped by a ribbon of houses towards Corstorphine by 1900. It was several years, however, before the adjacent open spaces were completely built over.

Further upstream the village of Delhaig with its corn-mills, flour-mills and tanneries had developed as an industrial centre of some considerable importance. Although some distance from the city, the emergence of so many factories in this particular location can only be attributed to the proximity of the large market demand in Edinburgh. Contact with the city, however, was very limited. In the middle of the nineteenth century the coming of the railway and the subsequent opening of several railway yards in the open space between the village and Edinburgh made Delhaig even less attractive as a residential community. The location of these railway facilities in this district was a reflection of its situation on the periphery of the city, between the main lines to the west and south-west of Scotland, and of the need to serve the industrial concentration which had grown up around the terminus of the Union Canal at Fountainbridge. Once established the availability of rail transport attracted many more industries to this area and the outward spread of these and of the homes of the increasing local labour force finally brought Delhaig into the urban area by 1914.

At Slateford the cloth-bleaching works and the laundries made use of large amounts of water from the Water of Leith. Although Slateford was quite some distance from the city the existence of these activities in the village must be attributed to Edinburgh's presence. By 1910 it had become necessary to relocate the cattle-market, corn-market and slaughterhouse from Fountainbridge to a site beyond the built-up area and they were then established on the opposite side of the river to Slateford, an indication of the village's peripheral location at that time. The first electric tram routeway in Edinburgh, from Merchiston to Slateford, was opened the same year to carry workers from the city out to the market. Despite this diversification of its industrial base and the consequent increase in its links with Edinburgh it was not until the inter-war years when council houses were constructed on the intervening open space that Slateford was drawn into the built-up area.

Again with this group of settlements the distinction between "choice" and "need" is apparent in their incorporation within Edinburgh's built-up area. Expansion was rapid among the water-based activities along the river in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and this growth attracted yet more industry to some of the settlements in the area. This resulted in an expansion of industrial land in Canonmills, Delhaig and Slateford,

and in a need to house the ever enlarging labour force in these "villages." It was the factory and residential development undertaken to meet these demands that resulted eventually in the coalescence of those centres and the city's built-up area. In this they were similar to Broughton and Abbeyhill. Coltbridge/Roseburn's inclusion as part of the city area, on the other hand, was due to forces similar to those which operated at Rosehall, Echobank and Powburn. Access to and from the city was easy, the surroundings were pleasant, and what had previously been mainly a weekend or holiday retreat for city people was gradually transferred into an area of permanent residence for those wishing to live in a semi-rural setting, but whose employment was in the city.

Information on employment and shopping in the larger villages around Edinburgh is available from a study of the local Valuation Rolls.¹⁰ These property reports, compiled annually after 1855, contain the address of each unit of property, the type of property, the name of the owner, the tenant or sub-tenant (if any) and the occupation of the occupant (unfortunately not in every instance). From such data it is possible to make a fairly detailed assessment of the employment structure of each village; when this is compared with the local potential a reasonably accurate measure of the extent of job-orientation towards the city can be gained. After 1920 the usefulness of this source declines since employment information is no longer comprehensive. The Valuation Rolls also record shops and their type, for each village, thus making possible an evaluation of their retail self-sufficiency. This source of information has been used in the following examination of settlements in categories four and five.

The mining villages, which comprise category four, are Newcraighall and Gilmerton, both of which lie to the south-east of the city. Functionally they have been closely associated with the nearby urban area since the eighteenth century, but only became part of Edinburgh as a result of the city's post-war expansion. At no time did they ever emerge as commuter settlements, as their mining heritages made them unattractive as residential districts. Their inhabitants appear at all times to have displayed a high degree of independence from the city, in that they worked and shopped locally, and do not seem to have sought to do either in Edinburgh. "As late as 1910 the inhabitants of Gilmerton who wanted to go into town had either to travel by train on a long roundabout route by Millerhill and Portobello or had to walk to the tram terminus at Nether Liberton."¹¹

Coal-mining was the dominant activity of those residents in employment in both Newcraighall and Gilmerton and there is little indication that the remainder were unable to find work locally. Despite an increase in the population of both settlements from approximately 500 to 1500 between 1860 and 1920 each successive year* investigated revealed the same basic pattern with mining dominant and farming and shop-keeping accounting for the remainder of the labour force. Each settlement had developed a wide range of shop types and services even at the earliest date investigated, indicating that they were largely self-sufficient and that probably only the more specialised purchases would have had to be made in Edinburgh. This limited the demand for access to the city and was reflected in the absence of regular transport services to and from these villages. It was only when Newcraighall was incorporated within Edinburgh's administrative area in 1920 that a bus service was introduced. A similar service was not provided for the people living in Gilmerton which became

*Ten year intervals from 1860

part of the city at the same time: it would appear therefore that Newcraighall had established much closer ties with the city during the preceding years. Although the people living in these communities had begun to develop stronger ties with Edinburgh these were still not very evident in 1920 and it was not until the city's inter-war and post-war housing expansion had encroached upon them and the local pits had closed that they became fully integrated within Edinburgh.

The unattractive mining character of these two villages resulted in their being avoided as commuter settlements for Edinburgh workers. Full integration both physical and social, was however, forced on the three settlements concerned; Edinburgh, Newcraighall and Gilmerton people did not actively attempt to achieve this inevitable consequence of continued urban expansion.

A scatter of agricultural and quarrying villages in the area around Edinburgh, which in 1800 were separate independent communities, emerged during the following 140 years as the foci of residential suburbs for the city. These (category 5) are Duddingston, Liberton (including Liberton Dams), Morningside, Tipperlin, Colinton, Juniper Green, Corstorphine, Craighleith, Blackhall, Davidson's Mains, Barnton and Cramond.

The first of these, Duddingston, is situated on the south-eastern flanks of Arthur's Seat. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it consisted of little more than a small cluster of homes adjacent to the parish church, and it remained almost unchanged throughout the period under discussion. This was due to its situation at the junction of three large estates, Holyrood, Prestonfield and Duddingston. It was the royal estate of Holyrood, lying between the village and Edinburgh, which was mainly instrumental in preserving open space between the city and the village. The exclusion of wheeled traffic from it, a policy that continued after the opening of this area as a public park in the middle of the 19th century, meant that a trip into Edinburgh for Duddingston people involved either a walk across the park or a lengthy journey around its perimeter by coach. Only a few prosperous city families could afford the high transport costs entailed and these, along with the minister, and the estate workers, made up the total village population.¹² The village was, however, frequented by many Edinburgh people out walking in the park, skating on the adjacent pond or desirous of refreshing themselves at the famous "Sheep's Heid" Inn.¹³ In 1920, despite the extensive urban expansion which had taken place around the royal park, the village still remained undisturbed; it was not until the inter-war period that houses were built over the eastern flanks of Arthur's Seat and in this way this attractive village became incorporated within the built-up area.

Although Reuben Butler, in *Scott's Heart of Midlothian*, made numerous journeys between Liberton and Edinburgh during the eighteenth century¹⁴ the village was a little too far removed from the city for regular daily commuting to be a significant feature at that time. It was 1850 before this attractive agricultural community began to attract one or two of the more wealthy city people as by then road transport had been considerably improved. The Valuation Roll for 1867 recorded the presence of two professional people, by 1875 there were five such residents (doctors, lawyers and an accountant) and two retired professional workers. This marked the beginning of a rapid influx of people who found their employment in Edinburgh; between 1875 and 1891 the village population grew from 173 to 379 and for the latter year the Valuation Roll indicated that almost one half of the village's residents who had employment, had occupations which they could only have pursued in the city. These

were mainly professional people; in addition there were an increasing number of retired persons living in the village. The presence of one shop in a village of this size, throughout the whole of this period, would seem to reflect a heavy dependence on the facilities available in Edinburgh. By 1918 Liberton's population had grown to 600, and apart from a few agricultural workers and a number of retired people all those who worked were employed in the city. This increase, and the growth of a new community at Liberton Dams, at the foot of Liberton Brae (400 by 1918) had been accelerated firstly by the extension to Nether Liberton of a cable car service at the end of the nineteenth century, and later by the opening of the Scottish Motor Traction Company's bus route from Edinburgh to Loanhead and Penicuik. The advent of these public transport facilities reduced both the cost of travel between Edinburgh and Liberton and the time involved, thus making the area readily accessible. Taking advantage of this, many people moved out of the city to live in these pleasant rural surroundings. This movement received added impetus with the extension of the tramway to Nether Liberton in 1924 and to the top of Liberton Brae the following year. In contrast to most other suburban districts around the city the opening of the tramway to Liberton preceded much of the residential development, a clear indication of the Town Council's faith in the potential of the suburb, a faith that the spread of houses during the inter-war years showed to have been soundly based.

Morningside, situated on the Biggar Road a mile or so south of the city, is another village which was chiefly dependent on agriculture; in the early nineteenth century the adjacent village of Tipperlin was renowned for its weavers. However the attractiveness of the district, with its gentle slopes and southerly aspect, did not go unnoticed and after 1800 both were gradually enlarged. Houses such as Falcon Hall, East Morningside House, Clinton House and The Elms, along with the more modest yet still impressive villas along Churchill. Newbattle Terrace and Jordan Lane were typical of the area. These, along with the more crowded houses on Morningside Road, made of the whole an exceptionally dignified residential district which, like Liberton, was almost completely devoid of industry. Throughout the third quarter of the nineteenth century the population of these villages expanded rapidly with the infilling of the open villa-development of the previous era. By 1865 the southward expansion of the city over the lands of Bruntsfield and the northward growth of Morningside towards Bruntsfield made the village continuous with Edinburgh's urban area.

At a ford and bridge point across the Water of Leith some four and a half miles south west of the city lay Colinton, a small community almost hidden on the floor of the steep-sided, tree-clothed river-valley. The Statistical Account of Scotland¹⁵ and the New Statistical Account¹⁶ noted that the village had long had a few inhabitants who worked in Edinburgh; the early Valuation Rolls, however, indicate that they made up a very small proportion of the local population. The number of people involved increased during the third quarter of the nineteenth century so that by 1875 when the population of the village numbered 300 almost one-third of the resident workers could not have been employed locally.¹⁷ Professional people formed the majority of this group, but there were also several clerks and civil servants. This growth in the commuter population was no doubt in part due to the opening in 1874 of the railway line through Colinton to Balerno which facilitated travel into Edinburgh. By 1891 the population of the village had grown to 475 and its links with the nearby city had increased considerably. The small number of shops in Colinton in the nineteenth century would seem to indicate that the inhabitants patronised the alternative facilities of

either the neighbouring village of Juniper Green or of Edinburgh. As late as 1911, W. McPhail¹⁸ doubted if Colinton would expand much more, but this assessment was soon proved to be incorrect since by 1914 the village had spread northwards to link up with Juniper Green and south towards Dreghorn and Bonaly giving rise to a large suburban community. With the incorporation of the parish within Edinburgh in 1920 the dormitory role of the village was recognised by the opening of a bus service to provide a feeder-service to the tram-terminus at Craiglockhart. With improved access more and more people moved out to the district and to cope with increasing transport demands the tramway was extended to Colinton in 1926. The railway, however, continued to play a very important role in carrying people into the city.¹⁹ House-building gained momentum and spread both north and south of the original village. By 1939 Colinton had become part of Edinburgh's urban area despite the large open space to the east formed by the military barracks at Redford and the grounds of Merchiston Castle School which separated it from the city. It achieved its status as part of the continuously built-up area in 1939 by virtue of its being continuous with Juniper Green which, as will be discussed in the following paragraphs, had been engulfed by that date.

Juniper Green overlooked the valley of the Water of Leith and was a milling settlement whose links with Edinburgh, on the basis of evidence provided by the Valuation Rolls,²⁰ were small, most likely limited to the marketing of mill-produce. The presence in the village of numerous shops pointed to its self-sufficiency and to its possible role as an area shopping focus. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, with the opening of the Balerno Railway people began to move out from the city to live in Juniper Green. The construction of several large villas and rows of well proportioned terraced houses was indicative of this trend. In 1891 the village had a population of nearly 1,200 and while employment in the paper-, snuff-, and corn-mills continued to be of great importance there were a growing number of residents who would have had to journey into Edinburgh to find work. In addition to the professions, this group included industrialists, civil servants and clerks. Recreation facilities such as the golf-courses, the river and the hills were also beginning to attract many city people to this very pleasant district. After 1900 Juniper Green rapidly expanded towards Edinburgh and provided houses for 2,300 people by 1921. On becoming part of Edinburgh in 1920—although physically still a separate entity—a bus-service was introduced to carry passengers to the tram-terminus at Slateford, but with the extension of the tram service to Colinton the bus-service was re-routed to the latter terminus. It was not, however, until the inter-war years, when the expansion of Edinburgh led to the development of Kingsknowe, that this large commuter village, and with it Colinton, became physically linked with the city.

Corstorphine, the next settlement to be considered in this group, was a long-established village lying west of Edinburgh on the Glasgow Road: it provided agricultural, transport and local service facilities. The local meadows and gardens produced food for the Edinburgh market, the hostelry was a staging post on the road to Glasgow and the remarkably wide range of shops and services to be found in the village²¹ were indicative of its importance as a service-centre. As was the case in Juniper Green it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that people began to move out from Edinburgh to live in Corstorphine. Like all the rural settlements around the city the initial outward movement was by professional people, but Corstorphine quickly emerged as a middle-class suburb with clerks

forming by far the largest proportion of those commuting into Edinburgh. As a result of this trend, and in anticipation of continued growth, a suburban railway line was opened to Corstorphine in 1902. In 1911 W. McPhail²² noted that the village had doubled in size in the previous decade and he advocated the extension of the tramway from Murrayfield to supplement the rail service. The local population grew from 1,000 in 1895 to 2,000 by 1905 and 2,700 by 1918; during the same period houses spread northwards only over the slopes of Corstorphine Hill since the area to the south, formerly part of Corstorphine Loch, was regarded as being too low-lying and damp to make suitable building land. The higher ground had the added attraction that it provided an excellent outlook over the south and south-western approaches to the city. The village preserved its strong retail function, but became increasingly dependent upon Edinburgh for many of the more specialised services formerly provided locally by tailors, cabinet-makers, watch-makers and others. That such a degree of functional specialisation had come into being is a further reflection of the importance of the village as a service-centre and their demise an indication of increasing access and interaction with the nearby city. However, it was not until 1933 that the tramway was extended to Corstorphine, until which time the railway and the Scottish Motor Traction Company carried these suburban dwellers into Edinburgh. The city's extensive inter-war housing developments over the flat lands of Roseburn and Carrick Knowe made the greatly enlarged village continuous with the city.

Craigleith, a quarrying community to the north-west of Edinburgh, was at its busiest during the building of the "New Town" when demands for sandstone were great; this declined drastically towards the end of the nineteenth century. Agriculture on the other hand formed the main link between the city and the villages of Blackhall and Davidson's Mains. The latter was also a summer resort for Edinburgh families. These communities escaped the commuter exodus from the city until 1894 when a branch of the suburban railway was opened to Barnton. This line had come into being mainly as a result of the foresight and enterprise of a local landowner who was quick to recognise the movement to the suburbs and who tried to exploit it. In the 1880s Sir John Maitland came to the conclusion that his estate at Barnton was ideally suited for conversion into a residential district and he managed to persuade the Caledonian Railway Company to build a branch line to connect the estate to the city. The line was opened in 1894 by which time the 600 acre estate had been subdivided into plots for some 400 houses of which fourteen were under construction.²³ After this early impetus demand for such large sites declined with the result that by 1914 only two small clusters of very impressive villas at either end of the proposed Barnton Avenue had been built; the remaining land was then sold and converted into two golf courses. However, Sir John's scheme did play a very important role in opening up this district to Edinburgh people. The stations along the suburban railway, Craigleith, Davidson's Mains and Barnton, began to expand in response to an influx of commuter families and became the foci of the much larger dormitory suburbs which grew up during the inter-war years. Craigleith and Davidson's Mains became extensions of the built-up area during this period, but the more distant Barnton remained isolated until post-war expansion encompassed the intervening open spaces.

Cramond, the last of Edinburgh's village suburbs to be discussed, changed only slightly until the inter-war and post-war building booms. Its links with the city were, however, possibly stronger than in most of the larger settlements already described. Situated on the

eastern bank of the River Almond and comprising a small cluster of around eighty cottages it had grown up both as a ferry point across the river and as a safe anchorage for small boats. Lying as it did quite some distance west of the city Cramond was little more than a transport-focus and occasional-visiting place for Edinburgh people. This continued to be the case until 1867 when for the first time two of the cottages were tenanted by people who also had houses in Edinburgh.²⁴ By 1875 this number had risen to six and four other cottages were occupied by professional people. As can be seen in Table 2 more and more of the cottages in Cramond came to be tenanted by Edinburgh families. This is a very interesting feature especially when it is noted that the cottages had been leased for periods of between seventeen and nineteen years,²⁵ an indication that they were used as second homes throughout the year, not simply during the summer.

Table 2

Total number of cottages in Cramond—80

Year	Number of cottages rented by Edinburgh Families
1867	2
1875	6
1880	12
1885	24
1890	53
1895	55
1900	55
1905	58
1918	58

Source: Valuation Rolls; Midlothian

The scenic beauty of the village, its quietness and accessibility to both the river and the sea were no doubt influential in its emergence as a holiday centre outweighing the disadvantages of poor local shopping facilities and remoteness from Edinburgh. Movement to and from the city was facilitated by the opening of the railway to Barnton in 1894 and the introduction of a bus service by the Scottish Motor Traction Company a few years later, but the suburban explosion that characterised the other villages around Edinburgh did not occur, possibly due to the unwillingness of local landowners to sell land for building purposes. The inauguration of a Corporation bus service in 1920, however, was indicative of local demand at that time, but marked expansion did not take place until the post-war period.

This account has considered the villages around Edinburgh and has concentrated on their development during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During this period transport facilities improved greatly and many peripheral communities began to receive overspill population from the city in very much the same way as is happening to settlements beyond the Green Belt at the present time. An indication of the numbers of people involved in this suburban movement between 1851 and 1931 is given in Table 3. Although the figures presented are for parishes an overwhelming proportion of the increases recorded for each took place within and around the villages.

Table 3

Population of the suburban Parishes of Edinburgh 1851-1931

Year	Duddingston*		Liberton*		Colinton*	
	Population	% increase	Population	% increase	Population	% increase
1851	4,401	—	3,528	—	2,676	—
1861	5,159	17	3,507	—1	2,656	—1
1871	6,369	23	3,791	8	3,644	37
1881	7,380	16	4,951	31	4,347	19
1891	9,643	31	6,229	26	4,549	5
1901	12,037	25	7,233	16	5,499	21
1911	16,762	39	8,361	16	6,664	21
1921	18,680	11	9,266	11	8,325	25
1931	26,145	40	10,901	18	8,438	1

Year	Currie		Corstorphine*		Cramond*	
	Population	% increase	Population	% increase	Population	% increase
1851	2,190	—	1,499	—	2,444	1
1861	2,248	3	1,579	5	2,459	1
1871	2,366	5	1,788	13	2,666	8
1881	2,390	1	2,156	21	2,655	—4
1891	2,574	8	2,233	4	2,633	—1
1901	2,513	—2	2,725	22	2,722	3
1911	2,526	1	3,870	42	3,763	38
1921	2,555	1	4,410	14	4,078	8
1931	3,261	28	7,381	67	5,631	38

*Incorporated within Edinburgh in 1920

Source—Census of Scotland

This account of the coalescence of these scattered communities into Edinburgh's built-up area again emphasises the aspects of "choice" and "need." In all instances settlements in group 5 emerged as residential foci because people wanted to live in pleasant rural surroundings which were accessible to the city. The easier the access the more rapidly did the settlement expand, and the quicker it grew the better the transport-network linking it to the city became. This is in sharp contrast to the incorporation of Gilmerton and Newcraighall within the built-up area.

In all categories the form of district lay-out which developed was dependent on the reason for development. Where this was purely residential the lay-out was geared to the possible market, from the very extensive at the Grange and Barnton to the more intensive at Corstorphine and Colinton. The highest densities, however, are to be found in those areas developed as working-class suburbs, for example Abbeyhill, or as public housing developments which contributed so much, as has been noted, to the linking up of the fashionable privately developed suburbs one to another and to the built-up area.

Edinburgh was, until the middle of the eighteenth century, almost completely confined to the castle ridge, a dense covering of tenement houses with the open countryside very close to

every part of the town. Its rapid growth during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, epitomised by the "New Town," inevitably meant that many rural settlements were drawn into the city and lost their separate identities. This movement was by no means an indiscriminate one, but took place to those villages in attractive agricultural surroundings free from industry and although easy access was an advantage it was not an essential prerequisite for growth. Consequently industrial communities and those in low-amenity mining districts tended to be avoided. This has meant that certain areas such as Duddingston, Liberton, Colinton, Corstorphine and Cramond were the main recipients of commuter families while the industrial villages along the Water of Leith and the mining settlements to the south-east were avoided until the general sprawl of the urban residential-area engulfed them at a much later date. Thus a number of foci were expanded and in many cases almost completely overwhelmed. They are, however, remembered in the names of the districts of which they formed the original nuclei.

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BOSWELL'S COURT, CASTLEHILL

by PHILIP L. WILSON

This property was formerly Lowthian's Close, taking its name from Louthian's land owned by Thomas Lothian. The lintel on the west side of the Court has inscribed O . LORD . IN . THE . IS . AL . MY . TRUST with indistinct lettering I.L. R.W. (the "T" could have been originally a "T"). There is every reason to suppose that these initials stand for Thomas Lothian, and presumably his wife, and that the property was erected by him. It is now difficult if not impossible to trace, nor can one say with certainty the persons of note who have visited it, but such notables as Alexander Brand of Dalry, Dr John Boswell, James Boswell, the biographer, Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck, Dr Samuel Johnson, Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Dr James Gregory and Professor Sir Patrick Geddes are known to have been within its walls.

The Brand family who owned the extensive lands of Dalry before Chieslie and Walker were in possession during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but they occupied the first flat only, which would be the principal part of the building.

Dr John Boswell purchased in 1750 the part of the building which he occupied until he sold it in 1772. It is described in the titles as "that dwellinghouse lying upon the south side of the High Street of Edinburgh near the Castlehill described in the old rights and infestments as containing four fire rooms and two other rooms without fires". This was improved later by becoming six fire rooms "Being the third storey of that tenement of land which sometime pertained to the deceased Thomas Lothian having an entrance by the first door of the turnpike within together with a cellar."

Some mention should be made of the Boswell family. James Boswell of Auchinleck who in 1704 married Lady Elizabeth Bruce, daughter of Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, had two sons, one of whom was Alexander who later became one of the Judges of the Court of Session under the title of Lord Auchinleck and father of James Boswell, the biographer of Dr Samuel Johnson, and the other was Dr John Boswell. Dr Boswell, who was President and a censor of the Royal College of Surgeons, was born on 17th July 1710 and died on 15th May 1780. It is recorded in James Boswell's biography that Dr Johnson spent one forenoon in 1773 "at my uncle Dr Boswell's who showed him his curious museum, and as he was an elegant scholar and physician bred in the school of Boerhaave, Dr Johnson was pleased with his company".

There is evidence in the titles of a sale by Dr Boswell to Mrs Helen Carmichael, relict of John Gibson of Durie, in February 1772, but whether this was of the whole of his interest or only part the writer is not prepared to say. It may be that the Doctor retained the part which housed his museum and this is more than likely. In the writer's view this would be the room now used by the Scottish Education Film Association, the flat below being now occupied by the Edinburgh Sketching Club.

There is an interesting article by the late Mr W. Forbes Gray in *The Scotsman* of 18th November 1940 in which he narrates that Dr Boswell was one of a trio of Edinburgh physicians who dined with Dr Samuel Johnson in James Boswell's house in James's Court in 1773. Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield and Dr James Gregory were the other two

visitors and Mr Forbes Gray suggests that Dr Boswell "took delight in showing Johnson his 'curious museum' when the latter spent a forenoon at his town house in the Castle Hill".

In 1773 Dr Boswell took "the little country house" at the back of the Meadows and his name appears in the Edinburgh Directory of 1773 at that address. This house was discovered to be 15a Meadow Place and would not in the opinion of the present writer lend itself for use as a museum. On the other hand the premises in Boswell's Court are admirably suited for this purpose and as Dr Boswell would take some years to gather his collection of curios it must have been housed in Boswell's Court.

The titles contain process papers relating to a litigation in 1772/4 raised by Alexander Gordon of Rockville (Rockville Court was on the east of Boswell's Court where the Church of Tolbooth St. John's now stands) and Anne, Countess of Dumfries, against Dr Boswell for the removal of a wooden building projecting from his house and alleged to encroach upon and interfere with the light to the adjoining property. The result cannot have been in doubt from the beginning but Dr Boswell, aided by James Boswell who acted on his behalf, succeeded by using all the processes of law in staving off the final decree to remove the structure which was used as a closet.

It is of considerable interest to find that Professor Geddes bought the property in 1893. The reason for this would probably be for housing University students, as he purchased the properties in Ramsay Garden for this purpose but it would not appear to have been for his occupation. He was then residing at 6 James Court, Lawnmarket, and had built Ramsay Garden around Allan Ramsay's "Guse Pie".

JOHN ADAMS, DEBTOR

by R. E. SCOTT

Who was John Adams, deprived of his liberty for debt, and who wrote so appealingly to his creditor from the Canongate Jail in 1818?

The letter, in the writer's possession, is legibly scrawled on good quality laid paper bearing the watermark of "J. Dickinson & Co. 1814". The single folded sheet is addressed to "William Watson, Esquire, Hosier, Hawick" and is franked with a circular postmark in red containing the date "Mar 22, 1818" and the letters "LM". It also bears the "Addl. ½" allowed to the Post Office to enable them to recoup the tollbar charges imposed on four-wheeled mail vehicles by the Turnpike Trustees.

The letter speaks for itself:—

Canongate Jail, 21st March,
1818.

Sir,

I have remained in this Jail at your instance since the 16th ult. for a debt due to you as Trustee of the late Mr Brown. I have made repeated solicitations to your agent Mr Burd stating the impropriety of detaining me here after having intimated to him my inability to pay the debt, and at same time depriving me of the means of subsistence independent of losing the work of the Theatre & Pantheon which from my imprisonment I have lost and which as I told Mr Burd would have enabled me to have paid the debt, from the proceedings however adopted against me these objects have been lost & I now remain here alimanted at 1/4 per day at your hand.

From a general consideration I cannot allow myself to conceive that you have altogether sanctioned such proceedings against me so obviously prejudicial to your interest and mine—I have to conclude by saying that were you to transmit my liberation I might in a short time be enabled to pay the debt otherways I must operate my enlargement in some other shape. Trusting you will write me in course. I am

Sir

Your most obt serv

John Adams.

The creditor, William Watson, was born in 1773 and was originally a dyer in Dalkeith before setting himself up as a hosier in Glasgow. In 1804 he gave up his Glasgow business to enter a partnership in Hawick with William Wilson, trading under the name of Wilson & Watson, spinners, hosiers and woollen manufacturers, with the latter acting as traveller. Both were Quakers. The partnership was dissolved in 1819, and the firm of William Watson & Sons founded (*Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions*, 1938, p. 29). The new firm

concentrated on spinning and weaving. It is interesting to note that from this firm originated the name "tweed" through a clerical error in mistake for "tweels" as woven material was known previous to 1832 (*H.A.S.T.*, 1953, pp. 46-47).

William Watson, "hosier" of the letter, died in 1843 at the age of 72 years and was interred in the Old Wilton Churchyard, now cleared of its tombstones and in use as a recreation area.

As to John Adams, the result of his appeal is, so far, unknown, or, indeed, anything about this shadowy figure who languished in the debtors' section of Canongate Jail.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY'S EXTENSION SCHEME OF 1874

by PETER SAVAGE

The Scottish Universities Act of 1858 broke most of the financial ties of the University with the Royal Burgh of Edinburgh. The University found itself responsible for the maintenance of its own buildings yet without a regular income for it; nor had it funds or sites for extending its accommodation to meet the rising number of students. The pressure of numbers was felt particularly in the Medical School, packed in along the western side of the quadrangle, because of the great increase in practical work and the lack of enough laboratories for it, and a memorial on this was presented to the Scottish Universities Commission in 1861.¹

The quadrangle had been begun by Robert Adam to replace a warren of buildings which gave a poor impression of the metropolitan university to visitors approaching the city by the South Bridge improvements, and it seemed at first as if additional accommodation for the University might be built in extensions to this ambitious scheme of town improvement. The House Committee which had taken over the administration of all university buildings recommended in 1866 that a memorial be addressed to the government on the "sustentation" of the college and its buildings, and also that the Senate set up a committee of senior academics to negotiate with the City Improvement Trustees on such developments as would affect the college by their proximity.² The North College Street committee was appointed at the end of 1867, some eighteen months later,³ to consider the development of Chambers Street which was being planned to replace North College Street, and whether the sites facing the college along its north side might be purchased for extending the university. The chairman of the College finance committee then met the Lord Provost after which he urged the Senate that it was a matter of urgency that an offer be made for these sites.⁴ Several professors felt that the width of seventy feet proposed for Chambers Street was too narrow and that the buildings to be erected across it would overshadow the college. Finding that some "fellow citizens of influence" were in agreement, they held a public meeting at which a deputation was chosen to visit the Improvement Trustees. The case put by the deputation was that as no other suitable site for extension was available "a crisis had arisen in the affairs of the University which required great care on the part of the trustees and liberal aid from the Citizens of Edinburgh".⁵ The trustees' response to this approach was favourable, and an offer for these sites was made, which was accepted subject to the Senate dropping its claim for compensation on a small patch of university ground which was to form part of the roadway of the new street.⁶ The committee stood out for a reduction in the purchase price to cover this loss but after ten months of fruitless negotiation, it felt compelled to withdraw all its offers and to hand back all further decisions to the Senate.⁷

Relations between City and University had not been improved by the 1858 Act. The city accountant had continued to demand that the University's cash book be sent to him for scrutiny until the commissioners had ruled in 1860 that "the magistrates and council of this city have no power to control the administration of these funds".⁸ The Treasury, on the other hand, refused to sanction the buildings of the University being taken over by the Office of Works, and when the City gained its action in the House of Lords in 1868 which allowed

it to assess the University in poor rates, that body became liable for the payment of £5,000 arrears.⁹ Hopes of extensions in Chambers Street ended on the bitter note that "Despite the cordiality of many of the trustees, the trading and commercial section of it showed an antipathy to university affairs which the committee found alarming."

The South Bridge improvements continued without the participation of the University although the principal wrote, the same year, to the managers of the Royal Infirmary to suggest what a striking improvement would be made "by forming the principal entrance to the Infirmary through an archway placed opposite to and in design with that of the University so that the line from the quadrangle to the one building to that of the other would be open and unobstructed".¹⁰ Nothing came of it, perhaps because the Infirmary was soon to move to Lauriston Place, and in 1876 the North College Street committee began negotiations to buy the premises that the Infirmary was to vacate, for the college. Agreement on the terms of sale was quickly reached but then the managers of the Infirmary were taken to court to prevent the sale. The Senate then resolved "by way of compromise to agree to an advance on the price", from £20,705 to £25,000, but when Lord Gifford rendered perpetual the two interim interdicts against the sale, this second attempt at extending the University was abandoned. Towards the end of 1871 a college site committee, which included Mr Cousin, the city architect, was appointed to consider other sites. As it began its search five professors in the Medical School all put in requisitions for more accommodation.¹¹

The north side of Chambers Street which was still vacant was considered but found not large enough unless Society, another warren of old buildings west of the Royal Scottish Museum, was also bought. The cost of buying out the tradesmen in it was then found to be too high. The old Infirmary was on the market again but the committee decided it provided too uneven a site, so they recommended an area of houses beside Middle Meadow Walk. The houses along the western half of the north side of George Square would provide a site 53,325 square feet in area, the houses and gardens of Park Place to its north, 51,150, and the houses in Teviot Row to the north of them, 31,050. Their choice initially fell on Park Place. It was nearly level ground, Bryce's new Infirmary stood immediately to the west across Middle Meadow Walk and the Old College was only a hundred yards to its east. It seemed ideal for the Medical School and its purchase was recommended late in 1871.¹² An acting sub-committee had been set up in 1870 to run the project on behalf of the Senate, anticipating the acquisition of the old Infirmary,¹³ and the question of appointing a designer was considered.

The completion of the Old Quad had been the subject of a competition in 1815. The Reid School of Music, the next new building, was designed in 1858 by David Cousin, the city architect, who was then in charge of the college buildings, although only against the protests of Dr Bennet who argued strongly for consulting more than one architect. The Senate thereupon resolved "to add Dr Bennet to the Gratis Ticket committee".¹⁴ Twenty years later, however, another competition was decided upon and six prominent Edinburgh architects invited to compete, of whom Mr Cousin was one. Mr Lessels and Mr Cousin decided to submit a joint scheme, and the doyen of the profession, Mr Bryce, who was known in the past to have "Invariably declined to compete, has not made the present an exceptional circumstance."¹⁵ The other three firms which competed were Messrs Kinnear and Peddie, and Wardrop and Reid, two long established firms with an inclination to the Baronial, and Robert Anderson, a younger architect in mid-career who had been in practice for twelve

years including a partnership the year before with David Bryce which, if short lived, at least indicates how very highly regarded he had become.

If the Anatomy and Chemistry Departments were rehoused, the Senate thought, enough accommodation would be released by them in the Old Quad to meet the needs of the other medical departments, but when their needs had been studied also it was apparent to all that only an entirely new Medical School could properly cater for them.¹⁶ The purchase of the site proved a complicated process even though most of the proprietors were quite ready to sell their houses. Sir David Baxter had left the University £20,000 for extensions and in 1872 it was decided to use it to purchase the houses in Park Place. Some time later the committee came to the conclusion that "it was somewhat essential to add to the site originally fixed on", and the purchase of Teviot Row on its north was considered. Tenements which had changed hands in 1869 for £3,000 were offered to the University for £5,010 and despite doubts about the price it was forced to pay it. Number One Park Street, the side of which faced Teviot Row, was also bought to prevent its conversion "to uses objectionable to the University".¹⁷

The conditions for the competition were drawn up and issued in August 1874. Three months were allowed for the preparation of the design, and in the first instance small sketches only were to be submitted with explanations but no coloured perspectives.¹⁸ The period proved too short and an extra month was granted, the designs being lodged on New Year's Day 1875, by which time fears had already been voiced that the architects would be forced to extend their schemes to the very boundaries of the site, and that Middle Meadow Walk would be hemmed in, repeating the effect of the Infirmary on its far side.¹⁹ Anderson's scheme so charmed one correspondent that he wrote that the Medical School with the new Infirmary would convert Middle Meadow Walk into "an academic grove such as even Oxford's towers and shades may envy".²⁰

The assessment of the four schemes was hurried on. The nine professors whose departments were to be rehoused were asked to reply within the week on their views. Four favoured Anderson's scheme, two Wardrop and Reid's, and the other three professors were partially or, in the case of Professor Christison, totally undecided.²¹ The sub-committee for Circulation and Services then reported that Anderson's plan answered their requirements best,²² and three days later it was adopted officially, just four weeks after its submission. No discussions of costs were recorded though the need to more than double the area of the site, as well as the extra accommodation demanded, can have left no doubt that the notional figure of £70,000 the competitors had been asked to keep "in mind" would be greatly exceeded, and that as the money for building was not at hand there was no chance of an early start. It did, however, offer a more tangible aim for raising further contributions.

The architectural styles chosen by the competitors present a side-light on the battle of the styles. Wardrop and Reid opted for Gothic uncompromisingly, to "best harmonise with the surrounding buildings", whereas Kinnear and Peddie offered it as an alternative to the Classical.²³ Cousin and Lessels proposed Italian "in its Venetian type" which retains something of the Gothic,²⁴ and Anderson alone made a report with no mention of the style for his building,²⁵ which *The Builder* described as early Italian.²⁶ Instead, he left his drawings to tell the story of a boldly massed building surmounted by a campanile 275 feet high, and shrewdly put the main emphasis in his report on his wide study of comparable plans and on the numerous visits to medical schools and laboratories throughout Europe which he had made. A pad in which he sketched details of them survives.²⁷

The sub-committee in approving the detailed plans for the south block in mid 1875 had specifically deferred their approval of the elevations until later,²⁸ yet nothing in the minutes suggests that they ever came up for formal acceptance except for the approval of specific features. *The Scotsman*, no doubt briefed by Anderson, reported that he had first secured "the necessary accommodation in the most desirable shape", before going on to consider "what sort of elevations would adapt themselves to the interior thus adjusted", and his plan bears this out,²⁹ as it follows the boundaries of the site wherever possible in Teviot Row, Park Place and its stable lane. The garden set to the east of the great hall was primarily the consequence of the servitudes of the houses in Park Street which forbade building on that part of the site, although this garden did provide a drying green for the servitor's house which formed part of the first scheme. The plan followed the boundary along Middle Meadow Walk in steps to exploit the widening of the site to the south.

The Scotsman explained that the Cinquecento style chosen for the elevations, which was "developed in the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries, may be regarded as intermediate between the Gothic and the stiff academical palladian work which aims at the mere manipulation of the five orders".³⁰ Anderson had published a book of 103 plates taken from sketches, photographs and measurements he had made on his grand tour. He included many Gothic buildings from Italy but no Cinquecento buildings from which particular details have been taken.³¹ If the classical details of his design suggest the palazzo in general, the massing which follows the irregular boundaries of its site so closely for functional reasons suggests too Gothic a freedom to point to any Italian example. Indeed the north court suggested no more than a carriage stand quite without formality, and the south court was to have been made inaccessible from the building for use separately as an anatomy court. No attempt was made to formalize the circulation or to fashion these courts as imposing cortiles.

It may be that Anderson chose the Classical style upon the example of the Royal Scottish Museum which had been built in Chambers Street some fifteen years earlier. The rusticated base, the semi-circular arched windows, the red sandstone columns used decoratively for a grey sandstone building, and the identical design of chimney stacks and coping, are features the two buildings share. The campanile, which was never to be built, offers the one feature which points to a particular precedent, St. Mark's in Venice. It was to have been sited off the centre line of the symmetrical facade to the north but Teviot Row was too narrow for this to have been seen. Anderson was to refer to the Doge's Palace in Venice, which stands across the Piazzetta from the Campanile, in his designs for the National Portrait Gallery in Queen Street, his next large commission for a public building. The campanile, however, is not cinquecento, and Anderson's modifications do not improve on St. Mark's. He set a frieze with figures so high as to be indiscernible from ground level and the oversailing parapet spoils the soaring thrust of its shaft, but all such considerations were soon displaced by more pressing problems which crowded in on him.

The exact limits of the servitudes imposed by the George Square houses to the south of the site were not entirely clear and Cousin and Lessels had even submitted alternative plans against the possibility that the building could be extended on to the roadway of the stable lane. The sub-committee discussed this and whether the roadway of Park Place, where the University owned the property on both sides, could be built on.³² Anderson revised his plans and submitted three different block plans. The first plan was extended on to Stable Lane, the second was extended on to Park Place, and the third on the footing of buying the rest of

Park Street.³³ The committee opted for the second plan which without the great hall or campanile was costed at £191,500, of which only £82,000 was in hand. A memorial was sent to the Lords of Treasury to seek an £80,000 grant, with the suggestion that the remaining £30,000 be raised by further public subscription. The earlier generosity shown to Glasgow University was recalled, and the plea put for Edinburgh's great needs.³⁴ The Treasury agreed to provide £80,000 subject to all other money required being raised privately, and other ways of reducing the costs were considered by the University.³⁵ Anderson advised that £8,000 could be saved by modifying the north front, a further £9,000 if the campanile were omitted, as well as another £11,000 if the building were to be—"stripped of every architectural feature, retaining the same area, but using slighter construction". The committee decided that the hall and campanile should be postponed and approved a scheme costed at £187,500, leaving £25,500 still to be raised by subscription. The Treasury, determined that no further call on the public purse be made, stipulated that a further £10,000 be raised before the first instalment of £20,000 was put in its annual estimate, and that the remainder be subscribed before the second instalment became due,³⁶ both of which were to be achieved.

The south block was put out to tender first and Anderson was authorised to prepare details for the north block which was to follow.³⁷ The houses in Park Place were demolished, the materials sold off, and sadly it was noted how "with this quiet genteel looking street will vanish another relic of Edinburgh of a century ago, following Argyll Square and Brown Square into the limbo of interesting reminiscence, and leaving only George Square to bear living witness of a time when in this quarter of the city was domiciled no inconsiderable proportion of its rank and fashion".³⁸ Some recognition was made of these sentiments when Anderson was asked to incorporate a memorial to Archbishop Tait who was born at No. 2,³⁹ and Anderson proposed that the facade of one of the houses on the site, considered to have been by the brothers Adam, be incorporated in "such a manner as not to interfere with the aesthetic effect of the anatomy court" one side of which it was found to fit exactly.⁴⁰ Adjustments to the plan made this impossible to carry out. *The Builder* also described how fire-places would be re-used and house bells melted to make a college bell. Even the wood of the trees in the gardens was to be used for bookcases.⁴¹ Nothing in the records suggests that these things were carried out.

Robert Anderson, or R. Rowand Anderson as he later called himself, had had a varied career. He began in his father's profession by training as a lawyer. He then spent some time in or with the Royal Engineers as well as attending an Edinburgh school for drawing, and he continued his training for architecture in the offices of J. Lessels, G. G. Scott, as well as Cuyper in Holland during a continental tour which lasted about a year.⁴² He set up practice on his own account in 1862 when he was 28.⁴³ The only drawings which survive from this office in 8 Dundas Street are of a Gothic church in Falkirk, which is undated, and the first phase of All Saints Church in Brougham Street begun around 1865. It is Gothic also and might seem to carry overtones of Butterfield (as Anderson's early houses do of Philip Webb) were it not that he had measured and drawn many such details in France.

1874 was a turning point in Anderson's career. He began to practice privately again, after his short abortive partnership with the two Bryces the year before, on three—for those days—large schools won by competition, which were among those made necessary by the provisions of the 1872 Education Act.⁴⁴ He was working on three more schools outside Edinburgh, and alterations to another,⁴⁵ and in East London Street in Edinburgh the

Catholic Apostolic Church was being built.⁴⁶ The invitation to compete for the design of the Medical School presented the size and problems of a large public building with which he had not been associated hitherto, and he was still working on the Medical School designs two years later when he was elected an associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, an honour in which he had been preceded by only two or three other architects. When he exhibited his drawings at its annual exhibition in 1877, *The Builder* described them as "decidedly the most interesting scheme".⁴⁷ The escalation of its costs raised less satisfaction, however. One correspondent in the *Daily Review* asked how it was that the University had "first selected a design which had to be utterly remodelled (rumour says by the adoption of the arrangement of some of the other designs) before it could be executed, which had necessitated the purchase of £14,000 worth more ground to give space for it, and which is now stated to cost nearly three times the amount intended".⁴⁸ Other correspondents were even less polite, the editor of *The Builder* exclaiming that "the course this competition had taken is beyond our comprehension. Someone will perhaps explain. The selected architect is Mr R. Anderson".⁴⁹

Anderson's original design had not been accepted without some reservations within the University. Professor Rutherford of Physiology, who had already begun to put demands to the architects during the competition,⁵⁰ had only thought it capable of a reconstruction after which it would provide "fairly well" for his department.⁵¹ Wide-ranging changes had been made to the plans before building the south block began, yet within a year the builders were taken off the Physiology Department and the committee was asked for an early answer whether Anderson should proceed with further alterations that Rutherford was demanding. He wanted to move the microscopical room because the trees in Middle Meadow Walk overshadowed it, to remove all astragals from upper sashes to windows, and to insert another door to his classroom, at which Anderson remonstrated that "the door which you now want in the east wall of your classroom, was provided in the original plan but by your desire left out".⁵²

A great number of such alterations were made to accommodate the sensible but tardy requests of the nine professors, prompted by the belated recognition that the new building was going to be too cramped. Anderson reminded them that the necessity to move the south wall of the building which had been found to infringe the servitudes of the houses in George Square had "diminished nearly every apartment in the building. Had the building been erected as originally planned, all the classrooms would have been larger but the accommodation would still have been much short of what is now considered necessary."⁵³ All the classrooms had had galleries introduced to take more seating, some professors preferring steep and others shallow rakes. When Dr Greenfield asked for his gallery to be made steeper, Anderson, without discussing sight lines in any way, replied frostily that his classroom had "already been altered more than once to suit the ideas of two different professors, and by each of them it was declared satisfactory when their ideas were adopted. I fancy if people would try to adapt themselves to existing arrangements they would after a short time be found not so faulty", and that a steeper rake would "not improve the appearance of the room and will cause considerable expense".⁵⁴

Despite the volume of complaint, Anderson coped well enough with them for the professors to treat him for a time as their agent in forwarding their further requests to the committee. Matters came to a head as the north block was begun, when the committee resolved that with "the difficulties attending such radical alterations as have been suggested,

it is inexpedient to authorise that they be carried into effect".⁵⁵ Many small alterations, however, continued to be made and the building was almost completed before Anderson was asked to provide an office for the Dean of the Faculty.⁵⁶

A decade of planning and building had produced an imposing Medical School but no great hall, and the conditions of the competition had been too loose to prevent the long process of adjustments in plan which became necessary. Even a basic service like heating was not mentioned, as Anderson noted drily, "one cannot, therefore, say anything very definite about it until it is known to what extent it is desired that the building should be heated".⁵⁷ Yet despite all the difficulties that had arisen, Anderson had retained the confidence of the committee and there had been savings as well as extras, as when concrete foundations costing £378 had been substituted for scribbled stones estimated at £2,505.⁵⁸ The committee, during this decade, had shown no intention of omitting either campanile or hall from the final scheme and number one Park Street was acquired in 1878 to allow the foundations of the campanile to be put in with those of the north block to reduce any later settlement of the building which might tear the walls.⁵⁹ So although fears that the campanile would never be built had been voiced as early as 1877,⁶⁰ the hope remained that a private benefactor might come forward as the Marquis of Bute had done to meet Glasgow University's need for a hall.

The appearance of the Medical School had met with general approval. Many of the windows had been changed to give more light, a few had been built up to avoid glare and if the first design had a more friendly scale, the worst that could be said of the final scheme was that its north facade, in particular, had become a little more institutional in character. However a furious row broke out over the boiler-house chimney and the committee were asked to receive a deputation.⁶¹ A graduate, D. Scott Moncrieff, was the centre of the dispute, and Anderson wrote to him "I conclude that you think I ought to have disguised the fact of its being a chimney or ventilating shaft, This is no doubt frequently done, for example at the Calton Jail you have the chimney disguised as a mediaeval watch tower, at the Hydropathic Establishment at Craiglockhart and many other places the chimney takes the form of an Egyptian obelisk. At the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, thousands of pounds were spent in dressing up the ventilation shafts as Italian campanili; and at a printing office in the High Street you may see a large chimney in the form of a Scotch thistle."⁶² Anderson went on to argue that he had chosen a circular shaft for functional reasons, and one can only share his surprise that his innocuous, and far from plain, design should have caused such offence.

If the task of their architect was difficult, that of the Appeal Committee was no easier. It had come into existence in 1872 to apply personally to all the noblemen and gentlemen who might subscribe large amounts,⁶³ and enthusiasm had run high as public meetings were held in Edinburgh and London at which speakers rose to great applause. The Lord Mayor of London was hailed as a good man to help, being a "Scotchman and greatly interested in Scotch affairs".⁶⁴ Regular contributions were encouraged by issuing pocket pass books, public lists were placed in clubs for contributors to sign, reminders of such promisory signatures and stamped addressed envelopes were all part of ten years' intense efforts, and the small amount still not in hand was expected to come in without further appeal.⁶⁵ This committee had long been reluctant to appeal for money for a hall while the Medical School itself was unfinished, but the celebrations of the tercentenary of the founding of the Uni-

versity in 1883 provided a suitable occasion when the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Anderson, and an appeal was launched for £80,000 to build the great hall and campanile. A brochure with perspectives to show what a loss it would be were the campanile not built was distributed. Contributions were not as generous as hoped so Sir William McEwan promised £5,000 if a further £10,000 were subscribed by Whit Sunday 1885.⁶⁶ The government were asked for £12,000 with which to buy the rest of Park Street; £8,000 was offered in two instalments.⁶⁷ McEwan offered a further £4,000 in 1886 and the year following he decided to meet the whole cost of the hall.⁶⁸ The University papers on the extension exhibit a considerable bustle of activity and interplay of personalities in committee, senate and in public up to this date; thereafter an unwonted hush falls on the proceedings as the academic departments were not involved any further, the trustees no longer had to raise subscriptions and even the acting committee had little to do.

The conditions of the competition had referred competitors to the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford among other examples, yet Anderson's hall design was the only one which was not rectangular.⁶⁹ The Sheldonian is a long theatre with a semicircular back wall said to be fashioned after the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome. The hung velarium roof was later replaced by a flat pitched roof with a profile such as Anderson used for his first designs of 1874 and 1876. The 1874 scheme put the gable end behind the Teviot Row block, the hall being entered from Park Street and from the south. After it was decided to postpone the construction of hall and tower it was moved from the Medical School site and planned for its present position and Anderson asked for assurances that when built it would be to his design.

The plan adopted by Anderson for the hall is closer to that of an amphitheatre in its shorter and wider fan shape although no attempt was made to rake the floor. The bold mass of the building shares a number of features with the Albert Hall in London designed by Captain Fowke, the architect of the Royal Scottish Museum, though after his death some fifteen years earlier it was completed by Anderson's former employer Gilbert Scott. The profiles of the low flat domes are similar, and the McEwan Hall was finally built with curved steel trusses which come close to applying the ellipse, the plan shape of the Albert Hall, to the "D" shape of the McEwan Hall. The *porte-cochère* which appears on Anderson's drawings is smaller but similarly placed to that of the Albert Hall.

McEwan made no promises about the campanile, and fine though it would have been in effect, its position wedged between the side of the Medical School and the back of the McEwan Hall would have provided a far from resolved massing. McEwan did sanction a cupola to crown the dome at an extra £770.⁷⁰ Another omission was that of statues to fill the niches, though there is nothing to tell if these niches were asked for or merely introduced at Anderson's instance. *The Student*, a magazine which took a great interest in the Hall and published a commemorative number on it,⁷¹ filled the niches with professors in caricature. The statuary over the entrance was by Farmer & Brindley of London, and the murals by W. M. Paton who was recommended to McEwan by the Science and Art Department in London. The Corporation acquired the tenement on the west side of Bristo Street and demolished it to allow better views of the hall,⁷² and the hall itself passed into joint use by the University and the City for concerts. Dame Clara Butt regretted she was unable to visit it in 1910 but her agents wrote to book it for the afternoon of the 28th of October 1911,⁷³ and it was only in 1914 after the Usher Hall had been completed, and forty years since Anderson had first designed the Great Hall, that it passed to the exclusive use of the University.

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E.U. Edinburgh University
Scrapbook Edinburgh University Extension Scrapbook.

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- 3 E.U. College Minutes, vol. III (1865-9), p. 491.
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 52 *ibid.*, pp. 264, 267, 270-2, 291-2, 300, 332-3, 399.
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ROAD ADMINISTRATION IN MIDLOTHIAN IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by R. G. HEDDLE

In 1669 the Scots parliament passed "An Act for repairing Roads and Bridges"¹ which was to become the basis of the administration of most of the highway system of Scotland for over two hundred years. Without entering into detail its provisions may be briefly summarized. 1. Responsibility for operation of the Act was placed upon the sheriffs and justices of the peace in each county. They were required to meet annually on the first Tuesday in May, to draw up a list of the highways, bridges and ferries within their bounds, to divide the parishes according to their proximity to the various highways, so as to equalize as far as possible the burden falling on the different parishes, and to appoint overseers. 2. The overseers were authorized to call out the tenants, cottars and servants within their areas to repair the highways without payment, under penalty for failure to attend but subject to a maximum of six days' labour annually for the first three years, and four days thereafter. These days had to be between the bere [barley] seed time and hay time or harvest. Thus was introduced the system which came to be known as "statute labour" and which was not finally abolished till the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act of 1878 came into full operation in 1883. 3. As it was recognized that these provisions would not by themselves be sufficient to keep the roads in repair, authority was given to impose a stent [an assessment] upon the heritors of the shire, provided that this did not exceed ten shillings Scots per hundred pounds of valued rent per annum. In case the funds so raised should prove inadequate the Privy Council might authorize the imposition of moderate tolls at bridges, causeways or ferries.

During the next half century or so various amending acts introduced alterations in detail: for example greater elasticity was permitted in relation to the time when statute labour could be exacted, at one point the commissioners of supply were conjoined with the justices in administration, and provision was made for the commutation of statute services in exchange for money payments; but the law remained essentially unchanged in principle. During the second half of the eighteenth century and later this legislation was supplemented and to a very large extent superseded by a long series of local (county) statute labour acts, but this did not even begin to take place before the middle of the century.

At first the government had great difficulty in implementing the law. The Register of the Privy Council contains numerous references to failure on the part of the responsible parties to carry out their duties and to penalties inflicted on defaulters.² But as time passed the law came to be more generally and more thoroughly enforced.

The statute labour laws applied, at least in theory, throughout Scotland. But only Midlothian, among all the counties, was favoured with a highway act of its own. This was the Act of 1713 (*12 Anne c.30*), which bestowed on the county the privilege of exacting tolls on traffic passing "each and every time through the said county to the said city" of Edinburgh.³ This authority was vested in the justices and the dues were strictly defined as one sixth of a penny sterling on every loaded horse, and a halfpenny sterling on every cart, wagon or sledge,

laden or unladen. The justices were authorized to erect turnpikes for collection of the tolls and the produce was strictly earmarked for the upkeep of roads and bridges. Non-commercial traffic – riding horses, coaches, chariots and chaises – was excluded from the operation of the act.

The reason for this singling out of Midlothian for specially privileged treatment is clearly explained in the preamble to the act. Edinburgh, as the administrative centre of the country and seat of the supreme courts of justice, was necessarily the object of much traffic and the county roads were correspondingly subject to severe wear and tear. Greater resources were required for their upkeep than the statute labour legislation could supply and before the Union of 1707 it had been the practice of the Privy Council from time to time to authorize the collection of duties on traffic for the maintenance of the highways.⁴ But the last grant of such authority was due to terminate on 2 August, 1713 and it could not be again renewed by the Privy Council which had ceased to exist as an independent body on 1 May, 1708 under the Act 6 *Anne c. 6*. Recourse to the Westminster parliament was therefore necessary; hence the Act of 1713. Hence too, it may be supposed, the peculiar terms of the duties authorized. One sixth of a penny sterling and one halfpenny sterling when converted into terms of Scots money amount respectively to twopence and sixpence Scots, and it is significant that these were precisely the rates of duty which the Privy Council had authorized on several occasions from 1680 onwards.

Unfortunately details of the tolls which were in force in 1713 and due to cease on 2 August are not easily accessible since the published portion of the Register does not go beyond 1691. The petition to the House of Commons from the justices and heritors of the county which led to the passing of the 1713 Act requests continuation of the duties without detailing them.⁵ Whether in fact the duties authorised by the Act were precisely the same as those in operation earlier is therefore not clear. It is noteworthy, however, that the Act authorized tolls on unladen carts, wagons and sledges, which some at least of the earlier warrants had not included; also that the Act refers expressly to traffic "passing through the said county (Midlothian) to the said city (Edinburgh)", while again some at least of the earlier warrants designated traffic in both directions. Moreover, in contrast to the early warrants which applied to named and limited stretches of road, the Act of 1713 evidently leaves the designation of roads to the justices.

Few Scottish Justice of the Peace records from the early eighteenth century have survived.⁶ Among the few is a minute book of the Midlothian justices covering the period November 1720 to November 1733. This is preserved in the Scottish Record Office (Catalogue No. JP42/1) and is devoted almost exclusively to the justices' intromissions with highways and bridges. It may well have been reserved for the purpose of recording these activities separately from other justice business. The book preserves a remarkably detailed record of the highway business of the period and from it we can derive a very good idea of the methods of administration as well, of course, as a great deal of information relating to individual roads and bridges.

A body such as the justices, meeting infrequently in Quarter Sessions, and with many other duties to engage their attention, was by its nature ill-equipped to deal with the day-to-day routine of road maintenance. The detailed work thus came to be delegated to committees, composed no doubt of justices resident near the places where work was required, who could be expected to have comparatively easy access to the sites combined with local knowledge and doubtless also with a personal interest in the condition of the road in question.

The procedure followed a more or less stereotyped pattern. A particular length of road, or a bridge, would be reported to be in need of repair; the initiative might come from one of the justices or by petition from some interested party. A committee was then appointed to visit and inspect the subject, determine what repairs were necessary and report back to the next Quarter Sessions with an estimate of cost. Sometimes, if the repair was considered to be urgent, the committee might be authorized to spend up to a certain maximum sum on immediate remedial measures: more usually the justices awaited the committee's report before authorizing action. This was apt to be a slow and tedious process, especially when as sometimes happened, the report was not ready for consideration at the next meeting, or if pressure of other business delayed its consideration. Once the report was forthcoming, however, the justices generally accepted it without much question and referred it back to the same committee to put their recommendations into operation, subject to a maximum authorized expenditure. The actual work was usually carried out by a contractor and it is evident from the record that there were several men who habitually contracted for road work in their own neighbourhoods and must have been regarded as having a certain expertise. Subject to satisfactory progress interim payments to contractors might be permitted. On completion of the work it was again scrutinized by the committee who, if satisfied, would recommend to the justices that final payment should be made. This was sometimes conditional upon an undertaking by the contractor to maintain the subject for a period of years, often seven.

This method of organizing the work was hardly likely to result in very speedy or efficient repairs and it is not surprising to find that roads were often described as nearly or totally impassable and bridges ruinous or dangerous before repairs were initiated. Repairs were carried out on a purely empirical basis without any overall plan, and indeed it is hard to see how a planned system could have been maintained with the financial resources available. It was rather a question of keeping at least the more important roads passable than of attempting improvement. Moreover the technology of roadmaking was in its infancy. It was about this time that the Wade roads were built in the Highlands, but these were new constructions made from the foundations upwards by men of at least some engineering skill with the aid of substantial sums of public money, in marked contrast to the ancient highways of Midlothian, most of which would have simply evolved as frequented paths trodden out by generations of travellers. There are a few records of the reconstruction of roads by bottoming with stone and covering with gravel, but in general repairs would seem to have been fairly superficial although few details are recorded.

The first attempt at improved management came in August 1722 when the justices approved in principle a proposal to appoint an overseer for road repairs for the whole shire and referred to a committee discussion of the conditions of appointment and salary and preparation of an advertisement for the press. In November it was reported that Walter Moubray, tenant in Carrington, had written offering his services for a year on conditions to be decided by the justices. Moubray's name had already been suggested as a possible appointee, and although nothing is recorded in the minutes about his qualifications, it seems reasonable to conclude that he was known as a man of some skill and experience. The justices agreed to appoint him for a year and continued the remit to the committee to give him instructions. These were produced and approved in the following March and it is of some interest to summarize them. The overseer was instructed:

1. to visit the highways referred to in petitions submitted to the justices, and report not only on the condition but also on the importance of the highways involved. As the latter duty must have involved judgments of policy rather than technique it seems a curious one for the justices to impose on the overseer.

2. to discover from the justices' records who last repaired any particular road and if the undertaker in question had bound himself to maintain it for a certain period. If the period had not already elapsed the undertaker was to be required to carry out his bargain and if he failed to do so was to be reported to the committee.

3. to make a list of the carts and horses belonging to tenants in the parishes through which the highways passed – obviously with a view to calling out the statute labour.

4. once the roads were put in repair, to order the tenants, between seed time and harvest, to perform the carriages appointed by law for laying down alongside the roads the materials required for use in their repair.

5. to "advert to" any encroachment on the highway and especially to see that the making of headriggs along the highway was observed as required by act of parliament, and to report defaulters.

6. to drain springs in the highway.

7. to prevent materials laid down for use in road repairs being used by the proprietors of adjacent lands, and to report delinquents.

8. to repair any defects that might appear in bridges and roads recently repaired where delay might cause greater expense.

9. to apply to the committee from time to time for repayment of his expenses.

In short the overseer was to relieve the justices of some of the more irksome tasks involved in road maintenance, but his authority was limited and the practice of referring proposed repair work to committees for reports and estimates was not wholly discontinued. Any considerable expenditure still required specific authorization by the justices although the overseer was occasionally allowed to agree terms for minor contracts as cheaply as possible.

At the end of a year's service Moubray was allowed £20 sterling as salary and his appointment was continued for another year at the same rate. His expenses, approved in the following March, amounted to £5 sterling. References to the overseer continue to appear in the minutes and it is evident that Moubray continued to occupy the post, though curiously it is not till May 1728 that the minutes again record the continuation of his appointment on the same terms as before. References to his activities continue at intervals through the period 1728–1733 when the minute book ends. By then he had held office for eleven years to the evident satisfaction of his employers.

A much more important reform in administration took place in 1731. This had its origin as early as March 1727 when a committee was appointed to consider "the most effectual way of overseeing and repairing the highways of the shire", but the matter was clearly not treated as urgent and it was only after long delay and repeated remits to committees that the justices ultimately reached agreement and promulgated their findings in an act dated 7 January, 1731. Under its provisions certain "radical" or "capital" roads were to be recognized as "public highroads" and each was to have an annual allocation of £10 or £5 sterling according as to whether it was more or less frequented. The money was to be applied under the direction of local justices, generally three or four for each road, who were named in the act.

The roads designated in the act and the sums allocated to each are shown below; names in parentheses show the destinations of the roads beyond the Midlothian boundary.

Road	Allocation (£ stg.)
1. Edinburgh – Cramond bridge	10
2. Edinburgh – (Glasgow): three roads via	
(a) Kirkliston and Linlithgow	5
(b) Newbridge	5
(c) Saughtonhall bridge, Longhermiston and Hatton	10
3. Edinburgh – Slateford – Currie – (Lanark)	5
4. Edinburgh – Braidsbrae – (Carlops)	5
5. Edinburgh – Straiton – Auchendinny – (Peebles)	5
6. Edinburgh – Liberton – Lasswade – (Galashiels) two branches	10
7. Edinburgh – Powburn – Nether Liberton – Gilmerton – Newbattle – Stobhill (junction with 6)	5
8. Edinburgh – Gibbet – Edmonstoun – Dalkeith – (Kelso) including Niddry road as a branch	10
9. The Post road to Musselburgh	5
10. Leith – Jock's Lodge – Duddingston Mill – Niddry – Dalkeith	5
11. Colinton road from Edinburgh to Colinton bridge and from Dalkeith to Colinton bridge and Queensferry	5
	£85

The allocations were to be paid out of "any fund that shall arise to the Shire for repairing Highways and Bridges". Funds allocated to a particular road and not used in the year of allocation were to revert to the general fund.

The essential feature of this act was the decentralization of much of the detailed supervision of road repairs and the appointment of named local justices to act in effect as standing committees with continuing responsibility for individual roads. That the measure was a success may be inferred from the fact that in March 1736 the justices published another act⁷ which confirmed the previous one in regard to the identity of the radical or capital roads and increased by fifty per cent the annual allocations to each road except the Dalkeith road (No. 8 on the list above) which had its allocation raised from £10 to £22 10/-, and the Post road (No. 9) on which the former allocation was increased from £5 to £10. The total annual allocation amounted to £137 10/- and in addition, for 1736 only, a further sum totalling £24 was divided among the various highways for the purchase of tools.

The moneys allocated to the individual roads could be drawn upon by precept of any two justices and were to be payable to the overseer. Half the sum required could be drawn when the work began, the other half when the season's work was completed, and to admit of some elasticity in administration the various committees were empowered to borrow and lend funds among themselves.

Subject to the deduction of the sums allocated to the radical roads, and to the cost of collection, the funds collected for road repair were to be applied to any roads in the county at the discretion of the justices in Quarter Sessions. The committees were recommended to

meet to inspect their roads on the third Tuesday of May every year, to determine what repairs were necessary and what extra money was required, and to report to the Quarter Sessions.

These two acts mark a decided advance in administrative procedure. Both of them, in addition to administrative matters, dealt also with the question of statute labour, which will now be discussed.

Under the terms of the Act of Parliament of 1669 it was the duty of the justices to meet in May and draw up a list of roads requiring repair. There is no evidence in the minute book of any such meetings being held and no such lists of roads are recorded. As already described, the road business of the justices was conducted on a somewhat pragmatic, if not indeed opportunist basis, and the practice of an annual May meeting of all the justices, if it was ever observed, would seem to have become obsolete by the third decade of the century. The justices, however, were still entitled to call out the population to perform their statute services on the roads and this power they continued to exercise; but increasingly, with the passage of time, it was as an adjunct to other methods made possible to a large extent by the funds realized through the petty customs.

It would not appear that statute labour had been very strictly exacted before about 1720. In considering an account submitted by two road undertakers in March 1721 the justices raised the question as to whether the undertakers had called out "the country carts" to assist, and what the repair would have cost if this had been done. To this the undertakers replied that their contract had been made "before the custom of calling out the tenants". As the contract in question is unlikely to have been made more than a year or two earlier, it would appear that the statute labour acts were not being very strictly enforced at that time. At a meeting in August 1721 the justices agreed that, as there had been several resolutions in Quarter Sessions that the statute services should be called out to assist in road repair and that this was often neglected, the meeting should recommend to the committees to call out the services. It is evident from this that it was the committees rather than the justices as a body who were responsible for the neglect. By this time the justices had acquired through various acts of parliament a large discretion in the times at which they could require the performance of statute labour and it was thus possible within limits to adjust the time to the requirements of the work in hand. While authority to call out the services was legally vested in the justices it does appear that the actual summoning was sometimes left to the contractor and that the tenants were not always inclined to accept his authority. The calling out of the tenants, if it could be co-ordinated with the rest of the work, would enable the contractor to submit a lower estimate and it became a common practice for the justices to decree the implementation of the law. In certain instances considerable savings were thought to have been achieved; in planning repair to the Corstorphine road in 1721, the committee's estimate was £30, but they added that if the country carts and horses were ordered for carriage of materials £15 would suffice. As the justices authorized only £10 it is clear that they expected the services to be used. Again in the following year the whole parish of West Calder was called out to assist in the repair of a bridge which was in a dangerous condition, and here it was reported that the work they did would have cost 1000 merks [some £56 stg.] if it had had to be paid for.

The justices, however, encountered occasional difficulty in enforcing the law. In one case in particular, in November 1721, Mr John Baird of Newbyth requested their authority to call out the tenants in the parishes of Liberton, Newton and Lasswade to assist in repairing a road at the west end of Gilmerton, which he had undertaken to do at his own expense.

The justices agreed, but in the following August Baird reported that some of the tenants in Liberton had presented a bill of suspension against the warrant in the Court of Session. The case was to be considered by three of the Lords of Session and a committee was appointed to wait upon them to put the justices' case. The affair made very slow progress and in November 1724, after receiving a report from their law agent, the justices remitted to their former committee "to consider the laws anent the justices' powers of being sole judges in all matters relating to highways and to converse with the Lords of Session thereanent". In the end the justices lost their case, for it is recorded in the minutes for 3 May, 1726 that "by the Lords' decree the tenants were acquitted from assisting at the Gilmerton Road". The grounds of this decision are not stated in the minutes but it is reasonable to suppose that some legal technicality was involved in the case, for no other instance of the kind is recorded.

There was, however, a good deal of passive resistance by the tenants. This was due, at least in part, to poor organisation of statute work. Tenants complained of being obliged to send their servants, horses and carts to repair roads at a distance from their holdings, while at the same time roads adjacent to their own dwellings were in disrepair and might perhaps even be under order to be repaired. At one point it appeared that parishioners were actually being ordered to different roads at the same time and a recommendation was approved that a minute book should be kept in order that the services should be used near the workers' habitations. Whether this salutary recommendation was ever put into operation does not appear, but complaints continued.

Commutation of services for money payments had already begun and in March 1730 a petition was presented containing proposals on the subject made by a number of tenants. The petition is not quoted in detail in the minutes but it was evidently a proposal for the establishment of a regular scale of commutation rates. The question was referred to the justices of the various districts with a view to their consulting the parishioners in order to ascertain their opinions, and in May it was referred to the committee which was at the time discussing the general question of highway management. Its conclusions were embodied in the justices' act of January 1731 already referred to.

The rates of statute labour commutation established by this act were: for tenants or farmers living within five miles of Edinburgh, 5/- stg. per plough or 1/- per horse; for those living more than five miles from Edinburgh, 3/- per plough and "proportionally to 1/- per horse for each of the seasons before and after harvest". This would seem to mean that the rates per horse in the two divisions should be in the same numerical ratio as the rates per plough, *i.e.* 3:5, in which case the rate per horse beyond five miles from Edinburgh would be three fifths of a shilling, an awkward sum to collect! The commutation rates for cottars were: for tradesmen, one groat [4d] per day; for day labourers, 2d per day.

At this stage commutation of statute labour was optional; the act of 1731 decreed that it was to be called out by advertisement at the kirk door. There is no means of knowing to what extent advantage was taken of the commutation facility, but in a meeting of the justices in 1733 reference was made to a piece of very sharp practice, said to be indulged in by undertakers, of levying commutation money from people whose contribution in carts was deficient, while not making equivalent deduction in their accounts in respect of the sums levied. That a private citizen should have had authority to levy what amounted to a public tax indicates in itself a very lax type of administration, especially as the act of 1731 had authorized the appointment by the justices of a collector for each parish.

In 1732 a committee, evidently impressed by the inequality of the burden of liability to statute service, recommended: "In regard that neighbouring parishes [presumably those near Edinburgh] are so frequently burdened the remoter parishes who have the benefit of highways leading to Edinburgh, particularly the parishes of Stow and Heriot, ought to give assistance, and if too distant ought to give money instead of service, conform to the resolutions and Acts of Quarter Sessions." This recommendation was approved by the justices and the calling out of the parishes in question was authorized.

In general, however, the tendency was to limit the obligations on the tenants to roads nearer home. The justices' act of 1736 ordered that the country people should be called to assist at the repair only of roads which they had frequent occasion to travel, or the byroads belonging thereto. More specifically, allocation was made to the various roads of the statute labour from various parishes: for example the Queensferry road was allocated the services of that part of the West Kirk parish lying on the north side of the Water of Leith and of the parishes of Cramond and North Leith.

Of the other method of raising funds for highway maintenance authorized in the Act of 1669, the stent on landowners, very little use seems to have been made during the 1720-1733 period; indeed the only reference in the minutes to the use of this device concerns the years 1730 and 1731 in which an assessment at the rate of tenpence per £100 was imposed. In August 1731 the justices were faced with the sudden and unexpected expense of rebuilding Temple bridge which had been destroyed by flood, and they approved of the payment of £100 sterling "out of the fund of tenpence upon the hundred pound laid upon the shire for those two years past" (presumably 1730 and 1731). In March 1733 a committee reported that the petty customs accounts (*i.e.* those dealing with the moneys collected from the tolls authorized by the Act of Parliament of 1713) were in arrear to the extent of £62-11-5 because they had been heavily drawn upon for repair of bridges. The committee recommended that the collector of the customs should be empowered to call upon the collector of cess for the shire for payment of the sums levied in 1730 and 1731 by the assessment of tenpence per £100. Another demand upon the same fund for at least £20 was made at the same meeting for immediate repair to certain parts of the road south via Dalkeith which were reported to be impassable in winter. This demand was partly met from the same fund.

From all these indications it would appear that the two years' assessments had resulted in the accumulation of an appreciable sum although the rate of assessment, tenpence per £100, was low in comparison with the maximum of ten shillings per £100 of valued rent per annum permitted by the Act of 1669. The absence from the minutes of other references to such assessments, if not conclusive, is at least strong presumptive evidence that this part of the Act was little used.

The 1713 Act of Parliament allowed the justices to roup the tolls to private individuals (tacksmen) for periods not exceeding three years at a time. This was an obvious convenience as it relieved the justices of the trouble of collection while the tacksmen, in his own interest, would take care that persons liable to toll were not permitted to avoid payment. The duties chargeable under the Act are frequently referred to in the minutes as "the petty customs", a term which had sometimes been used to define the pre-Union tolls authorized by warrant of the Privy Council. The rousing of the petty customs was a simple auction, the highest bidder obtaining the tack, subject to his finding satisfactory security for his financial commitment.

During the period covered by the surviving minute book the customs were roused seven

times and it is evident that they had been let at least once before, probably in 1718, as an entry dated 2 May, 1721 refers to the tacks being due to expire at Lammas. The next roup, after being postponed from 1 August on account of the celebration of the seventh anniversary of the accession of George I, was duly carried out on 9 August. The minutes for that date include a statement of the articles of roup which is of considerable interest in several ways. It reads (in part) as follows: "the duty arising from the sd. highways being two pennies Scots on each loaded horse and sixpennies Scots for each loaded cart, sledge or wagon passing by the saids ways betwixt any part of the county and the town of Edr. in manner prescribed by the act of parliament is to be sett for two years commencing from the fifth of August instant."

It is to be noted here that the articles of roup revert to the Scots currency in place of the sterling money specified in the Act. More importantly, while the Act allows exaction of the appropriate duty from carts, sledges and wagons whether loaded or not, the articles of roup restrict the liability to loaded vehicles. This must have been a decision of the justices; the Act being permissive they could no doubt exercise their discretion in this matter.

The surviving minute book gives no information on this; the practice presumably dated from an earlier period in the currency of the Act, perhaps from the beginning, but why the justices should have chosen not to exercise the authority given them by the Act to levy tolls on unladen vehicles is not clear. It may have been a mere survival of an earlier practice of charging tolls only on laden vehicles.

Whatever the reason, the restriction meant that in effect the duty fell not upon the vehicle but the load. This was explicitly recognized in the articles of roup of 1721 which continue as follows: "The said duty to be collected off all goods in carts, sledges wagons or horseback and particularly but [without] prejudice of the generality the goods following viz. all sorts of vivers, liquors, victuall, fruits, merchandise, Elding [fuel], plenishing, all sorts of rags, coalls, timber, stone, lyme, sand, hay, straw, grass, paper, bark, and on all others as well not named as named. Excepting alanse all muck or fulzie and carriages of the heritors of this shyre & the shyres of east & west Lothians for their families use for vivers that is eatables attested by declaration allenary." The duties are thus expressly recognized as being levied upon goods and not vehicles.

The list of dutiable goods is really superfluous, but this kind of superfluity is not uncommon in legislation and legal terminology.⁸ It is of interest since it may be supposed to include the main articles of traffic at the time. Prominent among them, as might be expected, are food and drink, fodder for stock, fuel, and building materials.

But there is still another departure from the terms of the Act, if not explicit in the articles of roup, very clearly deducible. The Act (summarized on pp. 105-6) authorized duties on vehicles "passing through the said county to the said city", *i.e.* traffic going to Edinburgh, but did not mention traffic going in the opposite direction. It hardly requires argument that "muck or fulzie" was an article of export from the city and not the reverse. In that case what possible point could there be in exempting it from toll, unless duties were being exacted from traffic going out of the city? But the Act of 1713, if interpreted literally, gives no authority for such exactions. Are we then to suppose that the justices also exceeded their authority under the act by permitting tolls on traffic going in either direction? And if so why did nobody resist such apparently illegal exactions? There is no evidence in the minutes that anybody did.

In this connexion it is worth noting that several of the Privy Council warrants for tolls for the maintenance of roads in the county refer specifically to loaded carts and loaded horses

travelling either to or from Edinburgh on certain specified roads. The Register records these as having been renewed for three years in June 1691. It is conceivable that the justices chose to interpret the 1713 Act as authorizing the continuance of the earlier practice without too strict an examination of its actual terms. But even the Privy Council warrants referred to vehicles and not to the goods they carried.

The articles of roup go on to list the roads upon which the tolls were up for auction. This part of the document reads: "The saids ways are to be sett separately to witt. The west ways by Merchiston, Currie, Gorgie, Corstorphin, Dean and Longgate by themselves. The east ways by Jock's Lodge by themselves. The south ways by the Gibbet and Grange gates jointly." In short the tolls were to be rouped in three lots.

It is fairly easy to identify the "ways" mentioned in the articles with their modern equivalents. The road by Merchiston followed the line now represented by Bruntsfield Place, Leven Street, Home Street and High Riggs. The road from Currie followed approximately the line of the modern Lanark and Slateford Roads to Dundee Street where it was joined by the road from Gorgie; thence the route lay by Dundee Street and Fountainbridge to Main Point where it converged with the road from Merchiston. The road from Corstorphine followed the modern road (A8) as far as Haymarket and thence by Morrison Street and Bread Street to Main Point. From there the three united roads traversed what was then the suburb of Wester Portsburgh (now the street called West Port) to enter the city proper by the West Port at the west end of the Grassmarket. The road from the Dean crossed the Water of Leith and approached the city *via* the West Kirk whence it ran below the Castle rock on a line approximating that of King's Stables Road to enter the city by the West Port. The Longgate followed roughly the line of Princes Street joining or crossing the road from the Dean near the West Kirk.

The "east ways", as the articles state, approached the city by Jock's Lodge, one of them being the "post road" which the Act particularly instructed the justices to maintain. Certain other roads converged with it at Jock's Lodge and the group would form a convenient lot for letting.

The "south ways" are easily identifiable from the names Gibbet and Grange gates. The site of the Gibbet was on Dalkeith Road at the east end of what is now East Preston Street. From there the road ran north through the Pleasance, entering the city by the Cowgate Port, an alternative approach being by Crosscauseway to Potterrow Port or Bristo Port. The Crosscauseway route converged with the other "south way" which ran south from the city by Causewayside, passing the end of the modern Grange Loan (Grange gate).

It is of interest to note that the places named in defining the roads are not regarded as termini; the word "by" is used, evidently signifying that the place mentioned is an identifiable point on the road and not its limit. In fact the 1713 Act did not restrict the power of the justices to erect turnpikes at any point on the roads within the county boundaries. But it is to be noted that the tolls were to be exigible only on traffic going to Edinburgh and evidently such traffic could only be identified when travelling on one of the roads approaching the city and not too far from the city itself. None of the places named in the articles of roup is very far from the city as it existed at the time (and indeed for some considerable time afterwards). So from the point of view of mere convenience the simplest thing would be to group the roads into the three lots for roup and establish on each a limiting distance outward from the city beyond which tolls would not be exacted.

The articles of roup of 1721 do not identify the points on the various roads at which the actual collection of petty customs was to take place, but something can be deduced from them and from other references in the minutes and elsewhere. David Gibson who became tacksman of the "east ways" in 1721 is referred to in a minute of 7 June, 1723 as tacksman of the petty customs at Jock's Lodge, which indicates clearly that the tollgate must have been sited there. There is nothing quite so specific regarding the situation of the tollgates on the "south ways" but the reference by name to the Gibbet and Grange gates makes probable the inference that these were the points of toll collection. It may be noted also that under the later (1751 and subsequent) Turnpike Acts there were tollbars at these points for many years; it would seem reasonable to suppose that these simply continued earlier ones.

Nothing in the articles of roup permits direct identification of the tollbars on the "west ways", but one or two points merit attention. The approach of the road from the Dean to the city at the West Port suggests that a bar at or just outside the West Port itself would have been conveniently situated to cope with traffic on this road. That there was such a tollbar is attested by a single entry in the minutes for 8 November 1733 with reference to an action in court by John Shaw, mealmaster, against John Gray, tacksman of the petty customs at the West Port, for retaining a bag of oats. The said Gray took a tack of the petty customs of the "west ways" for two years in August 1731.

A tollbar at the West Port could also have served the other "west ways" insofar as the traffic actually entered the city proper. But if traffic terminating in Wester Portsburgh were to pay toll it would evidently be convenient to have a bar at Main Point where the roads from Corstorphine, Currie and Merchiston converged. There is no direct evidence of this in the minute book but it is interesting to note that on Ainslie's map of 1804 this point is marked as the "Twopenny Custom". It is tempting to conclude that it might have been a point of collection of the duties authorized by the Act of 1713. It may be significant too that when the 1751 Turnpike Act came into operation there was for a short time a tollbar at the Twopenny Custom, shared between the district turnpike trusts of Corstorphine, Calder and Slateford, and Wraithouses which had respectively inherited responsibility for the roads in question. This bar was removed when the several district trusts had established their own tollbars further from the city. Until they did so it could have been an administrative convenience to continue an established and familiar tollbar if such a one existed.

The name "Twopenny Custom" appears in the minutes of the Midlothian turnpike trustees at various dates between 1760 and 1769,⁹ not as a tollbar but with a clear topographical significance: it was evidently a recognized place name at the time and its appearance on Ainslie's map shows that the name persisted for a good many years longer. It is not clear, however, why the name should have been uniquely attached to this particular site of toll collection, if such it was. If the interpretation of the name suggested here is correct there were at least four other sites equally deserving of the title but not, so far as present evidence goes, bearing it. It might have been supposed that some local feature, even if it lacked the notoriety of such an object as a gibbet, would have given the point a name more easily identifiable topographically. Unless more definite evidence comes to light the identification of the "Twopenny Custom" with a point of collection of petty customs under the 1713 Act must continue speculative. The possibility remains that the name refers to some municipal tax imposed by the town council, but there does not appear to be any positive evidence of this.¹⁰

The phrase "Twopenny Custom" occurs elsewhere in the minute book with reference

to an advance of £50 made by Lord Somervell to the justices in March 1727, "to be repaid to him out of the fund of Twopennies Customs". In this case the term is evidently used with the same meaning as the more usual "petty customs", a fact which may possibly be regarded as affording some support to the view that the Twopenny Custom at Main Point was a point of toll collection.

The only other reference to possible tollbars occurs in a minute of 1724 which reported the road from Castlebarns to the West Kirk to be in a very bad state, and to be a highway by which carters with loads, and other goods, coming from the south-west to Leith, passed and paid toll to the customs. This would seem to indicate a tollbar somewhere in this neighbourhood but its site cannot be identified from the information available. What is not clear is by what authority tolls were charged upon carts going to Leith; was this another arbitrary extension of the powers granted by the Act of 1713?

The petty customs were rouped in August, the duration of the tacks varying from one occasion to another. A curious feature is that the roupe was apparently always conducted in merks, or at least the tack duties are always quoted in the minutes in terms of merks, the merk having a value of 13/4d Scots. By contrast the audits of the accounts, which were carried out at irregular intervals, used pounds, shillings and pence, Scots. The rents obtained from the seven roups which were carried out during the period covered by the minute book are shown below (in merks Scots per annum).

	1721	1723	1725	1728	1729	1730	1733
West ways	820	850	930	970	1000	990*	1000
East ways	670	620	520	520	460	470	520
South ways	2500	3010	3010	3420	3530	3530	3300
Total	3990	4480	4460	4910	4990	4990	4820

* The tacksman of the west ways petitioned the justices in June 1731 to be relieved of the remaining two years of her tack. The west ways were rouped again in August 1731 for two years at 995 merks per annum. An audit of the accounts for the period of tack from 1718 to 1721 enables the total annual rent for this period to be reckoned at 4260 merks.

It will be noticed that during the period 1721–1733 there was a steady, if gradual, increase in the total income, but there was much variation between the groups. The east ways, in particular, were a poor source of revenue, a somewhat ironical result in view of the requirement laid upon the justices by the Act to take particular care in maintaining the post road which was the principal road in this group. Throughout the period the south ways contributed more than twice the total of the other two groups and showed a greater increase with time.

The reason for their comparatively high earnings is most probably the fact that they carried the greatest proportion of the coal traffic. A good deal of the coal conveyed to Edinburgh was produced at collieries on or near the road between Dalkeith and the city, for example Woolmet and Edmonston. When Lord Somervell and other colliery owners petitioned the justices in 1727 for improvement of this road they represented that the custom on coals was a heavy contributor to the shire's finances, and a report in June 1725 on the road through Newbattle refers to it as the highway leading to Cockpen, Stobhill and Stobs coalhills "from which considerable profit of the customs arises". All this coal traffic would enter Edinburgh

by the south ways and pay toll on them. An alternative route from the more outlying collieries was by way of Dalhousie, Lasswade and Liberton, approaching the city by Causewayside, also part of the south ways.

Apart from the special obligation on the post road the justices had complete discretion in the expenditure of the funds raised from the petty customs provided they were used for the maintenance and repair of roads and bridges in the county. This could lead to anomalous situations since there were certain roads outside the city proper for which long usage had placed the responsibility on the magistrates of Edinburgh. Thus when in December 1731 the road from the West Port to the West Kirk, one of the "west ways", was reported defective, the reaction of the justices was to appoint a committee to represent to the magistrates that the latter should order repairs to be put in hand. The response must have been discouraging for in March 1733 the committee was instructed to continue to confer with them, nothing having apparently been achieved in the meantime. In November 1733 two more committees were appointed with the duties of inquiring whether repair of Canonmills bridge and of the road from North Leith to Newhaven were the responsibility of the town or of the shire. None of these questions was settled soon enough for the decision to be recorded in the surviving minute book.

A more amicable solution was achieved in 1724 when the Longgate (also one of the "west ways") required repair. On this occasion the justices came to an arrangement with the magistrates and the Governors of Heriot's Hospital that each body should contribute one third of the cost of repair. The city treasurer was appointed to act as overseer on behalf of all three parties and the town agreed to pass an act of council that all builder's rubbish from within the town should be taken to the Longgate to furnish materials for repair till the work was completed.

This uncertainty regarding the respective responsibilities of shire and city contrasts sharply with the position of the shire vis-a-vis neighbouring shires. An Act of Parliament of 1686¹¹ decreed that the upkeep of bridges spanning watercourses which formed the boundaries between adjacent counties should be the joint responsibility of both, the expense to be shared in proportion to the valuation of the respective counties. Thus in 1722 the rebuilding of Carlops bridge over the North Esk involved the county in negotiations with Peeblesshire. This was a relatively minor affair but relations with the West Lothian authorities were more involved since the Almond, which formed the county boundary from the sea to near Midcalders, was crossed by two important bridges, Cramond bridge and Newbridge, both of which had been sources of trouble and expense even in the 17th century. Without going into detail it is of some interest to note an apparently major repair to Cramond bridge started in 1729 which was evidently not completed until the early 1730s. Incidentally this repair is not among those listed in the inscription on the parapet of the bridge—a list which seems to be far from complete.

With the entry for 8 November, 1733 the detailed record of the Midlothian justices' intrusions with highways comes to an end. But although the Act of 1713 did not achieve its planned duration of fifty years the regime of the justices was destined to endure till 1751 and it was only the manifest failure of the regime to accomplish the task which it had been set that led to its ultimate replacement. The justices themselves petitioned the House of Commons in February 1751 to the effect that "the roads and highways leading through the County of Edinburgh to the City of Edinburgh are become deep and ruinous and in many places impassable for coaches, waggons and other carriages and even dangerous for persons

travelling on horseback; and that the same cannot be put in sufficient repair by the ordinary means, already provided by the laws in force in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, without the aid of parliament; and therefore praying the House to take the premises into consideration and to give leave that a bill may be brought in for repairing the said roads in such manner as to the House shall seem meet."¹²

By 1751 the management of turnpike roads by trustees appointed *ad hoc* under acts of parliament had become established practice in England and it was natural that the practice should be extended. The Midlothian Turnpike Act of 1751¹³ set up a turnpike trust for the county and this trust and its successors were to continue responsible for the turnpike (but not the statute labour) roads of the county till 1882 when Midlothian adopted the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act of 1878.¹⁴

REFERENCES

- ¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, VII, 574, c.37.
² *e.g. Reg. Privy Council*, 3rd series, III, 307 and 358; IV, 27, 179 and 339; V, 451 and 466; VIII, 175; and XI, 107.
³ A collection of the Edinburgh road acts, Edinburgh Room, Central Library – YHE36321417.
⁴ *RPC*, 3rd series, VII, 466 and 534; VIII, 220, 229, 345 and 371; XI, 534; and XVI, 314.
⁵ *Journal of the House of Commons*, 17, 497.
⁶ C. A. Malcolm, *The Minutes of the Justices of the Peace for Lanarkshire, 1707–1723* (Scottish History Society, 1931), p. xxviii and n; Ann E. Wheatstone, *Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1981).
⁷ Printed copies of the Justices' acts of 1731 and 1736 are among the Clerk of Penicuik papers, Scottish Record Office – GD18, 1390 and –91.
⁸ I am indebted to Professor Gordon Donaldson for advice on this part of the article.
⁹ Scottish Record Office, CO2/4/2.
¹⁰ I am indebted to Dr W. H. Makey, City Archivist, for this information.
¹¹ *APS*, VIII, 590, c.13.
¹² *Journal of the House of Commons*, 26, 38.
¹³ 24 George III, *cap.* xxxv.
¹⁴ 41 and 42 Victoria, *cap.* li.

The Sixty-Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 30th March 1972, at 3 p.m.

The Rt. Hon. Sir James W. McKay, Lord Provost, presided.

During the year five lecture meetings, three excursions and a social evening were arranged. In Room 8, William Robertson Building, George Square, on 14th January, Dr Ian Campbell of the Department of English Literature, University of Edinburgh, spoke to members on "Edinburgh's Tramways". His informal manner and slides of Edinburgh's trams inspired nostalgic memories. Illustrations of new continental systems showed how tramways can be useful today.

On 10th February, Mr B. C. Skinner of the Department of Educational Studies, University of Edinburgh, invoked another era with his talk on "The Royal Visit to Edinburgh in 1822". Slides of contemporary engravings vividly recalled the excitement of the moment.

Mr Walter Makey, Edinburgh City Archivist, on 10th March, related the history of "Kirk and Council, 1560–1660", a period of time rich in spiritual and temporal bonds.

On 13th October, Chief Superintendent R. C. Arnot welcomed members to Leith Police Station, Queen Charlotte Street, Leith. In the original Burgh Council Chamber the Superintendent outlined the "History of the Leith Police" and later conducted members round the early cells, still in frequent occupation.

On 10th November, Mr John Tweedie, Chairman of Currie History Society, spoke on the history of "Currie and District". Mr Tweedie drew his examples from his unique collection of early photographic material of Currie. On 8th December a tour of "Scottish Market Crosses" was conducted by Mr R. S. Morpeth, his fine colour slides showing what an asset a Market Cross can be to the centre of a mediaeval Burgh or new town centre, and what desecration can be carried out by the addition of street lighting or sign posts to the original shaft.

The summer excursions began with an organised tour of canal, river and disused railway line, commencing at Harrison Road and terminating at Juniper Green. Members were invited by the Cockburn Association and the University of Edinburgh Department of Educational Studies to take part in a walk to demonstrate the possibilities of a segregated route for walkers from the City centre to the Pentland Hills. Experts were stationed at appropriate places to point out various items of interest.

On 7th July members assembled in Portobello Old and Regent Street Parish Church, Bellfield Street, to hear Mr Ian Fisher and Miss Catherine Cruft relate the history of the church and the growth of Portobello as a seaside resort. Many members, who afterwards walked round a number of the streets, were surprised at the unexpected amount of attractive housing of the period still in existence.

In August, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Visit to Edinburgh of George IV in 1822, the Club helped to sponsor two concerts given in St Cecilia's Hall. On 27th August a full house enjoyed "Music for a Royal Visit" performed for the benefit of Club members and their friends, together with members of the Edinburgh Walter Scott Club. A public concert was given on 29th August.

The Sixty-Fifth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 27th March 1973.

The Rt. Hon. Jack Kane, O.B.E., Lord Provost, presided.

During the year two lecture meetings and five lecture-excursions were arranged.

In Room 8, William Robertson Building, George Square, on 12th January, Lord Dean of Guild, Ian Mackenzie, spoke to members on the "History of the Dean of Guild Court". Mr Mackenzie succinctly described the history of his office destined to disappear under the new local government reorganisation.

On 9th February, Dr H. Speitel of the Department of Linguistic Survey of Scotland, University of Edinburgh, gave a talk on "German travellers in Edinburgh in the first half of the 19th century". Two lady travellers provided an evening of entertaining personal observations of domestic life in Edinburgh.

The Superintendent of City Museums and his staff welcomed members to Huntly House Museum, Canongate, on 21st March. The large number of members present were appreciative of the work being undertaken in the Museum to bring the history of Edinburgh alive by the effective display of pictures and artefacts.

By invitation of the Chairman, The Royal Bank of Scotland Ltd., members visited the Town House of Sir Lawrence Dundas at 36 St Andrew Square on 7th June. In the magnificent Board room, Mr Colin McWilliam related the building history of the house and the later additions by the bank, after which members were at liberty to wander round the building finishing in the canteen with a friendly buffet where we had leisure to meet the staff on duty and ask questions.

The autumn session commenced with a popular visit to Holyroodhouse on 22nd September. In the forecourt Mr George Hay of the Department of the Environment spoke about the general building history of the Palace, after which the guides escorted groups round the state rooms open to the public terminating with a private visit to the apartments occupied by the Duke of Hamilton as Hereditary Keeper.

On 25th October, Sir John Bruce, Regius Professor of Clinical Surgery, welcomed members to the Royal College of Surgeons, Nicolson Street. A lively talk on the History of the College was followed by tours of the building including the famous medical museum.

In the Signet Library, Mr G. H. Ballantyne, Librarian, spoke to members on the history of the library on 22nd November. An exhibition of books from the collection was laid out in the Advocates library and the meeting finished with slides and reminiscences about some of the well-known legal figures who have acted as librarians.

It is with regret that we record the death of Mr A. B. Gilmore, our Hon. Treasurer. Volume XXXIII, Part 3, of the Book of the Club was distributed to members.

The Sixty-Sixth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 26th February 1974.

The President, Professor D. C. Simpson, M.B.E., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S.E., presided.

During the year four lecture meetings and four excursions were arranged.

On 10th January in Room 8, William Robertson Building, George Square, Dr W. E. S. Mutch of the Department of Forestry and Natural Resources, University of Edinburgh, spoke to members of the "Changing Wildlife in the Cramond district". Dr Mutch related the variations which have taken place in the flora and fauna in Cramond, laying particular emphasis on the decay of the large deciduous trees, and the need to replant in order that future generations may enjoy the landscape as we do today.

Miss A. S. Cowper, Principal Tutor/Librarian at the Edinburgh College of Commerce, gave a talk on "Old Corstorphine". A perambulation of the old village illustrated with an excellent collection of slides of early photographs brought back nostalgic memories for many members.

On 7th March, "The Rev. John Logan of South Leith; a man misjudged" provided Mr John Simpson of the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, with an exercise in detection. Appointed minister of South Leith in 1773, John Logan was infamously known as the pirate of unpublished manuscripts of Michael Bruce, the Scottish poet. Mr Simpson set out his arguments succinctly and left the listener to decide for or against John Logan.

On 10th April, the Rev. Professor David Cairns from Aberdeen spoke on "John Howell; boyhood memories of Edinburgh 1794-1810". Professor Cairns related, from John Howell's autobiography, his youthful days in George Street, Edinburgh, where his father had a grocer's shop in one of the new houses at which Sir Walter Scott's mother was an early customer. Delightful insights into the social habits of the day were the rewards of the evening.

The summer excursions began with a visit to Craigmack Castle, Edinburgh, on 7th June. Mr R. Forbes Hutchison of Alison & Hutchison & Partners, Architects, welcomed members to the castle, and related the history of the building, particularly as the summer home from 1815 of Lord Jeffrey. It was interesting to hear the difficulties of adapting a private mansion house as an office. The change at Craigmack has been particularly successful with the minimum of disturbance to the original fabric. The visit concluded with refreshments and time to ask questions.

On 20th June, the Dean Village Association Committee invited members to a tour of the village. Assembling at the Dean Park entrance gates to the Dean Cemetery, we were welcomed by members of the Committee and divided into small parties. Visits were paid to the Episcopal Cathedral Mission, originally the granary of the Baxters' Incorporation of Edinburgh; to the new offices of an architectural firm skilfully adapted from the old bottle works; and finally to the Community Hall in Well Court, a complex of buildings devised by Sir J. R. Findlay of *The Scotsman* as a social experiment. The Community Hall has now been adapted as an architect's office. Refreshments in Dean Parish Church Hall were welcome at the end of an excellent evening tour.

The autumn season commenced with an invitation from the Astronomer Royal for Scotland, Professor H. Brück, to pay two visits to the Royal Observatory, Blackford Hill,

on 23rd and 24th October. Professor Brück briefly related the history of the Observatory buildings before members of his staff conducted parties round the various buildings, taking in the 16/24-inch Smidt telescope and the original building of 1896, complete with revolving dome.

Three very popular visits were paid to the Scottish Record Office, H.M. General Register House, on 15th November, 27th November and 3rd December. On each occasion a member of staff related the history of the Records of Scotland from their early home in Edinburgh Castle to Parliament House. The overcrowding of documents necessitated the building of the present Record Office designed by Robert Adam. A small collection of documents relating to Edinburgh was exhibited. A tour of the building taking in the beautifully restored dome and the Historical Room completed each successful evening.

It is with regret that we record the deaths of the Right Hon. The Earl of Rosebery, K.T., D.S.O., M.C., LL.D., Honorary President, and of Mr Paul Shillabeer.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1975

The Sixty-Seventh Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 12th March 1975.

The Rt. Hon. Jack Kane, O.B.E., Lord Provost, presided.

During the year, five lecture-meetings, three lecture-excursions and two social meetings were arranged.

On 9th January in Room 8, William Robertson Building, George Square, Councillor J. S. Cavaye delighted members with his illustrated talk on "The Grassmarket and Cowgate area". His late 19th century slides were the attraction of the evening, with an apt commentary on the social and historic aspects of the area.

The Rev. J. S. Marshall spoke on "The Incorporations of Leith" on 5th February. Dr Marshall drew a vivid picture, from original sources, of the relationships between the various incorporations and at the end of his talk gave us a tantalising glimpse of the Newhaven Free Fishermen's Society.

"Excavations in Edinburgh, 1974" by Mr Nicholas Holmes, City Archaeologist, provided an illustrated, guided tour of the excavations within the Tron Kirk which revealed Marlin's Wynd, and also gave details of the search for the King's Wall on the Niddrie Wynd and Blackfriars Street site.

We began the summer excursions with a visit to the Headquarters of No. 2 Maritime Headquarters Unit, Royal Auxiliary Air Force, at 25 Learmonth Terrace. Designed in 1891 by James Simpson of Leith for Arthur Sanderson, the sober exterior conceals one of the most sumptuous interiors in the city, executed by W. Scott Morton. The excursion began with a visit to the interior of Holy Trinity Church, Queensferry Road. Now the Dean electricity sub-station, the church shows the use to which such a building can be put when no longer required for ecclesiastical purposes, the exterior having been preserved for its dramatic effect on Edinburgh's townscape.

On 10th July, Mr George Hay and Mr Ian Fisher took two separate parties round Craigmillar Castle. As well as relating the history of the building, members found it of particular interest to hear about the difficulties encountered in restoring and rebuilding parts of the castle, and the various modern methods used in the process.

The autumn season began on 29th October with a visit to the City of Edinburgh Arts Centre (Old Royal High School). The Secretary outlined the history of the building of the school and its context in the Greek Revival movement, after which members of the Arts Centre staff conducted various parties round the building.

On 6th November, Mr Oliver Barratt of the Cockburn Association spoke on "100 years of Conservation in Edinburgh". It came as a surprise to many members to hear of the "near misses" which would have deprived Edinburgh of one or two of her well-known buildings, including John Knox's House.

Dr Peter Savage gave a talk on "Sir Robert Lorimer and the Edinburgh School of Design" on 3rd December. The Dramatis Personae in this important period of Scottish architectural history were strikingly brought to life by quotes from contemporary correspondence.

By invitation of the City Curator, members were invited to visit the exhibition "Farewell Tae Auld Reekie" in the Canongate Tolbooth on 12th June. A good attendance relived the various aspects of past Burgh life and praised the standard and content of the exhibition.

On 28th August we were invited to join members of The Cockburn Association at an informal viewing of the exhibition "A View of Edinburgh". A display of paintings and engravings of Edinburgh, many in private collections, illustrated the romantic image of the city.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1976

The Sixty-Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 23rd March 1976, at 2.30 p.m.

The Rt. Hon. John Millar, Lord Provost, presided.

During the year six lecture meetings and two excursions were arranged.

On 15th January, Mr and Mrs John Byrom of the Architecture Research Unit, Department of Architecture, University of Edinburgh, spoke on "Gardens of Edinburgh New Town". Mr Byrom outlined the background of the planning of a New Town and its pleasure and recreational areas, and Mrs Byrom related the history of a number of the pleasure gardens in Edinburgh New Town, and the elaborate regulations governing their use and future development, which have preserved them to the present day.

Mr W. A. Thorburn of the Scottish United Services Museum, on 4th February, unfolded the "Development of Military Costume" from the continental influences of the 17th and 18th centuries to the modern use of tartans, kilts and trews.

On 4th March, Mr C. S. Minto illustrated his talk on "Edinburgh Photographers 1870-1900" with slides of contemporary photographs by J. Patrick, A. A. Inglis, J. G. Tunny and others, which, with their unique quality vividly recalled the 19th century Edinburgh scene.

On 13th October, Mr Charles J. Smith gave a talk on "Historic South Morningside". His slides illustrated a tour which moved from unfamiliar areas of the village of Sciennes to late 19th century views of Morningside Road, showing the erosion of the old single-storey cottages and workshops by the growth of the typical Edinburgh tenement. A nostalgic and rewarding evening was arranged by Mr and Mrs Barclay Fraser on 8th December. Voices from their "Old Davidson's Mains on Tape Recordings" filled the lecture theatre with reminiscences of the local dominie, the shoemaker's shop, and the numerous dairies which supplied the Edinburgh citizens with their milk.

By invitation of the University of Edinburgh members were invited to view the "David Bryce Centenary Exhibition" on 4th November in the Talbot Rice Art Centre. The viewing was preceded by an introductory talk by Dr Alistair Rowan of the Department of Fine Art, in which he introduced members to the varying styles of Bryce architecture. The Exhibition contained a wealth of drawings, photographs and portraits, which illustrated the Scottish Baronial house and Classical bank to perfection.

The summer excursions began with a visit to Donaldson's School for the Deaf (Donaldson's Hospital) on 26th May. The Principal, Mr G. Shiach, conducted members round the original building designed by W. H. Playfair in 1842-54, and in the Art Room of the new teaching block, in answering members' questions, he outlined the teaching principles in instructing the deaf.

On 28th June, Miss A. S. Cowper, Principal Tutor/Librarian, College of Commerce, helped by members of the Corstorphine Trust, led a "Corstorphine Walk". Stops were made at places of interest including the 15th century Parish Church with its notable series of Forrester tombs, and the 16th century circular dovecot. Refreshments were welcome in the Trust Museum, where members had the opportunity of viewing the excellent exhibits and photographic display.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1977

The Sixty-Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 29th March 1977, at 3 p.m.

The Rt. Hon. John Millar, Lord Provost, presided.

During the year five lecture meetings, two excursions and one social evening were arranged.

On 12th January, Dr J. B. Barclay spoke on the "Diary of an Edinburgh Schoolboy, 1846-49". Dr Barclay gave us a fascinating glimpse into four years of life as a schoolboy when the farms and fields at the west end of Princes Street offered adventure, and the George Street "sweetie shop" offered temptation.

Dr A. H. B. Masson, on 17th February, evoked the "School for Scandal: Some Untoward Happenings in the Edinburgh Medical School". Jealousy and infighting between the professorial staff in the 18th century Medical School led the way to the notorious Burke and Hare episode.

On 17th March, Mr Charles Drummond related "The History of Pharmacy in Old Edinburgh". Slides of contemporary prescriptions signed by many of the famous names in early medicine, illustrated a talk which sought to show how little some of the basic ingredients in medicines had changed.

The talk on 6th October by Dr Ian Campbell, of the Department of English Literature, University of Edinburgh, dealt with the days of "Carlyle in Edinburgh". Dr Campbell vividly recounted Carlyle's walk to Edinburgh from Ecclefechan at the age of fourteen, his years living frugally in Edinburgh lodgings, his marriage to Jane Welsh, and the setting up of home in Comely Bank. In later years in London he frequently travelled to Edinburgh to spend his holidays in the town.

An unusual evening was spent watching and listening to Mr Andrew Kerr demonstrating his building of "A Georgian Doll's House", based on the house designed by Sir William Chambers for Sir Lawrence Dundas at 36 St Andrew Square. His miniature copy was on view for us to appreciate how intricate and ingenious the construction of a doll's house can be. Slides illustrated Dundas House, the doll's house in construction, and well-known dolls' houses in other collections.

On 19th May, members assembled in the Trades Maiden Hospital, Ashfield, 61 Melville Street, to hear the Rev. E. S. Towill relate the history of the Hospital from its early foundation by Mrs Mary Erskine and the Craftsmen of Edinburgh. The muniments and insignia of the Hospital were on view together with the famous "Blue Blanket", having survived the various moves from the original house in Horse Wynd.

On 9th June, by kind invitation of the President, a combined social evening and visit was paid to the Royal College of Physicians, 9 Queen Street. Miss J. P. S. Ferguson gave an introductory talk about the history of the College before a tour of the original Physicians' building, designed by Thomas Hamilton in 1845, and Chief Baron Ord's House, 8 Queen Street, designed by Robert Adam in 1770. A glass of wine was served before an appropriate musical entertainment was offered by Mr Russell Hillhouse and his small group of singers; 18th- and 19th-century madrigals and Gilbert and Sullivan delighted an appreciative audience.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1978

The Seventieth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 28th March 1978.

The Rt. Hon. Kenneth Borthwick, Lord Provost, presided.

During the year four lecture meetings, two excursions and one social evening were arranged.

On 11th January, Professor A. W. Hendry, of the Department of Civil Engineering, University of Edinburgh, spoke on "Edinburgh's Railway System". Aply illustrated with slides, his talk traced the history of the beginnings of the various railway lines, their closures, and his own proposals that the use of the old suburban railways as additions to the public transport system, should be thoroughly investigated.

On 8th February, Miss Priscilla Minay, Fine Art Librarian, Edinburgh City Libraries, recalled "James Justice: 18th-century Lawyer and Horticulturist". Miss Minay gave a beautifully illustrated study of a reluctant lawyer, dedicated to horticulture, which resulted in bankruptcy and the sale of the family estates.

Dr Robert Donaldson, Keeper-in-Charge, British Antiquarian Books, National Library of Scotland, on 8th March, related the history of "The Newhailes Library". This great library, temporarily housed in the National Library, was created by the eminent judge, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, and contains a unique collection of Scottish law books, with many annotations by Lord Hailes.

By kind permission of the University of Edinburgh, a reception was held in the Upper Library, before a performance of *The Tounis College*, on 8th November. Members of the Edinburgh Graduate Theatre Group related in words and song the history of the University, both sad and joyful. A memorable evening was enjoyed by all who attended.

On 7th December "The Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee: The First Seven Years" were recalled by Mr Desmond Hodges, its Director. He illustrated with slides the work carried out on the care and conservation of Edinburgh's New Town from tentative beginnings.

The summer excursions began with a visit on 8th June to South Leith Parish Church and Trinity House, Leith. The Master of Trinity House, Captain D. Archibald, led parties round the building and explained the activities of the Incorporation of the Master and Assistants of Trinity House, an institution which for centuries affected the social and economic life of the people in and around the Port. Our President, the Rev. Dr J. S. Marshall, pointed out many features in the historic church, which satisfied the spiritual needs of the Leithers.

On 16th August, by kind permission of the Curator, City of Edinburgh Museums and Galleries, members visited Lauriston Castle, Cramond Road South. Mr David Walker, Historic Buildings Branch, Scottish Development Department, related the history of the building of the castle, and conducted a tour of the exterior pointing out the fine Scots-Tudor addition by William Burn. Inside, members of the museum staff guided people round, and indicated the most important pieces of furniture and objects collected by Mr and Mrs Reid, who purchased Lauriston Castle to house them.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1979

The Seventy-First Annual General Meeting of the Old Edinburgh Club was held in the City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 27th March 1979.

The Rt. Hon. Kenneth Borthwick, Lord Provost, presided.

An address was given by Mr Nicholas Fort, Dip. Arch., R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., Director of Planning, City of Edinburgh District Council, on "Review of Planning Events in the last 30 years".

During the year six lecture meetings and three excursions were arranged. Unfortunately the talk arranged for 10th January on "The Poor Law in 19th-century Edinburgh" by Dr Audrey Paterson, Department of Social Administration, University of Edinburgh, had to be cancelled due to adverse weather conditions. It is hoped to fit this in at a later date.

On 8th February the mysteries of "19th-century Politics in Edinburgh" were unravelled by Dr Alex. Murdoch. Many reforms took place, but perhaps the passing of the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1833 occasioned the greatest celebrations, by giving a say in the choice of M.P. and Town Councillor to every man of 21 years who was a £10 ratepayer.

Mrs P. M. Eaves-Walton, Archivist, Lothian Health Board, spoke on "Edinburgh's Hospitals" on 8th March. Illustrating her talk with an interesting and varied collection of slides Mrs Eaves-Walton related the rise of the hospitals from the foundation of the Hospital for the Destitute Sick in a house in Robertson's Close in 1729 and the influence of Lord Provost Drummond in building a specially designed Infirmary completed in 1747, and compared them with the rigid specifications required today.

"Professor Sir Patrick Geddes, 1854-1932" was the subject of Dr J. B. Barclay's talk on 10th October. From readings and research he drew an intimate portrait of the man who was pre-eminent in his many fields of interest. He was a prime mover in the rehabilitation of Edinburgh's slums, and the first to organise summer schools, with the Outlook Tower as the headquarters.

On 7th November, Mr John M. Pinkerton, Advocate, entertainingly related the "History of the Advocates", from the Act creating the Court of Session in 1532 until the present day.

On 6th December a well-illustrated and colourful evening on "Heraldry in Edinburgh" was spent with Mr W. F. Adams, Stenhouse Conservation Centre, and Mr C. J. Burnett, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. The evening was divided into Royal Edinburgh, with superb examples of the Royal Arms, and Burgh Heraldry, found in many forms, both in the correct heraldic context and as decorative features.

The excursions commenced on 26th March with a visit to the Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, St John Street, 188 Canongate. In the historic meeting room where so many brilliant and celebrated men had met, Mr R. J. C. Jamieson talked to members of the history of the Lodge and its buildings. Before a tour of the building we were entertained to a short organ recital on an instrument reputedly once owned by Handel. With our coffee we could examine at leisure many of the historic relics on view.

On 13th June, in the recently completed George Heriot's School refectory, Dr W. McL. Dewar related the history of the Foundation and buildings. Then, in a tour of this important monument to the beneficence of George Heriot, we were guided through the historic apartments to the Council Room where Dr Dewar had arranged exhibits ranging from a 17th/18th-century school uniform, to an example of the stool placed by each boy's bed in the 19th century.

Mrs Diana Adamson welcomed members to Hawthornden Castle, Lasswade, on 29th June. Mr Ian Fisher guided us round the exterior of the castle, pointing out the site of the Great Hall, the 15th-century walling, and the great timber door into the pend, with two bar-holes in the door jamb, one of which retains its oak boxing. Small groups followed in the footsteps of Queen Victoria and Dr Johnson, and visited the remarkable series of galleried caves, one with a fine array of pigeon nests excavated in the rock walls.

Volume 34, Part 2, of the Book of the Club was distributed to members.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1980

The Seventy-Second Annual General Meeting of the Old Edinburgh Club was held in the City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 25th March 1980.

Councillor Duncan Drummond Young, M.B.E., presided.

An address was given by Mr Stewart Cruden, O.B.E., R.I.B.A., on "The Work of the Scottish Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments".

During the year six lecture meetings were held in Lecture Room 3, Appleton Tower, George Square, and two summer excursions were arranged.

On 10th January, Dr Alexander Law spoke to members on "Edinburgh Schools 1800-1843". Dr Law related the history of schools in Edinburgh, with special emphasis on the private establishments where the education received was of a very high standard; a good education was provided in areas where the national and burgh systems could not maintain provision for all, particularly for girls.

On 13th February, "Sydney Smith in Edinburgh" was the subject of the talk by Alan Bell of the Department of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland. Sydney Smith, the writer and Canon of St Paul's, as tutor of Michael Hicks Beach, resided for some time in Edinburgh

from 1798, where with his wit and conversation he delighted in the company of Edinburgh society, which included such close friends as Lord Jeffrey and Lord Brougham. With them he was one of the founders of the Edinburgh Review in 1802.

Dr Audrey Paterson of the Department of Social Administration, University of Edinburgh, delivered her talk on "The Poor Law in 19th-century Edinburgh" on 12th March. Dr Paterson related the history of the relief of poverty and over-crowding, particularly in the Old Town where there had been no increase in new houses, only sub-division of the old. The long struggle against disease and bad housing eventually resulted in the Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act of 1845. The appointment of Dr Henry Littlejohn as the first Medical Officer of Health in Edinburgh in 1862 led the way to even greater improvements in Edinburgh's social conditions.

On 9th March, Dr H. H. Speitel of the Department of Linguistics, University of Edinburgh, spoke on the "History of German Settlers in Edinburgh". There are a number of well-known names in the city today who are descendants of those who settled in Edinburgh, enlivening the city with their artistic and financial abilities.

Dr Andrew Fraser, a member of the University of Edinburgh Conservation Group, gave a talk on 5th November on "The University's Old Buildings". Dr Fraser delivered a well-illustrated talk on the diverse buildings owned by the University, showing before and after slides, including some interesting early views of the Old College begun in 1581.

On 27th November, Dr B. Burbidge of the Scientific Staff, Royal Botanic Garden, spoke on "The Royal Botanic Garden: People and Plants". The Physic Garden for the cultivation of medicinal and other plants established near Holyrood Abbey in 1670, was the foundation of the great garden we know today. Quickly growing out of space the garden was transferred to Leith Walk in 1763, and finally to Inverleith in 1823. Dr Burbidge vividly described the various Keepers and his superb slides ranged from the mountain slopes of West China with George Forrest, to the rhododendrons grown from his original seed flourishing in the Botanic Garden today.

The summer excursions began on 5th June with a visit to the City Chambers, Edinburgh. Mr David Marriott of the Department of Administration guided us, divided into two groups, round Mary King's Close, which, although closed off in 1752 by the building of the Royal Exchange, remains stopped in time. Mr Marriott pointed out the remains of earlier date and did not forget to remind us that the close was reputed to be haunted. In the Old Council Chamber, Dr Walter Makey gave a short resumé of the history of the City Archives, and arranged a fascinating small exhibition of important city documents. A successful repeat evening was held on 12th June. We are grateful to our two leaders for generously giving up their time.

On 26th June we visited the Dean Education Centre, formerly the Dean Orphanage. Dr Walter Stephen welcomed members to the Centre and talked to us about the social and health reasons for moving the hospital to the Dean, and the life the boys and girls could expect to enjoy. Mr Ian Fisher spoke about the architect Thomas Hamilton, whose remit was to build a new orphanage on land purchased by the governors of the Edinburgh Orphan Hospital, to replace the old hospital in the Old Town. Refreshments were enjoyed after a tour of the building.

It is with great regret that we record the death during the year of a Council member, Mr Joseph Dow.

The Seventy-Third Annual General Meeting of the Old Edinburgh Club was held in the City Chambers, on the afternoon of Tuesday, 24th March 1981.

The Rt. Hon. Tom Morgan, Lord Provost, presided.

An address was given by Mr A. L. Rennie, C.B., on "The Scottish Office in Edinburgh". During the year six lecture meetings were held in Room 8, William Robertson Building, George Square, and two summer excursions were arranged.

On 14th January, Dr Malcolm Higgs of the Department of Architecture, University of Edinburgh, spoke to members on the history of "Ruskin: The Gentle Influence on the Architecture of Edinburgh". The impact of Ruskin's writings and lectures was enormous. Dr Higgs set out to show how he influenced the aspect of mid-19th-century Edinburgh. Compositional effects and continental models produced familiar detailing in the use of roof lines, dormers and bay-windows. His argument was further supported by a series of slides of Edinburgh buildings.

A very instructive evening was spent in the company of the Rev. A. Ian Dunlop, Minister of St Stephen's Church, on 12th February. Mr Dunlop gave a lucid, short account of the history of "Edinburgh Churches" belonging to the Church of Scotland. For the rest of the meeting he invited questions from members. From his two large volumes of research notes he enthusiastically answered a variety of questions from ecclesiastical references to church building activities.

On 19th March, Mrs Arthur Hope gave a talk on the "Scottish Institute for the Education of Young Ladies, 1834-1870". The Institute was established in 1834 by teachers from the Naval and Military Academy, and was instantly successful. The Lady Superintendent received respectable young ladies as boarders and at the end of their course they received a certificate or diploma of education. Boarders were taken not only from the British Isles but also from overseas, including many from Canada, Nova Scotia and the Cape of Good Hope. The Institute gave a great stimulus to Scottish education and only finally closed when education became statutory, and schools for young ladies were established throughout the country.

On 15th October, Dr Michael Lynch of the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, spoke on "John Knox and the Reformation in Edinburgh". From his researches in the Burgh Records, Dr Lynch showed us an Edinburgh where change took place slowly after 1560. John Knox's fiery eloquence had little effect on a burgh where the rights of the individual and of the craft guilds came before the new order. Committed Reformers and Roman Catholics lived and worked together keeping going the structure of laws, customs and privileges which the burgh and its inhabitants enjoyed.

On 12th November, Dr D. C. Johnson related the history of "Music in Historic Edinburgh" from the start of public concerts in 1693. The Edinburgh Musical Society was formally constituted in 1728 but it had been in operation since the first St Cecilia's Day concert in 1695. For twenty years between the opening of St Cecilia's Hall in 1762 until 1780 Edinburgh was the centre of a brief but enjoyable musical renaissance. Money was spent faster than it was earned and changing social conditions saw the demise of Edinburgh's concert-going life by the end of the century. Dr Johnson illustrated his talk with recordings, one by the Earl of Kelly who ranked with the best in Europe.

On 3rd December, Dr John Tester spoke about the work of "The Medical Missionary Society". He illustrated his talk with slides of the Society's new hospital in Jerusalem where its work continues with the help of dedicated staff.

The Summer excursions began with a visit to South Queensferry on 18th June. The tour was led by members of the South Queensferry Amenity Society, and started in the 18th-century Tolbooth Tower, the energetic climbing the stairs to view the mechanism in the Jubilee clock chamber. Across the road we visited St Mary's Episcopal Church of the Carmelite friary. After the Reformation St Mary's became the parish church but was abandoned in 1635 when the new church was finished. In 1890 the building was restored and used as an Episcopal church. A walk along the High Street lined with 18th- and 19th-century houses finished in the Museum in the Old Burgh Chambers, where we viewed a small interesting collection of material of local interest.

On 16th July, Mr Stanley Jamieson led a walk along the Water of Leith from Belford Bridge to Bonnington Mills. Members assembled at the south-east end of the Dean Bridge where Mr Jamieson outlined the background history of the river and the mills which used its water power. Stops were made at various places of interest including the Dean Village and its mills, St Bernard's Well, the Colonies, and for the energetic a further walk to Bonnington Mills where we expressed a hope that the surviving historic buildings might be reconstructed.

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