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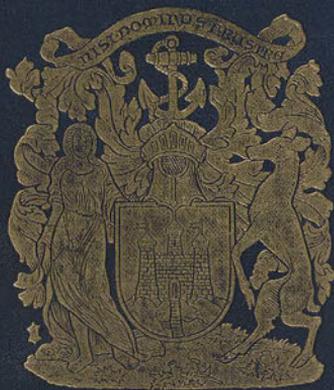
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OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

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THE BOOK OF THE
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
A NOTE ON HUNTLY HOUSE . . . By WILLIAM COWAN	1
THE OLD TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH	
By HENRY F. KERR	7
<i>With Illustrations.</i>	
THE CANONGATE CRAFTS: AN AGREEMENT OF 1610	
By ANNIE I. CAMERON	25
MYLNE SQUARE By the late IRVINE A. STIRLING	45
THE SCULPTURED STONES OF THE 'ROYAL MILE'	
By JOHN GEDDIE	49
<i>With Illustrations.</i>	
THE GARDENS OF THE CASTLE . . . By C. A. MALCOLM	101
SOME INNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	
By JAMES H. JAMIESON	121
<i>With Illustrations.</i>	
REMINISCENCES OF A TOWN CLERK	
Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. FORBES GRAY	147
INDEX	183
APPENDIX—	
SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, LECTURES, EXCURSIONS, LIST OF MEMBERS, ETC.	

PLATES

	PAGE
PANEL FROM MARY KING'S CLOSE	96
WHITE HORSE INN, BOYD'S CLOSE	130
(1) CANONGATE ENTRANCE; (2) STAIR LEADING TO HALL.	
BLACK BULL INN, PLEASANCE	130

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	PAGE
PRECINCTS OF ST GILES, 1386	9
" OF TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH	13
WEST GABLE OF " " IN 1610	15
SIME'S ELEVATION OF " " NORTH FRONT	17
RESTORATION OF " " "	19
" " " SOUTH FRONT	21
LINTELS, SEMPILL'S CLOSE	59 & 61
" FROM SIR T. HOPE'S HOUSE	69
LINTEL FROM SIR T. CRAIG'S HOUSE	69
" " GOSFORD'S CLOSE	69
TWIN TABLETS, ADVOCATE'S CLOSE	69
LINTEL FROM 'BLACK TURNPIKE'	75
" " TOWER, PORTOBELLO	79
GROUP OF STONES FROM "	85
DORMERS, BISHOP BOTHWELL'S HOUSE	89
NICHE, ADVOCATE'S CLOSE	91
'PELICAN' STONE, ANCHOR CLOSE	99

A NOTE ON HUNTLY HOUSE

THE Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh have recently acquired by purchase that group of old buildings situated on the west and east sides of Bakehouse Close, on the south side of the street of the Canongate. These buildings are of considerable architectural and historical interest, and their preservation is a matter of great importance, especially in view of the disappearance in recent years of so many of the old mansions of the city.

The house on the west side of the close, with its picturesque timber-fronted elevation to the street, has for many years been known as 'Huntly House,' on the supposition that it was a town house belonging to the noble family of Gordon, Earls and Marquesses of Huntly and Dukes of Gordon, but this supposition is comparatively modern and does not seem to rest on any satisfactory evidence.

In the Records of the Privy Council, under date 22nd March 1636, it is stated that the Marquess of Huntly was freed from his ward in the Castle, and allowed to go 'to his owne loodging neir to his Majestie's palace of Halyrudhouse and confines him to the said loodging with libertie alwayes to him to walke within anie of the gardens or walkes within the precinct of the said palace and no further.'

No more information is given as to the precise site of this 'loodging,' and the suggestion that it was the mansion in Bakehouse Close has not been found in print earlier than 1833, when Dr. Chambers in *Reekiana* (p. 245) has the following passage referring to this house: 'This very antique-

looking tenement . . . is supposed to have formerly been the town mansion of the Gordon family. It is certain from the statement of Maitland in his *History*, 1753, that the Dowager Duchess of Gordon then resided in it. It is also certain that George, first Marquess of Huntly, the murderer of the *bonny* Earl of Moray, had a house in the Canongate in the year 1636, when he sickened in it, and, on endeavouring to reach his northern territories, died at Dundee.'

Subsequent to the issue of *Reekiana*, Sir Daniel Wilson, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh*, writes: 'The evidence indeed is not complete which assigns this as the dwelling of the first Marquis, but it is rendered exceedingly probable from the fact that his residence was in the Canongate, and that this fine old mansion was occupied at a later period by his descendants.'

What is stated as a *probability* by Chambers and Wilson has been accepted as a fact by later writers, but the only facts which appear to be established are (1st), that, in 1636, the Marquess of Huntly had a house in the Canongate, the exact situation being unknown, and (2nd), that, about 1750, the then Dowager Duchess of Gordon was a tenant and occupier of a portion of the property in Bakehouse Close. These facts are hardly sufficient to justify the conclusion that the house was the town mansion of the Gordon family.

No evidence for that conclusion can be found in the title-deeds of the property. The earlier deeds no longer exist, but to the Disposition by the Incorporation of Hammermen of Canongate in 1762 there is annexed an Inventory of the writs reaching back to 1517. This document is headed 'Inventory of the Progress of Writes of three Tenements of land with the yards and pertinents lying on the southside of the High Street of the Burgh of Canongate and disposed by them to William Wilson, Writer in Edinburgh and George Innes, Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland, and conform to Disposition dated the 9th day of September, 1762.' The first

entry in the Inventory is 'Charter in favour of James Aitchison and Janet Gray his spouse of one tenement of land in the Burgh of Canongate dated 18th June 1517.' This James Aitchison and his heirs appear to have held the property till 1609, when there is a contract of sale to 'Mr. William Sharp of Ballendoch,' in whose family the property remained till 1647. In that year it was purchased by the Incorporation of Hammermen of Canongate, and a charter in their favour was granted by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who in 1636 had acquired the superiority of the entire Burgh of Canongate. The feu-duty to be paid by the Incorporation was £8 Scots. The Charter is in Latin, the translation of the clauses giving the situation and boundaries of the property being as follows:—

'In the burgh of the Canongate on the south side of the King's street of the same between the lands and yards of the late Patrick Galloway now pertaining to Thomas Galloway on the west; the tenement of land pertaining at one time to James Aitchison, afterwards to Sir Archibald Achieson of Glencairney, Knight, as far as the great stone wall and thence the yard of John Achieson to the foot of the said tenement on the east; the common King's street on the north; and the Strand on the south.'

The Hammermen remained owners of the property for more than a century, and the close bore the name of the 'Hammermen's Close.' They built their hall, or 'conveening house,' as it is called, in the south or back part of the ground, and were in the habit of letting other portions of the property to various tenants. About the middle of the eighteenth century, one of these tenants was Henrietta, Dowager Duchess of Gordon, who seems to have been the occupier of the mansion facing the Canongate. This lady, daughter of Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, was the widow of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, who died in 1728. Some time before her death, which took place in

the neighbourhood of Edinburgh in 1760, the Duchess changed her abode, and the house was let by the Hammermen to her son, Lord Adam Gordon, who, some years after, was appointed Commander of the Forces in Scotland, and took up his residence in Holyrood Palace.

In 1762 the Hammermen decided to dispose of their property, and it was accordingly sold by public roup on 3rd August of that year; and, as mentioned above, there is still in existence the Disposition to the purchaser dated 9th September 1762. In this deed the property is described as 'All and whole that great lodgeing or tenement with houses, biggings, great stable, formerly barn and kill, well, cobill yeards of the samen and all their pertinents with the gardiners house, and office houses and large hall or conveyeing house of our trade, built on the top of the gardiner's house, and in general the whole subjects contained in our Corporation's Charter dated the tenth of September 1647.'

The boundaries are given as in that Charter, the property on the west being described as 'now belonging to the Edinburgh Sugar House Company,' and the south boundary as 'the Strand, otherwise River Tumble.'

Since 1762 the property has been owned by a succession of private individuals, none of whom are of any note, and finally, in 1924, it was purchased, along with the other buildings in the close, by the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh.

As stated in the Hammermen's Charter of 1647, the tenement with its pertinents on the east side of the close belonged to Sir Archibald Achieson of Glencairney, who, in all probability, was the original builder of the important mansion still standing. Sir Archibald was a member of the family of Achiesons of Gosford in East Lothian. He was made a Lord of Session in 1626; a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628; and later was one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland under Charles I. He acquired certain estates in Ireland, and

died at Letterkenny in 1634. His descendants became Earls of Gosford in the Peerage of Ireland.

Above the doorway of the house is carved the family crest—a cock standing on a trumpet, with the motto 'Vigilantibus'; while underneath is a monogram formed of the initials of the names of the owner and his second wife, Margaret Hamilton, with the date 1633.

It is not possible to say how long members of the Achieson family retained the ownership of the property; they seem to have transferred all their interests to Ireland. In 1735 there is a sasine in favour of William Lauder, Coachmaker, then Treasurer of the Burgh of Canongate. At a later date the property was broken up among a number of separate owners. During the latter part of the eighteenth century the main building was owned by the Messrs. Hamilton, a firm of cabinet-makers, and afterwards by James Lowden, styled a pin-maker; while the southern portion of the ground was owned by the Incorporation of Bakers of Canongate. On this site they built a bakehouse, thus giving to the close its present name. Ultimately the entire property was, as already mentioned, purchased by the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh.

WILLIAM COWAN.

THE OLD TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH

AMONG the old buildings of Edinburgh the loss of which we mourn to-day, the Old Tolbooth possessed great historical importance, as well as considerable architectural merit.

It was towards the close of the fourteenth century that Robert II. presented to the community of Edinburgh the site upon which the Tolbooth stood. The former building, used for the collection of the king's taxes, is said to have been at the south-east angle of St. Giles' church, and it is supposed that it had been burned in the invasion by Richard II. in 1385; hence the necessity for a new Tolbooth.

The Charter given by Robert II. is endorsed 'Carta funde de le Belhous,' and dated 25th July 1386. A translation of this Latin document is given in Vol. XX. of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1885-86), in a paper by Mr. Peter Miller. The first part is: 'Know ye that we have given, granted, and, by this our present charter, have confirmed to our beloved and faithful the Burghers and Community of Edinburgh, and their successors in time to come, sixty feet in length and thirty in breadth of land lying in the market-place of the said Burgh, on the north side of the street thereof, giving and granting to them and their foresaid successors our special licence to construct and erect houses and buildings on the foresaid land, for the ornament of the said Burgh, and for their necessary uses.' . . .

An erroneous reading of this Charter has led to the belief that the site as granted was not that on which the Tolbooth stood in later years, but was on the north side of the High

Street. The actual site was in the market-place and on the north side thereof. The Latin words are: 'Sexaginta pedes in longitudine et triginta in latitudine de terra jacente in vico fori eiusdem Burgi ex parte boreali vici eiusdem . . .' The words 'vico fori' mean the market-place, and in that day the market-place was largely to the south and west of the Tolbooth.

The Plan (Fig. 1) shows the position of the buildings as they are believed to have been in 1386. On the north of the market-place is the site gifted by King Robert, measuring sixty feet by thirty, the western portion shown occupied by a building and the eastern portion unbuilt upon. The south boundary of the site was roughly in line with the north wall of the church, that is, before the extension known as the Albany Aisle was erected.

The site is further confirmed thus: In 1477 it was ordained that 'the cramys of chepmen . . . be set fra the Belhous doun to the Trone . . . also the mele market . . . fra the Tolbuith up to Liberton's Wynd.' This suggests to some that the two buildings which then were on the site were respectively called the Bellhouse to the east and the Tolbooth to the west; but it is just as probable that the names were used indiscriminately for either.

The history of the Old Tolbooth has been very fully dealt with in a paper, already quoted, by Mr. Peter Miller (1885), and by Dean of Guild Robert Miller in his work *The Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh* (1895). One point left in dispute by these writers is whether any building was on the site when Robert II. gifted the land in 1386.

It has to be kept in mind that, in the absence of documentary evidence, the age of the buildings has to a certain extent to be determined by the evidence of the stones themselves, and the features as shown in drawings. All the views show two buildings of very different types, one occupying the western end and the other the eastern portion of the site.

Lord Dean of Guild Miller calls the eastern one an 'ecclesiastical looking' block, and this appellation has misled some people. Its appearance is because of the date of its erection, and not on account of any ecclesiastical connection. This eastern block clearly speaks for itself that it is of fifteenth century date. It was evidently erected at that busy time

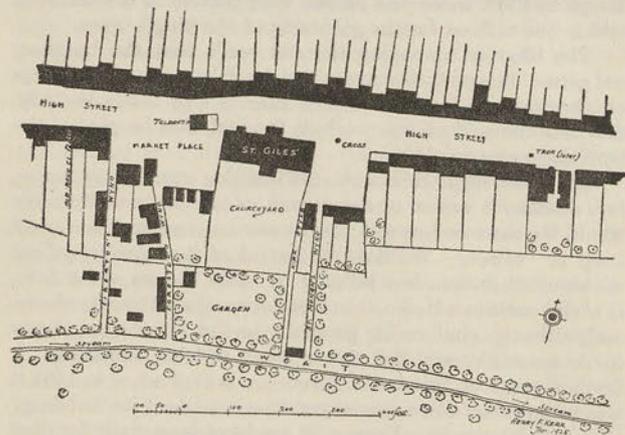


Fig. 1.—Precincts of St. Giles', 1386.

when extensive works were proceeding at Holyrood. This ornate block was an addition to the old 'towre' often referred to, which is believed to have occupied the western portion of the site in 1386.

This old tower was the building which Queen Mary in 1561 ordered to be taken down as ruinous. Of what age was this building? If it were erected in 1386 it would in 1561 be only 175 years old. It is unlikely that in 175 years a tower such as was erected in these days would be 'ruinous.' Comparing it with some of the old tenements now standing, that is

apparent. There is Gladstone's Land in the Lawnmarket, which, though built in 1631 and now 290 years old, is far from 'ruinous.' The Tolbooth was little more than half that age, and Cannon-Ball House of similar date is still a substantial structure. It can therefore be maintained with every confidence that when the site for a tolbooth was presented to the Burgh in 1386, there was on the west portion of it a building which was utilised for the gathering of the king's taxes.

The Charter conveying the site reads that the burghers are given 'license to construct and erect houses and buildings on the foresaid land,' and such licence was taken in 1430, but that clause does not preclude the fact that on part of the land there was an old house.

Mr. Peter Miller thinks this old building was a clergy house, but whether it was so or not, it was, as any house of that day would be, more or less of tower formation—not unlike a small keep or 'tower.' We have no record of its appearance nor its accommodation, but judging by other houses of its date, it would contain a Hall on the first floor and apartments above, and, although conforming generally to the tower type, it was in no sense like any Bell tower found in later tolbooths. A further proof of this tower formation is that when in 1561 it was to be taken down special mention is made of its 'battling,' that is battlements. These may not have been really fortified works, but merely the common parapets of the fourteenth century house.

The earliest mention in the Town Records of works on the Tolbooth is on 19th March 1500-1. At this date a contract was made with one Mercer, a mason, to supply six hundred feet of 'aslaurris to the furnessing and completing of the towre of the Tolbuith.'

Although the 'towre' was ordered to be taken down in 1561 it is not until 1571 that this is reported to have been done; and even then the demolition must have been only partial, because four years later, in 1575, the west gable was

ordered to be taken down and rebuilt, as it was 'rotten and ruinous.' Some such tower existed, serving as a tolbooth from 1386, and it may have been of very much older date than that.

In the course of years the Tolbooth was used for many purposes, and, the accommodation in the old 'towre' proving insufficient, the probability is that early in the fifteenth century a smaller but 'ornate' block was built on the east portion of the site, hitherto unbuilt upon. Owing to the lack of documents, there is no evidence of the conception far less the execution of this work; but as the Records are fairly continuous after 1500 and contain no reference to it, it may be assumed that the erection of this block was carried out prior to that date. As its features tell us that it was of early fifteenth century, there seems every reason to think that the work was carried out during those years of which the Records have been lost, *i.e.* 1403 to 1430.

All the extant views of the Tolbooth show the western block to be clearly of seventeenth century date. This is confirmed by Lord Dean of Guild Miller, who found record of its erection in 1610, when he discovered a contract wherein Andrew Symson was entrusted to erect a 'new Prysoun Hous' 'on ground cleared for the purpose,' that is, the old 'towre' was cleared away. The new building took the place of the old 'towre' on the west portion of the Tolbooth site. In 1611 this building is referred to as the 'new biggit Wairde Hous,' or, as we would say, jail or prison.

The sequence of buildings therefore upon this site is clear. First the old 'towre' which existed in 1386, then, added to it on the east, the fifteenth century 'ecclesiastical looking' block; and, lastly, the seventeenth century new 'Wairde Hous' in 1610, in the place where the old 'towre' once stood.

A large-scale plan dated 1806-18, which is in Sir Daniel Wilson's Scrap Book, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, shows the precincts of the Tolbooth, and may be taken

to indicate the position of things in the eighteenth century. (Fig. 2.) There is the Town Church, the whole width of the two western bays of which were at one time occupied by the Tolbooth on the ground floor and by the Law Courts on the floor above. At the south-west angle is seen the New Tolbooth, occupied on two floors in a similar manner for tolbooth and court purposes. To the north of St. Giles' are the Luckenbooths, which seem to have been joined to the Tolbooth about 1434. The eastern blocks are much later in date.

The Old Tolbooth is at the north-west corner of the Church, and in the eighteenth century had fallen from its high estate and was used as a prison—'The Heart of Midlothian' of Scott. In the eastern block, where once the Parliament was wont to meet, the worst criminals were confined; in the later western block, debtors.

The market-place, which once extended over an open space to the south and west of the Tolbooth, had been much encroached upon by the demand in the walled city for sites for houses, and only a narrow footway existed south of the Tolbooth.

A building used for evil purposes is apt to fall into an evil condition. According to reports by experts, the old Tolbooth in the beginning of the nineteenth century was in a somewhat dilapidated state, and, as it was said to be quite unsuitable for confining prisoners, it was resolved to abandon it and build a new prison. The Old Tolbooth was taken down in 1817. One reason urged for its removal was its interference with through traffic, the street there being only fourteen feet wide. This plan of the precincts proves this to be incorrect. The measurement of 14 feet is from the timber projections in front of the houses on the north side of the High Street to the Luckenbooths. The latter buildings projected into the street northwards from the face of the Tolbooth; the distance from the timber fronts to the wall of the Tolbooth at the west end is $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and at the east end from the stone

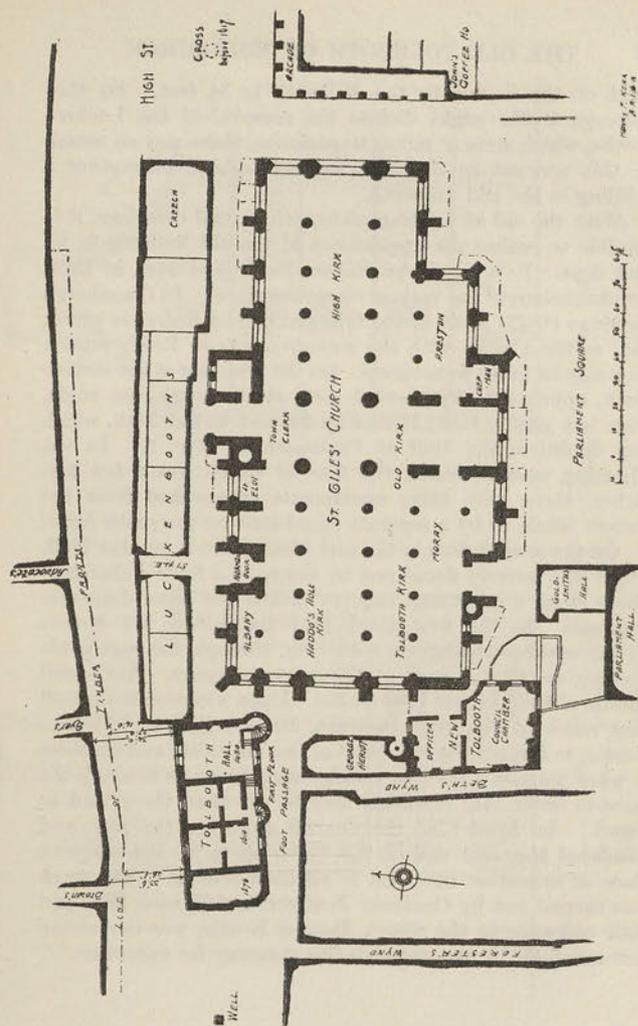
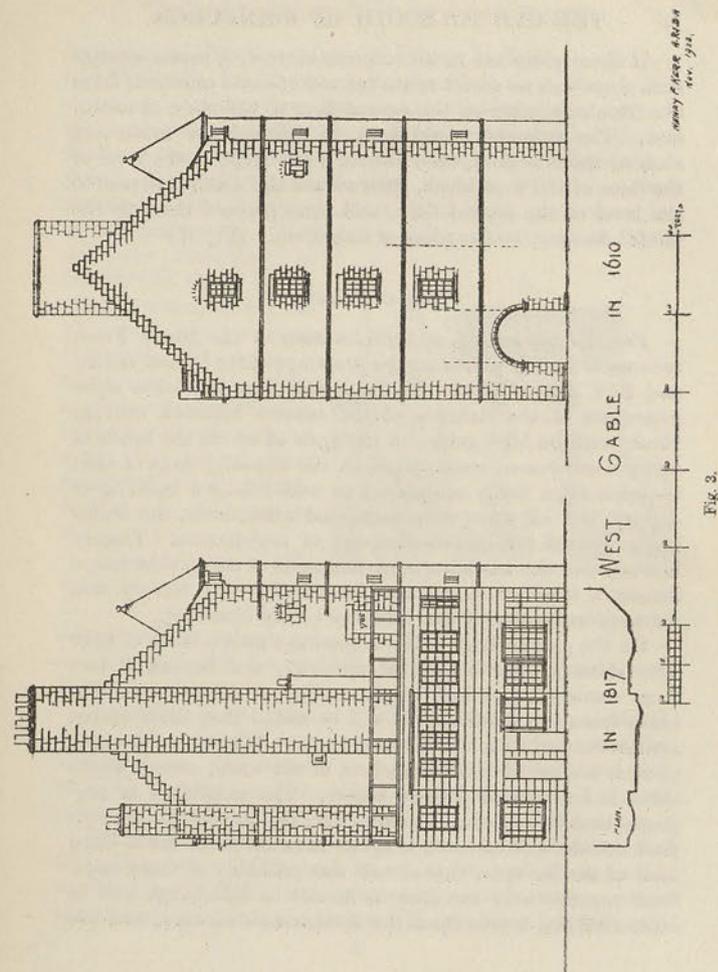


Fig. 2.—Precincts of Tolbooth, chiefly made from large-scale plan in Sir D. Wilson's Scrap Book.

front of the houses to the Tolbooth is 34 feet. So that although traffic might dictate the removal of the Luckenbooths, which were of minor importance, there was no reason on this account to demolish so ancient and interesting a building as the Old Tolbooth.

With the aid of existing plans, prints, and drawings, it is possible to realise the appearance of the old building in its best days. In a report by Robert Reid, Architect, in 1808, the dimensions of the various rooms are given. In Chambers's *Reekiana* (1833) plans of the first and second floors are given, and, as these agree with the measurements in Reid's report, they may be taken as accurate. On the first floor of the eastern block, approached by a spiral stair at the south-east angle, there is a goodly Hall, 27 feet by 20, and 12 feet high, which was doubtless the Hall of Parliaments. (Fig. 2.) In the adjoining western block, the floor of which was a few feet higher, there were three apartments approached from the eastern block, or by a separate spiral stair on the south front.

On the second floor in the east block there is another Hall, which was latterly demeaned by usage as a felon's chamber. There stood a great iron cage to enclose the more desperate criminals. In the west block four apartments are shown. At the south-west angle is a doorway through the west gable opening on to the roof of the western annex. A Council Minute of 18th August 1784 reads: 'Upon a motion in Council they remit to Convener Jameson, Deacon Hill, and Deacon Brodie, to inspect the west wall of the Tolbooth, and consider in what manner a door or passage may be made through the same in order that criminals may be executed there, and to report.' In April 1785 the Council approved the plan and 'declared the west end of the Tolbooth to be the common place of execution now and in all time coming.' The work was carried out by Convener Jameson and Deacon Hill, and their colleague in the report, Deacon Brodie, was one of the first criminals to pass through this doorway for execution.



If these plans are in all respects correct, it seems strange that there was no direct route for unfortunate criminals from the felon's chamber on the second floor to the place of execution. The prisoner would have to descend the south-east stair to the first floor, then ascend a few steps to the level of the floor of the west block, then mount the south staircase to the level of the second floor, and then proceed through the fateful doorway to the place of execution. (Fig. 3.)

NORTH FRONT

For the setting up of the elevation of the North Front reliance is mainly placed on the drawings of Sir Daniel Wilson and Rev. James Sime. In the latter (Fig. 4) we see some indication of the richness of the eastern fifteenth century block, with its high gable, on the apex of which the heads of many worthy men were spiked in the uncanny days of old; the niches are richly sculptured as would befit a building of dignity, but all these were mutilated when, later, the building was used for the confinement of malefactors. Tracery had adorned the windows, some remnants of which were found among a heap of stones at Abbotsford; this tracery was removed and some of the windows partly closed up.

On the ground floor of the adjoining western block of 1610 date there is a round-headed doorway, and beyond it two large semicircled arched windows (Fig. 4) set at some distance from one another. It will be noted that these arches are **not** centred with the windows above. There is no example of such arched windows elsewhere in the town, except where there is an arcaded ground storey. The possibility is suggested that these arched windows were two arches of a ground-floor arcade, and as there is space between them for a third arch of similar span this arcade was probably of three bays. Such arcades were common in houses in Edinburgh and in other Scottish towns from the seventeenth century, and are

frequent in tolbooths or market houses in England, France, and Holland. In Edinburgh, in the West Bow, there were several arcades of various dates; and until a few years ago there was a three-arched example in the Kirkgate, Leith. Under the large tenement at Warriston Close there was a five-arched arcade, the eastern arch of which was removed only a few years ago. In other towns, notably in Elgin, good examples of this feature are still extant; and in Edinburgh we have still one remaining in Gladstone's Land, Lawnmarket, where behind the glass of a modern shop-front can be seen a two-arched arcade. The capitals of the columns have been mostly chipped away, but though thus mutilated, the ground-floor arcade still supports the high tenement.

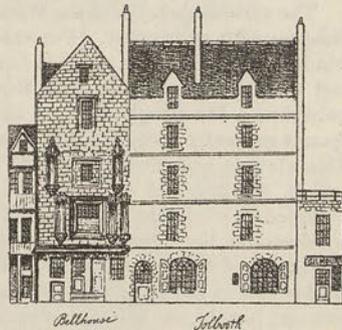


Fig. 4.—Sime's Elevation of North Front.

A continuation of this tradition is to be observed in most of the Heriot School buildings throughout the city, such, for example, as Rose Street, Cowgate, and Broughton Street.

Founding on the plans of Chambers, the measurements of Reid, and a careful examination of the various views by Wilson, Sime, and others, it is possible to reproduce the probable appearance of the entire north front of the Tolbooth in its palmy days. (Fig. 5.)

The eastern portion consists of the narrow block of the fifteenth century (1430), with its ashlar front, richly traceried windows to its Halls, and elaborately carved niches; while the western portion is the plainer 'Wairde Hous' of the early

seventeenth century (1610), supported on a strong arcade, and three simple storeys and attics above.

The two-storey annex at the west end of the building was built of ashlar in 1678. The record is that it was erected on 'the site of the wooden booths' which were put up after the 'Wairde Hous' was built.¹

WEST FRONT

The various sketches of the West Front in many particulars disagree with each other. For example, even the number of windows from north to south is five in Nasmyth, six in Sime, and seven in Wilson. In 1852 Messrs. W. & A. K. Johnston published a lithograph showing the west front which corresponds generally with Sime and in some respects with Wilson. This view is reproduced in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh* (vol. i. p. 129), and indicates the ashlar walls; it may be accepted as a reliable impression of this front. Some wooden windows on the ground floor are circled on plan; several specimens of this type exist in Edinburgh to this day. The timber rail to the place of execution is also shown. The two chimney stacks on this gable are, of course, of 1678, being built to serve the booths in the annex. (Fig. 3.)

What the design of the west gable was in 1610 must be conjectural. If, however, the position of the chimneys is

¹ In the endeavour to make elevations of the buildings which were removed in 1817, the following prints and drawings have been of great service:— (1) A View from the north-east, by Daniel Wilson. (2) Elevations by Rev. James Sime. (Fig. 4.) These are given in Mr. Peter Miller's Paper in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vol. xx. (3) Drawings from a model of this district, made evidently under the supervision of Mr. Sime, in Sir Daniel Wilson's Scrap Book. (4) A View by Nasmyth of the south-west appearance. This is more picturesque than accurate. No other sketch shows the roof of the west block to have ridges at two levels. (5) A View from the south-west, by Sir Daniel Wilson. (6) Two South Views, one at least by William Donaldson in 1816. (7) A model of the Old Tolbooth in the City Museum. (8) Report by Robert Reid, in Robert Miller's *Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*. (9) Plans in Chambers's *Reekiana*. (10) Odd Sketches in portfolios in Soc. Ant. Library, by Parker, Gibson, Sommerville, and others.

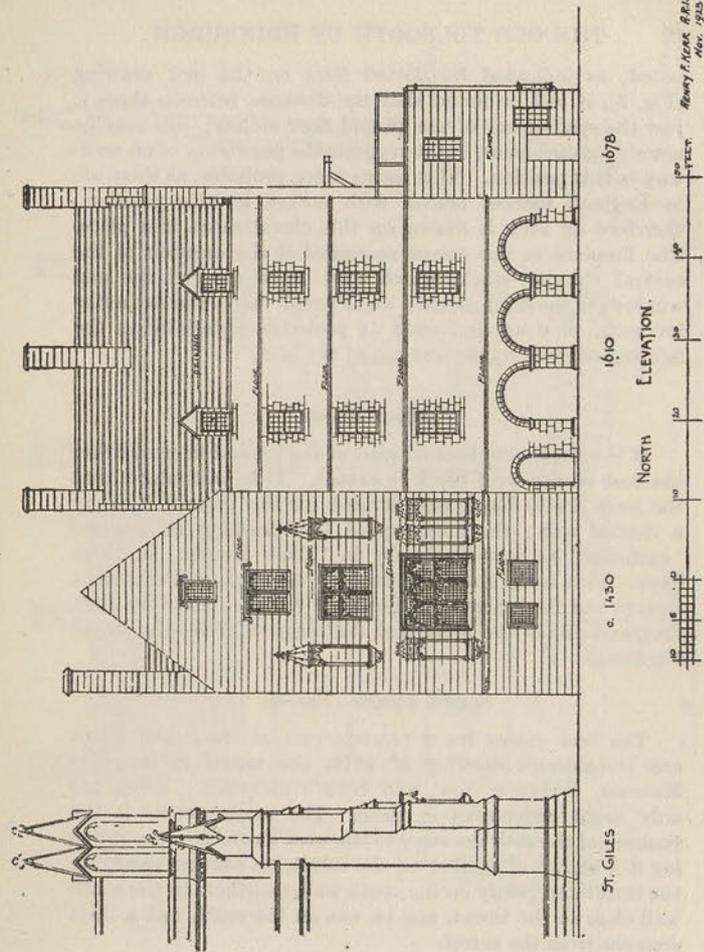


Fig. 5.—Restoration of North Front from Various Sources.

noted, as indicated by dotted lines on the new drawing (Fig. 3), it will be found that the distance between them is just the span of one of the ground floor arches; this may be merely a coincidence, but it suggests the possibility of an archway in this position. This seems more probable, as there are in England market houses with arches in this position; therefore an arch is drawn on this elevation at this place. The fireplace in the annex necessitated the erection of the central chimney-stack, which may have covered the end windows of the front rooms; so, although there is no authority for such, they are indicated as probable, especially as the lighting of these rooms was not of the best.

GROUND FLOOR

It is unfortunate that no plan of the ground floor of either the east or the west block is extant. It is understood that the west (1610) block was divided on the ground floor by a central wall; the north space thus forming an arcaded 'exchange,' as was customary in 'Town Houses' in these days. This feature was repeated in the angle of Parliament Square and High Street at the Cross (removed after the 1824 fire), and also in the Municipal Buildings of 1753—the Royal Exchange.

SOUTH FRONT (FIG. 6)

The best guides for a reproduction of the South Front are Donaldson's drawing of 1816, the model in the City Museum, Wilson's view, and Sime's elevation. There are only slight differences in these. The most serious is the position of the stair doorway to the west block. On one drawing it is shown altogether on the turret, on another partly on the turret and partly on the south wall, on others on the south wall close to the turret, and on one on the south wall a little distance from the turret.

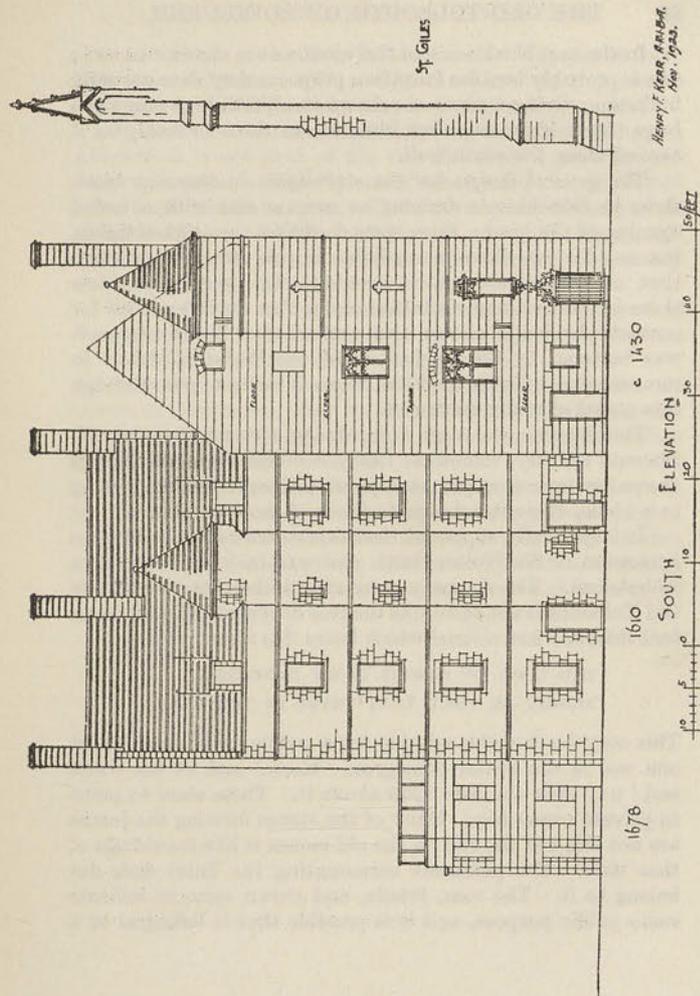


Fig. 6.—Restoration of South Front from Various Sources.

In the east block some of the windows are shown as small ; this is probably because for prison purposes they were partially built up. String-courses are shown in all drawings round the large turret staircase ; but Sime shows these brokenly as if carried along the south wall.

The general design for the stair-lights in the east block show in Donaldson's drawing as narrow slits with a trefoil opening in the head ; these were doubtless the original lights, but as all views show many lights in this stair, it is certain that some were afterwards inserted. In Donaldson's view there is the best representation of the fine doorway, used for centuries by kings, nobles, and counsellors ; in later times it was battered by the ringleaders of the Porteous Mob. In romance the unfortunate Effie Deans is made to pass through this portal of many memories.

This historic doorway is in design characteristic of the fifteenth century, somewhat richly moulded and shafted, and above the caps a cusped arch panel with an ogee label, rising to a niche, of similar design to those of the north front.

It is generally supposed that this doorway came into the possession of Sir Walter Scott, and was built into a wall at Abbotsford. The doorway pointed out there as that of the Old Tolbooth is not at all like the real doorway. The Abbotsford doorway has a lintel which bears this inscription :—

THE LORD OF ARMEIS IS MY PROTECTOR
BLISSIT AR THAY THAT TRVST IN THE LORD

This may be thought suitable for a public building ; but at one end is the initial monogram 'MACB,' and at the other end 'UA' with the date 1575 above it. These seem to point to private ownership. Many of the stones forming the jambs are not old, but the roll on the old stones is like mouldings of that date. The pediment surmounting the lintel does not belong to it. The rose, thistle, and crown seem to indicate some public purpose, and it is possible that it belonged to a

door or window of the New Tolbooth, which appears to have been erected between 1561 and 1575. The sculpture on this pediment is spirited and pleasant in design and execution.

No doubt the best reason for knowing that this doorway at Abbotsford is not that of the Old Tolbooth is that the old doorway was on a circled planned turret, and therefore must have been circled on plan. The doorway at Abbotsford is straight on plan. Further, neither the jambs, the lintels, nor the work above them have any resemblance to the old doorway as shown in any drawing.

It may be that as fragments of tracery have been found in the heap of Old Tolbooth stones at Abbotsford, so some stones of the real old doorway may lie buried there.

As to the timber door, it is quite possible that the one shown at Abbotsford may be that of the Old Tolbooth with its great locks and bolts, although the surrounding stonework is not that of the Old Tolbooth.

The year 1817 saw the last of the Old Tolbooth ; but from the researches of antiquaries we know its site and its history ; and from certain old documents, drawings, prints, and models can build up elevations giving a fairly reliable indication of the outside appearance of this interesting municipal building of the olden time.

HENRY F. KERR.

THE CANONGATE CRAFTS: AN AGREEMENT OF 1610

THE political history of Scotland abounds in the picturesque and the dramatic, but the long annals of wars without and strife within are not the whole of the story. A study of the social and economic conditions through the centuries will adjust the balance and show that Scotland was not the uncouth and backward country which we might otherwise believe. On the contrary, there can be traced the evolution of a sturdy and energetic middle class whose development is largely the story of the Scottish burghs, and of the craft organisations therein.

From early times it had been the policy of the Crown to encourage the towns, not only as an offset to the territorial power of the feudal magnates, but also as the centres of trade within their own area. This was done by granting charters in favour of burghs, most of which had, however, previously existed as organised communities. The burghs thus incorporated were of three types: royal burghs, and burghs of regality and barony; the powers of all of them being founded upon their powers of self-government and privileges of trade. Royal burghs had exclusive right of foreign trade, while all burghs enjoyed a certain monopoly of local trade within a delimited territorial area, save for such modifications as might be introduced by the grant of a market.

At first all the privileges of a burgh were conferred upon the burgesses in general, but with the advance of a more complex civilisation, entailing a division of labour, the merchants became differentiated as a class, economically and

socially superior to the handicraftsmen. A conflict was therefore bound to arise when the artisans sought, first to vindicate their right of self-government within their own ranks, and then to secure a place on the town councils and a share in trade.

The earliest craft associations were of a voluntary character, prompted partly by economic and partly by religious considerations, but with the passing of time the importance of the economic aspect came more and more to predominate.¹ They began to make rules for their own trade, and to compel all handicraftsmen to join their associations. In 1424, when they were granted statutory authority to elect their own 'Dekyn or Maister-man,'² their organisation was obviously already well developed, although not till 1556 did the Government finally recognise this right of self-government.³

The municipal authorities, however, had been forced at an earlier date to define the place of the crafts within the burgh. From the fifteenth century onwards, this was done by granting, or confirming, Seals of Cause incorporating individual trades by charter, and thus transforming them from voluntary associations into official bodies playing a definite part in the economy of the town. Between the Town Councils and the Trades thus incorporated, friction arose over the claim of the latter to exercise merchandise and to have a share in municipal government. In both aspects this was a local controversy, which resulted, about the end of the sixteenth century, in the victory of the craftsmen.

During this long struggle for power the Incorporated Trades had come to realise that, locally at any rate, unity is strength. They therefore began to make alliances among themselves, although these were in the nature of a con-

¹ W. Angus, 'Skinners of Edinburgh,' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vi. 15, 16. See also Ashley, *Economic History*, I. chap. ii.; II. chap. ii. Gross, *Merchant Guild*, i. Appendix D.

² *Acts of Parliament*, ii. 8, c. 17.

³ *Register of Great Seal*, 1546-80, No. 1054. E. Bain, *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, 329-30.

federacy rather than an amalgamation like that of associated crafts in England. Each trade retained its old organisation, but a new authority was superimposed to deal with larger issues. This was the Convener Court, or Convenery, of the associated incorporations, meeting under the presidency of the Deacon Convener. Although these tended on the whole to be mere consultative bodies, yet they signified a larger conception of the economic unit. At the same time, however, they implied that the individual crafts would remain purely local associations: there would be no national federation of crafts.

An interesting illustration of this characteristic stage of economic development is afforded by the Agreement between the four Incorporated Trades of the Canongate solemnly drawn up and signed on 14th February 1610. The contracting crafts were the Hammermen, the Tailors, the Baxters, and the Cordiners 'within the burgh of the Cannogait and regalitie of Brochtoun.' If their representatives, the deacons and master freemen, were not burgesses of a royal burgh, their town was at least of high antiquity, while the very inferiority of its legal status adds a peculiar interest to the Agreement. The fact that this was a contract between the artisans of a Regality shows that the craft organisations played an equally important part in the economy of all types of burghs.

In the Canongate, however, two distinct forces were operating concurrently. The Agreement affords testimony that the tendency towards mutual help and alliance was at work here as in all other Scottish towns. At the same time the burgh, as such, was going through a period of transition in the matter of the superiority. It had been originally erected by David I. in favour of the canons of Holyrood, while at the same time Broughton was included in the patrimony of the Abbey.¹ This was probably a mark of special

¹ *Charters of Edinburgh*, i. 5-7; *Charters of Holyrood*, i., National MSS. of Scotland.

esteem, for it was unusual to establish two burghs in such close proximity as the Canongate and Edinburgh. The lesser light was bound to be overshadowed by the greater, but, on the other hand, it is going too far to assert, without reservations, that the former 'was unable to maintain its independence against its powerful neighbour.'¹ This Agreement of 1610 is in itself evidence that in the days of the craft system the smaller community had a well-organised and progressive economy of its own,² while the *Edinburgh Burgh Records* show that it was strong enough to be a thorn in the side of its greater rival.³

Civic burdens fell less heavily upon the burgesses of the Regality, while its situation made it a happy asylum for its discontented neighbours who chafed under 'the jurisdiction of frie burghs.'⁴ Again, the controversy anent municipal government which had long disturbed the peace of Edinburgh does not seem to have emerged at all as a vital question in the Canongate where, in terms of the burgh sett, the Deacons of Trades had a place upon the Council from an early period.⁵ On the other hand, however, it was legally of an inferior status, while the departure of the Court after 1603 was bound further to affect the fortunes of the town.

After the Reformation the superiority of the burgh passed from the Church into the family of Bellenden, although it was found, in 1620, that as a free Regality, 'the property and jurisdiction thereof properly pertains to the inhabitants

¹ Cosmo Innes, *Ancient Burgh Laws*, 1124-1424, xliii.

² Eight crafts were ultimately incorporated in the Canongate; the other trades, besides the four represented in the Agreement, were the Wrights, Weavers, Fleshers, and Barbers.

³ Edinburgh, for example, had carried on protracted litigation against Leith and the Canongate in which a decret was finally delivered in favour of the plaintiff on 18th January 1576-7. *Edinburgh Records*, iii. 57.

⁴ *Edinburgh Burgh Records*, iv. 374. W. Angus, 'Skinners of Edinburgh,' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vi. 26.

⁵ *Municipal Corporations Report* (1835), i. 323. J. Mackay, *History of the Canongate*, 15. 'Register of Burgh of Canongate,' *Maitland Club Miscell.*, ii. 302, 329.

therof, and na uthers.'¹ A study of the Agreement will show that the burgess-craftsmen, at least, had a mind to manage their own property and to exercise their powers of jurisdiction.

Such eminently practical motives were obviously among the 'diuers guid caussis and consideratiounes' that moved the four Incorporated Trades to draw up their Agreement by unanimous consent. Among the contracting crafts the Hammermen take precedence, and are represented by their Deacon and nineteen master freemen, including a pistolmaker, a goldsmith, a pewterer, a cutler, an armourer, and a blacksmith. This catalogue of industries indicates, however, not an amalgamation between associated trades as in England, but rather that the differentiation of industries had not been fully developed in the Canongate. If the units had been larger, the younger trades would have tended to hive off as separate incorporations, as the Goldsmiths had broken away from the Hammersmiths in Edinburgh. Next in order came the Tailors, probably one of the earliest trades to be organised in the Canongate under a Seal of Cause. They appear in 1554 as an Incorporation,² and in the Agreement of 1610 they are represented in equal numbers with the Hammermen. The Baxters had fewer representatives, and were possibly less powerful. They were not economically independent, inasmuch as they were thirled to the Canonmills, 'to have their corn ground thairat.'³ Last on the list are the Cordiners, who had been incorporated for more than fifty years, and possessed considerable property in the burgh. They were evidently a sturdy and enterprising body—the object of the resentment and 'molestatioune' of their Edinburgh neighbours in 1569.⁴

Whatever the order of their precedence, the four trades here specified met together in February 1610 upon an equal footing for the transaction of important business, the result

¹ *Municipal Corporations Report* (1835), i. 324. J. Mackay, *Barony of Broughton*, 47.

² J. Mackay, *History of the Canongate*, 93.

³ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

of which is embodied in their Agreement. They solemnly contracted for themselves and 'for the hail remanent memberis and bodie' of their respective trades not only to confirm their ancient craft ordinances, but also to maintain 'ane mutuall band of amitie luif and bretherheid' among themselves 'perpetualie in all tyme cuming.' This being, as they were well aware, the difficult but important point, they accordingly promulgated statutes 'to be unviolablie observit and keipit . . . as we sall ansuer to God and als under the pane of perjurie, infamie and defamatioun for ever.'

The first ordinance, anent the office of Deacon Convener, is circumstantial, and for that very reason of peculiar interest. It was ordained that that official should be elected yearly, and should be drawn from the ranks of each craft in rotation by the unanimous consent of the four contracting parties. At sight this has the appearance of popular election, but we have no evidence that in practice it was really so. Although all the members had a voice in the appointment, yet their powers of selection were possibly circumscribed. In any case, the important point was not the manner of election of the Deacon Convener, but the powers and functions of his office. He was to exercise jurisdiction in all ordinary civil causes affecting the contracting bodies as craftsmen. Theft and crimes of violence were, however, specially excluded from his competence. For the rest, he was invested with all the immunities and powers of 'ony uther deykin convenar . . . within this realme.' This last clause is interesting, for if the position of the Deacon Convener of the Canongate Convener was to be on a level with that of all other Deacon Conveners, then it may be argued that the institution of the office and mode of election in other instances proceeded as a rule on similar lines.

The second item of the Agreement also emphasises the 'strong family likeness'¹ of the Scottish crafts. The respective spheres of the Deacon Convener and of the individual

¹ Bain, *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, 27.

Deacons of Trades are sharply defined. Each Incorporation was to elect its own Deacon annually, while at the same time another master, a man of substance, was to be chosen by popular vote, to be associated with him in exercising jurisdiction 'in all actiounes and caussis concerning his craft.' One or two years was the usual term of office for a Deacon, and it was customary for a board of masters to be associated with him. It is noteworthy that here, again, the election is nominally by popular suffrage, yet the qualification necessary for the office seems opposed to modern democratic ideals. The stipulation that the assistant was to be a 'man of qualitie' may have been designed as a possible precaution against corruption, though it is more probably an indication that the crafts, like Town Councils and Parliament, were oligarchic institutions in which individual worth was calculated in terms of material wealth. Further, the jurisdiction of the Deacon and master freemen is definitely limited to internal disputes, and it is evident from the ensuing ordinances that their authority was not invariably accepted without question.

If the craftsmen of the same trade were not always in agreement, then it is scarcely surprising, though it may have been 'hevalie regraittit,' that the separate Incorporations 'concurris not togidder sa convenientlie . . . as neid requyres.' The aim of the third item was accordingly to promote more harmonious relations between them. In the case of litigation involving the different crafts, either corporately or individually, the only competent Court was to be that of the four Deacons and the four masters, whose sentence had to be unanimous and was also final. Any party summoning the aid of the municipal government was liable to a fine of £5 to the use of the Deacon Convener, who had power to poind and distrain therefor, and was thus presumably, as in other towns, the president or chairman of the Convener Court. In this statute, then, we have an interesting indication of the extent and the limitations of the autonomy of the

Incorporated Trades. At sight they would appear to be independent units within the state, but this was only in their own internal affairs, while their executive powers were limited to the imposition of fines. In the case of a conflict with the Town Council they had to give way before the higher authority of the magistrates. Moreover, it is clear that the Convenery was created by the crafts to suit their own convenience, and that in the eyes of the law it existed only on sufferance.

The fourth article of the Agreement is an extension of the preceding statute. The Convener Court was invested with the powers of a court of appeal from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Deacon and master of any of the crafts. As before, the penalty for defaulters was a fine of £5 to the use of the Deacon Convener. But the Incorporated Trades were not content with a well-organised system for the redress of grievances; other objects of a miscellaneous nature also came under their consideration.

Thus the fifth article of their contract touches the social side of craft activities. Each member was bound upon lawful summons, and under pain of ten shillings, to attend the funerals of brother craftsmen, their wives, children, or apprentices. This was a survival of an ancient practice dating from the earliest days of the crafts as voluntary institutions. The 'attendance of members at the obsequies of the brethern' was one of the chief 'spiritual benefits' which led to the evolution of the Guild¹; and it retained its importance long after the craftsmen had ceased to support their altar in the Parish Church, and to play their part in religious pageants. Indeed, it has persisted in altered circumstances to our own day.

Of even greater interest is the sixth article of the Agreement, which forbade under pain of £10 that any craftsman should dispossess another of the 'hous or buith quhairin he duellis or workis.' That this was a rankling grievance we

¹ Ashley, *Economic History*, ii. 137, 138.

gather not only from the amount of the penalty, but also from the injunction that it was to be levied 'with all rigour.' Perhaps the influx of discontented artisans from Edinburgh had wrought a social revolution in the town of their adoption. It would give rise to a class of unpropertied freemen; the result would be competition in which one craftsman might easily buy the property of another 'over his heid.' This ordinance, then, seems to reflect a special aspect of the long struggle of the crafts against the spirit of competition. With regard to detail, it may be observed that the phrase 'hous or buith' has reference to a single unit, for the craftsman's booth was a stall thrown out from his house upon the main street. Here, at times other than market days, he plied his calling and disposed of his wares.¹ The craftsmen of the Canongate would not be blind to the advantages of a convenient trading site, and if they had facilities to dispossess their neighbours, we can well understand the need for this enactment against evictions. It is doubtful, however, if the bonds of fraternity would be strong enough to endure the strain of competition and self-interest.

If, however, the establishment of a Convenery points to a spirit of co-operation, the latter part of the Agreement testifies to a feeling of craft-consciousness. For example, their final resolution was that each trade should keep a register of 'thair awin statutis and ordinances.' Here, again, a local statute affords an interesting sign of the times, inasmuch as there was a general tendency at this period for all organisations to keep fuller and more adequate minutes of their proceedings.² This is a sign of economic as well as of educational development, because no great need was felt for a scribe until comparatively complex conditions had emerged. The brevity of early records points to the awkwardness of

¹ D. Murray, *Early Burgh Organisation*, 300-2.

² For example, the Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs date from 1597; of the Trades House of Glasgow, from 1605.

the clerk, whose notes became more copious as he became more proficient.

The conclusion of the Agreement is characteristic of the mingling of the opposing ideas of brotherhood and exclusive privilege. Although, on the one hand, the officials of each craft were pledged to be gratuitously at the service of any other of the contracting parties, while the signatories further guaranteed 'to observe, obey, keip and fulfill' their contract 'in all pointis,' yet, on the other hand, this new Agreement was in no way to be derogatory to the craft statutes of the individual trades, nor to infringe their several rights and privileges.¹

It remained, finally, for the representatives of the four callings to append their signatures to their 'mutuall band of bretherheid amitie and concurrance.' In this connection it is noteworthy that many of them signed with their hands led at the pen because they could not write themselves. Only one Deacon, James Symsoun of the Baxters, signed unaided. Among the Hammermen seven were illiterate, eleven signed, while the names of Peter Lytiljon and Thomas Jardene, although appearing among the representatives of their craft, are wanting from the list of signatories. The Tailors were even more unlettered: out of twenty representatives, only five signed with their own hand. Among the representatives of the Bakers, the Deacon and eight others subscribed in person, three by means of the notary, and Williame Malloche not at all. The Shoemakers are in striking contrast to the other contracting bodies, the signatories being more numerous than the number of representatives named in the preamble. Seventeen appear instead of the original thirteen, while six other names, apparently of Cordiners, are appended at the end and attested by a separate notary.

¹ They were still in possession of their exclusive privileges in 1834, although these had ceased to be of much practical importance (*Municipal Corporations Report*, i. 328).

Whatever significance attaches to these facts, however, it does not affect the question of the literacy of the craftsmen. Although it would be hazardous to dogmatise on the superior education of any one trade, yet it is evident that learning was not essential for the tenure of high office. With all their deficiencies, however, the craftsmen of the Canongate could probably hold their own with any similar organisations in the country. It is significant, for example, that when the Decreet Arbitral of Edinburgh was drawn up in 1583, and the Common Indenture of Aberdeen in 1587, in neither case could any of the craft representatives sign with his own hand.¹ Perhaps, therefore, the number of personal signatures in 1610 testifies to the advance of education in the generation after 1587.

Be that as it may, when the craftsmen of the Canongate met in solemn conclave to draw up their Agreement, they had little thought for the things of scholarship: all their energies were absorbed by more pressing and immediate problems. But if they were alive to their own interests, they were not blind to wider issues. They were following a general tendency of the times, but theirs was no slavish imitation. On the contrary, they brought initiative and enterprise to bear upon the solution of their own peculiar difficulties. Their Agreement, indeed, bears witness to the existence of that sturdy middle class which went far to preserve a sound core in the national life through all political upheavals. It is true that they lacked sufficient vision to see that the days of the craft economy were numbered. The tide of economic development made it impossible to bind their 'successouris perpetualie in all tyme cuming' to preserve inviolate the letter of their Agreement. On the other hand, it remains equally essential now, as then, to have 'alwayes God and guid conscience befor oure eyis' and to maintain a 'mutuall band of amitie luif and bretherheid.' Moreover, the very persistence of Deacons

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, iii. 364 b. Bain, *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, 336.

and Conveneries in our midst is itself an illustration of the continuity of our history. These considerations, then, give an interest and importance which justify the transcript of this illuminating and characteristic document.

ANNIE I. CAMERON.

THE AGREEMENT

Till all and sindrie quhome it effeiris to quhais knowledge thir presentis sall cum, Ws George Foular, present deykin of the calling of the Hammermen craft within the burgh of the Cannogait and regalitie of Brochtoun, Johnne Esplene, James Hairt, dagmaker, Johnne Smyth, Peter Lytiljon, Nicoll Wallace, James Hairt, goldsmyth, Johnne Foular, Williame Sibbitt, Robert Leirmonth, Robert Newlandis, Johnne Valenge, Thomas Jardene, Robert Quhyt, Johnne Drysdail, James Jonkene, Andro Blak, Thomas Glen, Johnne Gairdner and Patrik Hammiltoun, burgessis of the said burght of the Cannogait, maisteris and friemen of the said calling of the Hammermen craft, for oure selffis and takand the burding upone ws for the haill remanent memberis and bodie of the said calling of the Hammermen craft within the said burght and regalitie of Brochtoun foirsaid, Alexander Ogilvy, present deykin of the calling of the Tailzeour craft within the said burght of the Cannogait, Edmond Smyth, Gavine Young, Williame Tailzeour, Stevene Brysoun, David Ray, Johne Thomesone, Williame Gairdner, Williame Donaldsone, David Dewar, James McClellan, James Young, Henrie Scott, Williame Crystie, Johnne Muill, James Eviot, Johnne Fortoun, Johne Hanna, Abrahame Lokhart, and Alexander Gairdner, burgessis of the said burght of the Canogait, maisteris and friemen of the said calling of the Tailzeour craft within the samen, for oure selffis and takand the burding on ws for the haill remanent memberis and bodie of the said calling of the Tailzeour craft of the said burght and regalitie of Brochtoun

foirsaid, James Simsone, present deykin of the calling of the Baxter craft within the said burght of the Cannogait, Williame Scheves, Johnne Wylie, Alexander Walker, James Davidsone, Thomas Scheves, Williame Malloche, Johnne Ledingtoun (*sic*), Williame Stevene, Thomas Rippit, Williame Alschunder, Williame Seytoun and John Drysdail, burgessis of the said burght of the Cannogait, maisteris and friemen of the said calling of the Baxter craft within the said burght, for oure selffis and takand the burding on ws for the [haill] remanent memberis and bodie of the said calling of the Baxter craft within the said burght of the Cannogait and regalitie of Brochtoun foirsaid, Williame Arthoure, present deykin of the calling of the Cordiner craft within the said burght of the Cannogait, Cuthbert Pinkertoun, Johnne Greg, elder, Alexander Law, Williame Nicolson, Johnne Patersone, Thomas Birkmyr, Cristopher Home, Arthour Barrie, Thomas Lowrie, Alexander Monteyth, James Kyle and Johne Morisoun, burgessis of the said burght of the Cannogait, maisteris and friemen of the said calling of the Cordiner craft within the said burght for oure selffis and takand the burding on ws for the haill remanent memberis and bodie of the said calling of the Cordiner craft within the said burght of the Cannogait & regalitie of Brochtoun abon mentionat, calling to mynde the guid and lovabill actis, statutis and ordinances maid be oure ancient predicessouris of famous memorie concerning the weil and standing of oure particular callings and vocatiounes, and we, being nawayes willing to abrogat na guid act statute nor ordinance maid be thame of befor bot rather to corroborat effectuat and confirm the samen in all pointis to the aige and posteritie to cum, have not onlie authorizit and ratefeit and be the tennour heirof authorizes and ratefeis the samen lovabill actis and guid ordinances maid be oure saidis predicessouris of oure saidis four callings in ony tyme bigane, bot also we, for diuers guid caussis and consideratiounes moveing ws being now

haillelie convenit togeddir in full number and ha[ving] alwayes God and guid conscience befor oure eyis, all in ane voice but variance for confirmatioun of oure saidis predicessouris actis and for mantening of ane mutuall band of amitie luif and bretherheid amangis ws the bodeis of oure hail four callingis abonexpremit and oure successouris perpetualie in all tyme cuming, have thocht to mak, conclude and set doun thir particular actis and statutis amangis ws [in] maner and to the effect following, to be unviolablie observit and keipit be ws and oure saidis successouris perpetualie in all tyme heir-efter as we sall ansuer to God and als under the pane of perjurie, infamie and defamatioun for ever, of the quhilkis actis the tennour followis: In the first, we all in ane voice find it baith meit necessar and expedient and als we decerne and ordane that thair sall be ane deykin convenar of oure hail four callingis abonexpremit quha salbe chosin upone the day of zeirlie be the mutuall voitt and consent of the hail bodeis of [oure] saidis four callingis being altogidder convenit in full number, begynand the first zeiris electioun of the said deykin convenar at the craft of the Hammermen at the day abone writtin in this instant zeir of God i^mvⁱc and ten zeiris and sua furth zeirlie fra the Hammermen to the Tailzeours and fra the Tailzeours to the Baxteris and fra the Baxteris to the Cordineris successive ilk craft e[ft]er uth[er]is to have thair deykene convenar thair zeir about, quhilk deykin convenar, sua to be electit and chosin as said is, sall sit judge, decerne and cognosce in all actiones and caussis con[cerning]? and belanging to ws and oure hail four callingis abonementionat (bloode and thift being exceptit allenerlie quhilk sall nawayes be comprehendit heirintill) and the said deykin convenar sall use and exerce his said office siclyk and als frielie in all respectis as ony uth[er] deykin convenar dois within this realme: Secundlie, we statute, decerne and ordane for ma . . . and suppressieing of wrang amangis ws in all tyme cuming that sa soun as ane deykin

sall be chosin zeirlie of ilkane of oure saidis four callingis at the tym accustomat conforme to . . . sall be also at the same verie tyme electit and chosin be voitting of the hail number of the bretherene of ilk calling ane man of qualitie for ilk calling to sitt and judge with him . . . in all actiones and caussis concerning his craft and to give furth and pronounce thair sentence thairanent for mantenance of peax and concord and keiping of . . . amangis ws in all tyme heir-efter: Thridlie, forasmekill as it is hevalie regraittit amangis ws that we the hail four callingis abonewrittin concurris not togidder sa [con]venientlie in all oure honest publict actiones and conventionis as neid requyres and that ilkane of ws neglectis sum of oure deweteis to uth[er]is and declynis fra oure awin iurisdiction . . . ice of the libertie thairof, in consideration and remeid quhairof we all in ane voice, efter mature deliberatioun had heiranent, statute decerne and ordaine that gif ony ane of oure four callingis sall do wrang and iniurie to ane uth[er] or gif ony particular persone of ane craft sall do wrang and iniurie to ane other particular persone of ane uth[er] craft, that the [said] wrangis and iniuries in all tyme cuming salbe judgit and decydit be oure hail four deykins and thair four maisteris with thame sittand altogidder sua that thair sall be aucht in number to sitt and . . . the saidis wrangis and sall all in ane voice give furth the decreit therintill and quhatevir beis pronuncit be thame the saidis persewaris and defendaris sall be haldin to fulfill and obey the samen [in] all pointis sua that for summar justice heirintill it sall not be lesum to the saidis pairteis to complene to bailzeis or magistratis bot onlie to submit thameselfis in the saidis materis to thair awin four deykines and four maisteris quha sall be onlie judges compitent in the saidis wrangis; and gif ony of our number dois in the contrair of this act immediatl[ie] abonewrittin the pairtie sua failzeand salbe haldin to pay to the said deykin convenar and to his use the sowme of fyve pundis *toties quoties* and for pament therof to cause

poynde and distrenzie therfor : Feirdlie, in cais it sal happin ony actiounes, pleyis, questiounes, contrauerseis or debaittis to result and arryse amangis ony ane of our saidis four callingis ather prevatlie or publictlie [quhilk can neither be ?] amicable nor freindlie tane away amangis thame selfis be thair awin ordinar deykin and maisteris of thair awin craft, that the saidis pairteis sall be haldin to cum to thair awin four [deyki]nes and four maisteris thair to be judgeit be thame under the pane of fyve pundis to be payit be the contravenar *toties quoties* to the use of the said deykin convenar and his maisteris . . . he caus poynde and distrenzie thairfor : Fyftlie, we statute, decerne and ordane that fra this day furth quhen it salhappin at the pleasour of God that we or ony of ws our wyffis, bairnes and prenteissis allanerlie sall depairt this mortall lyfe that than efter dew and lauchfull warning we and the hail bodeis of ilkane of our saidis callingis sall cum to utheris buriallis with all solemneteis requisite and ilk persone frieman that is nottit absent at the saidis buriallis efter lauchfull warning as said is sall pay the sowme of ten schillingis *toties quoties* to his awin deykin and maisteris and thair caus poynde and distrenzie thairfor : Sextlie, for forder corroboratioun of ane mutuall luif amitie and brotherheid amangis ws and that we and our successouris sall th . . . air peceable and quietlie inhabite and posses our awin dwelling housis and buithis within this burght, it is statute and ordanit amangis ws the four particular callingis foirsaidis lykeas we bind and oblis ws our successouris foirsaidis to utheris that it sall nawayes be lesume nor lauchfull to ony particular brother of ony ane of our saidis callingis to tak ane uther particular brotheris hous or buith quhairin he duellis or workis over his heid without speciall licence, tollerance and consent of that brother duelling thairin first had and obtenit therto, and quha dois in the contrair amangis ws sall be haldin to pay to the said deykin convenar and his maisteris the sowme of ten pundis *toties quoties* and thair

to caus poynde and distrenzie therfor with all rigour : Lastlie, we all in ane voice but variance ordanis our saidis four deykines and thair saidis four maisteris to caus mak and perfyte ane fyn paper booke bund in parchement and to insert and registrat thairintill thair awin statutis and ordinances to be maid and sett down be thame and thair saidis successouris in all tyme cuming for the weil and standing of the bretherheid of our hail four callingis abonexpremit and to the hurt of no man as thair will answer to God at the gryt day of judgement : And to the effect that the actis abonewrittin sall ressaue full execution in all [pointis ?] we the saidis deykines and maisteris of the four callingis abonexpremit bind & oblis ws and our successouris to utheris to mak ilkane of our awin ordinar officiaris in all tyme [heir]after frie to utheris uses and adois without ony silver or guid deid to be ressauit be thame thairfor : Quhilkis actis statutis and ordinances abonewrittin we the hail deykines, maisteris, memberis and bretheren of the four callingis abonexpremit be the tennour heirof faithfullie bind and oblis ws and ilkane of ws be the faith and treuth in our bodeis, the halie evangell tuichit, to observe, obey, keip and fulfill the samen in all pointis lyke as we ordane our saidis successouris swa to do in all tymes cuming but ony appellatioun, reclamatioun or contradictione quhatsumever ; provyding alwayes that thir presentis sall nawayes be hurtfull nor prejudiciall to utheris anent ilkane of our awin previledgis and liberteis pertening and belanging to our severall callingis & vocationes bot that we and ilkane of ws sall assist fortiefe and concour with utheris in executioun of utheris our liberteis and previledges according to our lovabell use quhairof we and our saidis predicesouris hes bene in possession in all tyme bigane past memorie of man, keipand alwayes the substance and articles abonewrittin, sa help ws God : In Witnes of the quhilk thing we and ilkane of ws have subseryvit this our mutuall band of bretherheid amitie and concurrence with our handis at

the Cannogaitt the fourtene day of Februare the zeir of God
i^m vic and ten zeiris.

George Foulare, deykin of the Hammermen craft within
the burght of the Cannogait, Johnne Esplene, Nicoll
Wallace, Robert Newlandis, Johnne Smyth, Johnne
Drysdail and Patrik Hammiltoun, maisteris and
friemen of the said calling, with our handis at the pen
led be the noteris undersubscryveand at our commandis
becaus we cannot wreit our selffis.

De mandatis dictarum personarum scribere nescientium
ut asseruerunt, ego Jacobus Ramsay notarius publicus in
premissis subscribo.

Ita est Joannes Adamsone connotarius in premissis
requisitus testantibus meis signo et subscriptione manu-
alibus.

(Signed) James Hairtt, dag maker, with my hand ; James
Hartt, goldsmyth, with my hand ; Williame Sibbald,
pudrer, with my hand ; Thomas Glen, dag maker,
with my hand ; Robert Whyt, cowtiller, with my
hand ; Johnne Gairdner, with my hand ; Johnne Foullar,
airmorar, with my hand ; James Jonken, with my
hand ; Johnne Wallange, with my hand ; Andrew Blak,
blaksmyth, with my hand ; Robert Lermonth.

Alexander Ogilvy, deykin of the Tailzouris abonewrittin,
Edmond Smyth, Gavine Zoung, Stevene Brysoun,
David Rae, John Thomsone, James Zoung, Henrie
Scott, William Crystie, John Fortoun, John Hanna,
Abrahame Lokhart and Alexander Gairdner, maisteris
of the said calling with our handis at the pen led be
the noteris undersubscryveand at our command becaus
we cannot wreit our selffis.

De mandatis dictarum personarum scribere nescientium
ut asseruerunt, ego Jacobus Ramsay notarius publicus in
premissis subscribo.

Ita est Johannes Adamsone connotarius in premissis

requisitus testantibus meis signo et subscriptione manu-
alibus.

(Signed) Williame Donaldson, taillour ; W. Tailzour,
tailzour ; James Maclelland, tailzour ; Wm. Gairner,
tailzeour, with my hand ; Jhonne Muill, tylior, with
my hand.

(Signed) James Symson, deykin of the Baksteres ;
William Sceveis, with my hand ; Alexander Walker,
baxstar, with my hand ; Thomas Reidpeth, baxter,
with my hand ; James Davidstone, baxter, with my
hand ; Johnne Wylie, baxter, with my hand ; Johnne
Levingtone, bakster, with my hand ; William Alex-
ander, ba[x]ster, with my hand ; Thomas Scheveis,
with my hand.

De mandatis dictarum Willelmi Stevene, Joannis Drysdail
et Willelmi Seytoun, pistores prescripti, scribere nescientium
ut asseruerunt, ego Jacobus Ramsay notarius publicus in
premissis subscribo.

Ita est Johannes Adamsone connotarius in premissis
requisitus testantibus meis signo et subscriptione [manualibus].

Williame Arthour, deykin of the Cordiners abonewrittin,
Cuthbert Pinkertoun, John Craig, elder (*sic*), Alexander
Law, William Nicolsoun, John Patersone, Thomas
Birkmyres, Cristell Home, Thomas Lowrie, Alexander
Monteyth and John Morisoun abonewrittin maisteris
of the said craft with our handis at the pen led be
the noteris undersubscryveand at our commandis
becaus we cannot wreit our selffis.

De mandatis dictarum personarum scribere nescientium
ut asseruerunt, ego Jacobus Ramsay notarius publicus in
premissis subscribo.

Ita est Johannes Adamsone connotarius in premissis
requisitus testantibus meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.

(Signed) Arthour Barrie, cordoner, with my hand ; James
Kyll, cordeneir ; Charles Fortown, with my hand ;

Johnne Villsoune, with my hand ; Robert Brwce, with my hand ; Henrie Fethie, with my hand ;

Thomas Measone, David Thomsons, Archibald Pitcathlie, Alexander Blak, Johnne Meggot, Johnne Craig, younger with our handis at the pen led be the noter wnder-writtin at our command becaus we can not wryte.

Ita est Walterus Broun notarius publicus ad premissis requisitus.

MYLNE SQUARE¹

MYLNE SQUARE was designed and built between the years 1684 and 1688 by Robert Mylne of Balfargie, the king's Master Mason. The date of the Dean of Guild's warrant is 6th August 1684.

Prior to the erection of the Square all the houses on each side of the High Street were entered by narrow closes. Mylne conceived the idea of an open square. In furtherance of his design he took advantage of an old Act of the Scots Parliament anent ruinous houses in Royal Burghs. This Act authorised Town Councils, in the case of ground which had become waste, or tenements which had been destroyed by fire and were not rebuilt, to sell off the ground at a valuation, and to divide the purchase money amongst the former proprietors. The valuation of the old tenements and ground acquired by Mylne to form a Square is denominated as an 'Appreciation made by fifteen indifferent understanding persons.'

Mylne appears to have been proud of his project, and in certain documents signed by him, he announces his intention in rather exuberant language. He speaks of his intention to build 'A large structure and edifice which might not only

¹ This manuscript was prepared eleven years ago by the late Mr. Irvine A. Stirling, S.S.C. Though consisting merely of rough notes never intended for publication, it contains some fresh and interesting facts regarding Mylne Square, which was demolished on the reconstruction of North Bridge Street. The narrative, which is based on a perusal of title deeds and the Records of the old Dean of Guild Court, makes clear for the first time that Robert Mylne had not (as is generally supposed) acquired the whole of the ground on which the Square bearing his name was built. Some omissions have been found necessary, but the substance of the manuscript is here reproduced. With regard to the builder's name, the usual spelling has been followed.—Ed.

prove to the decorment of the good Town but to the great convenience and accommodation of his Majesty's Lieges therein and resorting thereto.' In another document he describes the property as 'that new stone tenement of land of square area lately built and erected by Robert Mylne of Balfarg, Mason of our Sovereign Lord the King, now and in all time coming to be called Mylne Square over against the Church commonly called the Tron Church.' The Square is described in a third document as 'ane fabrick, the front quherof of polished aisler work of competent thickness, and the back work nixt to the court of good roch meassone work of tuo fute and half fouts breadth.'

Mylne's scheme seems to have been successful, many of the houses being sold before completion. Amongst the purchasers were the following:—Archibald Sinclair, Advocate; George Mackenzie, Clerk to the Exchequer; George Drummond of Blair; Sir Robert Colt, Advocate; Laurence Oliphant, W.S.; James Erskine of Barjarg, one of the Senators of the College of Justice; the Earl of Northesk; Archibald Campbell of Succoth; Dame Catherine Skene; Lady Airdry, widow of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, etc. Mylne appears to have retained one of the houses in the Square for his own occupation.

The prices paid ran from 2700 merks (Scots) for a dwelling-house consisting of a dining-room, three bedrooms, closet and kitchen, to 5000 merks for a house on the first flat, consisting of an outer room, dining-room, four bedchambers, a closet, a garret, and two cellars. A Scots merk was a little over 1s. 1d. sterling, so that the price ranged from £140 to £300. As the properties were all held on free burgage tenure, the prices were moderate. A modern builder would have demanded not only a higher price, but would probably have added a feu-duty and ground annual as well. In this building project Mylne appears to have had a partner, as the contracts for the erection of the various houses were entered into in

joint names. The name of the partner was Andrew Paterson, described as Wright, Burgess of Edinburgh. Probably he did the joiner work.

The original design appears to have included a large platform on the top of the tenement, which would have commanded magnificent views, but garrets were ultimately substituted. The Square was looked upon as a fashionable quarter, and it is amusing to read in the Records of the Dean of Guild Court of the efforts of the aristocratic occupiers to have a cobbler (who had dared to set up his stall within the precincts of the Square) ejected therefrom.

In the old records of Mylne Square one comes across curious expressions, such as:—'The turnpike and scale stair,' 'The common shore,' and 'Tirlass the windows,' the last-mentioned being an order pronounced against some unfortunate wight who had transgressed the unwritten law of 'Gardez l'eau.' Mylne frequently refers to the fact that his houses entered from a 'scale stair,' *i.e.* a stair with square landings, as opposed to the turnpike or winding stair. The word 'shore' is the old form of sewer. The order 'to tirlass the windows' involved the fixing of a lattice outside covering the whole window. As this meant a great deal of extra work to the domestics, an application was generally made for its removal after the penalty had been endured a short time.

Although Robert Mylne designed the Square and acquired most of the ground on which the edifice (as he called it) was erected, he did not succeed in acquiring the whole of the ground on which the Square is built. The tenement forming the south-west corner of the Square belonged to Alexander Borthwick, who describes himself as a vintner and the owner of 'ane laigh tavern.' Mylne probably tried to buy Borthwick's property, so as to make his Square complete, but the latter, apparently, refused to sell, though he appears to have employed Mylne to build his tenement. Borthwick's property was entered by a handsome doorway in the south-west

corner of the Square. It bore the initials 'A. B.' and the date 1689. The tavern was approached by a short stairway of rounded steps. Borthwick's property contained the cellar in which a portion of the Commissioners signed the Act of Union of 1707.

When Mylne Square was originally completed, it covered a much larger area than existed previous to its final demolition. North Bridge Street was not then in existence, and an exit on the north side of the Square led steeply down to the Nor' Loch. Previous to 1765 the buildings below the Square to the north-east were demolished, and the Green Market was formed. The Flesh Market, lying to the west of the Green Market, had been in existence some years before. When North Bridge Street was formed, it occupied part of the Green Market. The width of the new thoroughfare was about 40 feet, though at the south end it was extremely narrow, as the east side of Mylne Square projected into it. In 1787 the Town Council acquired this portion of the property, which was partly taken down and rebuilt so as to give a uniform width to North Bridge Street. This accounted for the more modern appearance of the buildings that stood on the east side of the Square.

IRVINE A. STIRLING.

THE SCULPTURED STONES OF THE 'ROYAL MILE'

THERE can be few old trails of traffic and custom along which the prints of time, in the shape of sculptured stones, inscribed with dates, initials, heraldic devices, and pious mottoes, have been stamped more thickly than in the old Edinburgh High Street and Canongate—the 'Royal Mile' between the King's Castle and the King's Palace. They record, on door lintel or overmantel, on dormer or crow-step, the coming and the passing of the years and of former owners and occupiers; and, along with these, something of the ideas and habits, as well as of the language, of the age in which the inscriptions were carved; and they ought therefore to be of considerable value for purposes of history, and especially of local chronology and family genealogy.

Unfortunately the series is far from complete, and what of it remains is not always decipherable. The remarks that have been made in previous articles from the same pen on the *Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh* as to the destruction or removal of our ancient landmarks, are still more applicable to this 'spinal column' of the old city system than to the outer limbs and integuments with which those papers dealt. In preparing, in the fullest form that time and the materials allow, an Inventory of the Sculptured Stones of the central highway and its tributary closes, with a note of the inscriptions, and identification, as far as possible, of the individual possessors, one has constantly to lament the gaps in the record—the extrusion from their original places, or still worse, the total disappearance, of the 'brief chronicles' and 'sermons in stone' with which the citizens of former centuries were

wont to garnish, and, as one might say, to sanctify, their dwellings. In drawing up the list, it has been thought best to follow topographical lines, taking what was once almost the sole as well as the main thoroughfare of the Capital in short sections, first on the South and then on the North side, and making a half-way halt at the Tron Church, as a convenient division of the materials; while these, besides being numbered and prominently distinguished in the text, by capital letters, as Lintels, Panels, and the like, are marked as belonging to one or other of three classes, viz.: (1) those that retain their original positions in the buildings to which they belong; (2) those whose existence has been ascertained, but that have been moved to some later structure or other locality; and (3) stones, described or referred to in chronicles of the City, but of which trace has been lost.

These 'lost stones' form a large proportion of the Catalogue. No doubt fuller inquiry, which it may be hoped the publication of the list may provoke, might reveal the whereabouts of a number of them. On the other hand, there must be a number of Edinburgh carved stones, hidden, strayed, or stowed away in unlikely places, that have never as yet been put on record; and some of these may also be brought to light. Classification in accordance with date, style, or type seems impracticable, or at least unsatisfactory, owing to the incompleteness or uncertainty of the available data. A great part even of the Lintel stones are undated, and their period can only be roughly guessed at. The practice of carving over the threshold the year, along with the initials, and sometimes the arms or trade-mark, of the proprietor of the house and of his wife, accompanied by a scriptural motto or sage and pithy proverb, appears to have come to a head about the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century—in the reigns of James VI. and of his successor. It did not flourish much after the Revolution and the Treaty of Union, although it is not even yet extinct. But long before these

dates, the art embodied on dormers, lintels, and ridge-ends had begun to show signs of decadence; the earliest examples are among the best—the boldest in lettering, the most graceful in ornament, the most quaint and original in device.

It is easy to understand why, apart from ecclesiastical remains, so little in the form of architecture and architectural ornament has come down to us from the pre-Reformation period. The houses of the burgesses, as well as the castles of the nobles and the palaces of the princes, had to abide the brunt of national, civil, and religious wars. The strife was renewed in the middle of the following century, but, like the combatants, its spirit and methods had changed. It has been said that none of the Edinburgh houses survived Hertford's repeated attacks in 1544 and 1547; and with the houses gone, we naturally do not expect to find their carven adornments. This, however, seems an overstatement; there are Lintel inscriptions, and notably one in St. Mary Street, that antedate by several decades the English invasions and the Reformation struggle. The symbolism and other features of some of the stones—for instance, that from Gosford's Close, now in the National Museum of Antiquities—plainly mark them as of the age when Roman Catholic influence was dominant and unchallenged. Others, as for example the stone, assigned to the fourteenth century, illustrating the administration of Extreme Unction, discovered, face downward, in the foundations of a house in Mary King's Close, near the margin of the North Loch, and now also in the Queen Street collection, may have been purposely hidden away in time of peril.

We should perhaps be thankful that so much has survived the storms and, worse still, the neglect and the unenlightened zeal for improvement of past generations. We should be especially grateful to writers and artists like Robert Chambers, Daniel Wilson, and James Drummond, and, of later date, James Grant, Bruce Home, and Mrs. Stewart Smith, who interposed, with pen and with pencil, to note and preserve for



us the forms and contents of sculptured stones of which otherwise no memory would have survived. Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* must indeed remain the chief quarry from which the tabulator of the epigraphic records of the Old Town must dig his facts. It is unfortunate that the historians and antiquaries earlier than the authors of the *Traditions* and of the *Memorials* took so little account of the house inscriptions extant and legible in their day, and, in particular, those inscribed on buildings doomed to destruction. They were concerned with what they considered matters of greater moment; and despised the small change of archæological details which, when brought together, make up so goodly a sum of information. In this way, doubtless, much valuable and curious material for the construction of national and civic history has been irretrievably lost.

But even since Chambers and Wilson began note-taking, a number of interesting stones appear to have strayed out of bounds and disappeared from ken. The end of the eighteenth and the first half of last century, while it was a period when great changes were made on the Old Edinburgh streets and closes, was also an age of collecting rare and curious objects into private repositories. When, in course of time, the private collection was dispersed, the destinations of the items of which it was composed were not always or often traceable. We know something of the date of the stones which Mr. Walter Ross gathered about his Tower at the Dean; some of them, at least, found their way to Abbotsford. A number of the Old Town carvings in stone and wood brought together by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe were fortunately acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities, and most of them are identifiable in the Queen Street collection.

It has already been related, in previous articles, how the Nisbet stones from the Dean House and the Napier stones from Wright's Houses have been scattered, but are still discoverable, built into cemetery walls and mills on the Water of Leith,

above gateways in Fife, or in the gardens at Woodhouselee and elsewhere. The fragments of 'hoar antiquity' cleared from the front of St. Giles' Church, when it was subjected to renovation at the ruthless hands of Burn in 1829, are sprinkled over rockeries, or inserted into back walls in different parts of the city and its suburbs; and a row of its gargoyles adorn, not inappropriately, the terrace of the Stevenson cottage at Swanston. The antiquities of the Trinity College Church, which had to make way for the passage of the railway in 1848, have (with the exception of the apse and north transept, re-erected in Jeffrey Street) been dealt with as unceremoniously. Bosses, spandrils, and window arches and tracery, huddled together in a nursery at Canonmills, were rescued, after specimens had strayed to a back garden in Bruntsfield Place, and, joined by other examples of early fifteenth century architecture that had long been exposed to the weather and other destructive influences in the West Princes Street Gardens—including part of a tomb which may conceivably be that of the foundress, Mary, Queen of James II. of Scots—have found harbourage in Lady Stair's House. A number of ecclesiastical stones, of mediæval date and, one of them at least, curiously illustrative of mediæval art and humour, are mixed up with the remains of old greenhouses in the garden attached to Parsons Green House, and still await description and identification. A collection of stones, ecclesiastical and secular, in a laundry in Grange Loan, has been catalogued and figured in a previous volume of the Club; and something will be said of the fine inscribed lintels that, along with a stone bearing the city arms and supporters, and brought, it is said, from the Old College, are sheltered in the neighbouring 'Grange of St. Giles.' An attempt will also be made to unravel the origins and distinguish the features of some of the fragments inserted into the brick Tower, in Ramsay Lane, Portobello; and notice will be taken of the samples of William Little's mansion in the Lawnmarket that have been taken to The Inch, and of

stones that have wandered so far from the High Street as Strathmore and Glenshee.

But what of the hoard of Edinburgh antiquities which we read of as collected together in the nursery of Messrs. Eagle and Henderson, in Leith Walk? Where—except the figures of Justice and Mercy retrieved from a back garden in Drummond Place, and brought back to the Parliament House, to which they pertained—are the relics of the City's past collected by Adam Gib Ellis, W.S., grandson of the 'Pope' Gib who in the period of the 'Forty-Five delivered the law from the Secession pulpit in Bristo Street? What has become of the 'old carved stones and inscriptions, busts and grotesque figures gathered from ancient buildings,' which Mr. Baird, in his *Annals of Duddingston and Portobello*, says were collected in the garden of the house of that prince of antiquaries, David Laing, near the Esplanade of Portobello, and were 'carefully removed, and, it may be hoped—a vain hope—'will be preserved in one of our City museums'? Where are other booty from the past, industriously gathered and carefully preserved by 'Jonathan Oldbucks' of the time who took pleasure in the stones of Old Edinburgh? With the snows of yester year!

A liberal interpretation, it will be seen, has been given to the category of *Sculptured Stones*. It is made to embrace fragments of sculpture whose pedigree and original location can only be matter of speculation; and inscriptions are admitted that may be thought scarcely deserving of notice on the ground either of artistic or historic interest, or of age—although on this point a line has been drawn at the last of the Jacobite Rebellions. It seemed better to be generous in inclusion rather than run risk of missing anything valuable by exclusion.

I have to offer my special thanks, for help and guidance in going over my manuscript and proofs, to Mr. W. Forbes Gray; to Mr. F. J. Grant, of the Lyon Office, for instruction

and suggestion in the matter of the armorials; to Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, for lending me the MS. notes of his grandfather (the late Robert Chambers) on Edinburgh Sculptured Stones, and other aid; to Mr. F. M. Chrystal for his services in photographing; and to others, too numerous to mention, for assistance in various forms.

JOHN GEDDIE.

ABBREVIATIONS

- O.E.C.* *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club.*
S.A.S.P. *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*
M.O.E. *Wilson's Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time.*
 (Orig. ed., 1848).
T.E. *Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh.*
O.E. *James Drummond's Old Edinburgh.*
O.N.E. *Grant's Old and New Edinburgh.*
O.H.E. *Bruce Home's Old Houses in Edinburgh.*
H.S.B.E. *Mrs. Stewart Smith's Historic Stones and Stories of Bygone Edinburgh.*

CASTLE HILL : SOUTH SIDE

1. **Cannon-ball House.** On TYMPANUM (Class 1) of dormer-window overlooking Castle Wynd and facing Esplanade :

A.M. M.N.

1630

Described and illustrated in *O.E.C.*, vol. ii., pp. 117-119, by the late Mr. Bruce Home; also in *M.O.E.* vol. i., p. 138. Has survived three sieges of the Castle, 1650, 1689, 1745. The cannon shot fixed in gable is said to have been fired from the Half-moon Battery in the last-named year. The initials are those of Alexander Mure, tanner or skinner, and of his spouse, Margaret Neillans (Newlands), whose names are in the Protocol Book of 27th September of the previous year (1620).

2. **Do.** On LINTEL (Class 2) of doorway in Castle Hill, reached by flight of massive stone steps, with parapets :

NOSCE (TEIPSUM).

The second word of the motto ('Know Thyself') is much weathered and unreadable. Mouldings on windows and ridge-ends. The Lintel was originally above another doorway in the building, and was for some time in Lady Stair's House, before being placed in its present position.

3. **Gordon House.** OGEE ARCH (Class 2) of doorway to turnpike stair, forming main entrance of house, demolished c. 1890, and replaced by Castle Hill Public School :

A 'MARQUIS'S (?) CORONET,' with Deerhounds (?) as supporters.

The house is believed to have been occupied by George, fourth Marquis of Huntly, and first Duke of Gordon, while Governor of the Castle (1686-9). His widow, Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon (daughter of the sixth Duke of Norfolk), disposed of it to the Bairds of Newbyth, who occupied it during the greater part of the eighteenth century. Entrance was from Baird's,

afterwards Brown's, Court. Stone now over door in eastern wall of school, at lower end of Boswell's Court. Described and figured in original setting, *O.H.E.* (First Series); *M.O.E.*, p. 139 (where is mentioned 'an ancient fireplace in first floor, with Gothic pillars,' in the 'house that belonged to Patrick Edgar'). Sir Daniel Wilson thinks the supporters of the coronet, like those on the similar doorway of the Morton House in Blackfriars Street, are 'clearly intended for unicorns,' and that the style antedates the brief Gordon occupation, which seems to have terminated before 1694.

4. **Boswell's Court.** LINTEL (Class 1), on west side of court :

T.L. (on shield, with merchant's mark).

O · LORD · IN · THE · IS · AL · MI · TRAIT.

M.O.E., p. 140. Wilson reads the letters, on the left side of the shield, 'I.L.R.W.,' but, like those on the right side, they are now almost indecipherable. The front elevation is crowned by dormer windows, with ball and rosette finials. The Court appears to take its name from Dr. Boswell (the uncle of the biographer of Johnson), who resided here at the time of the 'Great Cham's' visit, and helped to entertain him, as did Dr. Webster, of the Old Tolbooth Church, who built, of 'stones taken out of the Nor' Loch,' a house at the bottom of the adjoining Brown's Court, which for twenty years was the headquarters of the Society of Antiquaries.

5. **Mowbray House, Castle Hill.** MONOGRAM (Class 3), on keystone of central window of second floor of tenement immediately east of Boswell's Court :

R.M.

the initials of Robert Mowbray of Castlewan (*M.O.E.*, p. 140). Eighteenth century proprietors subsequent to Mowbray (1740) were the Countess of Hyndford, the Earl of Dumfries and Stair, Lord Rockville (son of second Earl of Aberdeen and Lord of Session, 1784), and Henry, last Lord Holyroodhouse. In Mr. Boog Watson's *Notes on Names of Edinburgh Closets and Wynds* (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii.), and on Mr. H. F. Kerr's reconstructed *Map of Edinburgh in Mid-Eighteenth Century* (*O.E.C.*, vol. xi.), are

enumerated a dozen closes, between Boswell's Court and the West Bow, cleared away (as has been 'Mowbray House') to make room for the Assembly Hall, Johnston Terrace, and adjoining buildings. They included the 'Great Marquis of Argyll's House in the Castlehill,' mentioned by Creech (1793) as then in the occupation of a hosier, and other mansions of the nobility. Wilson figures the stone (p. 140).

6. **Kennedy's Close**, in what is said to have been the town house of the Earls of Cassillis.

NICHE, or PISCINA (Class 3), with ogee arch and gothic moulding, which appears to be that mentioned by Arnot as indicating a 'private oratory,' and may possibly be associated with the 'non-juring chapel' in this close.

7. **The Weighhouse, or Butter Tron**, at the lower end of Castle Hill (removed by Cromwell in 1650, for interfering with the 'shottes of the Castle,' rebuilt 1655, and finally demolished 1822 as an obstruction), was decorated (*M.O.E.*, p. 159) with

OGEE PEDIMENT, bearing the City arms, and the device of Three Tron Weights (Class 3).

CASTLE HILL : NORTH SIDE

8. **Ramsay House** (built by Allan Ramsay, 1740). There was discovered in 1754, in the garden, during the poet's occupancy (he died in 1758), a 'subterraneous chamber, 14 feet square,' containing, along with coins, candlesticks and other articles,

AN IMAGE, in white stone (Class 3), supposed to represent the Virgin Mary.

Grant, (*O.N.E.*, vol. i., p. 82), says that in excavating the Reservoir, several finely carved stones were found.

Ramsay Lane, generally believed to perpetuate the name of Allan Ramsay, may perhaps have an earlier derivation from the fact that the Ramsays of Dalhousie (the 'Lairds o' Cockpen') had their town residence, now represented by the 'Outlook Tower,' at the top of the alley, on the Castle Hill. Its sculptured



Lintel, Sempill's Close. See below.

ornaments, if it had any, have disappeared, although mention is made by Wilson of a defaced niche.

- 9 and 10. **Sempill's Close**. Two LINTELS, with inscriptions and devices :

PRAISED BE THE LORD MY GOD, MY STRENGTH, AND MY
REDEEMER, ANNO DOM. 1638

and

SEDES MANET OPTIMA COELO 1638

Each with device resembling an anchor, with the letter 'S,' perhaps a form of the well-known sacred symbol; and each having a hand with index finger pointing to the motto. The first inscription has to the left of it a SHIELD, described (Wilson) as bearing 'party per fesse, in chief 3 crescents, a mullet in base.' This resembles the Craig arms. The property was bought in 1743 by Hugh, twelfth Lord Sempill (who commanded the left wing of Cumberland's army at Culloden), from Thomas Brown and Patrick Manderston. It was sold in 1755 by his son John, thirteenth Lord Sempill, to Sir James Clerk of Penicuik, who disposed of it five years later to Mr. Williamson of Foxhall (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii.), so that the Sempill tenure appears to have been short, and throws no light on the arms and inscription. Immediately east of Sempill's Close was a house, conjectured to be that of the Chaplain of St. Nicholas' Altar, in St. Giles', having 'a wooden gallery and dormer window with ornamental stone recesses and sculptured sills.'

11. **Tod's and Blyth's Closes—The 'Guise Palace.'** Eastward, on ground now occupied by the United Free Church Assembly Hall and the New College, there interposed between Sempill's Close and Mylne's Court, in the Lawnmarket, until their demolition

in 1845 and later, a number of old closes, bearing the names of Jollie's, Tod's (earlier, Edward Hope's), Bailie Nairn's (or Bothwell's), Blyth's, and Sommervill's. Their gardens stretched down towards the marshes of the Nor' Loch and Tod's tanworks, 'replaced by the Earthen Mound.' At the foot of Blyth's Close (west side) was the building that came to be known as 'Mary of Guise's Palace,' although there is little precise historical data to support the claim that it was occupied by the Queen of James v. and Regent of Scotland during the minority of her daughter Mary. The spacious and lofty apartments (reached by a spiral stair); the embowed and ornate ceilings, decorated with fleur-de-lys and other devices, armorials, and initials; the painted panels and carved work (specimens of which, collected by C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, are preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities); the sculptured stonework, in lintels, mantel-pieces, and niches, attest, however, that it had been the residence of a family of taste as well as of rank and position; while the style, and the dates and arms recorded, although they do not otherwise bear out the claim of the building to its name, belong to the period assigned to it by tradition.

Among the inscriptions recorded by Wilson, are (on the panels of the ceilings of the so-called 'Queen's Dead Room,' in gothic letters), 'Ye Trubilis of ye Righteous,' and

"Gif yow wt. syn affleitit be,
Och yan say Chryst cum yow to me.
Swith ye way, walk yow thairin,
Embrace ye truth, abandon —"

—the 'missing word' being evidently 'syn.' Other mottoes accompanying designs in this and other parts of the building, were:—'Agere et pati fortia,' 'Ab insomni non custodita dragoni,' 'In utrumque paratus,' 'Caecus amor prolis,' 'Latet anguis in Herba,' and 'Magnum vectigal parsimonia.'

Over the entrance to Blyth's Close, in large iron letters, inserted above the windows of the second story, were the words,

LAUS DEO.

and between the second and first story windows,

R.M. 1591



Lintel, Sempill's Close. See p. 59.

The building, fronting the Castle Hill and the West Bow, which bore these initials, was taken down in 1845; it is figured by Wilson and Drummond (*M.O.E.*, p. 156; and *O.E.*, Plate 1); and Drummond says that the letters 'R.M.' were 'popularly supposed to mean "Regina Maria"'; and that the titles show that the property had been acquired in 1590 by Robert M'Naught, a wealthy Edinburgh burgess. Wilson records that, in the second story of the house, an arched ceiling was discovered, 'decorated with a series of ancient paintings on wood, of a very curious and interesting character,' one of which (in C. K. Sharpe's Collection), representing a group of musicians, was of the same design as one found on the demolition, in 1845, of the Dean mansion, which bore the date of 1614. A shield on a crowstep bore an open hand, and the initials of Robert M'Naught and of James Rynd, possessors in 1590 (Wilson).

12. Do. On LINTEL of main doorway of house in Blyth's Close (west side):

LAUS HONOR DEO.

'in bold gothic characters,' with I.R. at the respective ends of the Lintel (Class 3). A monogram of the Virgin Mary on a shield on the right side; the corresponding shield on the left (defaced) 'most probably bore the usual one of our Saviour,' and in the illustration given (*M.O.E.*, p. 134) there seems traced the letters 'S.R.' Wilson says the doorway still remained when he wrote (1848) (*M.O.E.*, p. 146).

13. Do. On LINTEL, 'over the north doorway of the building on the east side of the close' (Class 3):

1557

A. A. (separated by shield)

NOSCE TEIPSUM

The arms are described as an eagle displayed, impaled with a deer's head erased, and are said to be those of Achison (which Wilson gives as an eagle with two heads displayed, on a chief two mullets) and Reid. The same armorials are shown, not impaled, but separately, on the carved panels of an oaken door from the Guise Palace preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries (K.G. 38 in Catalogue), where each is surrounded by a wreath and supported by a cherub's head, and where the accompanying panels represent the busts of a man and a woman in sixteenth century style and dress. The motto is the same as that on the Cannon-ball House Lintel (No. 2). Wilson states (*M.O.E.*, p. 148, where it is figured) that the lintel 'had been removed from its original position to heighten the doorway, for the purpose of converting this part of the old palace into a stable, and was built into a wall immediately adjacent'; and that it was 'now in the interesting collection of antiquities of A. G. Ellis, Esq.' The statement that the date was 'the oldest then existing on any house in Edinburgh' is incorrect.

14 and 15. Do. Two 'GOTHIC NICHES' (Class 2) from what is described as the 'chapel or private oratory of Mary of Lorraine' in the Guise Palace. One of these, which occupied a customary place beside the ornamental fireplace, had a blank shield in the centre of the ogee arch; the other was much more ornamental, 'in the richest style of decorated Gothic' (*M.O.E.*, p. 154). In the centre the figure of an angel (?) supporting a shield bearing, apparently, a bend. Both of them, part of the collection acquired from C. K. Sharpe, are now in the National Museum of Antiquities, described as 'sculptured aumbries,' and catalogued K.G. 37 and 39.

16. Tod's Close. A similar NICHE or AUMBRY (Class 3), in Tod's Close, lying immediately west of Blyth's. It is represented in a plate (*M.O.E.*, p. 151), where it appears as adjoining a finely sculptured and pillared fireplace, and with basin attached, in a panelled room of the house bearing the name of Edward Hope, son of John de Hope (the ancestor of the Pinkie and Hopetoun families), and grandfather of Sir Thomas Hope, King's Advocate, from whom it passed to the Dalrymples of Stair. Mention of the niche is made in *T.E.*

LAWNMARKET : SOUTH SIDE

17. The West Bow. The 'BOWHEAD HOUSE.' The 'sanctified bends o' the Bow,' which, from the head of the Lawnmarket, wound down in a double elbow to the place of execution (after the Restoration) in the Grassmarket, contained some of the most interesting and picturesque buildings in Old Edinburgh. Its west and east elevations are preserved in drawings by T. Hamilton, which are shown on engravings in the Collection in Lady Stair's House and elsewhere. The West Bow was broken in upon by the opening of Victoria Street, which passes over the position, at the first bend, of the former 'Port' on the line of the Old City Wall, above which, on the west side, was the site of the 'Old Assembly Rooms,' and on the east, the close associated with Major Weir, the 'wizard' (burned in 1670), and the building reputed to have belonged to the Knights of St. John. All that remains of the houses of this ancient thoroughfare is the group near the foot of the Bow (west side), reputed to have been part of the property of the Knights Templar in the Grassmarket, bearing on one of the gables the date '1554.' The old Bowhead House, one of the chief ornaments of the Lawnmarket, and associated with the early fortunes of the publishing firm of Nelson, was unfortunately removed, as a street improvement of 1878. Mrs. Stewart Smith, who figures the Bowhead House (*H.S.B.E.*, p. 36), records that in one of the crooked recesses of the West Bow 'there stood some years ago a very peculiar old turnpike stair, with a handsome sculptured doorway receding from it'; it had evidently been once adorned with mottoes and inscriptions, but of these 'little or nothing could be deciphered at the time of demolition,' beyond, on the LINTEL (Class 3):

D.W. 1604

from which it appears to have belonged to David Williamson, a wealthy burgher in the time of James VI. Wilson (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 114) and Chambers record in addition the words:

SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLORIA

and the former states that the lintel also contained the Williamson arms 'now greatly defaced.'

18. Do. The Old Assembly Rooms (bounded by 'Lord Ruthven's House' and 'the King's Old Wall'), where the gatherings of fashion were held before 1720, had on the LINTEL or 'ornamental panel' over the turnpike (Class 3), figured in Wilson, the words:

IN DOMINO CONFIDO

with initials and date,

P.S. I.W. 1602

indicating that it was at one time the dwelling of Peter Somerville, who was a Bailie in 1624, and father of Bartholomew Somerville. In R. Chambers's MS. notes, the initials with 'the arms of the Somerville family' are said to have been placed on a stone somewhat higher than that containing the Latin motto.

A stone land, immediately below the Bowhead House, and adjoining Major Weir's, bore, on its lowest crowstep, a SHIELD (Class 3) with the initials

I.O. I.B., and a merchant's mark.

19. Do. On the Templars' Land, near the foot of the Bow, were still to be found in Wilson's time painted ceilings and a LINTEL (Class 2), bearing, 'in ornamental characters of early date,'

HE · YT · THOLIS · OVERCUMMIS.

It is now, as afterwards explained, preserved in the grounds of the Grange House. Chambers (MS. Notes) says that it was 'built into a house of great seeming antiquity at the lower turn of the Bow,' and quotes 'Tim. ii. 12, James v. 11,' as if this formed part of the inscription.

- 20, 21, and 22. Do. Chambers notes the following 'various inscriptions very conspicuously carved on the upper parts' of a house at the 'head of the West Bow' (apparently west side) 'removed to make way for an opening towards the King's Bridge.' They may still be distinguished, inscribed on three different LINTELS of Class 2:

IEHOVA

MM	NAMQUE ERIT ILLE MIHI SEMPER DEUS · MM · IF
NISI DOMINUS	SOLI DEO
FRUSTRA 1614	HONOR ET GLORIA

The 'Iehova,' with the 'Nisi Dominus Frustra,' and the date, are found on two superimposed stones inserted above the front door of Coates House, and noted and figured in *O.E.C.*, vol. ii., p. 136. Of the other inscriptions here brought together, the 'Namque,' etc., is identical, in its pious motto, with one (afterwards described) in Warriston Close, but the initials and date are quite different; the 'Soli Deo,' etc., inscription is one of the most frequent in the High Street, and an example of it occurring in the West Bow has already been set down. These two stones may be safely identified as those removed by Lord Chief Baron Rattray, and built into the house of Craighall-Rattray, Perthshire, as related by Dr. Thomas Ross (*O.E.C.*, vol. iv., p. 145), and more fully explained under No. 37. Dr. Ross's sketch introduces an 'F' (which would be quite in place) into the second monogram.

23. Riddle's Close. The first close east of the Bowhead was Johnston's, which may have been named from the adjoining house of Sir Patrick Johnston, Lord Provost in 1700, and afterwards member for the City. At the foot of it part of the City Wall of 1450 could once have been seen (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 57). Riddle's Close, or Court, next in order, has also been known as Smith's, Royston's, Shaw's, and, with regard to the inner court, M'Morran's Close, after successive owners and occupants. It takes the name now attached to it from George Riddell, wright and burgess, who built the 'land' entered from the doorway and turnstile stair on the right, at the date marked on the moulded LINTEL (Class 1):

1726

In the notes attached to Drummond's drawing of 1854, the door is thought to be an 'addition to an earlier building' (*O.E.*, Plate 5). Other owners and residents in the close were Sir John Smith of Grothall (Provost 1643-6, and father of Lady Gray, whose initials are on Lady Stair's House), and Sir James Mackenzie of Royston, a Senator of the College of Justice (died 1744). David Hume lived in Riddle's Land from 1751. The first M'Morran recorded in the Burgh Protocols (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 58) is Ninian M'Morran of Newhall, who disposed of the

property to his brother John, who 'seems to be Bailie John M'Morran, City Treasurer, 1589-91, Second Bailie, 1594, shot in 1595 by William Sinclair at a barring out of the High School' (as fully related *O.N.E.*, vol. i., p. 110). There was a 'through way' to the Cowgate, and another, through Johnston's and Weir's Closes, to the West Bow. In the large chamber (still extant and in occupation) of Bailie M'Morran's house, adorned with plaster ceiling with date 1678, roses and thistles, and moulded fireplace, the Town Council entertained James VI., his Queen, Anne of Denmark, and her brother the Duke of Holstein to a banquet in 1593. Later residents, besides Lord Royston, were William Grant, Lord Prestongrange (it was here that the meeting between this celebrated Lord Advocate and David Balfour, the hero of *Catriona*, is supposed to have taken place), and the widow of the Rev. David Williamson of St. Cuthbert's—'Dainty Davie.' Wilson, p. 168, notes the initials 'I.M.' at either end of the pediment that surmounts the building. The inscription, 'Vivendo Discimus,' over the archway to the inner court is modern, as are the University arms, enclosed in a wreath. Adjoining it is the doorway, under a deeply corbelled angle, of Sir John Smith's house, and a shield attached to a string-course, bearing a merchant's mark.

24. **Brodie's Close.** The close east of Riddle's, Fisher's, named after Thomas Fisher, merchant, who in 1752 built 'a great tenement on the south side of the Lawnmarket' (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 59), was also known as Hamilton's Close and had an access to the Cowgate. Next came Brodie's Close, which originally extended all the way to the Cowgate and took its name from 'Francis Brodie, wright, glass-grinder and burgess, father of, and partner with the notorious William Brodie, wright, gambler, burglar, and Deacon of the Wrights, who was hanged at the Old Tolbooth, 1st October 1788, along with his accomplice, George Smith.' It had previously been known as Cullen's Close, as having been the residence of Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen (raised to the Bench 1709, died 1726). A still earlier name was Little's Close, from the mansion, on the east side of the close, of William Little of Liberton and Craigmillar, one of the founders of Edinburgh University, and brother of Clement Little, an early benefactor

of its library. Wilson (*M.O.E.*, p. 169) records a stone PANEL (Class 2) bearing:

VILLIAME · 1570 · LITIL

25. **Do.** On SIX SHIELDS (Class 2), under the crow-stepped gables were the initials:

V.L.

These stones are now in the gardens at Inch House. Tradition, supported by Creech, has it that the close was the residence of Cromwell while besieging Edinburgh Castle. The former timber front of the Lawnmarket elevation, one of the last in the Old Town, has been removed. The dormer windows have thistle and fleur-de-lys finials. The doorway to the street is heavily moulded, as is that of the entrance to the turnpike stair in the close. Two rooms, now forming one, formerly the hall of the Roman Eagle Lodge, now an old furniture store, have finely decorated plaster ceilings of seventeenth century type, and bear the dates '1645' and '1646,' indicating, thinks Bruce Home, a suspension of the work during the pestilence of the former year.

26. **Old Bank Close.** East of Brodie's is Buchanan's, also known as Hope's, and as Walter Willie's Close—perhaps 'derived from "Water" Willie, the last waterman plying his vocation' (Kay, vol. ii., p. 36), where, says Chambers, stood the ancient timber tenement of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth. Next came the historic Old Bank Close, which ran nearly on the line of the pavement of Melbourne Place. In it stood Robert Gourlay's House, erected in 1569, fully exposed to view on the formation of George IV. Bridge, and demolished 1834. It was formerly called Mauchan's Close, and appears to have owed this name to John Mauchan, Bailie in 1523, or to Alexander Mauchan, who disposed of the ground to Robert Gourlay, a wealthy citizen and favourite of James VI., who by Royal warrant (June 1588) granted him special liberty, while enlarging the building, to reduce the width of the passage. Gourlay was a merchant-burgess of Edinburgh, collector of customs, messenger-at-arms at Holyrood, and servant to the third Earl of Arran. To Gourlay's lodging, the residence of Sir

THE SCULPTURED STONES

William Drury, commander of the English auxiliaries at the siege of the Castle in 1573, were brought Sir William Kirkaldy, Maitland of Lethington, and the other defenders after their surrender. Here also was brought, in 1581, the Regent Morton previous to his execution, and it shortly afterwards became the residence of the French ambassador. Other State prisoners 'were warded' in Gourlay's House, and it was occupied by King James in 1593-4.

On the LINTEL (Class 2) were carved the words :

O · LORD · IN · THE · IS · AL · MY · TRAI · ST · 1569

This fine stone is now in the grounds of the Grange House, and forms part of what is called 'The Monk's Seat.' Mrs. Stewart Smith, in her *The Grange of St. Giles*, says that it was in the collection of C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and was secured and brought hither by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder. The other part of the seat, formed by the Lintel of a turnpike doorway, having the inscription, 'He · yt · tholis · overcummis ·,' has already been noticed under the West Bow (No. 19).

27. Do. Over the entrance to the close (the scene of the murder in March 1689 of Lord President Lockhart, by Chiesley of Dabry, while on his way from St. Giles' to his house in Old Bank Close), there was, says Wilson, a SHIELD, bearing a martlet (Class 3) surmounted by the initials of the builder :

R.G.

To which R. Chambers, in his MS. prefaces the words :

HONOUR GOD

- 28, 29, 30. Do. Three stones of an ecclesiastical type are figured in Wilson (*M.O.E.*, pp. 172, 176, and 179), as from the Old Bank Close, and may possibly be fragments from the lodging of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, materials from which Gourlay is stated to have used in building his house. One, said to be in the collection of C. K. Sharpe, is a projecting CORBEL, or angle (Class 3), the underside showing a head surrounded by foliage and with scrolls issuing from the mouth. Of the other two ('in the collection of A. G. Ellis'), one is apparently part of the



Lintel from Sir T. Craig's House. See p. 93.



Lintel from Gosford's Close. See p. 72.



Lintels from Sir T. Hope's House. See p. 71.



Twin Tablets, Advocate's Close. See p. 90.

SPANDRIL of an arch (Class 3) terminating in a 'bridled' head or mask; and the third, resembling the fragment of a PLINTH or PEDESTAL (Class 3), has a similar head, the issuing foliage terminating on one side with fleur-de-lys. Wilson says that on its demolition 'numerous fragments of an earlier erection, evidently of an ecclesiastical character—shafts, mullions, etc., were brought to light, used as building materials and built into the wall'—in all probability from a chapel attached to the house of the abbot.

31. Do. At the foot of the close was the dwelling of Robert Gourlay's son, John Gourlay, like his father 'customar,' or collector of taxes and customs, which was afterwards occupied as the head office of the Bank of Scotland, removed here after it had been 'burned out' of the Parliament Close by the great fire of 1700. In this narrow alley, which thence derived the name of the Old Bank Close, the Bank remained until 1805, when it moved to its present site at the head of the Mound. The house bore the date '1588,' and had on its northern front an upright PANEL (Class 3), with a motto (found also on the Huntly House in the Canongate, in Advocate's Close, and elsewhere), and the device of stalks of wheat growing out of bones:—

SPES ALTERA VITAE

R. Chambers (MS. notes) gives also the date and initials:

1588. R.G. O.E.

(which would assign it to the adjoining R. Gourlay's house). In 1637, David Gourlay, grandson of the builder, sold the house to Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, King's Advocate to Charles I., and grandson of Edward Hope, of the other 'Hope's Close' in the Castle Hill. Wilson's plate of the west elevation of the house previous to demolition in 1834 (*M.O.E.*, p. 174), shows, along with crow-stepped gables, string-courses, and corbelled turret and other projections, two dormer windows, with thistle finials, and on one of them the initials

D.G. · M.S

32. Do. The Hope House stood lower down, on the level of, and adjoining, the Cowgate, on the site now occupied by the Public Library. Mr. Bruce Home describes it in vol. i. of his *O.H.E.* as a 'spacious and substantial mansion, built early in the seventeenth century by Sir Thomas Hope' (died 1646). 'A boldly-arched gateway opened on a courtyard,' to the west of which were 'two moulded doorways, each surmounted by a suitable legend.' The drawing shows a round and moulded archway, supported by moulded pillars; and there was a massive oaken staircase. Two boldly moulded doorways have been rebuilt into the Public Library. One forms a door, at the head of the stairway to the Reference Department. This LINTEL (Class 2) bears the inscription:

TECUM HABITA · 1616

33. Do. The other LINTEL (Class 2), over what is understood to have been the chief entrance, is also in fine preservation and good keeping. Built over the entrance to the Reading Room, on the Cowgate level, it has inscribed:

AT HOSPES HUMO

which, as has been noted, is an anagram of 'S. Thomas Houpe.'

34. Do. At the foot of Church Lane, Stockbridge, in the house in which David Roberts, R.A. was born, there is a LINTEL (Class 2) obviously of older date than the building in which it is inserted. It has been suggested (*O.E.C.*, vol. ii., p. 132), that it has been removed from John Gourlay's House, in the Old Bank Close. The inscription runs:

I.G. FEAR · GOD · ONLYE · IR.

It bears in addition a merchant's mark.

35. Do. In the Cowgate, extending eastward from the foot of the Old Bank Close to that of Libberton's Wynd, on ground where the northern bases of the arches of George IV. Bridge are now placed, was the irregular and interesting mansion called, without adequate historic reason, the 'French Ambassador's House.' One of its gables, garnished with a row of twelve SCULPTURED HEADS, popularly identified with the Apostles, and surmounted by a mutilated figure astride of the apex, has been removed to Coates House, along with the LINTEL (Class 2) of one of its

entrances, containing a shield, bearing, in chief, a crescent between two mullets, and in base a monster with the body of a beast and a human head, identified by Nisbet in his *Heraldry* as a 'wehrwolf,' and as the arms of the family of Dickison of Winkston, near Peebles. The motto runs

SPERAVI ET INVENI

It has been already noticed and figured in the 'West End Stones.' (*O.E.C.*, vol. ii., p. 141).

36. **Gosford's Close.** This close, which ran down the centre of what is now Melbourne Place, took its name (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 62) from the tenement of Sir Archibald Achieson of Gosford, 'Secretary of State to Charles I. and ancestor of the Earls of Gosford in Ireland.' Achieson had also a house in Bakehouse Close, Canongate. An earlier name was Aikman's Close, and it was also known as Dickson's Close, from the great house on the west side of Allan Dickson, burgess. The close was swept away in 1834, on the formation of George IV. Bridge. Wilson states that over the doorway of an ancient stone land in the close was a curious sculptured representation of the Crucifixion (figured *M.O.E.*, p. 180), more fully referred to in a note (p. 441), where it is stated that he succeeded in getting the Lintel removed to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, whose hall, by the way, was at the bottom of the close until 1794.

This interesting LINTEL (Class 2) is now in the Museum of the Society (Catalogue K.G. 43). Wilson's description is as follows: 'It has three shields cut and in good preservation. On the centre, the Crucifixion, beautifully cut. On the shield to the right, two crescents in chief, in the field a boar's head erased. On the left shield, a saltire, a bar in pale intersecting a small saltire in the middle chief point. On the fess point, a circle forming, with the saltire and bar, a St. Katherine's wheel. On the flanks, the initials "M.T." Above, 'in neat old ornamental characters':

SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLORIA

It is added: 'This we have little doubt indicated the mansion of Mungo Tennant, burgess in Edinburgh,' whose arms were 'a boar's head in chief and two crescents in flank.'

East of Gosford's Close was Libberton's Wynd, 'named after the family of Little of Liberton,' and mentioned by name in 1474 and 1477, a portion of which remained visible until the erection of the Midlothian County Buildings. In it was 'John Dowie's Tavern'—'Doway College'—the resort of literary and convivial coteries at the end of the eighteenth century, to which Burns resorted from Baxter's Close across the way during his Edinburgh residence. With it the south side of the Lawnmarket may be regarded, for our purposes, as terminating.

LAWNMARKET: NORTH SIDE

37. **Somerville's Land.** An old gabled and timber-fronted building, adjoining, to the east, Blyth's Close, and facing the entrance to the West Bow, remained in its place at the head of the Lawnmarket until its demolition in 1883, along with the west side of the neighbouring Milne's Court (from which it had access), to make place for the extension of the Free Church Assembly Hall (*O.H.E.*, 2nd Series). It is described, as it was at the date of its destruction, in a paper by Mr. J. M. Dick Peddie (*S.A.S.P.*, vol. xviii., pp. 465-76), accompanied by measured plans and a drawing of the painted ceiling, decorated with foliage and animals—including a unicorn—and of a room on the second floor. It was named Somerville's Land, from its owner, Bartholomew Somerville, of Saughton Hall, a merchant burgess at the early part of the seventeenth century—and son of Peter Somervell or Somerville of the West Bow. He assisted Edinburgh University by mortifying, in 1639, in addition to 20,000 for the poor of the city, a sum of 20,000 merks for the maintenance of a Professor of Divinity, together with 6000 merks to buy a house for that official. With the latter sum the Town Council bought 'Sir James Skeen's lodging and yaird,' situated in 'the south-east corner of the Flodden Wall,' adjoining Drummond Street and the Pleasance. It was over the doorway of the house of the Professor of Divinity (built 1656) that, as related by Dr. T. Ross (*O.E.C.*, vol. iv., p. 148), there was placed a monumental bust of Somerville. It was removed about 1830, by Lord Chief Baron Rattray to Craighall-Rattray, in Perthshire, where it is still preserved. It bears the inscription: 'MAGISTRO BAR-

THOLOMEO SUMMERVELIO URBIS MUNICIPI MUNIFICENTISSIMO QUI AD PIOS HI URBE ET ACADEMIA USUS 40,000 Ms. TESTAMENTO LEGAVIT URBS EDINBURGENA HOC MONUMENTUM p.c.' At Craighall-Ratray are also other two inscribed stones from Edinburgh houses (sketched by Dr. Ross) the inscriptions on which, 'Soli · Deo · Honor · et · Gloria,' and 'Namque · erit · ille · mihi · semper · Deus,' and the initials 'MN' (in monogram) and 'I.F.' have already been noted in connection with a house at the head of the West Bow opposite (Nos. 21 and 22). The Somerville house afterwards belonged to Sir John Harper of Cambusnethan. The elevations of this and of the adjoining houses in the Lawnmarket and Castlehill are shown in the series of drawings by T. Hamilton, reproduced in *O.E.C.*, vol. xii.

38. **Milne's Court.** This lofty frontage, one of the earliest of 'city improvements,' was 'built in 1690 by Robert Mylne of Balfargie, seventh Royal Master Mason of the Mylne family, and builder of the modern part of Holyrood House under Charles II' (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 11). Over the Lawnmarket entrance, under a 'DOBIO ENTABLATURE' (Class 1), the date,

1690.

The Court was also known as 'Lindsay Square, now Milne's Square at the Bowhead' (not to be confounded with the demolished 'Mylne Square' on the present *Scotsman* Office site). An eastern entrance is spoken of as Cranston's Close, and derived its name from the tenement of James Cranston. The west side of the Court had at its northern end the town mansion of the Lairds of Comiston (Fairlie); and south of that a building, the rear of Somerville's Land, with dormer windows, having on a LINTEL (Class 3), over the entrance of the stair,

BLISSIT · BE · GOD · IN · AL · HIS · GIFTIS · 1580

39. **James's Court** was built, says Mr. Boog Watson (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 11) in 1725-27 'by James Brownhill, wright, from whom it took its name.' It was also known as Brownhill's Court. It had originally four entries, the western being known as Fountain-hall Close, from the residence of Sir John Lauder, 'opposite the

Bowhead Well.' Then followed the 'Upper' and 'Main' entries, one of these being John Dickson's Close (from the ownership of John Dickson of Hartree); and the eastmost entry, also called Jardine's (or Fairden's), Whitslade's (from John Dickson of Whitslade, Peeblesshire), Fisher's, and Gladstane's Close. This last name was taken from Gladstane's Land, still standing, and notable for its dormer windows with thistle finials, its stone



Lintel from 'Black Turnpike.' See p. 83.

forestair with corbelled entrance, and the pillars and arches of its piazzaed front. It was acquired by Sir Thomas Gladstane, a reputed ancestor of the statesman, in 1631, and was in possession in 1755 of William Gladstane, surgeon in Colonel Lauder's Regiment. On a SHIELD (Class 1), below the crow-steps of the west gable are the initials:

T.G. and B.G.

evidently those of Sir Thomas Gladstane and his wife; and on the corresponding part of the east gable, the device of a key and crescent, perhaps a merchant's mark.

40. **Lady Stair's Close.** In James's Court were the houses occupied by David Hume, after he left Jack's Land, Canongate, and of James Boswell (where he entertained Johnson in 1773). It now communicates with Lady Stair's Close, into which and the large court adjoining there also open Baxter's Close (also called Upper or Old Baxter's, Hopper's, and Bull's Close), Wardrop's (formerly Middle Baxter's), and Paterson's (or Henderson's, the ancient 'Meal Market'), and entries from Bank Street and the head of the Mound. Lower Baxter's and Morocco Closes appear to have

been in the space now occupied by Bank Street. The older name of Lady Stair's Close was Lady Gray's Close, and its chief feature is Lady Gray's, now known as Lady Stair's, House, a full account of which and its possessors—Grays, Stairs, and Primroses—is given in *O.E.C.*, vol. iii., p. 243.

On the LINTEL (Class 1) of the door is a scroll with the legend :
FEARE THE LORD AND DEPART FROM EVILL.

A shield with impaled arms—a lion rampant and a saltire with a crescent in chief—separates the letters 'W' and 'G' and 'G' and 'S,' while a monogram of these initials on the dexter is balanced by the date '1622,' flanked on the one side by a mullet or five-pointed star, and on the other by a rosette.

The initials are those of the first possessors, Sir William Gray of Pittendrum and of his wife Egidia or Giles Smith, daughter of Sir John Smith of Grothall, and sister of Sir John Smith, Lord Provost in 1643. Lady Gray resided in the house for several years after the death of her husband in 1648, and gave her name to it and to the Close. The house came in 1719 into the possession of Elizabeth, Countess of Stair, whose mother was a daughter of Sir William Gray. It was acquired by Archibald, fifth Earl of Rosebery, and by him restored in 1897 and presented to the Corporation, who have formed in it a museum of antiquities, including, in the ground floor, a collection of Edinburgh sculptured stones.

The stones in the collection include, in addition to panels and lintels from Blackfriars' Wynd, Bailie Fyffe's Close, Warriston's Close and the Parliament Stairs (which will be particularly noted when these localities are reached), as well as relics from Riddle's Court, already noted :

- (1) The fine Lintel from the house of Andro Symson, in the Cowgate, bearing the date '1576,' with the interesting legend in sixteenth century Scots :

GIF · VE · DEID · AS · VE · SOULD
VE · MIGHT · HAIF · AS · VE · VALD.

- (2) Another Lintel of a turnpike stair, containing the inscription :

SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLIĀ,

with thistle, rose, and fleur-de-lys embellishments.

- (3) A Moor's Head, surmounting a stone on which is carved :
GOD'S BENEVOLENCE IS MINE INHERITANCE,
with a shield bearing a lion rampant and the initials 'TG' · 'IW.'
- (4) Two stone gablets, each containing a mason's or merchant's mark, one with three heads grouped about the apex, while the other is inscribed 'D.W. 1580.' There are also carved stone panels from the Tailors' Incorporation Hall, Easter Portsburgh (1673), and from the Poorhouse in St. Cuthbert's Lane (1750).

41. Do. There are a number of moulded doorways opening into the court, among them that of the Blackie Hostel, and of the stair in which Burns, during the first part of his residence in Edinburgh in 1786, lodged with his Mauchline friend Richmond. Successive volumes of the *Scots Musical Museum*, containing his songs, issued from the shop of James Johnson, at the head of Lady Stair's Close. Into a wall (east side) adjoining Burns's former lodging is built a LINTEL (Class 1), which appears to have been more easily decipherable in Wilson's time (*M.O.E.*, p. 166) than at present. It is described as bearing 'a shield, now much defaced, surmounted by a crown, and above this a cross, with the figure of a man leaning over it, wearing a mitre.' The letters 'A.S.' and 'E.I.' are placed on either side, and above the whole, in 'antique gothic letters,' the inscription :

BLISSIT · BE · THE · LORD · IN · HIS · GIFTIS · FOR · NOV · AND · EVIR.

Wilson is inclined, from its appearance, to assign the inscription to an earlier date than any other in Edinburgh. The initials do not agree with those of any known owners of the house, which in 1746 passed by inheritance into possession of Martha White (only child of a wealthy burgher), who became Countess of Elgin and Kincardine.

UPPER HIGH STREET : SOUTH SIDE

42. Forrester's Wynd. East of Libberton's Wynd came Tod's, or Carfrae's, or Carthac's Close ; Forrester's Close or Wynd ; and Beth's, or Bess's or Best Wynd, next to the High Church, and St. Giles' Churchyard which became Parliament Close or Square. All of these were swept away to make room for the County

Buildings and the Signet and Advocates' Libraries. None of them have left any sculptured relic. With them has gone those 'Encumbrances of the Hie Gait,' the 'New or Laigh Council House, the Tolbooth' (the 'Heart of Midlothian'), and the Luckenbooths.

Forrester's Close or Wynd appears to have taken its name from the Lords Forrester of Corstorphine, whose town house was on its western side. In it, in James Mossman's house, died in April 1566 John Sinclair, Bishop of Brechin, Dean of Restalrig, and President of the College of Justice. In it appears to have been the entrance, from the west, to the churchyard of St. Giles of which the gateway had a sculptured LINTEL (Class 3), thus described in the *Edinburgh Magazine* of July 1800 :—

A long stone on which was curiously sculptured a group resembling *Holbein's Dance of Death* was some months ago discovered at the head of Forrester's Wynd, which in former days was the western boundary of St. Giles' High Churchyard. The relic was much defaced, and broken in two by being carelessly cast down by the workmen. Among other musicians who brought up the rear, was an Angel playing on the Highland bagpipe.

In *M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 223, it is stated that we may now 'look in vain for this singular specimen of early Scottish art.'

43. **Tolbooth.** Beth's Wynd. The latter, swept away in 1809, opened opposite to the entrance to the Tolbooth, and had near its head the 'Purses,' or 'Poor Folk's Purses,' the home of the fraternity of the 'Blue Coats,' to which Edie Ochiltree belonged. The Tolbooth, that centre of so much town and national history, was demolished in 1817.

Views are given in Wilson (*M.O.E.*, pp. 71 and 184) of its south front (with a 'gothic doorway,' that, along with the original lock and key, has been transported to Abbotsford), and of its north elevation, of which the most noteworthy archaeological features were five ornate canopied NICHES (Class 3) in the eastern and older part of the edifice which have disappeared. The Tolbooth is also figured and described in the present volume.

44. **Luckenbooths.** No stone ornaments or inscriptions of 'Creech's Land' and its neighbours are recorded in Wilson, but Chambers,

in his MS. notes, enters, under 'Luckenbooths,' that a house built by Byres of Coates bore the legend :

BLISSIT · BE · GOD · IN · ALL · HIS · GIFTIS · 1611

with 'the initials of the builder and probably of his wife.' This may refer to one of the LINTELS (Class 2), which have been removed to Coates House (*O.E.C.*, vol. ii., p. 134).

45. **Do.** Between the Luckenbooths and the choir of St. Giles was the narrow passage of 'Our Lady's Steps,' by which stood at one time a statue of the Virgin, and beside it a CARVED STONE



Lintel from Tower, Portobello. See p. 86.

(Class 3), 'apparently the central crow-step of a crowning gable,' preserved in Wilson's time, 'in the nursery of Eagle and Henderson, Leith Walk, with other similar relics.' It bore, in high relief, the City Arms, surmounted by an ornamental device, and the date '1641.'

46. **St. Giles' Church.** The armorial shields, corbels, and other sculptured devices of St. Giles' Church have been separately described and figured in Dr. Cameron Lees's book and elsewhere. But mention should be made, as facing the passenger on the 'Royal Mile,' of the sepulchral PANEL, on the outer wall of the choir of St. Giles, traditionally assigned as marking the tomb of John Napier of Merchiston, of 'Logarithms' fame, although claims have been made also for St. Cuthbert's Church, as holding the grave of the philosopher. It bears the arms and crest of the Napiers of Merchiston, and this inscription :

S.E.P.
FAM. DE NAPERORUM INTERIUS
HIC SITUM
EST.

Under the date of 22nd November 1637, the *Session Records* contain the entry that 'Archibald, Lord Napier, was granted permission to set up a stane upon that part of Sanct Jeills Church, where the house of Merchiston had their arms as before'—from which it appears that the stone had originally been placed on the opposite side of the church and has been removed to its present position, probably under the Burn dispensation.

47. **Parliament Close.** Parliament House, built (1633-9; see *O.E.C.*, vol. xiii.), on the site of Old St. Giles' churchyard and of the manses of the clergy, has received many extensions since its foundation, and in 1808 a new frontage replaced the original Renaissance façade, which had, among its ornaments, the Royal Arms of Scotland, surmounting the principal entrance (on the west side), flanked by SCULPTURED FIGURES OF JUSTICE AND MERCY (Class 2), with the inscription:

STANT HI FELICIA REGNA.

Under the national arms was the motto:

UNI UNIONUM.

The figures were removed, with ignominy, at the time of the reconstruction, but, along with the two stones next recorded below, found their way first to a house at Trinity, and then into the collection of A. G. Ellis, and for many years were built into the wall of a back garden in Drummond Place, until recovered and brought back in 1910 to the vicinity of their old site, where they have found a place in the lobby of the Outer House.

48. **Do.** Over a smaller doorway, near the south-east angle of the building, on a TABLET (Class 2), were the City Arms, placed between two sculptured obelisks, and this inscription, on a festooned scroll:

DOMINUS CUSTODIT INTROITUM NOSTRUM

(*M.O.E.*, p. 213; *O.E.C.*, vol. ii., p. 231).

49. **Do.** On another stone, also recovered from the Drummond Place garden, and acquired, with Nos. 47 and 48, by the Faculty of Advocates for £40, was a window PEDIMENT (Class 2) bearing

a Crown, surmounted by a Cross, a clam shell ornament, and the date

1636.

50. **Do.** On the staircase leading to the Hall of the Signet Library is exposed part of the wall of the old Parliament House, bearing on a moulded PANEL (Class 1):

ANNO 1636.

51. **Do.** The Parliament Stairs led down the west side of the building to the Cowgate, and from a ruined wall at the foot of these stairs was removed the half of a TWIN LINTEL (Class 2), bearing the incomplete inscription:

M * * OF OUR INHERITANCE
1623

It is now in Lady Stair's House.

The buildings behind the Parliament House were destroyed by the fire, which broke out in the Old Meal Market Close in 1700; and a still wider range of destruction was caused by the great fires of 1824, which, starting in the Royal Bank Close, swept the space between the east side of Parliament Square and the Tron Church, doubtless consuming relics of Old Edinburgh in sculptured stone.

52. **The 'Mercat Croce.'** Mention should be made of the 'Mercat Croce,' of many memories and traditions, which has repeatedly been erected, taken down, and re-erected before reaching its present place under the east end of St. Giles and at the eastern entrance to Parliament Square. The original 'old long stone about fortie foote or thereby in length,' which Calderwood describes as 'translated by the devise of certane mariners in Leith from the place where it stood past the memorie of man, to a place beneath in the High Street without any harm to the stone,' and, 'the body of the old Croce being demolished and another buildit,' set up again in March 1617, must have suffered by curtailment and in other ways in its wanderings, as it is now no longer a monolith but a masoned shaft some twenty feet high. (See articles by David Laing and P. Miller in *S.A.S.P.*, vi. and xx.) It was removed in 1756, and for more than a century

stood in the grounds of Drum, four miles out of town, figured there in Mr. Ballingall's *Edinburgh, Past and Present*. Its place in the High Street was taken by a stone erected near the same spot, but this, with the adjacent well, proving an obstruction to traffic, a new pillar was raised in 1785 opposite the head of the Assembly Close. In 1885, as the inscription bears, the old stone was brought back and re-erected near its former site on a new substructure reared at the expense of W. E. Gladstone. On the eastern side of the stone the words are carved :

THE OLD ✠ OF EDⁿ.

The 'gothic capital,' surmounted by a unicorn, is supposed to be part of the original Cross and to date from the same period as the adjoining St. Giles' Church. Four of the seven 'Heads in basso-relievo, surmounting the arches' of the Cross were 'placed by Mr. Walter Ross in his tower at Deanhaugh,' and secured on its demolition (1825) by Sir Walter Scott, along with the stone basin of the fountain whence wine flowed on festive occasions; they are 'all now at Abbotsford' (*M.O.E.*, p. 115). Over the eighth arch of the octagon—that facing the Netherbow—the town arms were cut, in the shape of a medallion, in rude workmanship' (Arnot).

53. **Stevenlaw's Close.** From causes that have already been indicated, the sculptured stone and other relics of Old Edinburgh in the range of Closes between Parliament Square and the Tron have almost entirely disappeared. These alleys leading down to the Cowgate, which included the St. Monan's, or Old Royal Bank, Wynd, and the Old Fishmarket, Borthwick's, Old Assembly, Conn's, Covenant, Burnet's, Bell's, New Assembly, Stevenlaw's, and Kennedy's Closes and Peebles Wynd, have had their interesting history and their noteworthy occupants recounted by Wilson, and in Mr. John Reid's *New Lights on Old Edinburgh*, Mr. Boog Watson's 'Notes' in *O.E.C.*, vol. xii., and elsewhere. The formation of Hunter Square, South Bridge, Blair Street, and of Tron Square has obliterated even the sites of some of them. Stevenlaw's Close, however, opposite the site of the Old Guard House, and now the first Close to the west of Hunter Square, retains, along with its name and position, its character of steep-

ness and narrowness, throughout nearly its whole length to the Cowgate, although one looks in vain, 'over a doorway on the west side near the foot' for the LINTEL (Class 3) recorded in *M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 27 :

THE · FEIR · OF · THE · LORD · IS · THE · BEGENEN · OF · VISDOM. I.H.

54. **Do.** Another LINTEL (Class 3) in this Close, the name of which is probably taken 'from that of Stephen Law or Loch, glazier, resident there in 1571, an adherent of Queen Mary; or from Stewin Law, a wealthy flesher of the Queen's party' (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 75) bore, according to Wilson, 'a shield of arms, with an inscription partially defaced,' which has been read :

OCCULI · OMNIUM · IN · TE · DOMINI · SPERAVI.

55. **The 'Black Turnpike.'** At the head of Kennedy's Close (named after Quintain or Mungo Kennedy, W.S., 1710), in which George Buchanan died, in September 1582, stood the building known as the 'Black Turnpike,' formerly, but erroneously, supposed to be the residence of Sir Simon Preston, in which Mary Queen of Scots spent her last night in Edinburgh before removal to Lochleven. According to tradition, this 'magnificent and imposing' building dated from the 'reign of Kenneth III., slain in 994'; a more moderate estimate assigned it to the early fifteenth century, and described it as the town house of the Bishop of Dunkeld. The *Caledonian Mercury* of May 1788 (at which date this, one of the oldest of stone buildings in Edinburgh, was in course of demolition) appears to be the first authority for the statement that over the uppermost of the three entries, in Peebles Wynd, was a LINTEL (Class 2), with the words :

PAX INTRANTIBUS. SALUS EXEUNTIBUS. 1674.

This is evidently the LINTEL now built into the Tower, Portobello, as noted below, No. 58.

56. **The Tron Church.** The Tron Church, founded in 1637, bears over the doorway on the north side of the tower, the wooden steeple of which was replaced by the present spire after its

destruction in the fire of 1824, an ORNAMENTAL PANEL, with the City Arms and motto, and the inscription :

ÆDEM HANC CHRISTO ET
ECCLESIE SACRARUNT
CIVES EDINBURGENI
ANNO MDCXLI.

It is figured in Dr. Butler's *The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh*.

57. **Marlin's Wynd.** The South Bridge, constructed in 1785-90, broke a way through the High Street buildings, in the line of what was Marlin's Wynd, which owed its name to Walter Merlion, the French mason who, in 1532, covered the High Street with its first paving, and whose own chosen place of burial in the mouth of the wynd was marked out by stones outlining a coffin lid (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 77). According to Wilson (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 223), 'Mr. Cunningham, the owner of Portobello Tower,' built into that structure 'the chief sculptured stones and other relics of the ancient tenements demolished to make way for the South Bridge.' Mr. Baird, in his *Annals of Duddingston and Portobello*, states that the Tower (which still exists in a semi-ruinous state at the Esplanade end of Ramsay Lane) was built for Mr. Cunningham in 1785 by Mr. Wm. Jameson, son of Patrick Jameson, the builder of the Edinburgh Royal Exchange. Into this four-story structure of brick with stone facings were introduced old carved stones, some from the Old Cross of Edinburgh, some from the Cathedral of St. Andrews, some from the Old College of Edinburgh; and it is suggested by Grant that stones from the site of the Council Chambers may also have found their way to this repository which, in its present condition, is difficult to examine, or even to approach. Mention is made, along with 'an angel, minus the head,' of several 'stones with monograms.' The group, on the north side of the Tower, in which the decapitated 'angel' is placed, contains nine or ten different architectural fragments, including (1) a SHIELD (Class 2) turned upside down and bearing a saltire and a 'phaeon,' or arrow-head; and

58. **Do.** (2) A PANEL (Class 2), with the letters

R
D

Above this is a doorway with a LINTEL (Class 2) which can be

identified, by its date and motto, as that removed from the 'Black Turnpike' at the head of Kennedy's Close. The in-



Group of Stones from Tower, Portobello. See p. 84.

scription is here repeated, as giving the correct order of the lettering and date :

PAX · INTRANTIBVS
SALVS. 16 · 74. EXEVNTIBVS

Below is a stone with two masks and a quatrefoil. An ogival ARCH with finial, in the style of some of the High Street examples, is built into the same front.

59 and 60. Into the south front has been inserted :

(1) A PANEL (Class 2) containing a shield on which is sculptured the scene of the Temptation—Adam and Eve, the Tree

and the Serpent. Placed on either side of the shield are the letters 'M' and (apparently) 'F'; and below, the date (the figures also separated by the shield)

1677.

(2) Above a window what has apparently been a LINTEL (Class 2), having on it two grotesque figures supporting a blank shield; above is an inscription, which seems to read

LET · A · BE

recalling the proverbial saying 'Let-a-be for let-a-be.' Below the window is the date

1735.

(3) On what may have been two ridge or CORBEL ENDS (Class 2) masks, and between them two superimposed floriated finials. On another shield the bearings are quite effaced.

NORTH SIDE OF UPPER HIGH STREET

61. **Dunbar's Close.** The first of the surviving closes east of Bank Street is Galloway's, next to which is Dunbar's (or Ireland's) Close, traditionally identified as the headquarters of 'Cromwell's Ironsides,' when they occupied the town after the battle of Dunbar, whence it is supposed to have derived its name, but more likely to have been taken from the family of Dunbar of Leuchold, owners in the middle of the eighteenth century. Neither of these closes retains any antique features, although over the entrance to the so-called 'Guard Room,' afterwards the 'Rose and Thistle' taproom, there was formerly a LINTEL (Class 3), (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 5) with a beautifully carved inscription bearing one of the oldest dates on any private building in Edinburgh:

FAITH · IN · CRIST · ONLIE · SAVIT · 1567.

62. **Do.** On another part of the building was a PANEL (Class 3), with the initials

I.D. K.T.

together with 'some curiously formed masks'—apparently trade or merchants' marks—of the original owners, perhaps the Dunbars. Drummond has a view of the close, taken in 1852 (Plate 8).

63. **Sellar's Close,** with the adjoining Brown's Close, has been finally obliterated by the formation of St. Giles Street. In Sellar's Close (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 5) was the building known as the 'Cromwell Bartizan,' and over a doorway dividing the upper from the lower part of the close was a LINTEL (Class 3), with the legend:

THE · LORD · BE · BLEIST · FOR · AL · HIS · GIFTIS.

64. **Do.** On a building on the west side of the same close, note is taken in Drummond (Plate 9), of 'large Gothic fireplaces and niches, with carved heads,' also 'bold stone mouldings.' Over a window on the third floor, was a PANEL (Class 3) containing the inscription:

 THE LORD IS THE PORTION OF MINE INHERITANCE AND OF MY CUP; THOU MAINTAINEST MY LOT.—PSAL. XVI, VERSE 5.

65. **Brown's Close.** In Brown's Close, when Arnot wrote his history (1779), there existed what he calls 'a private oratory, containing a baptismal font,' probably a SCULPTURED NICHE or PISCINA (Class 3), of which we have already found so many examples. It has disappeared, or exists incognito. Brown's Close had, as one of its aliases, the name of Heriot's Close, which 'seems to be derived from the property there of George Heriot, goldsmith, father of the founder of the Hospital' (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 22); and it may have contained one of the 'lodgings' of John Knox, near St. Giles' Kirk.

66. **Do.** In a small enclosed court behind 377 High Street (apparently connected at one time with Byres Close) built into the wall of the first story, and to be seen from the stair behind the offices of the *North British Agriculturist*, is the triangular PEDIMENT (Class 2) of a dormer window, bearing, in relief, the letter

M

within a square moulded frame—much obscured by a pipe passing over it vertically.

67. **Byres Close.** In this close, the first east of St. Giles Street, was the town house of Sir John Byres of Coates, whose father before him was Dean of Guild, and who himself, according

to his tomb in the Greyfriars, was 'Old' (or Depute) Provost, and died in 1629 (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 23). Sir John was the builder of East Coates House (dated 1615 on a dormer window), the sculptured stones of which, some of them removed from the Old Town, have been described and figured in the second volume of the Book of the Club. Wilson (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 5) states that the carved LINTEL (Class 2) of the mansion in Byres Close, containing the initials of the builder and of his wife, Margaret Barclay, and the date, was removed by Byres's successor, Sir Patrick Walker, and placed in its present position at Coates House. The inscription runs:

BLISSET BE GOD IN ALL HIS GIFTS.
I.B. M.B. 1611.

68. Do. In the same close (east side) was the 'doorway and stair, with carved balustrade,' leading to the house of Bishop Adam Bothwell, who in 1567 conducted the marriage service of Queen Mary and Bothwell, and whose tomb is at Holyrood. The narrow building, now unoccupied, presents to the north a semi-hexagonal or apsidal elevation, commanding a fine view over the Forth, and crowned by three DORMER WINDOWS (Class 1), with semicircular heads, surmounted by thistle finials. The central of the dormers contains the inscription in relief:

NIHL · EST · EX · OMNI
PARTE · BEATVM

69. Do. The western dormer has the inscription:

EXITVS · ACTA · PROBAT.

70. Do. The inscription on that to the east is much weathered, and some of the letters are broken or erased; but Mr. Alexander Geddie, M.A., has enabled me to read tentatively:

[EV]ITE[T] · [FA]TVM · NEM[O].

Below which can be traced (in the place occupied by the letters 'Bea' in the first inscription)

. . . . As.

In the centre of each dormer is a circular or semi-oval depression or hollow, which had apparently contained a sculptured object of some kind, perhaps a head, but now in each case so much



Dormers, Bishop Bothwell's House. See p. 88.

damaged as to be beyond identification. The first of these inscriptions is from Horace's *Odes*, ii., 16; and the second from Ovid's *Neroides*, ii., 85. The source of the third has not been ascertained.

- 71 and 72. Do. Four or more similar decorative features seem to have been extended along the eastern side of the building which, in *O.H.E.*, is called 'one of the most ancient and most interesting (houses) that still remain in our city,' and is notable also as the residence of that unfortunate granddaughter of the Bishop who was heroine of the ballad, 'Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament.' 'Built into an outhouse' are, it is stated, the carved tops of other two DORMERS (Class 3), bearing the inscriptions:

LAUS · UBIQUE · DEO

and

FELICITER · INFELIX.

Both outhouse and dormers have now disappeared. The 'Laus ubique Deo' motto, as sketched in the notebook of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, is followed by a charming carving of a cinquefoil.

73. Advocate's Close. Still one of the most picturesque of City closes, Advocate's Close no longer offers, as before the demolition of its west side and, in 1883-4, the building of the printing offices on

its east side, one of the most complete and remarkable survivals of Old Edinburgh, alike in history, associations, and antiquarian interest (Bruce Home). Views of the old buildings in course of destruction are given in *O.H.E.* (First and Second Series), and at an earlier period in Drummond, Plates 10, 11, and 12. On the west side, near the foot, was the house from which the close took its name—that of Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate from 1692 to 1713, whose father, Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, was Lord Provost in 1649 and 1659. Here also was the residence of Andrew Crosbie, Advocate, the 'Counsellor Pleydell' of *Guy Mannering*. On the east side was the studio and picture gallery of John Scougal, the seventeenth century artist. In a recess between Byres and Advocate's Closes, known as Kintore Close, was the entrance to the house of Sir William Dick of Braid, mentioned in the *Heart of Midlothian*.

Near the top of the Advocate's Close are two doorways with carved LINTELS (Class 1), which have hitherto, except in *H.S.B.E.*, p. 104, where a sketch of them is given, escaped particular record among our sculptured stones. The uppermost, or more southerly has the inscription:

C.C. 1590
BLISSIT · BE · GOD · OF · AL · HIS · GIFTIS

Between the letters 'C.C.' is a 'merchant's mark.' It should be mentioned that the doorway now gives entrance to a brass-founder's premises, and that there is danger that the passage through it of heavy metal articles may further chip the mouldings and lettering.

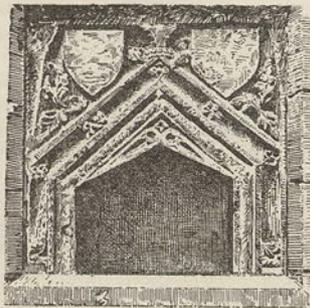
74. Do. The other LINTEL contains the same date and initials, together with those, presumably, of the owner's wife, 'H.B.', and in the place of a merchant's mark it has a shield containing a cross engrailed, forming four quarters, in the first and fourth of which is a heart, and in the second and third a quatrefoil or rose.

C.C. H.B.
SPES · ALTERA · VITAE · 1590

I am indebted to Mr. C. B. Boog Watson for ascertaining that the initials are those of Clement Cor (or Core) and of Helen

Bellenden, his wife. The unusual arms do not seem to be recorded. Clement Cor, merchant, eldest son of Andrew Cor, was made burgess and gild brother, by virtue of his deceased father's right, in 1566.

75. Do. A few yards lower down the close there is a sculptured NICHE (Class 2) built into a modern wall, containing two blank (?) shields. Mrs. Stewart Smith, who has a sketch of it at p. 62, *H.S.B.E.*, says that it was 'taken from the house of Thomas



Niche, Advocate's Close. See below.

Craig, first flat, Warriston Close.' I learn from Mr. C. E. S. Chambers that the stone was built into the northern front, and high up, of the house on the west side of Warriston's Close, and that it found a temporary resting-place in the Roxburgh Close buildings before being removed to its present situation. Closely examined, the shields seem to show traces of chevrons, resembling those on the Lintel No. 88, removed from the same or an adjoining site.

76. Do. Built into the wall lower down the close, on the same side, is a large PANEL (Class 2), the face of which has been covered with rough-cast. The edges are elaborately scalloped in an architectural pattern, but its use and meaning are not obvious.

It was brought from the same site as the last-mentioned stone, and placed in its present position by Mr. C. E. S. Chambers.

- 77-81. Do. A series of SHIELDS (Class 2), five or six in number, and containing devices, are set into the gables of the elevation of the works of Messrs. W. and R. Chambers that bounds the close on the east side. They look like ridge-ends or 'skew-puts,' of which one appears to occupy its original place in the adjoining wall above and to the south. One shield appears to bear, along with three mullets in chief, the letters

D. N.

Another SHIELD bears what appears to be two saltires impaled.

82. Roxburgh's Close. This steep and narrow alley, which originally bore the name of Cant's Close, derives its name, not from a supposed residence of the Kerrs, Earls of Roxburgh, but probably from John Roxburgh, a cook, who owned property in it in the first half of the seventeenth century (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 25). Wilson, who gives an illustration (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 10), says that 'only one doorway remained of the mansion reputed to be that of the Earls of Roxburgh.' Its LINTEL (Class 3) bore, in fine Roman lettering, the legend:

WHATEVER · ME · BEFALL · I.
THANK · THE · LORD · OF · ALL · I.M.

1586.

(R. Chambers's MS. Notes give the initials as 'I.L.M.S.')

83. Do. Built into the bottom of the wall half-way down Roxburgh's Close, on the west side, is a NICHE (Class 2), with arch of simple ogee form, and rudimentary finial.
84. Do. Farther down, on the right or opposite side, is a similarly placed ogival ARCH (Class 2), with much-defaced flamboyant ornament in the form of crockets and finial. The shield on the left-hand side contains the sacred monogram:

I H S.

The other shield is missing. These stones may give some support

to the tradition that there was a pre-Reformation chapel in Roxburgh Close.

85. Warriston's Close. The interposing Don's Close was obliterated with the rebuilding of the front in 1871 and subsequent widening of Warriston's Close, when, or at an earlier date, disappeared a number of the 'richly moulded and sculptured doorways surmounted by architraves, adorned with inscriptions and armorial bearings' (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 10), that formerly decorated this famous alley. It takes its name from Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, one of the framers of the National Covenant, who was executed at the Cross in 1663. But it has also been called at different times after other noteworthy owners or residents (among whom was John Knox), Bruce's, and Craig's Close. Some of these memorials, however, survive, built into later walls. Under the archway on the High Street, high up on the left-hand side, is a LINTEL (Class 2), inscribed:

M.T.C. NAMQUE ERIT ILLE MIHI SEMPER DEUS. 1583
H.H.

The front was of polished ashlar, and the story on the street level was supported on arches, while in front was the pavement known as 'Craig's plainstones.' There can be little difficulty in identifying the initials as those of the famous jurist, Sir Thomas Craig (died 1608), who built the house and lived here in the latter end of the sixteenth century. The 'M.T.C.' may be taken as standing for 'Magister Thomas Craig,' and the 'H.H.' for those of his wife Helen, daughter of Robert Heriot of Trabroun and Lymphoy. He was grandfather of Lord Wariston, the name-father of the Close; and other examples of his taste, and that of his son, Sir Lewis Craig (Lord Wrightshouses), in stone sculpturing and Latin inscription will be found at his country house at Riccarton. In its present position the lettering is difficult to read. R. Chambers's MS. Notes (1825) state that it was 'over the first door down on the left hand.'

86. Do. Wilson states that the windows of Craig's house, facing the High Street, were 'adorned with a curious monogram, indecipherable without a key.' It is possible that one of these

monograms is that carved on a small panel built over the High Street entrance to Warriston's Close, and containing apparently the letters 'M.T.C.H.' conjoined, which suggest 'Craig' and 'Heriot.'

87. Do. No obscurity of position or meaning interferes with reading the inscription on the LINTEL, built into a doorway lower down (west side) which bears :

GRACIA DEI
ROBERTUS · BRUISS

The two shields that flank the inscription contain the arms of the owner, Robert Bruce of Binning, who occupied the tenement in 1566 (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 27), and of Bruce impaled with those of his wife, who from the three unicorns' heads appears to have been a Preston, perhaps a relative of Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, who about the same period possessed an adjoining house to the east. A yet earlier date may perhaps be deducible from the grant, in December 1500, by Andrew, Abbot of Newbattle, to Robert Bruce of Binning and Mary Preston his spouse, of the 'Abbot's Lands' of West Binning. The Bruce arms on the dexter shield is charged with a unicorn's head in base, perhaps in compliment to the owner's wife, while the other Bruce saltire has a star or mullet in chief.

88. Do. Lower down the Close, and also on the west side and above a modern door, opposite to the panel marking the site of the 'manse' of John Knox in 1560, is an important LINTEL (Class 2). The inscription is defaced, but there has been read :

GRATIA DEI, THOMAS T . . .

On the tympanum beneath, inscribed on a shield, is a circle containing a trade mark, and the initials

T · T

It is flanked by other two shields, the dexter bearing a chevron between what appear to be three boars' heads, while the other has a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys. Tait and Telfers

lived in Don's Close, which bore their names at different periods, but, taken with the chief armorials, the initials seem rather to point to a member of the Trotter family who had property in different parts of the High Street, as had the Sydsers, whose arms agree with those on the shield on the spindle side.

89. **Royal Exchange.** A great gap was opened in the line of the ancient High Street by the destruction of the old closes and alleys that stood on the site of the Royal Exchange, begun in 1753, and further inroads on antiquity have been made by successive extensions of the Council Chambers long domiciled on the spot. The chief ornament of the main elevation facing the piazzaed quadrangle is the pediment with the City Arms and supporters, and the motto 'NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA,' surmounting the entablature of fluted Corinthian columns. The houses and closes destroyed in the middle of the eighteenth century, or since annexed, included Writers' Court, the early headquarters of the Signet Library, in which was 'Clerihugh's Tavern,' mentioned in *Guy Mannering*, and the house that belonged to Sir Simon Preston, to which, as recorded on a tablet, Mary Stewart was conveyed a prisoner by the Lords of the Congregation.

90. **Mary King's Close.** Farther east came King's or Mary King's Close (also called Touris and Brown's Close), which long before its demolition had a well-established reputation of being haunted; and Stewart's Close and Pearson's Close. Wilson (*M.O.E.*, p. 233) says that 'various sculptured stones,' belonging to the dwellings on the site, were 'built into the curious tower, erected by Walter Ross at the Dean, and popularly known as "Ross's Folly,"' certain of which, at the demolition of the tower, found their way to Abbotsford. Several of them, 'exhibiting considerable variety of carving,' were 'scattered about the garden grounds below the Castle,' and specimens have been gathered into the collection in Lady Stair's House. One richly carved stone, consisting of a decorated ogee arch, with crockets and finial, surmounted by shields was, in Wilson's time, 'built into a modern building at the foot of Craig's Close,' and its description tallies roughly with that of the niche already recorded (No. 84) at the foot of

Roxburgh's Close. Another, a LINTEL (Class 3), is said to have been 'discovered in clearing out the bed of the North Loch,' and to have borne the initials and date:

I.S. 1658

possibly those of James, 10th Lord Somerville; it is no longer in evidence, but may be conveniently entered here.

91. Do. In the course of the formation of Cockburn Street, in 1858-9, a mutilated sculptured slab of freestone was found, face downward, in the foundation wall of 'one of the oldest houses in the locality,' at the foot of Mary King's Close. It was presented to the Society of Antiquaries by Messrs. Wylie and Peddie in 1864; and is now in their collection. It is a PANEL (Class 2) now measuring 23 inches by 25 inches, probably an oblong, as both on the right and left-hand sides part of the scene appears to be broken away, and only part of the surrounding moulding is left. It is described as 'representing apparently a person of distinction in bed, at the point of death, and five persons, priests and others, about to administer the Sacraments of Communion and Extreme Unction of the Roman Catholic Church.' There are other two figures, apparently those of relatives. Mr. James Peddie, in the note accompanying the presentation (*S.A.S.P.*, vol. viii., p. 48) assigned the stone to 'the early fourteenth century,' which would make it one of the oldest, as well as most interesting, of High Street relics.

92. Craig's Close. There is nothing of antiquarian interest in Allan's Close, which had half a dozen aliases (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 30), but Craig's Close, the next to the east, also known by several other names, including Joysie's or Josiah's Close, which communicates with it, as well as with the High Street, is noteworthy, not only as the site of the 'heich buith' of Andro Hart, one of the earliest of Edinburgh printers, of the meetings of the 'Cape Club,' of the levees of Provost Creech, and of the establishment of Archibald Constable, from which issued the first numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, but also for having once possessed 'a stone tenement with moulded and mullioned windows, and a SHIELD (Class 3) on the lower crowstep of the north gable, bearing the Sinclair Arms' (*M.O.E.*, p. 335).



PANEL FROM MARY KING'S CLOSE

See p. 96

93. Do. Over an ancient doorway, now built up, was a LINTEL (Class 3) on which, within a label moulding, and with a shield, was sculptured :

MY · HOIP · IS · CHRYST
A.S. M.K. 1593.

R. Chambers's MS. Notes give 'M.E.' in place of 'M.K.'

94. Do. There still remains a doorway of much later date, but preceding the 'Forty-Five,' having on its LINTEL (Class 1) a date with mason's mark :

17 >< 44

95. Old Post Office Close. Next in order is Old Post Office Close (also known as Little's or Barron's Close), one of the abodes of the Edinburgh Post Office in the eighteenth century. In one of James Drummond's drawings (No. 20) there is shown a view of the Close, made in 1852, in which there is brought clearly into sight a doorway (west side) with a LINTEL (Class 1), having inscribed on it :

NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA
I.B. 1593 E.L.

with a shield of arms on either side, that to the left of the spectator bearing a chevron between, apparently, three birds, while the cognizance on the other shield is indistinguishable. The motto may be taken as indicating one who held, or had held, the office of Chief Magistrate. It should be noted that the inscription reproduces the initials 'I.B.' and 'E.L.' and the arms, believed to be those of John Bontine, on a lintel of seventy years' earlier date built into a wall off St. Mary's Street, near the site of the White Horse Inn, only that there the figure '2' occurs in place of '9,' the motto reads 'Deus' for 'Dominus,' and a pot of lilies (the emblem of the Virgin) is clearly engraved on the second shield of the stone bearing the older date. The initials 'I.B.' in conjunction with a shield bearing a bird (a 'bunting'?) with three mullets in chief appear on one of the Trinity College Church stones, visible from Chalmers' Close. The questions may be suggested whether Drummond's sketch has been wrongly localised, and the date, etc., erroneously noted ; or whether the stone has been removed

from the upper High Street to the Canongate; or whether the resemblance is a mere matter of coincidence?

96. **Anchor Close.** In the Anchor Close (also named Fowler's, Fisher's, and Fordyce Close), 'the Lord High Commissioner was long in the habit of holding his levees'; and here the Crochallan Club met and entertained Burns, in Dawney Douglas's tavern (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii., p. 33). It was occupied, along with the adjoining Old Post Office Close, by the *Scotsman* offices, until the removal of that newspaper to the North Bridge. Lower down the Close, which extends to Market Street, was the house of the famous Lord Provost, Sir George Drummond. It retains several sculptured memorials of its past. Over the first doorway (west side) in the archway entering from the High Street, is a LINTEL (Class 1) with the words:

THE · LORD · IS · ONLY · MY · SVPORT.

If the letters are still in place they have been rendered indistinguishable by whitewash.

97. **Do.** Lower down, on the same side and under the same heavily marked string-course, is a LINTEL (Class 1), with the legend:

O · LORD · IN · THE · IS · AL · MY · TRAIST.

98. **Do.** Another LINTEL (Class 2), further down, inserted in a newer building, bears:

O · LORD · BE · MERCIFUL · TO · ME.

99. **Do.** Wilson notes (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii., p. 20) that 'over a doorway still lower down the close,' is a LINTEL (Class 3) with initials and date cut in large letters:

W.R. C.M. 1616.

100. **Do.** And, in the house immediately below, destroyed in forming Cockburn Street in 1859, he found 'the only instance he had met with of a carved inscription over an interior doorway.' It appears to have formed the LINTEL (Class 3) of 'a small inner room in the sunk floor,' and read:

W.F. ANGVSTA · AD · VSVM · AVGVSTA. B.G.

The last word being probably an error for 'Augustam.' According to Wilson the initials are those of William Fowler, after whom the close was at one time named, probably 'the father of William Fowler, the poet, who was secretary to Queen Anne of Denmark and whose sister was the mother of Drummond of Hawthornden' (Nos. 99 and 100 are figured in *O.N.E.*, vol. i., p. 236). The inscription, translated 'A narrow house for the use of an august person,' may have reference to 'James the Sixth having once been entertained to dinner in the house' (*S.A.S.P.*, vol. viii.).

101. **Do.** Above one of the windows of the first story of the High



'Pelican Stone,' Anchor Close.

Street house, facing down the Close, is a heraldic PANEL (Class 2), with a shield bearing a cross quarterly, having on its first and second quarters a rose, and on the third and fourth quarters a pelican in a nest feeding her young with her own blood, and the date

1569.

The 'pelican in her piety,' is one of the quarterings on the arms of the Homes of Kames and Renton.

102. **Mylnes Square.** The closes and houses between Anchor Close and the opening formed by the North Bridge, broken through also by the formation of Cockburn Street, are not devoid of

historical and architectural interest. They include, or have included, Swan's Close, Geddes (formerly Hutcheson's or Richardson's) Close, North Foulis Close, Old Stamp Office Close (also known, from old and much frequented taverns, as Ship or Fortune's Close, the scene of the famous assemblies of the beautiful Susannah, Countess of Eglinton), Lyon's Close, Jackson's Close, the Fleshmarket Closes (of which there were three leading to the Fleshmarket or to Mylne's Square), Cachepool or Bull's Close (so named from the Black Bull tavern, on the site now occupied by the National Bank premises, in a cellar of which the signing of the Treaty of Union was completed); Conn's Close, Selater's Close, and Lee's Close; and on the space now taken up by North Bridge, Hart's and Cap-and-Feather Closes, the former named from the house of Andro Hart, and the latter the birthplace of Robert Fergusson, the poet. But so far as concerns sculptured or inscribed stones, the ground is 'drawn blank,' with the meagre exception recorded below. Milne's or Mylne's Square, swept away to make room for the new *Scotsman* buildings, was one of the city improvements undertaken by Robert Mylne, royal Master Mason, and architect of the newer part of Holyrood Palace. It was reached by a flight of steps from North Bridge. On the LINTEL (Class 3) of a handsome doorway on the south-west corner of the Square, was inscribed:

1689. A.B.

The initials are those of Alexander Borthwick, vintner, who owned a 'laigh tavern' and who preferred to build on his own ground, rather than dispose of it to the proprietor of the rest of the Square.

JOHN GEDDIE.

THE GARDENS OF THE CASTLE

PROBABLY none of the many visitors to the Castle of Edinburgh who look from its battlements on the Grassmarket, King's Stables Road, and Castle Terrace, ever imagine that there, stretching southwards, were in mediaeval times, royal gardens. Rather will they turn to the northern ramparts and, viewing the green and flowering enclosure known as West Princes Street Gardens, see in them the 'Pleasaunce' of the Scottish kings.

The old, royal gardens were nevertheless not there, but on the south and west sides of the Castle, the nearest being the kitchen garden, the terraced remains of which are still visible in the ground east of the Castle Wynd and behind the City Public Health Chambers in Johnston Terrace.

The great garden of mediaeval times was the orchard, which was not merely a fruit garden, but a 'Pleasure Ground where, during the warmer months of the year, people could, in the open air, play games, dance, sing, and otherwise amuse themselves or rest after a long journey, or after the chase. Foreign potentates were sometimes entertained in the orchard, where also one found the scenes recorded in the various romances, fabliaux, or short stories of the Middle Ages.'¹ Other features of the mediaeval orchard were the rabbit-warrens, the fish-ponds, and 'those isolated donjons,' the dovecots.

To fulfil all those functions the early mediaeval orchard was of necessity large. In Edinburgh it extended, on the

¹ Sir F. Crisp, *Mediaeval Gardens*, i. p. 31.

south-east, from the Grassmarket and King's Stables Road to the neighbourhood of Liberton, on the south, to the Burgh Muir, and on the west, to the borders of the King's farm, or 'Dal-ry'¹—a Celtic name implying that the farm was older than the twelfth century.

On the north side of the Castle the King's gardener evidently followed the prevailing fashion of the twelfth century in planting trees and shrubs about the base of the Rock,² and the evidence of hunting in the forest of Drumselch is testimony to the same meticulous attention to the practices of Royal Houses elsewhere, in having the hunting grounds on the north side of the Castle.³ Curiously, it is owing to the adventures of David I. in the forest of Drumselch that we possess our knowledge of the earliest recorded chapters in the history of the gardens of the Castle. In founding the Abbey of Holyrood, in 1128, as a thank-offering for his alleged miraculous delivery from the attack of an enraged stag, the King conferred on the Augustinian Canons, who were to become the inmates of the Abbey, large tracts of land in and around Edinburgh. Parts of these lands were below the Castle, and had previously been given by David to the secular clergy of St. Cuthbert's Church. Both Charters are preserved in the Chartulary of Holyrood.⁴ By the older of the Charters, David I. granted to the 'Church of St. Cuthbert next to the Castle of Edinburgh, all the land from the fountain that rises next the corner of the king's garden, on the way that leads to the same Church, and on the other side, below the castle, as far as a road below the castle towards the east.' The Charter in favour of the Canons, by which these lands

¹ The Sheriff of Edinburgh in 1335 noted in his Accounts the diminished value of the farm, which consisted of two and a half carucates (260 acres) worth in peace time, 9 chalders of corn at 20s. a chaldier, and 18 chalders of malt oats at 13s. 4d. a chaldier. As the result of the war the lands were worth only 14s. 4d. (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 378).

² Skene, *Archæol. Scot.*, ii. p. 471; *Court of Session Papers*, 1859, No. 35.

³ Sir F. Crisp, *Mediæval Gardens*.

⁴ *Lib. Sc. Crucis*, Nos. 1 and 3.

were transferred to them, cannot be dated more approximately than 1143-47. Its terms, so far as the lands of St. Cuthbert's are concerned, are identical with those of the older Charter, except in one important particular. In the earlier Charter the eastern boundary is given as 'a road'; in the Charter of 1143-47 it is 'a crag.'

Where were the gardens of the King and the lands thus gifted to the Churchmen? From the landmarks mentioned in both deeds, the situation of the gardens and of the lands must have been perfectly well understood in the twelfth century. Modern inquirers, however, have more difficulty in identifying the actual localities referred to in the Charters, a circumstance due to the changes in certain names, and the removal of the chief landmark—the fountain. In consequence of these alterations all the writers hitherto have attempted to identify the well at the Well-House Tower in West Princes Street Gardens as the fountain referred to in the Charters, and the 'road' or 'crag' as lying somewhere towards the east part of the Castle Rock.¹ That mistake has arisen from an endeavour to interpret the Charter of 1143-47 (the earlier deed seems to have escaped the notice of historians of the city) by itself. But neither, nor both together, make the situation clear. It is not until one examines some Charters of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries relating to the property of the 'Barras,' or disused tournament ground, which was situated in what is now King's Stables Road (between the corner of its junction with the lane near the Grassmarket and the bridge that spans the road), that the matter becomes quite clear. One of these Charters, dated 1578, describes the lands of the Barras as 'extending to St. Margaret's Well, lying on the south below the Castle; between

¹ Maitland (*Hist. of Edin.*, p. 146) is the earliest writer who makes this mistake—due entirely to the removal of the fountain from the 'Way to St. Cuthbert's'; and to the inability to consult the twelfth century titles. Later writers have been content to follow Maitland.

Polcatslieve and Orchardfield on the south; the public way to St. Cuthbert's on the north, the said fountain on the west, and the lands called the King's Stables on the east.'¹

The 'Way to St. Cuthbert's' was the earliest known name² of the road, which has been styled 'King's Stables Road' since 1827, when the road was widened and improved. Immediately prior to that year, it bore the name of 'Queensferry Road,' and sometimes 'Ferry Road' (that being the designation given in the second half of the eighteenth century), instead of the time-honoured 'Way to St. Cuthbert's.'

The 'fountain' had been removed long before 1753, when Maitland published his *History*, but it was there during the siege of the Castle in 1573. The fountain then supplied the needs of the besieged garrison of Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who 'used a postern gate beside St. Cuthbert's Church where, until Captain Mychell came from Dundee with his band, they had liberty to go in and out and to fetch water at St. Margaret's Well, hard beside. After his coming the well was poisoned with white arsenic and new lime stones and filled up with dead carrions.'³

The well was therefore either on the site of the causewayed King's Stables Road, or on the grassy slopes on its southern side, and to it, and not to that at the Well House Tower, belongs the long history dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

The well or fountain on the site of King's Stables Road marked 'the corner of the king's garden,' and that of the lands given by David I. to the Church. The position of each of these areas is easily ascertained. The glebe of St. Cuthbert's still extends from the eastern wall of its churchyard, across the King's Stables Road, to St. Mark's Chapel, 5 Castle Terrace, and as far west as the railway station of the L.M.S. Company.

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1543-80), No. 2813.

² Cf. Edgar's Map of Edinburgh, 1742 and 1765.

³ *Cal. of Scottish Papers*, iv. p. 474.

That area, and probably more, must have formed the western portion of the Church lands in the twelfth century, so that the fountain lay farther east, towards the Grassmarket end of King's Stables Road. This makes intelligible the description given in the later title-deeds of the estate of Orchardfield, as the royal orchard was then styled. In one of these the lands are entered as 'lying near the Castle of Edinburgh, on the west part thereof, betwixt the lands and lordship of Dalry on the west, the common gate below the castle on the east, and the king's common passage on the south parts.'¹ In another title preserved in the Register House, reference is made to a 'Piece of grass ground along the foot of the great orchard and yards of said lands of Orchardfield betwixt that piece of ground called the "burrows" (*i.e.* barras) belonging of old to the King's stables under the Castle to the east and St. Margaret's Well on the north and west parts.' From a third title the northern boundary of the Orchard is placed on the southern boundary of the lands of Coates, which is represented by the northern side of Shandwick Place.²

These titles, which still apply to properties within the area comprised by Castle Terrace, the south side of Shandwick Place and West Maitland Street, the north sides of Morrison Street and Bread Street, and the west side of West Port, do not indicate the original area—that is, the orchard of David I. Lavish gifts of lands, by the kings who succeeded David, were made to knights and favoured subjects. The earliest were on either side of the *Regis Vicus*, *Regia Via*, the later High Street, the gardens of which stretched on the one side to the margin of what later became the Nor' Loch,³ and on the other to the arable land of the valley which, in the fourteenth century, was changing to street: the *Novus*

¹ From Charter, dated 1719, in favour of Margaret Hamilton of Earlshall, furnished by Mr. J. Paterson, Crown Receiver of Rents.

² For these descriptive titles I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Macqueen, Sasine Office, General Register House.

³ See *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), *passim*.

Vicus or 'New Bigging Street'¹ and, in the second half of the seventeenth century (and not till then), was termed 'The Grassmarket.' The Militant Order of Knights Templar were among the early recipients of lands that till then had formed part of the kitchen garden and the orchard. In addition to their lands on the site of the Grassmarket, they had a huge tract on the western section of the orchard, still recorded in the titles to properties in Lothian Road, the railway ground there, Castle Terrace, Cambridge Street, Cornwall Street, Spittal Street, Grindlay Street, the north side of Bread Street, and Morrison Street. Such are the 'Temple Lands of Orchardfield.'

Although there is no positive evidence that the High Riggs estate was part of the original orchard, one may reasonably infer that it was. A very early reference to the 'Pomarium super montem prope Castellum,' points to the ridge of the Grassmarket, where now stands George Heriot's School. That was the eastern portion of High Riggs, which is defined in a Charter of 1458 as 'bounded on the south and east by the King's High Ways and on the west by the lands of Tollcross.'² The estate was then in the possession of John de Touris, who, in that year, gave it to his son. There is no record of any prior Charter of the lands of High Riggs, but one may conjecture that they were conferred on that Sir John de Touris, who was one of the foremost knights of David II, and the principal factor in the recapture of Berwick Castle in 1355.³

The estate of High Riggs lay north of the lands of William de Liberton, who, in 1420, is designated Bailie.⁴ Those lands are termed 'Orchardfield,' which indicates that in 1430, the date of the Charter, a remnant of the orchard was farther

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), No. 164; *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 346.

² *Ibid.* (1424-1513), No. 616.

³ *Bower's Continuation of Fordun*, Book xiv. cap. 35.

⁴ *Laing Charters*, No. 97; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424-80), No. 180. The Libertons were derived from David de Liberton, King's Serjeant, *tempore* David II. His 'serjeantry lands' were in Upper Liberton (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1363), App. 1, No. 147).

south than the most southerly boundary shown in the later titles in the Register House. It also suggests that the expression in these titles describing the southern boundary as 'the royal highways on the south and east' meant, in the early fourteenth century, the roads now known as Lauriston Place, Teviot Place, and Bristo Port. The section east of the High Riggs was gifted by James I. to the Grey Friars, and that area, added to the High Riggs, namely from its junction with the Greyfriars ground¹ to its western boundary at the Tollcross, would make up the main part of the old orchard, as established by David I.

Within the later limits, however, we are on surer ground. If the titles of the properties within the Lothian Road area commemorate the name of the Orchard Field,² no less do certain landmarks in that neighbourhood. Morrison Street has on its south side the border of the old royal farm ('Dalry'), which terminated at what is now the west side of Lothian Road, having West Fountainbridge on the south and Morrison Street on the north. Within these boundaries, and as far west as Semple Street, were the 'Castle Barns,' once more undergoing a change, from its century-old uses as a Canal Basin, to another form of industrial enterprise. There, in mediaeval times, stood the granaries of the royal farm and the dwellings of the workers.

On the north side of Morrison Street (the border of the old orchard) one may yet see 'Orchardfield Court,' a quaint building with an arched entrance, popularly styled 'Castle Barns' as the 'next-of-kin' to the once real Castle Barns on the south side of the street. 'Orchardfield Entry,' slightly west, is at present boarded up, and will probably shortly disappear. Continuing in an easterly direction, one comes to

¹ Cf. Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. p. 265.

² Besides an old tenement that bore the name of Orchardfield, the name of 'Orchardfield Square' was suggested for a thoroughfare near the site of the Usher Hall, and is so marked on Ainslie's Plan of 1804.

Bread Street, which, in earlier times, was known by the more appropriate names of 'Orchardfield Place' and 'Orchardfield Street,' Spittal Street dividing the 'Place' on the west from the 'Street' on the east.¹

The marches of the orchard were along the north side of Bread Street, the south side being the northern boundary of the 'Tollcross Lands,' the 'northmost crofts' of which became the site of the tenements that extend from there to East Fountainbridge.

The fifteenth century royal orchard was terminated on the east by the west boundary of the High Riggs estate (the manor house of which long stood at what is now the north-west corner of Lauriston Street), whence it marched till it reached the King's Stables, which were built on the most northerly part of the old orchard. There, too, by their mere establishment, the character of the remaining portion of the once extensive orchard was considerably changed. The intruded garrison of Edward III., who held the Castle from 1335 to 16th April 1341, was responsible for the beginning

¹ '6 Mar. 1811. Sas. to Trs. of Robert Sempill, Brewer, Castlebarns, in 1 acre 3 roods 34 fall of land at Castlebarns of the lands of Brandsfield, formerly called Dalry, bounded betwixt the highway from Edinr. to Saughtonhall Bridge on the south, the highway leading from said Burgh to the Coltbridge on the north, the cross highway which leads from one of the said highways to the other on the east, and the other lands of Brandsfield formerly called Dalry on the west, with privilege of the well called Foullbridge Well, on Charter Confirmation and Novodamus by James Walker, one of the Principal Clerks of Session. 4 Sept. 1810.'

² '11 Sept. 1810. Sas. Barbara Robb or Paterson and Agnes Robb as heirs portioners of James Robb in acre of ground of the lands of Orchardfield and houses built thereon, lying on the north side of the road opposite to the House of Castlebarns, extending in front twenty ells, betwixt the stone-quarry sometime possessed by Dame Elizabeth Anderson having the King's highway on the south and westwards and so northward, being an acre square as the same is bounded and described in a Feu Con. between the heirs portioners of Agnes Campbell, Lady Raeburn, and Janet Robb, spouse of William Lindsay, Gardener at Castlebarns, and the exact bounding of the said acre is now by ground feued by John Wightman of Maulslie to Robert Tenant in King's Knows on the east, the King's highway on the south and the ground sometime belonging in property to the said John Wightman in the west and north parts.'

of the stables. Finding the stable within the Castle 'quite unroofed,'¹ and inadequate for the needs of their nine knights, forty-nine men-at-arms, and sixty mounted archers, preparations were made for the building of a 'Great Stable' below the Castle, the details of which are given in their accounts, along with the money disbursed on timber from the Baltic ports, and the wages that were paid to the masons, carpenters, smiths, carters, porters, and others employed on the fabric. When the English were forced to surrender the Castle, the 'Great Stable' was either unfinished or damaged, as David II. had similar accounts to meet for work done on the stables.² That much decried King, whose love of horses of all sorts is attested by the purchases mentioned in the *Exchequer Rolls*, made considerable use of the 'Great Stable.'

The workmen who were employed, first in the erection of the stable, and later, the stable hands³—the farriers, ostlers, saddlers, cartwrights, carpenters, lorimers, masons, and gardeners—had their dwellings close by, a fact which may account for the origin of the township of the West Port. These workers and tradesmen with their families were also linked up with those whose labours lay in and around the King's farm of 'Dalry,' and who dwelt beside the Castle Barns. Both groups made up the Barony of Wester Portsburgh.

Castle Barns and King's Stables were granaries for the produce of the farm and meadows belonging to the King. Among the many references to this service of the barns, an entry of 1373 records that thirty-one chalders of corn and thirty-four chalders of malt had lain in the Castle Barns for seven weeks before being sent to the Castle for the use of the royal household.⁴ Quantities of hay were sent from the

¹ *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 216.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 252, and *Introd.* p. xlix.

³ *Exch. Rolls*, ii. p. 246.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

King's Meadows at Dalry and Liberton¹ to the King's Stables, fodder, doubtless, for oxen and horses. The name Haymarket may have arisen from the hay sold at the Castle Barns. The Grassmarket has undergone many changes since the twelfth century, when the Abbeys of Kelso and Cambuskenneth had crofts there.² In the first half of the fourteenth century, however, houses were being built to such an extent as to cause the hitherto unnamed street to be styled 'New Bigging Street.'³ These houses were, in many cases, built on ground that had formerly been part of the kitchen garden of the Castle, but it was the King's Stables that led to the feature for which the Grassmarket was most remarkable, namely, the sale of horses, cattle, and sheep. These animals were taken from the King's lands in Bute, Carrick, Mar, and elsewhere, and sold beside the King's Stables.⁴ Grass does not appear among the entries, but may have been part of the market.

More importance appears to have been attached to the agricultural than to the horticultural side. There were cattle markets, but apparently no fruit markets. The accounts, however, mention some fruits, vegetables, and flowers that were grown. Onions, leeks, syboes, cabbages, peas, beans, and garlic are the vegetables most frequently noted in the *Exchequer Rolls*, while of the fruits, the apple, pear, cherry, strawberry, and plum are most prominent. Those articles which the Scottish gardens lacked were made good by importation, as the recurrence of many foreign fruits in the *Exchequer Rolls* amply prove.

Roses, gilliflowers, cinnamon flowers (*flores canellae*),

¹ Patrick, the porter at the Castle, is mentioned in the accounts more than once. In 1380 he was given £4, 13s. 4d. for carting hay from the King's Meadow to the Stables (*Exch. Rolls*, iii. p. 53).

² *Lib. de Calchou*, No. 475. *Lib. de Cambusk.*, p. 129.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), No. 164.

⁴ In 1386, e.g. 100 cattle and 100 sheep were sent (*Exch. Rolls*, ii. p. 306). See also *Exch. Rolls*, vi. p. 46.

crocuses, and primroses were features of the gardens of the Castle, though flowers in general were not, in mediæval times, cultivated with the idea of delighting the eye, but with the sole object of providing either food or medicine. The violet was used as a salad herb, and was eaten raw with onions and lettuce; while roses and primroses were cooked and served with milk, sugar, and honey. A decoction from the rose was also used for medical purposes.

The flower garden as simply a place of beauty was, it is said, unknown until the end of the sixteenth century, which appears to be an exaggeration. The churchmen of the Middle Ages were the greatest gardeners of their time. At their head was Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), a distinguished priest, who wrote of flowers in monastery gardens as intended for the pleasure of sight and smell. Flowers were used by the clergy in the decoration of altars and shrines, for chaplets or wreaths for the head, and for all great functions when the priests were crowned with flowers.

The English invasion of 1335 played havoc with the gardens of the Castle, a fact which the Sheriff of Edinburgh, acting as the accountant of Edward III., deplored. 'No rent from the kitchen garden below the castle on the south, though it used to be worth twelve pence a year,' and 'none from the orchard which was valued at thirteen shillings and four pence annually.'¹ The gardeners had apparently made good some of the damage, as, in the following year, the same Sheriff reported both kitchen garden and orchard to be worth five shillings and ten pence.² David II. evidently tried to improve the gardens, though the bare title of a Charter, appointing Malcolm Paganson his gardener in 1363,³ is all that remains to show the royal interest. In the first half of the fifteenth century the royal gardens had once more fallen into disorder,

¹ *Cal. of Docts. Relating to Scotland*, iii. p. 327.

² *Ibid.*, p. 376.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), App. 2, No. 985.

payment being made in 1435 of a sum of '£8 to Nicholas Plummar and the heirs of the "late" Walter Masoun, Master of Works,' for 'completing the herb garden of the king.'¹

In England and on the Continent the 'orchard was, at the close of the fifteenth century, giving way to the smaller garden,'² but in Edinburgh it had been undergoing the change to a smaller garden long before. In addition to the curtailment caused by the settlement of private subjects on parts of the orchard, the kings who had favoured the Castle as their residence had been succeeded by others who chose to dwell elsewhere. James III. preferred Linlithgow, while James IV. and James V. established gardens at Stirling and Falkland.³

But the decline of the royal gardens in Edinburgh was counterbalanced by the private gardens which grew out of them. If there was any tendency on the part of the smaller holders to neglect the cultivation of their gardens, their superiors were empowered to see that they had trees and broom commensurate with their holdings.⁴ James III. also passed a measure requiring all freeholders to make their tenants plant trees and hedges, and to sow broom 'after the faculties of their mailings in convenient places.'⁵ Further heavy penalties were meted out to 'stealers of green wood and destroyers of trees' and to 'breakers of orchards, stealers of fruit, and destroyers of cunningars (rabbit warrens) and dovecots.'⁶

It is hardly probable that the gardens of the Castle of Edinburgh, or those elsewhere, ever equalled the gardens of the Church and the various Religious Orders, a circumstance not entirely explained by the frequent intrusion of hostile armies in their midst. The King's gardeners seem to have

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, iv. p. 623.

² Crisp, *Mediaeval Gardens*, i. p. 31.

³ *Exch. Rolls and Ld. Treas. Accounts*, *passim*.

⁴ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 7. Capital punishment was meted out to three men, convicted in the Justiciary Court of Edinburgh in 1623 for stealing from the gardens of Barnton, Liberton, etc. (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 555).

been frequently incompetent or neglectful of their duties, since the entries in the *Exchequer Rolls* of payments to these officials are sometimes accompanied by such remarks as 'male meritis' (ill-earned) 'inmeritis'¹ (unearned), while one or two are entered as 'dismissed.' The first duty of the King's gardener appears to have been to provide his royal master with a sufficient supply of onions and mustard, his failure to do so in regard to the onions (eight barrels) resulting in no payment being made in 1493 and 1494 to John Gardiner.² But perhaps the season and not the gardener was at fault.

In all those lapses of the King's gardeners, the assistance of the Churchmen was invoked,³ and the results appear to have been quite satisfactory. The most fruitful and ornate gardens in the neighbourhood of the Castle were the gardens of St. Giles, which extended from the Church to the Cowgate; the gardens of the Blackfriars, stretching southwards from the Cowgate; and those of the Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields (better known as Kirk o' Field), which covered an area roughly represented by the old University buildings, Infirmary Street, High School Yards, and part of the Cowgate, adjacent to these streets. From the last-mentioned garden James IV. obtained in 1499 the seeds required for his 'new garden' in the ward of Stirling Castle.⁴

By the end of the fifteenth century, the gardens of the Castle were in waste, while those two once flourishing parts of them, the King's Stables and the Barras, were in a declining state. Originating together, they declined almost simultaneously with the rising popularity of Holyrood Palace as a rival residence. It was because of this that the King's Stables

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, *passim*.

² In 1496 the King's auditors paid Gardiner £5, 6s. 8d. for the two years. *Ibid.*, x. p. 589.

³ See *Exch. Rolls*, particularly vols. x., xi., and xii., for payments made to Friar Archd. Hamilton, Friar John Cauldwell, and Provost David Traill.

⁴ *Exch. Rolls*, vol. xi.

became a 'waste' and were sold in 1527 to Robert Baillie,¹ from whom the property can be traced to the present day.

The first chapter in the history of the Barras dates from 1335-36, when the English knights began to prepare the flat green sward immediately west of the King's Stables for tilting.² David II. put the finishing touches to the Barras, and paid the Constable of the Castle for all outlays.³ In 1398 Queen Annabella, wife of Robert III., held a tournament at the Barras⁴ in which tilted twelve knights, of whom the principal was her son, the unfortunate David, who was about the same time created Duke of Rothesay. The last chapter in its active career belongs to the year 1500, when Jean de Coupance met more than his match in Sir Patrick Hamilton.⁵ The Barras was then the most notable as well as picturesque part of the royal gardens, and the magnificent spectacle afforded the multitude who lined the enclosure, of two warriors in deadly encounter, was a thrilling experience even in that age.

This memorable occasion had two interesting sequels, one of which does not concern us here, but the other may be mentioned. The priest, who was as indispensable on these occasions as the Constable, the Earl Marshal, and the Heralds, in swearing the contestants on the Gospels, and in administering absolution to the dying, had no chapel in the vicinity. In order that he might officiate thenceforth within such seemly precincts, James IV. gave orders for the building of a chapel at the east end of the Barras, *i.e.* in the middle of the lane which can still be seen a few yards from the Grassmarket, and which had till lately the name of 'Lady Wynd.' The chapel, known as 'St. Mary's below the Castle Wall,' was in use in 1508,⁶ but had become a ruin by about 1750. The

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1513-46), No. 484.

² *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 369.

³ *Exch. Rolls*, ii. pp. 129, 177, 222.

⁴ Bower's *Continuation of Fordun*, ii. p. 421.

⁵ *Pitcottie's Hist. of Scot.* (Scot. Text Soc. ed.), i. p. 234.

⁶ *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, i. No. 1689.

purpose for which it was erected has hitherto escaped notice. Its first incumbent was Sir James Ellem,¹ whose duties were not confined to the rare occasions of a trial by combat or a tournament, but included the conduct of a daily service, in which prayers were said for the soul of the royal founder of the chapel. The annual emoluments of the chaplain were £13, 6s. 8d. Ellem, who held office until his death in 1545,² was reprovved for neglect of duty in the years 1531, 1532, and 1533, though on one occasion it was shown that the building could not be used. The office of chaplain was maintained until 1592, when Jerome Bowie had the appointment and the fee.³ Tournaments had then long been in abeyance, but not trials by combat. In the year 1602 orders were issued for the settlement by combat in the Barras⁴ of a charge of treason, made by an Italian against Moubray of Barnbogle. James VI., however, with characteristic timidity, revoked the order, but the luckless Moubray, in trying to escape from the Castle, fell on the rocks and was killed.⁵

Although the chaplaincy ceased with Jerome Bowie, the office of 'custodian' or 'watcher' of the Barras continued long after its original purpose had been forgotten. All who obtained sasine of the lands of the King's Stables with 'the piece of green land known as the Barras' were charged with the maintenance of its walls, a clause which was in operation until the close of the seventeenth century.⁶

The proprietors and the tenants of the King's Stables and Barras were for many generations brewers and tanners. One of the most eminent families of the seventeenth century residing there were the Borelands, one of whom, Thomas Boreland, sold the superiority to the Town in 1654.⁷ In 1685, however, the deed was reduced by the Court of Session

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, xiii. p. 96.

² *Ibid.*, xviii. p. 90.

³ *Ibid.*, xxii. p. 224; cf. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1648, No. 1974, and 1663, No. 536.

⁴ *Reg. P. C.*, vi. p. 531 n.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1660-68), No. 536.

⁷ *Edin. T. C. Reg.*

in an action brought against Borelands by the Constable of the Castle,¹ on the ground that the King's Stables formed part of the Castle property, and were inalienable. In consequence of the decree the Magistrates to this day pay to the Crown annually the sum of three shillings and nine pence²—the modern equivalent of the old feu-duty of forty-five shillings Scots.

In the eighteenth century, the Grindlays, who were tanners, were probably the most distinguished business men in the King's Stables. Two brothers, George and John, acquired the Temple lands of Orchardfield, *i.e.* all the area between the King's Stables and the south side of Bread Street and Morrison Street, including the intervening portion of Lothian Road as far as Castle Terrace. The memory of the Grindlays is perpetuated, not only in the name of the street, off Lothian Road, but in the documents of their Trustees, the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, who administer the revenues derived from the Temple lands of the Orchardfield for behoof of the trusts of James Gillespie, the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, George Watson's College, and the Royal Infirmary.

Until the year 1811 the lands of Orchardfield were arable,³ but their value was vastly increased when the Town Improvement Commissioners, acting under the local Act of 1827, constructed Johnston Terrace and linked up the Lothian Road area with the Lawnmarket. That led to a great demand for feus on the land of the Orchard, from which the Trustees of the Grindlays have largely benefited.

In their operations the Commissioners formed Johnston Terrace out of the south Castle Bank, permission for which interference with the Castle pertinents had to be obtained from the then Secretary for War, the Duke of Wellington. They also purchased 'Livingstone's Yards,' in King's Stables

¹ Fountainhall's *Hist. Notices*, ii. p. 626-7.

² Hunter and Paton, *The Common Good*, p. 24.

³ Report to Edin. Merchant Co. by their factor, T. Strong, W.S. (1867), p. 5.

Road, near the spot where, seven hundred years earlier, David I. established the Church gardens on the west and north sides of the Castle.

As the north side was part of what are now West Princes Street Gardens, the question arises: Was any portion of this ground a part of the gardens of the King or of the Castle? The area was originally divided into three sections by a burn and later by the Nor' Loch, as follows:—(a) the area extending from St. Cuthbert's Church eastwards, with its northmost boundary at the Lang Dykes, now identified with the site of Rose Street, and its southern at the margin of the burn or loch; (b) the water in the valley; and (c) the Castle Banks, together with the strip of land at their base. In the earliest recorded period, the first or northern section was held by St. Cuthbert's secular clergy and then by the Canons Regular of Holyrood. As this is not the *locus* stated by writers on the subject, it is well to scrutinise the terms of the Charters of 1127 and 1143-47.

It has been mentioned that the fountain on or near the site of King's Stables Road marked the south-eastern boundary of the Churchmen's gardens, the present glebe of St. Cuthbert's forming the western portion of their lands. These lands were stated in both charters to lie 'along the other side' (of the way to St. Cuthbert's) until a road was reached, or a crag 'below the Castle towards the east.' Both 'road' and 'crag' are situated in the vicinity of the Calton Gaol. The road—Leith Wynd—was then, and for centuries later, the only thoroughfare in that neighbourhood. The 'crag' had no other designation until late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century, when it was styled the 'Dhu Crag,'¹ 'Dow Crag,'² 'Craigengalt,'³ and in more recent times 'Nigel's' or 'Neil's Crag.'⁴ An old chapel, which was removed in 1847, to make way for the railway station, bore

¹ *Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 52, p. 635.

² *Diurnal of Occurrences*, p. 213.

³ *Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 52, p. 635.

⁴ *Ibid.*

on the lintel of its door the legend, 'Craig End.'¹ Finally, the Charter of Confirmation of Malcolm IV. referred to the lands of the Canons of Holyrood 'with the part at the Crag belonging to it'² (the Abbey).

The Calton site also fulfils the phrase in the Charter 'below the Castle towards the east.' In treating of lands situated at a distance from the Castle, expressions of a like nature are common in charters of a much later date. For example, in a deed of 1629 referring to George Heriot's Hospital, there occur the words, 'below the Castle Wall on the south side of the royal road'³ (*i.e.* High Street). Had the crag been situated at the Castle, the scribe would have used the genitive of 'Castellum' instead of 'sub Castello,' *i.e.* 'of' in place of 'below' the Castle.

From the west end of the present Princes Street to the Calton Crag may therefore be said to have formed part of the gardens of the Castle during the residence of the Canons in the citadel, which continued until at least the year 1208.⁴ The more southerly sections of the Gardens of to-day, *i.e.* the area covered by the Castle Bank and adjacent land, find no place in the history of the Gardens. That they were ever under cultivation, their northerly exposure and the complete silence of the earlier chroniclers render exceedingly improbable. The history of the Castle Bank belongs more particularly to that appanage of the Castle, the Well-House Tower, the active career of which may be traced from 1335-36.⁵

The 'Castle Bankis and Brayis,' *i.e.* the grassy slopes on the north, south, and west sides of the Castle, had been claimed by Town Councils as their property from the early seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Their right to these lands was recognised by James VI. in the 'Golden Charter' granted to the Town Council in 1603,⁶ but was

¹ Wilson, *Memoriats of Edin.*, ii. p. 364. 174

² *Lib. Sc. Crucis*, p. 22.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1620-33), No. 1423.

⁴ *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. No. 434.

⁵ *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, iii. p. 359; Skene, *Art. in Archaeol. Scot.*, ii. p. 471.

⁶ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1593-1608), No. 1427.

evidently regarded with a considerable degree of suspicion by Charles I.¹ who, while confirming his father's Charter in every other respect, recalled to the Crown the Castle Banks, 'without prejudice to any prior right which the Town or any burgesses had to them.'² Their right, which dated from 'ancient times,' the Town Council asserted in an action instituted in the Court of Session in 1771, and, owing to the Crown officials failing to produce evidence of their title, obtained judicial recognition in a 'Decree of Certification' given in their favour.³ But the tables were reversed in the more important law-suit of 1859-61, when the Courts found that the 'Castle Bankis and Brayis' were, and always had been, Crown property.⁴

The proof in that action threw much light upon the uses to which the land now known as West Princes Street Gardens was put, though the evidence went no farther back than the seventeenth century. While there was no proof to show that the Castle Banks were ever part of the Gardens of the Castle, there was abundant testimony indicating that the Castle authorities owned them. The grandson of a Grassmarket stabler who, as a boy, accompanied his relatives when they went to cut the grass either on the north or the south bank, recollected the annual payments made to the Crown Agent,⁵ and the Accountant who spoke to the presence of nineteen houses on the south bank whose tenants, until they were all removed about the year 1850 (known as 'encroachers' or 'squatters'), paid each to the Crown one shilling a year,⁶ were both independent witnesses who confirmed the evidence of the Castle officials, who had been accustomed to perambulate the Crown boundaries annually, and of a Corporal

¹ Cf. *Reg. Privy Council*, 2nd ser., vols. i. p. 590; iii. pp. 433, 634, 637.

² Absque prejudicio alienjus prioris juris quod dictus burgus aut aliqui ejus burgenses ad easdem habuerunt (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1634-51)), No. 605.

³ Cited in *Session Rep.*, 2nd ser., vol. xxii. p. 222.

⁴ *Ibid.*; affirmed by H. L., 3 Macq., p. 1.

⁵ Reports of Court of Session Cases, 2nd ser., vol. 22, p. 241. 1861, 3 Macq., p. 1.

⁶ *Session Papers*, 1859, No. 35. *Ibid.*

of the Royal Engineers whose plan showed the houses and the Crown boundaries. As a result of all this evidence, the boundaries, which were declared to be those of the Crown, may be traced from the entrance gate in King's Stables Road (where a stone next to St. Cuthbert's Wall is marked with the initials of the War Department), along by that Wall, and the centre of the railway to the Mound, and thence to the Castle Esplanade. All within that area was part of the Castle, but, so far as one can judge, never part of its Gardens. On the other side, the Crown boundaries extend from the foot of the Esplanade to the eastern side of Upper and Lower Castle Wynd, thence to the King's Stables Road, as far as the entrance gate of the Gardens there.

From that old 'Way to St. Cuthbert's,' alongside the Gardens, there ran a road to the gate of the Castle, near which the sons of Queen Margaret hurried down one November day in 1093 with the body of their dead mother. Near it, too, Randolph and his daring band climbed the Rock and captured the Castle. And a bright cavalcade was noticed there on a sunny September afternoon in 1561, when Mary Queen of Scots chose that way for her approach to the Castle.¹ It was the most secluded part of the precincts for ingress to, or egress from, the citadel, a fact which the besieged garrison of Kirkaldy of Grange knew well, they having made use of it for their secret supplies of water from the Well of St. Margaret, in the 'Way to the Church below,' until Captain Mitchel put an end to the practice. And it was along that 'Way' and up the same slopes that, more than a century later, Claverhouse went to have his talk with the Duke of Gordon.

These Castle slopes faced the royal Gardens and the Fountain of St. Margaret, and it is in the long-vanished 'fountain of St. Margaret on the Way to St. Cuthbert's' that we have the key to the Gardens of the Castle.

C. A. MALCOLM.

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrences*, p. 67.

SOME INNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE purpose of this paper is to set forth the result of certain researches made by the writer regarding some of the old inns of Edinburgh and of the life connected with them. The period covered by the narrative is roughly the last forty years of the eighteenth century, a period which witnessed not only the development of the stage coach, but a marked improvement in the standard of comfort prevailing at the inns. Indeed, before the eighteenth century closed, the old-fashioned and unwholesome inn of which we read in the pages of Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* had to a large extent been transformed into the modern hotel.

The subject is a wide one, and bristles with difficulties. Many important as well as interesting points have arisen during a somewhat prolonged investigation, and the writer regrets that owing partly to lack of time and partly to limitations of space he has been unable to deal as fully as he should have liked with the available material. It will therefore be obvious that the narrative makes no pretence to being exhaustive. It is based for the most part on scraps of information gleaned from the advertising columns of contemporary newspapers, from title-deeds and other documents, and from books not readily accessible. The material regarding certain inns is abundant, but about others it is tantalisingly meagre, and in consequence one of the difficulties has been to preserve a sense of proportion.

As the situation of the main roads very frequently deter-

mined the sites of inns, it is desirable in the first place to give a brief account of the chief highways between England and Scotland. At the end of the eighteenth century there were several stage roads from London to Edinburgh. The East Road was by Grantham, York, Newcastle, Morpeth, Berwick, Dunbar, and Haddington, the Scottish capital being entered by the Water Gate. The Mid Road proceeded from London as far as Morpeth by the same stages as the East Road, but at that place it diverged, the remaining portion of the route being by Rimside, Whittington, With-head, Wooler, Cornhill, Greenlaw, Norton, and Blackshiels. Later, however, there was an alternative Mid Road, which, like the other, kept to the East Road as far as the Borders, but on entering Scotland diverged slightly, Kelso and Lauder being included in the stages. Both Mid Roads entered Edinburgh by Crosshouse and the Pleasance. Lastly, there was the West or Carlisle Road, which, proceeding by Hawick, Selkirk, and Middleton, entered Edinburgh by Buccleuch Street and Bristo. The Mid and West Roads were connected by the Crosscauseway. Further, the Mid Road was connected with the Port of Leith by means of St. Mary's Wynd and Leith Wynd.

Whatever may have been the use of the East Road when travelling was mainly on horseback, it would appear that in the earlier coaching days (*i.e.* after the middle of the eighteenth century) it was not so popular as the Mid Road. Moreover, on the East Road carriage traffic was a matter of great difficulty, owing to the ravines on the border of East Lothian and Berwickshire, especially the Pease Glen.

Certain facts as to the development and merits of the respective roads may be gleaned from contemporary newspapers. For instance, on 6th July 1761 it was publicly announced 'that for the more speedy and better accommodation of noblemen, gentlemen and others who shall have occasion to travel between Edinburgh and Newcastle by

way of Wooler (which is considerably shorter than by way of Haddington),' there were available

'neat four wheel'd postchaises with able horses and careful drivers to go at 9d. per measured mile at each of the following stages, viz. Andrew M'Pherson's at Channelkirk, James Buchan's at Greenlaw, James Kerr's at Cornhill, Henry Howay's at Woolerhaugh-head and Thomas Scott's at Whittington, which goes from thence to Morpeth and from that to Newcastle.'

Again, on 20th May 1767, the West Road was advertised as 'one of the finest roads in the kingdom,' besides 'being considerably the shortest from Edinburgh to London.' The announcement, which was signed by innkeepers at Bankhouse, Selkirk, Hawick, Langholm, and Longtown, stated that part of the road leading from Edinburgh to Hawick had been completed for some time, and that 'the new turnpike road from Hawick to Carlisle running along the banks of the Teviot, the Ewis and the Esk' had just been opened for traffic.

The advantages of the various roads seem to have been diligently canvassed, judging by an announcement of 27th November 1773 regarding the road from Edinburgh to Newcastle by Kelso. It 'having been industriously reported to travellers' that this road was 'not so near as the other road by Greenlaw and Cornhill,' certain interested persons, who were probably innkeepers, repudiated the statement by publishing a table of distances. Similarly, we learn that the innkeepers on the East Road, whose businesses had been seriously handicapped by its unsuitability for wheeled traffic, took a keen interest in the building of the bridge across the valley of the Pease, which seems to have been opened in 1786.

Following the practice of other cities, the inns of Edinburgh were usually situated at the termination of a main road, or at the junction of two or three such roads. As these inns became the headquarters of the coaches, the choice of a

route by a traveller determined the inn from which he started ; or, on the other hand, the one at which a stranger would be set down. Sometimes an innkeeper ran his own coach or joined with others in doing so, but in cases where he had no proprietary right in a coach, he usually tried to arrange with owners of coaches to make his inn their headquarters. Some of the coaches ran to and from the same inn for years, but in the case of others there were frequent changes, so much so that it is often difficult to trace the history of a particular coach.

Two circumstances connected with mediæval inns in England suggest similar conditions in Scotland. The first is that many of the old inns were not situated within the city walls, but outside the gates. This fact opens up an interesting field of inquiry, though it is impossible to pursue it here. Probably, however, an early factor in determining the sites of inns outside the walls was the existence of religious houses. The other circumstance is that the names of the inns had their roots deep down in English history or tradition, frequently having their origin in the armorial bearings of kings and princes or the nobility. The White Hart was the favourite badge of Richard II. ; the White Horse the standard of the Saxons.

With reference to the first circumstance, it should be noted that the inns of Edinburgh were as a rule found at the entrances to the city. Their sites may be classified as follows: (1) those that both before and after the building of the Flodden Wall were outside the city ; and (2) those that before the building of the Wall were outside the boundaries, but after were within them. The inns were chiefly found in two localities. One lay along the line of the Pleasance and St. Mary's Wynd ; the other was situated in the area comprising the Candlemaker Row, Cowgatehead, and Grassmarket. It is proposed meanwhile to deal only with the first of the groups ; though the present survey will also take account of the George Inn, which stood outside Bristo Port.

Having indicated the principal localities of the old inns, it is desirable to endeavour to form some conception of the conditions of inn life in early times. In the reign of James I. it was enacted ' that in all Burrows and through Fairs there be Hostelleries having stables and chambers, and provision for horse and man.' Another Act, after indicating that hostlers or innkeepers had made grievous complaints against the ' villanous practice ' of travellers residing with their friends instead of resorting to regular inns, prohibited ' all travellers on foot or horseback ' from ' rendezvousing at any station except the established hostelry of the burgh or village.' It also interdicted all burgesses or villagers from extending to them their hospitality. Special provision was, however, made for all whose estate permitted them to travel with a large retinue. These might quarter themselves upon their friends, provided they lodged their attendants and horses at the hostleries. Again, in 1529 the Magistrates of Edinburgh ordained that ' all maner of stabillar within this burgh haif thair stabilis weil and sufficient furnest with hek and mangear, with sufficient lokis for the durris for sure keiping of the horsis that stabillis with thame,' and that ' thai tak na stabill fee fra the personis that lugis with thame, thai byand thar corn and hay fra the said stabillaris.'¹

In Edinburgh it was the practice for centuries to refer to a particular inn by the name of the innkeeper, and although in later times the principal inns had signboards, so deeply rooted was the practice of referring to such houses by the innkeeper's name that even in cases where it was known that the inn had a name it has been difficult to trace it.

An inn had two objects—to furnish food, drink, and lodging for travellers, and to provide provender and stabling for their horses. In pre-coaching days the stabling of horses

¹ The Edinburgh innkeepers from early times were referred to as ' Stablers,' a designation which, along with that of innkeeper, continued to be used into the nineteenth century.

was an absolute necessity. The inn differed from the tavern, as the latter did not undertake to supply lodging for either man or beast, but simply refreshment. In the older inns the accommodation provided can only be described as primitive. There was a common room in which all meals were served, while the bedrooms were usually above the stables. As travelling became more general there was considerable improvement in the convenience and comfort of the inns, though the company remained for the most part what it had always been—heterogeneous and coarse. In design, management, and atmosphere the inns of Edinburgh were thoroughly Scottish. This, however, cannot be said of their signs, the names inscribed on which were to be met with all over England. The similarity is easily explained. The Edinburgh innkeepers simply called their hostleries by names with which English travellers were familiar.

One of the earliest inns of which we have record is the Coach and Horses, which is mentioned in 1712 as having stood at the head of the Canongate, therefore forming one of the group which stood outside the Netherbow Port. From the Coach and Horses, which was owned by John Baillie, the stage coach plying between Edinburgh and London on the East Road took its departure. The journey was performed in thirteen days with the aid of '80 able horses,' the fare to London being £4, 10s.

Entering the Canongate by the Water Gate, the first inn to claim attention is that which Chambers says was 'supposed to have been styled *The White Horse Inn* or *White Horse Stables*.' Of all the old inns it is the most picturesque, and yet, strange to say, its history is little known. The site was probably in early times occupied by a hostelry connected with the Abbey and subsequently with the Palace. Scott in *The Abbot* presumably had the White Horse in mind when he made the usher at Holyrood say to Roland Graeme and Adam Woodstock: 'For your beds you must

go to the hostelry of St. Michael's in respect the palace is now full of the domestics of the greater nobles.' The narrative proceeds:—

“To the hostelry of Saint Michael's, then, with all my heart,” said the page; and they left the palace accordingly, rendered to the sentinels at the gate, who had now taken their posts for the evening, a strict account of their names and business, were dismissed through a small wicket of the close-barred portal, and soon reached the inn or hostelry of Saint Michael, which stood in a large court-yard, off the main street, close under the descent of the Calton Hill. The place, wide, waste, and uncomfortable, resembled rather an Eastern caravansery, where men found shelter indeed, but were obliged to supply themselves with everything else, than one of our modern inns.’

In the seventeenth century the White Horse belonged to Lawrence Ord, who probably built the inn as we know it. It bears the date of 16-3, the third figure being indecipherable. Situated in a courtyard lying between the Canongate and the North Back of the Canongate, the White Horse is approached from the former street by what was at one time known as Ord's Close, afterwards as Davidson's Close, and at present as the White Horse Close. The building is thus described by Mr. Bruce Home: 'It is built entirely of stone, rising from a long range of vaulted apartments, which served for the inn stables, and having on its roof a double row of dormer windows.' The same authority also refers to a structure in Duncan's Close which he thought was probably the smithy attached to the White Horse.

This inn was probably at the height of its prosperity in the seventeenth century and during the early part of the eighteenth, when journeys were made mostly on horseback, a view which is supported by Chambers, who says the whole of the ground-floor was used as stables. 'The manner of procedure for a gentleman going to London in the days of the White Horse,' says the same writer, 'was to come booted to this house with saddle-bags, and here engage and mount a

suitable roadster, which was to serve all the way.' Chambers adds that when Charles I. in 1639

'had made his first pacification with the Covenanters, and had come temporarily to Berwick, he sent messages to the chief lords of that party, desiring some conversation with them. They were unsuspectingly mounting their horses at this inn in order to ride to Berwick, when a mob taught by the clergy to suspect that the king wished only to wile over the nobles to his side, came and forcibly prevented them from commencing their designed journey.'

It is Chambers, too, who declares that the White Horse ceased to be an inn 'from a time which no oldest inhabitant of my era could pretend to have any recollection of.' That such a suitable inn as the White Horse appears to have been should have thus fallen into disuse may seem strange, but as little traffic in the early coaching days went by the East Road, travellers no doubt found it more convenient to lodge at the inns at the Netherbow and Cowgate Ports where the coaches by the Mid Road had their headquarters.

Notwithstanding the fact that the principal inns were at the gates of the city, one innkeeper, at any rate, John Somervell, had his establishment in the middle of the eighteenth century at the foot of the Canongate, although there is no clue as to which building he occupied. At first Somervell seems to have been a gunsmith in the Canongate, and under that designation we find him advertising in December 1736 'a good coach and six stout horses to set out for London or Bath.' Besides opening an inn, he appears to have developed the coaching business, for in July 1754 he announced that another London stage coach—'a new genteel two-end glass machine'—would set out from his house. This coach was 'drawn by six horses, with a postillion on one of the leaders.'

In the eighteenth century the inns located immediately without the Netherbow Port were a favourite rendezvous for travellers. Here gentlemen from London, York, Newcastle, and other English towns rubbed shoulders with East Lothian

farmers and Border merchants; here heavily laden carts from many towns and villages were housed for the night; and here horses could be shod and chaise or cart repaired.

The most notable inn in this locality was the White Horse, which, by the way, is often confused with the inn of the same name at the foot of the Canongate. The buildings in which this inn was carried on had been used for stablers' premises in the reign of Charles I., for in the List of Owners of Property in Edinburgh in 1635 James Hamilton, Stabler, is mentioned as having premises on the west side of the close which, in later days, was named Boyd's Close. In his *Memorials of Edinburgh*, Sir Daniel Wilson describes the premises as 'directly opposite to the site of St. Mary's Chapel in St. Mary's Wynd on the west side, where it contracts in breadth, a few yards below the Nether Bow.' In the eighteenth century the inn was invariably described as 'at the head of the Canongate.' There were two entrances, one from the Canongate and the other from St. Mary's Wynd.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the inn was owned by James Boyd, during whose occupancy it acquired literary fame. As we are reminded by a tablet affixed to the building occupying the larger part of the site of the hostelry, it was 'Boyd's Inn at which Samuel Johnson arrived' on '14th August 1773 on his memorable tour to the Hebrides,' and here it was that, later in the evening, Boswell 'exulted in the thought' that he now had his hero 'actually in Caledonia,' while Johnson embraced him cordially. But there is no need to retail the incidents of Johnson's stay at Boyd's Inn, for they are well known.

Boyd occupied the premises before stage coaches became common, but, like others of his class, he sometimes arranged to find accommodation for passengers who desired to travel by coach. For instance, on 11th May 1761 he publicly announced that 'a mourning coach with six able horses' was about to set out for London, and that passengers could obtain

130 SOME INNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

seats by applying to him. In 1771 the White Horse was described by one who had stayed there as 'crowded and confused,' the master living in the stable, the mistress 'not equal to the business.' In 1779 Boyd sought relief from his arduous labours by letting the inn, as we learn from the following advertisement:—

'To be let immediately and entry to at Whitsunday next for such a term of years as shall be agreed upon that large commodious and well-frequented inn at the head of the Canongate, called Boyd's Inn, consisting of two dining-rooms, a small outer room or parlour, 13 bedrooms and closets, besides servants' bedrooms, a small writing-closet, a convenient large kitchen and larder, wine cellar with catacombs, coal and ale cellars; together with stables for upwards of 50 horses wherein are 40 stalls; as also backyard, pump well and coachhouse, which will contain four or five carriages, and a convenient poultry house and other offices. The loft above the stables will hold between two and three thousand stone of hay, and there is an excellent corn loft. The premises are contiguous having free ish and entry from the Canongate and from St. Mary's Wynd.

'The reputation of this inn is well known having for these 30 years past been frequented by noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank. For further particulars apply to Mr. Boyd the proprietor.'

The inn was let to John Dumbreck, who had previously been in the service of Boyd, but had left to begin business for himself. Dumbreck is described in Williamson's Directory of 1773-74 as vintner at the King's Head, 'at the end of the New Bridge.' These premises, however, he relinquished on becoming tenant of the White Horse. Dumbreck was also proprietor of an inn at Newhaven known as the Whale. A marked feature of Dumbreck's tenancy of the White Horse was the development of the coaching business. In March 1781, under the heading of 'In Four Days to London During the Summer,' it was intimated that the Edinburgh and London Fly would on Monday, 2nd April, set out from the White Horse at two o'clock in the morning precisely, and continue to do so every lawful day. In July 1782 the hour



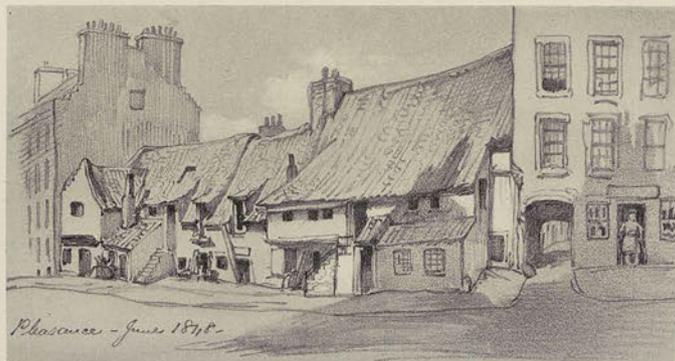
(1) CANONGATE ENTRANCE



(2) STAIR LEADING TO HALL

WHITE HORSE INN, BOYD'S CLOSE

(From Original Drawings by Jas. Drummond, R.S.A.)



BLACK BULL INN (ON RIGHT)

(From an Original Drawing by Jas. Drummond, R.S.A.)

of departure was altered to one o'clock. The White Horse was also the place of departure of the Edinburgh and Aberdeen Fly, likewise of a stage coach for Kelso, and several for Leith. Dumbreck's occupancy of the White Horse, however, was brief, for on 8th April 1790 he intimated to the public that he was removing at Whitsunday to Dun's Hotel at the south-east corner of St. Andrew Square.

The next tenant of the White Horse was Duncan M'Farlane, who had previously been proprietor of the White Hart in the Pleasance, and more recently of Dumbreck's inn at the 'end of the New Bridge.' M'Farlane signalised his entry by repairing the building, and by extending the coaching business. In addition to the coaches already mentioned, the White Horse became the headquarters of the Stirling Coach, the Jedburgh Fly, and the Berwick Diligence. The last mentioned, which carried three passengers, ran by way of Haddington and Dunbar, the East Road now coming into favour through the opening of the Pease Bridge. M'Farlane died about 1795, for later references to the White Horse refer either to Mrs. M'Farlane, or Walter M'Farlane, probably his son.

Another noted inn at the head of the Canongate was the Black Bull, probably situated either in Bell's or Gullan's Close. In the latter half of the eighteenth century this inn was owned by James Robertson, who in March 1772 tried to let it, as we learn from the following advertisement:—

'To be let for one or more years and entry to it at Whitsunday next that well-frequented house, with garrets and cellars, and the stabling and coachhouses thereto belonging at the Black Bull, head of the Canongate. The house is well lighted and of easy access, having an entry from both the head and back of the Canongate, with good water in the coachyard and other conveniences. The whole very central for business, particularly for postchaises and hackney coaches, which has been carried on in this place for many years past. *N.B.* If a proper tenant does not appear for the whole, the subjects will be let separately.

The house is very convenient for a private family, and the stables and coachhouses are in good order for gentlemen or others that may want such in that part of Edinburgh.'

The Black Bull was not let immediately, for Robertson was still in possession in January of the following year. From this inn the Edinburgh and Newcastle Flying Post Coach set out every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at 6 A.M. It carried six inside passengers, and the fare was 31s. 6d. In March 1772 it was announced that 'by this speedy conveyance' passengers passed 'from Edinburgh to London in four days at only five pounds stg. per seat,' and that upon application Mr. Robertson would secure seats at Newcastle for passengers proceeding to London. Further, Robertson intimated that at the Black Bull passengers might 'depend on clean beds and good entertainment and civil treatment.' Nor did this inn limit its operations to catering for the human species, for on 19th March 1774 an announcement appeared which rather conveys the impression that the inn was temporarily transformed into a menagerie:—

'To those who are endowed with the noble spirit of curiosity. To be seen at the Black Bull, at the head of the Canongate, a vast variety of natural productions, viz. The beautiful zebra (late Her Majesty's); a magnificent lion; a real Bengal Tyger, a Man Tyger; and now the curious may have an opportunity of seeing the material difference between the real Tyger and a Man Tyger, a circumstance that may not present itself again in an age. A young Oran-outang, a miraculous Porcupine, a voracious Panther, a beautiful Leopard, with many others, all from the choice cabinet of nature. They are to be seen *sans ceremonie* by one or more from 9 in the morning till half after 8 at night. Price to the nobility 2/6, to ladies and gentlemen 1/.'

Robertson seems to have ended his tenancy in May 1775. At all events it was then that he became proprietor of premises in Pleasance, which he also called the Black Bull.

In 1772 there was established at the 'head of the New Road, South Canongate' the 'Livery Stables and Repository

for Horses' of James Clark, 'Farrier to His Majesty.' On 5th August 1775 Clark informed his patrons:—

'That for the better accommodation of horses and carriages he has taken that large area of ground adjoining to his stableyard (formerly used as a Brewery) in which he has now fitted up a number of elegant stables and shades for carriages. The area of the stable yard consists of 212 feet in length and 70 feet in breadth, on which he proposes to erect a shade or ride for exercising horses in wet weather. The stable yard is supplied with plenty of fine soft water. The whole when completed according to the plan now carrying on, will make one of the largest and most commodious stables in this country or perhaps in any other part of Great Britain.'

Clark seems to have been enterprising. In March 1781 he advertised 'An Airing Chaise or Diligence' which held 'three passengers with great ease,' and which set out every day for Maitland Bridge, 'four miles out on the Musselburgh Road,' and returned 'without stopping.' The fare was 1s. 6d., and intending passengers who desired it were called for 'at their lodgings,' where they were also set down on their return.

The Repository Stables having proved a prosperous concern, Clark now conceived the idea of establishing a hotel. On 16th June 1781 there was accordingly opened 'for the reception of the Nobility and Gentry,' 'Clark's Hotel, Chessels' Buildings'—probably the first hotel to be established in the Old Town. It had 'every convenience for carrying on that business with propriety,' the public rooms and apartments being 'perfectly elegant and airy,' and the furniture 'neat and entirely new.' The situation is described as 'cheerful and central between the great roads from England by the south and east which terminate on the High Street.' Clark further intimated that he intended 'to carry on the business on a provident plan,' and that he hoped 'to conduct it so as to merit the countenance of the nobility and gentry by furnishing them with every article that they may want in the genteel manner and of the best quality.' The Repository

Stables, which were contiguous to the hotel, contained 'a great number of stalls for horses, sheds and coach-houses for carriages, etc.,' where might be had 'on the shortest notice coaches, post chaises and saddle horses.'

But the opening of a hotel in Chessel's Court was at best a doubtful experiment, and although Clark's establishment might be all he claimed for it, he ought to have recognised that the better class of patron was now resorting to luxurious establishments in the New Town. Disillusionment, however, came in 1783, and Clark's hotel, which had been opened with such a flourish of trumpets, was advertised to be let. Its recommendations were that it was 'neatly fitted up and conveniently situated for the business either of a hotel or inn or both,' that the apartments were 'numerous, elegant and very compact,' and that stables could be 'arranged at hand.' The subsequent history of the hotel is not known, but Clark seems to have retained his stables till 1795.

Three well-known inns were situated in the eighteenth century outside the Cowgate Port. First of all, there was the Red Lyon, which was described as 'at the foot of St. Mary's Wynd.' It consisted of 'fifteen fire-rooms, garrets, wine, ale, and coal cellars, with stables, hay lofts, coach sheds, washing-pond, pump-well for water, all in one court secured by a lock'd gate.' At the beginning of 1735 the Red Lyon was tenanted by Yaxly Davidson, but at Whitsunday of that year the coach house, stables, pond, and offices passed into the hands of John Macmillan, 'sometime principal servant to the late Earl of March and presently in that station to George Lockhart of Carnwath, Esq.' Macmillan announced that his customers would meet 'with all civility and good entertainment for man and horse.'

The Red Lyon, however, attained its greatest popularity during the proprietorship of Peter Ramsay, who was certainly the occupant in 1760, and probably earlier. Ramsay's premises were a noted auction mart for horses. At this inn

forgathered all sorts and conditions of people, for, as has been shown, the uses to which Ramsay put his establishment were various. The Red Lyon also seems to have been recognised as a place to which strayed animals could be returned. When, for example, Lieut. Warren of General Holmes' Regiment, quartered at the Castle in June 1761, lost 'a little Black Lap-Dog of King Charles breed,' he advertised that the finder should take the animal to 'Peter Ramsay's at the Red Lion at the Cowgate Port.' Like Boyd of the White Horse, Ramsay sometimes arranged for the dispatch of a coach to London. In 1762 there departed from his inn 'a good four wheel'd chaise,' seats in which were obtained from Peter Ramsay 'on reasonable terms.' The Red Lyon was not only patronised by the Scottish nobility, but by distinguished foreigners, amongst them the Corsican General, Pascal Paoli, who arrived in Edinburgh in 1771. To the Red Lyon came James Boswell, in order that he might conduct Paoli to his house in James's Court. At the same time Boswell escorted the General's friend and fellow-traveller, Count Burzyuski, to the house of Dr. John Gregory. Two years later the Red Lyon housed another distinguished foreigner—Christoff Schetky, a Hungarian who afterwards became well known in musical circles in Edinburgh. In the Life of his son, John Christian Schetky, we read:—

'On the 14th February 1773, when Edinburgh still reckoned the Cowgate an aristocratic locality and "Peter Ramsay's Inn" in St. Mary's Wynd as no mean rival to "The White Horse" in the Canongate, two strangers rode into the old city by the southern road, and drew bridle at the door of Ramsay's hostelry. The afternoon was dark and raw, and there was nothing very inviting in the ill-lighted streets and high gloomy-looking houses first seen under the damp chilly influences of an easterly haar; so, perhaps, it was not wonderful that the elder traveller turned to his companion with manifest disgust, and a hasty proposition to seek some more congenial shelter. But the other was less impatient: "Let us at any rate see what the place is like within, Christoff," said he. And after some hesitation Christoff dismounted

and strode into the inn calling for dinner and some good wine. The prompt and satisfactory response to his demands soon restored his equanimity.¹

In March 1776 the proprietor of the premises rented by Ramsay attempted to dispose of them, and, from advertisements which appeared, some interesting information concerning the business can be obtained. The Red Lyon is described as 'That large and well frequented Inn with the cellars, stables, hay-lofts, corn-lofts, court-well and whole pertinents lying at the Cowgate port of Edinburgh.' The subjects, we are further informed, 'all lie contiguous and comprehend the house in which Mr. Ramsay lives and carries on his business and the court of stables adjoining to the house.' Ramsay also let it be known that he was possessed of 'a good house for entertainment, good stables for above 100 horses, coach houses and shades for above twenty carriages.' Part of the Red Lyon was disposed of, but in the remaining portion Ramsay continued a flourishing business. His customers were not confined to any particular class. In September 1779 one of the boarders was John Kirkby, a Yorkshire schoolmaster, whose mission in Edinburgh was to gain pupils for his Academy.

Ramsay retired in 1785, and the Red Lyon passed into the hands of Duncan M'Farlane. His tenancy, however, was brief, for, on 6th March 1788, the inn described as 'lately possessed by Mr. Peter Ramsay and now by Mr. M'Farlane' was exposed for 'Judicial Sale.' It then consisted of eighteen apartments. The dining-room measured 22 feet by 15 feet, and there were four parlours and a number of bedrooms and bed-closets. The stables accommodated fifty horses, and

¹ It may be of interest to add that on the evening of the day when he arrived at Ramsay's inn, Schetky attended a concert in St. Cecilia's Hall, at the foot of Niddry's Wynd. A son of the Hungarian musician was educated at the High School, became the friend of Francis and Leonard Horner, and in later life was Marine Painter-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria.

there was storage for about four thousand stones of hay. The upset price was £600, the 'proven rent' being £66 sterling.

Duncan M'Farlane afterwards became proprietor of a tavern and hotel on the west side of Bridge Street. Here, in February 1789, by authority of the Lord Provost and Magistrates, he placed on the street a coach and post-chaise for the convenience of revellers, who after midnight had to pay double fare. In June 1790 M'Farlane removed to the White Horse Inn at the head of the Canongate. At one time M'Farlane occupied the White Hart, Pleasance, from which he appears to have gone to Balfour's Coffee-house, which stood on the south side of the High Street, opposite the Royal Exchange. He afterwards became tenant of an inn at South Queensferry. In 1790 he was the occupant of the large house in Adam Square, from which the London Fly (by Berwick and Newcastle) and the Jedburgh Diligence set out.

Another of the inns in this locality was the White Hart, which is variously described as being situated 'at the foot of the Pleasance' and 'near to the Cowgate port.' In the 'sixties of the eighteenth century it was in the possession of Mr. Laing, but in 1772 was taken over by James Dun, who previously had kept an inn at the head of the Horse Wynd. Dun ran a coach to Newcastle in opposition to one that set out from the Black Bull at the head of the Canongate. It carried four inside passengers, and proceeded, three times a week, by the Mid Road, reaching its destination on the same day that it left Edinburgh. In 1773 the Newcastle Flying Post Coach, as it was called at this time, changed its route, going instead by way of Kelso and Wooler. This coach afterwards journeyed to London, accomplishing the entire distance in four days. The fare to Newcastle was 31s. 6d., and to London £4, 14s. 6d.

From the White Hart Dun migrated to the New Town, opening, in 1777, a larger, and certainly a more pretentious

establishment at 39 St. Andrew Square, which was known for long as Dun's Hotel. Here were organised dancing assemblies, which drew together the élite of the city. Many distinguished visitors to the city stayed at Dun's Hotel, including Edmund Burke, Samuel Rogers the poet, and the Piozzis.

The next tenant of the White Hart was Duncan M'Farlane, 'late Innkeeper at the head of the Horse Wynd.' From the White Hart in M'Farlane's time there departed the London Fly which travelled by the East Road; also the Glasgow Diligence which went by Linlithgow and Falkirk. M'Farlane also issued tickets for those who wished to travel by the coach from Kinghorn to Dundee, application for which had to be made twenty-four hours before the time of setting out at Kinghorn. In 1782 M'Farlane left the White Hart and became proprietor of the Red Lyon in the same street, after which, as already mentioned, he was owner of the inn at 'the end of the New Bridge' vacated by Dumbreck. M'Farlane was succeeded in the White Hart by William Paterson.

A third inn which stood outside the Cowgate Port was owned about 1760 by John Sharp, 'Stabler in the Pleasance, Postmaster of Canongate.' Sharp seems to have been a man of substance. In 1762 he possessed the parks of Innerleith as well as others near 'Sommervel house' and 'two at Kellies,' which were advertised for grazing horses and black cattle. Sharp had also a park at Drum, which he let out for 'ston'd horses' at sixpence a night, likewise some grass parks near his house in the Pleasance. After Sharp's death about the year 1774 the inn was tenanted by James Robertson, who reminded 'his friends and the public' on 17th May 1775 that he had 'fitted up in the neatest manner that large and commodious house and stabling lately possessed by the deceased Mr. John Sharp in the Pleasance near the Cowgate port, Edinburgh, now the sign of the Black Bull.'

From the Black Bull the Newcastle Fly set out three times a week, accomplishing the journey in one day. This was the

starting-place, too, of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Diligence, the Edinburgh and Aberdeen Fly, while coaches for London left daily. At the Black Bull Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson stayed when they came to Edinburgh in 1776 to perform in Bailie Fyfe's *Close* their 'improved and much-admired double set of musical glasses,' and 'all lovers of harmony' were invited to hear their 'select pieces of music consisting of favourite *Airs, Duets, Quartets, &c.*'

The 'New Black Bull Inn or Hotel,' in Catherine Street, to which Robertson subsequently removed, was the third of that name to be occupied by him. It consisted of fifty apartments, and was described in 1791 as 'pleasantly situated near the centre of the Old in the end of the New Town,' and 'in view of the Firth and country adjacent.' The inn seems, however, to have been established a little earlier, for in the *Almanack* of 1789 there is a reference to Robertson's 'New Black Bull Inn.' From his new premises Robertson continued to dispatch all the coaches which had formerly set out from his inn in the Pleasance. From this inn, too, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, many mail coaches took their departure.

Passing to Bristo Port, the famous George Inn, which figures so prominently in Scott's *Guy Mannering*, first claims attention. In books dealing with Edinburgh one occasionally comes across the statement that the George Inn¹ was demolished long since, but it still exists, though naturally much transformed since the days when Colonel Mannering made it his headquarters.² In the reign of Charles II. the site in Bristo Place, now occupied by the premises of the Darien Press and of Messrs. John Donald and Co., China and Glass Merchants,

¹ The writer is indebted for an examination of the title-deeds of this building to the courtesy of Mr. George Brodie, Manager of the Darien Press.

² Recently, during renovating operations, the whole of the front of the building was temporarily exposed. It is entirely of rubble, and has every appearance of considerable age. The walls, it may be added, are of great thickness.

was described as 'the waste ground and tenement and others of the Wester Croft of Bristo lying in the Barony of Portsburgh.' It was then owned by Alexander Walker, who, on 29th August 1677, disposed the property to James Scott, Portioner of Bristo, in life rent, and to his son William in fee. The latter, who was Professor of Philosophy in the College of Edinburgh, sold the property in 1702 to William Lillie, Cordiner in Bristo. It was then described as

'All and Hail that piece of land or tenement of land of Wester Croft of Bristoe, back and fore, under and above, with houses, biggings, yards, and hail pertinents thereof . . . with the hail waight houses old walls and stairs thereof belonging lying within the territory of Wester Croft of Bristoe, betwixt the lands some time pertaining to Anthony Bisset, thereafter to umqhl Mr. Alex^r Peebles Advocate, thereafter to Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, thereafter to the deceased James Scott, and now to . . . on the east and south parts; the common street that passes from the Greyfriars or Society Port of Edinburgh to the Burrow Loch of the said Burrow on the west, and the Common Vennel of old called the Horse Wynd and Town Wall of Edinburgh, on the north lying of old within the Lordship of Dalry and Barony of Inner Leith and now within the Barony of Portsburgh.'

The property, which remained in the hands of the Lillie family for nearly fifty years, became, early in the eighteenth century, the site of an inn. This establishment, which was immediately outside the Greyfriars Port, came to be known as the George Inn, one of the first occupants of which seems to have been George Robertson, whom Scott has immortalised in the pages of the *Heart of Midlothian*. The particulars of the robbery in which Robertson was involved are sufficiently well known and need not be narrated here. Suffice it to say that in the Paper of Information for the Pannels the designation of the accused is given as 'George Robertson, Stabler in Bristo.' In the *Caledonian Mercury* of 2nd March 1736 Robertson is more particularly designated as 'Stabler at Bristow port.' The Paper of Information further alludes

to Robertson as having 'an inn in Bristo at Edinburgh, where the Newcastle Carriers commonly did put up.'

The *Caledonian Mercury*, in describing Robertson's escape from St. Giles, says:—

'Hurrying out at the south gate of the Church he tumbld over the collection money. Thence he reeled and staggered through the Parliament Close and got down to the New Stairs and often tripp'd by the way, but had not time to fall, some of the Guard being close after him. Passing down the Cowgate he ran up the Horse Wynd and out at the Potterrow-port.'

Having no time to lose, Robertson chose a road that led directly to the country. At that time the Horse Wynd, after reaching the Potterrow-port, turned westward and ran parallel with the Flodden Wall as far as Bristo Port. There can be little doubt that as Robertson hurried up the Horse Wynd he decided to attempt to reach his own stables in order to obtain a horse. As it was, he had tried, as we learn from the *Caledonian Mercury*, to seize a steed while still in the Horse Wynd. The newspaper report does not say whether Robertson reached his stables or whether he went straight through the Potterrow, but adds: 'Passing the Crosscauseway he got into the King's Park and took the Duddingston Road.'¹

¹ The *Caledonian Mercury* of 29th April contains fresh particulars regarding Robertson's subsequent movements, of which Scott was probably ignorant. 'We are told,' says that journal, 'that George Robertson, sometime Stabler at Bristow-port and who lately made the surprising escape while under the sentence of death, was on Tuesday night last at a certain house in the neighbourhood of this city, and being talk'd to by the landlord touching the risque he ran by his imprudence, and that if he was catch'd he would suffer unpity'd or as a madman, answered that he thought himself indispensably bound to pay the last duties to his dearly belov'd Andrew Wilson by accompanying his funerals (sic), that he had been hitherto detained in the country, but that he was determined to steer another course very soon. However that he had laid his account not to be hung—pointing to some weapons he had about him.' And 'steer another course' Robertson did, for he fled to Holland, and seems to have taken up his abode in the Scots settlement there. In the Session Records of the Scots Church at Campvere, under date 11th January 1738, it is recorded that Robertson desired baptism for his child. As, however, he had been found guilty of crime in Scotland, he was not allowed to present

In 1749 Robert Allan, Baxter and Burgess of Edinburgh, was tenant of that part of the Lillie property now covered by the premises of Messrs. Donald. Eventually he became owner, the property being conveyed to him by Lillie as security for a debt. In 1751 Lillie became bankrupt, and, with the consent of Allan and others, sold to Robert Ferrier

‘All and hail the southmost of the two tenements of land next to Bristo Port on the south side thereof, with the close stabling, hay lofts and other offices at the back or east side of the said two tenements presently possessed by the said Robert Ferrier as tenant thereof, as also a garden at the back or east side of the foresaid stabling and summer house within the same presently possessed by the said John Douglas Surgeon with free ish and entry to the foresaid subjects from Bristo on the west and from the vennel which leads from Bristo Port to Potterrow on the north.’

Allan eventually acquired the property which he occupied. It is described as ‘that tenement of land next to and immediately on the south of Bristo Port bounded on the east by a close leading up to Ferrier’s premises 10 feet in breadth at one part and 16 feet in breadth at another part.’ It is therefore obvious that while both tenements were in the hands of the Lillies they now became separate properties. Allan got possession of the one next to Bristo Port and Ferrier the one to the south. Ferrier’s stables, however, extended behind Allan’s tenement, and there was an entrance from the Vennel.

In 1752 Ferrier decided to demolish the old stables as unsuitable. In his petition to the Dean of Guild, which was granted, he stated that he wished to bring the stables into line with the wall enclosing the north side of the garden, and

his child, though the Kirk Session offered no objections to his wife, Helen Purves, presenting the child. There is, however, no indication that the baptism took place. On 9th May 1757, James Yair, the minister of the Scots Church at Campvere, was instructed to pay to one Garrit, ‘where George Robertson at present lodges the sum of f.7.14 (florins) considering the great poverty of the said George Robertson.’ Apparently, then, Robertson was still alive in 1757. See Davidson and Gray, *Scottish Staple at Veere*, p. 318.

to rebuild the east wall of his house in a line with the east wall of Allan’s property.

On 30th January 1758 Ferrier executed a Disposition of the whole premises in favour of himself and Margaret Ramage his spouse in conjunct fee and liferent, and James Ferrier his son in fee. In due time, James Ferrier, who was a farmer at the Grange, succeeded to the property, but on 15th May 1776 executed a Bond and Disposition in favour of Andrew Alison and others as Trustees of Archibald Pitcairn. In this document some fresh particulars of the property are given. It consisted of

‘A large tenement of land fronting Bristo Street on the west, containing four storeys and garrets above the ground, with cellars below, together with other stabling, hay lofts, shades, stable yard, summer house and two dwelling houses above the stables, lying at the back or east side of the said large tenement and the back of another tenement betwixt it and Bristo-port; the two first storeys of which large tenement with the stabling, hay lofts, shades, stable yard and summer house are presently possessed by John Cockburn, Stabler at Bristo Port, the third storey is possessed by Lady Nisbet of Dean, and the fourth storey by James McQueen, Writer in Edinburgh; and the westmost of the said two houses above the stables is possessed by Mrs. Elliot, and the eastmost by Young, both which houses last mentioned front and enter from the said vennel leading from Bristo Port to the Potterrow Port, and which whole subjects are bounded by the garden belonging to the Merchant Maiden Hospital on the east; by the said houses belonging to that hospital on the south; by the High Street of Bristo on the west; and by the said vennel and house next Bristo Port on the north parts.’

John Cockburn, who is mentioned as occupier of a portion of the property, is the ‘old Cockburn’ mentioned by Scott as having been proprietor of the George when Colonel Mannerling and Dominie Sampson sought its hospitality, and when the Colonel desired the waiter to procure him a guide to Mr. Pleydell’s, ‘the Advocate, for whom he had a letter of introduction from Mr. MacMorlan.’ Cockburn became tenant

in 1767, in which year Robert Ferrier appears to have died. Under his management the inn became the headquarters of a good deal of coaching business. On 30th August 1775 it was announced that there would set out 'from Mr. Cockburn's at the George Inn,' thrice weekly, the Flying Diligence, which hoped to cover the journey to London by way of Carlisle in four days. Cockburn retired from business in 1779, and the George Inn again came into the market. It then consisted of eighteen rooms, besides garrets, servants' accommodation, and cellarage. There was also stabling for fifty horses, 'with shades for seven carriages,' one of which could be used 'as a stable if necessary.' The inn, however, found no purchaser, and on 5th February 1781 was again advertised. As an inducement, it was pointed out that the whole premises were capable of enlargement, and as 'the situation was exceedingly good,' the George could be made 'the most commodious and complete Inn about Edinburgh at a small expense.'

On this occasion a sale was effected, the purchaser being William Wallace, who, on 9th June, acquainted 'the nobility and gentry' that he had 'taken and fitted up in the neatest and most elegant manner, the large and commodious Inn, the George, at Bristo Port, lately occupied by Mr. Cockburn.' Wallace flatters himself that a fresh recommendation of his establishment is unnecessary, the George being 'well known to be among the first in Scotland.' Then he informs the public that he 'has laid in a complete assortment of the best liquors of every kind,' and that the 'utmost attention will be bestowed on such horses and carriages as are entrusted to his care.' Further, 'he has likewise taken some good grass parks,' and 'gentlemen's horses can be accommodated with grazing for any period during the season.' As in Cockburn's time, the George was still recognised as the place of departure for various coaches to the South and West. During Wallace's occupancy, the Edinburgh and Ayr Diligence left three times a week; likewise the Dumfries Diligence. But

Wallace could not have been proprietor of the George for long, for in 1791 it was in the hands of Edward Atkinson. His tenancy was also short, for on 14th June 1794 Robert Reid announced that he continued in the possession of 'that commodious Inn at Bristo Port well known by the name of the George Inn which, for the accommodation of travellers, he has considerably enlarged and fitted up in a genteel manner at much expense. The coachyard and stables are allowed to be among the best in the place; and good corn and hay with careful attendance both in the house and stables may be depended upon.'

The George survived into the nineteenth century, but when hotels were opened in the New Town a vast transformation was brought about. Travellers arriving from England and other places were no longer set down at the doors of the inns in the Old Town, but at the palatial establishments of the New. Nevertheless the old inns were for many years after this period the resort of the humbler type of traveller, especially those who came to do business in the markets. Until the railway era, carriers continued to make the inns their headquarters, and the George came in for a good deal of this business. In 1819 it was the quarters of carriers from Campbeltown, Dumbarton, Inverary, Kilmarnock, Oban, Paisley, and Saltcoats. In addition, wagons proceeding to London and other parts of England, also to the West of Scotland, set out therefrom. In 1840 the George was owned by W. Anderson, but in the Almanack of 1845, in place of the name of an innkeeper, there appears that of a firm, Howie and Co., by whom goods were collected for dispatch by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway.

Leaving the George, and passing through Bristo Port, one came, in the old days, to the western group of inns—those situated in the Candlemaker Row, at the Cowgate head, and in the Grassmarket. Probably most of them were older than the George, and some, no doubt, had a succession of landlords

dating back to the days of the Stuarts. From the Selkirk and Peebles Inn, near the head of the Candlemaker Row, the resort of James Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd, to the White Hart at the west end of the Grassmarket, where Wordsworth and his sister resided on their visit to Edinburgh, there were numerous inns and stables' premises. Indeed, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Grassmarket was practically a street of such establishments. Much interesting information regarding these has been collected by the writer, but owing to the many changes in ownership, it is difficult to trace their history.

Be that as it may, it is hoped that the account given of the inns which have formed the subject of this paper has made clear how profoundly these establishments (and others) were affected by the progressive ideas at work in eighteenth century Edinburgh. Ramsay and Boyd were types of the old innkeeper; the condition of their establishments did not differ materially from that prevailing in the seventeenth century. Dun and Dumbreck, on the other hand, were men of wider vision, who saw that the days of the small, dirty, old-fashioned inn were numbered. The rearing of a new and more wholesome Edinburgh beyond the valley spanned by the North Bridge led to a demand for more luxurious, certainly more comfortable, quarters, and Dun and Dumbreck met it. Thus they rendered an important service locally in the evolution of the modern hotel. The history, for example, of how Dun opened a palatial establishment in St. Andrew Square; of how the coaching business was enormously developed at the Black Bull in Catherine Street; and of how innkeepers, migrating from the Old Town, established splendid hotels in the New—all this forms a separate and intensely interesting chapter in the history of the inns of Edinburgh, which may be treated in a future paper.

JAMES H. JAMIESON.

REMINISCENCES OF A TOWN CLERK

THE following manuscript¹ was written by James Laurie, who, after many years' service on the clerical staff of the Edinburgh Corporation, eventually became Town Clerk. The son of Alexander Laurie, writer, Dunbar, he was born in that town in 1799. The family was well connected. Laurie's uncle was John Grieve, merchant. He lived in Chessel's Court, in a house facing the Canongate which had formerly been occupied by John Gray, a noted Town Clerk of Edinburgh, who is referred to both in the manuscript and in Cockburn's *Memorials*. In this house Laurie lived during his boyhood. His grand-uncle was Dr. Henry Grieve, minister of the Old Church, who figures in *Kay's Portraits*. Translated from New Greyfriars by the Town Council in 1791, Dr. Grieve died in 1810, in the seventy-fourth year of his age and the forty-eighth of his ministry. He is credited with having possessed 'an innate and habitual taste for goodness, which being reflected in his appearance, manner, and conversation, constituted the charm of his social character.'² Laurie was also a relative of James Torry, a cloth merchant in the High Street, and one of the Bailies of the eighteenth century; while a grand-aunt was Jenny Home, sister of John Home, author of *Douglas*.

When Laurie was eight years old, his father died, and the boy was removed to Edinburgh, which was his home for the remainder of his days. On 9th December 1813 he obtained

¹ The property of Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club.

² Cameron Lees, *History of St. Giles' Church*, p. 286.

an appointment in the Town Clerk's Office, and thus began a period of municipal service in Edinburgh which extended over nearly half a century. At that time one of the two 'principal Clerks' was Charles Cuninghame, son of 'Auld Sandy Cuninghame,' to whom the father of our subject had been clerk for three years. Laurie, however, is careful to state that he did not owe his appointment to this circumstance.

It is unfortunate that he tells us little of importance either about himself or his duties during the long interval between his entering the service of the Town and his appointment in January 1851 as Conjoint Town Clerk, in succession (as he himself says) to Carlyle Bell, nephew of 'Jupiter' Carlyle of Inveresk. The Town Council Records, however, make clear that both the City Clerkships were vacant, Carlyle Bell having died in the previous August, while Charles Cuninghame had resigned. The result was that, on 14th January 1851, the Council appointed John Sinclair, Depute Town Clerk, and James Laurie, Senior Clerk in the Conveyancing Department, to be Conjoint Town Clerks. Their duties were apportioned thus:—'The Council business to devolve on Mr. Sinclair, and the Conveyancing Department, including the granting of Ale Licence Certificates and the charge of Parliamentary and Burgh Registers, to devolve on Mr. Laurie, with the assistance, when necessary, of Mr. Sinclair, excepting in the Notarial business and the Searches for incumbrances over burghess property—the responsibility of which shall rest with Mr. Laurie alone.'¹ While Sinclair, who held his office as Depute *ad vitam aut culpam*, continued in his new office on the same terms, Laurie was appointed for a term of ten years, 'because Law Reform may so progress that in the course of a few years the system of Conveyancing, which has of late materially altered, may still more so, and thus the chief sources of the fee-fund may be affected.'²

For fully eight years Laurie and Sinclair were colleagues;

¹ Town Council Records.

² *Ibid.*

but in 1859 the latter died with startling suddenness, and for more than a year Laurie discharged the duties of Town Clerk alone. By this time he was becoming an old man, and had previously expressed a wish to retire.¹ Apparently, however, he was induced to continue in office till December 1860, when James David Marwick (afterwards Sir James) was appointed sole Town Clerk. Laurie was interested in municipal history, and compiled a list of the Lord Provosts and Magistrates of Edinburgh. This was utilised by his successor, Sir James D. Marwick, when preparing his own list which forms part of the Appendix to the volumes of *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*.

Laurie's reminiscences shed an interesting, if occasionally imperfect, light on the municipal affairs of the city during the earlier half of the nineteenth century. He seems to have been indifferently educated, though his comments are often shrewd and pungent. It is highly probable that the manuscript was written merely for the private delectation of relatives and friends, and was never intended for publication. If so, the disjointed nature of the notes, likewise their wordiness and the absence of strict chronology, are readily explained. But if Laurie is rambling in his remarks and verbose in his expression, he is rarely inaccurate in matters where verification is possible. Moreover, there is a pawkiness about his characterisations of the worthies of his day. Altogether, a careful study of the manuscript conveys the impression that the writer made the entries at odd moments, and possibly long after the occurrence of many of the events which he records. There can be no doubt that the fragmentary character of the narrative and its obvious defects of style rob it of much of its value; but if it is accepted for what it really is—a chronicle of trivialities—some instruction and a little amusement may be derived from its perusal. With the exception of a few slight excisions, rendered necessary by allusions to

¹ Sir James D. Marwick, *A Retrospect* (privately printed), p. 63.

persons or incidents the point of which has now been lost, the manuscript is printed in its entirety.

W. FORBES GRAY.

LAURIE'S NARRATIVE

I came to Edinburgh at Whitsunday 1808, and lived two years thereafter in the second flat above the shop of the front land of Pirie's Close, Canongate. At that time the High Street was, as it had been for ages, the principal street in the City, the place where people assembled for business, and the centre of all business. All the banks were clustered about it—the Bank of Scotland in the then very recently erected house at the foot of Bank Street¹; the Royal Bank at the Cross; Sir Wm. Forbes,² James Hunter³ & Co. in the Parliament Square; the British Linen Co. in Tweeddale House, Netherbow; Ramsay Bonar & Co.; Donald Smith & Co.; Thomas Kinnear & Son; Robert Allan & Sons, etc., in the Royal Exchange.

The Council Chamber and City Court Room was situate in a narrow close, leading into the Parliament Square, at the south-west corner of St. Giles' Church. The Town Clerk's Offices were situate at the north end of the transept of the Church, entering from the High Street, and the Charter House occupied two vaulted rooms, probably vestries, entering from the Church by a narrow turnpike stair above the southwest door. The lower one of these rooms was lighted by a fine oriel window, looking south. The oriel window now to be

¹ Built 1806 at a cost of £75,000.

² The private banking-house of which Sir William Forbes of Pitaligo, Bart. was so long the head was merged in 1838 in the Glasgow Union Bank, which, in turn, was transformed in 1843 into the Union Bank of Scotland. See Sir William Forbes's *Memoirs of a Banking-House* (2nd ed., 1860).

³ James Hunter was Forbes's partner. From January 1773 the firm was known as Sir W. Forbes, J. Hunter & Co. In 1777 Hunter took his wife's name of Blair, and later became Sir James Hunter-Blair, Bart. He was Lord Provost in 1784, and was mainly responsible for the South Bridge scheme.

seen at the same place, but looking west, is an exact copy of the old one, destroyed in the taking down.

The City Chambers, Royal Exchange, were originally intended, it is believed, for a hotel, but they were let to the Board of Customs,¹ and used as the General Custom House for Scotland till 1806, when the Board fitted to Bellevue House, which had been purchased and fitted up for their accommodation. The old Custom House was occupied afterwards by the offices of the Court of Exchequer, during the rebuilding and refitting of their offices in the Parliament Square (western half of the south side range). The house was then fitted up as the City Chambers, and the Magistrates left their old Council Chamber, and took possession of the new one, [on] the same day [that] they laid the foundation stone of St. George's Church in Charlotte Square, 14th May 1811.

The flat now occupied as the City Clerk's Chambers, Nos. 8 and 9, was then divided into four rooms only, the two easternmost, as at present, occupied as the Council Record Office, the two westernmost, large rooms with two windows each, as the Principal Clerk's Office and the Register of Sasines, etc., as at present. They entered from the stair by the door now used as the Session Clerk's Safe.

I came to this Office,² 9th December 1813. The then incumbents were John Hutchison, Keeper of the Register of Sasines, etc., and his clerk Adam Paton. The former was a very good-natured, kindly man, rather lazy however, and latterly not very attentive to his duties, which he left to his clerks. His behaviour to me, however, was that of a father rather than of a master; and to his kindness I acknowledge myself indebted for the success (such as it is) that I have experienced in the City Chambers. He died in March 1825, at the early age of 47. He was the cousin-german of Mr. Charles

¹ From 1778 till his death in 1790 Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, was a Commissioner of Customs, and had his office at the Royal Exchange.

² i.e. Town Clerk's Office.

Cunningham,¹ and it was to that connection that he was indebted for his appointment to the office. He had been the adopted child of his uncle, Thomas Hutchison, an eminent baker in the High Street (shop No. 183) and his wife Ann Haig, but under their tutelage he had been spoilt, and became very wilful and somewhat perverse; but with all his faults, such as they were, it is my duty to remember him only with affectionate gratitude.

Awdam Pawton (sic) was a native of Dunfermline, and had been bred in the Town Clerk's Office of that burgh, but he had got into the Town Clerk's Office, Edinburgh, in 1806. He was a little, but strong-built, 'blackaviced' manly, and very good natured—a great joker and quizzer. . . . He was married, but his wife died in 1818; and then his misfortunes began. . . . He kept two houses, which led him into debt, and he left the Office in March 1828, to become an inmate of the Calton Hill gaol, where he continued for three months. On being liberated he went to America. . . . Some years afterwards I heard he was settled in or about Montreal, but whether he be alive now I do not know (Feb. 1855). He and I were always very good friends, and I owe him much for his kindness. . . .

The principal Clerks were John Dundas and Charles Cunningham. Mr. Dundas had held the office about 40 years, and was then a very old man, very 'dreich' at docketing Sasines. He lived in the house now No. 125 Princes Street. He little thought, I daresay, that the little boy he sometimes condescended to notice was his destined successor in the Town Clerkship. He died 4th May 1816, and was succeeded by Mr. Carlyle Bell,² whom I succeeded in January 1851.³

¹ Town Clerk of Edinburgh, 1850-51.

² Nephew of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, author of the famous *Autobiography*. Bell resided with his uncle at the manse of Inveresk, and was, says Dr. Carlyle, 'my governor, nurse, and treasurer.' John Hill Burton also refers to Bell as having been 'all to him (i.e. Carlyle) that a son could be, and held that place in his affection.' Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography*, 3rd ed., 1861, p. 574. A further reference to Bell occurs on p. 154.

³ He was Conjoint Clerk along with John Sinclair from 1851 to 1859. He became Town Clerk in 1860.

Mr. Cunningham was also a very good-natured, kindly man, generally very gentle in his manners, and very indifferent about business. He could, however, work very hard when occasion required exertion, and could get through a great deal of work in a very little time; while, on the contrary, his partner and son-in-law, Mr. Bell, was constantly plodding at business, without seeming to know always exactly how to manage it. He (Mr. Bell) was reputed a great blockhead, and yet by patient plodding he got through the commonplace part of his duties tolerably well. He was no scholar as his docquets will tell. Mr. C., on the contrary, was somewhat of a scholar, and had been dux of the Rector's class in the High School. His mother was one of the many sisters of his predecessor in office, John Gray; and to his uncle he was indebted for his valuable official appointments and the good private business which he enjoyed for many years. He was unquestionably a man of talent, but seemingly very averse to business. His wife, Janet Weir, was the only daughter of John Weir of Kerse in Lanarkshire by Janet Gray, his mother's sister, and, as already mentioned, the cousin-german of John Hutchison, whose mother had been a Rachel Weir. Like John Hutchison he seems to have been somewhat of a spoilt child; and I was told by an old crony of his (Alex. Smellie,¹ printer to the University, one of the Bailies of Edinburgh) that at one time he and Charley Cunningham were inseparable companions, 'and just twa young blackguards.' He is now enjoying (1855) his *otium cum dignitate* at his house of Newholm in the parish of Dolphington, Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, 22 miles S.W. of Edinburgh (Mr. C. died 27th January 1856, aged 81 years). My own father, Alexr. Laurie, writer in Dunbar, had been for about three years clerk to 'auld Sandy Cunningham,' Charley's father, and Mr. Chas., after he

¹ Son of the more celebrated William, who printed the Edinburgh edition of Burns's *Poems*, and introduced the Bard to the Crochallan Club, an incident which the latter commemorated in one of his poems.

knew whose son I was, was always very kind to me on that account; though it was not through him or this connection that I first got into the Office.

Bailie Smellie, who lived to be a very old man, was the son of William Smellie, the naturalist and printer in Edin. He was very fond of telling old stories of the days of old; but having neglected to take a note of them at the time, I do not exactly recollect many of them. The first time he was in love, he once told me, was on the very day Lunardi¹ ascended in his balloon from the garden of Heriot's Hospital, 5th October 1785. He was then only 16; but took it so deeply to heart, that his father had to send him to the country for the recovery of his health. The object of his affection was a Miss Spence, in whose company he had been seeing Lunardi, but I forget what afterwards became of her.

Another person connected with the Office, I must not forget. This was Geordie Tamson (George Thomson), many years Town Clerk of Musselburgh, and now sleeping with his fathers in Inveresk Kirkyard. (He died 20th March 1846, aged 69 years.) He was in the Town Clerk's Office, Edin., from about 1799 to 1810, and was remarkable for stinginess and parsimonious money-making. He used to come frequently about the Office, but, as I had never been his fellow servant in it, I had little opportunity of observing his character. By-the-bye, Mr. Bell is also lying in Inveresk Kirkyard. He was the nephew of the somewhat celebrated Dr. Carlyle, the minister of that parish, and had been educated at Musselburgh by his uncle. His burial place is the third, west of the steeple, on the south front of the Church.

John Ogill (*sic*) lived till 1817, but was too frail to come to the Office, and I never saw him. His nephew, John Ogle, was for many years a bookseller in the Parliament Square;

¹ Vincenzo Lunardi (1759-1806), 'first aerial traveller in the English atmosphere.' He made his first balloon ascent in 1784, and, two years later, published *An Account of Five Aerial Voyages in Scotland*.

and his other nephew, Robert Ogle, was a bookseller and publisher in London, latterly under the firm of Ogle & Duncan, or Ogle, Duncan & Cochrane.

Archibald Aikman, who was in the Office from 1810 to 1813, became a grocer in the Grassmarket, where he carried on business till his death in 1854. His son still carries on business in Victoria Street.

William Forbes, Keeper of the Council Records, was a nephew of his predecessor John Forbes, and a relative, I understand, of the Town Clerk, Wm. Forbes. He came originally from somewhere about Cromarty, and now lies buried in the Calton Burying Ground, at the south-east corner, beside the Governor's house of the Gaol. He was a tall, slender, dark-complexioned man, and seems, at one time, to have had considerable influence in the management of the Town's affairs. He retired from office in 1814, and was succeeded by Mr. William Wotherspoon, Accountant, who resigned in 1815, when Mr. David Beatson was appointed.

[June 15, 1861. I this day attended the funeral of Jane Forbes, the grand-daughter of old Willy, and the last of his descendants that bore that name.]

19th May 1855. This day Viscount Melville,¹ Commander of the Forces in Scotland, reviewed the troops stationed here, in the King's Park, Holyrood, and this very day, fifty-one years ago (19th May 1804) I had my first experience in military affairs. On that day the Earl of Moira² (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) reviewed the troops under his command in East Lothian, about 5000, men of all arms, on West Barns

¹ Henry Dundas, third Viscount Melville (1801-76), was promoted General in the British Army in 1868. He was Colonel and Aide-de-Camp to Queen Victoria.

² Francis Rawdon-Hastings, first Marquis of Hastings and second Earl of Moira (1754-1826), soldier and statesman. He fought with distinction in the American War of Independence, and was Governor-General of Bengal, 1813-22. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland in 1803. In *Kay's Portraits* there is an etching showing his Lordship 'addressing the loyal Edinburgh Spearman,' with Duddingston House, where he resided, in the background.

Links, near Dunbar; and I remember the spectacle most distinctly. I was then only five years old, and got a terrible fright, with the galloping of horses, and the rattling of musquetry, etc. The next public event I remember was the death of Nelson, and the illumination for the battle of Trafalgar; but I don't recollect anything at all about the deaths and funerals of Willy Pitt and Charley Fox, which happened very soon afterwards.¹

When I came to Edinburgh in 1808, the Old or Upper New Town, as far west as Queensferry Street, was very nearly completed, the only exception being Charlotte Square, of which only the north side was then built. The other three sides were built within the next dozen of years or so. Of the Lower New Town, Heriot Row was completed [and] Abercromby Place west was building. The south side of West Albany Street, three houses on the north side; the west side of Dublin Street, except two southmost houses; Duke Street, and a small part of Dundas Street, and three houses north side of London Street were built. The rest of the ground now covered with streets, consisted of old villas with their gardens and grounds, fields, and rough open ground; and for a long time I recollect of a single house standing alone, on the north side of Great King Street. I think it must have been the third west of Pitt Street. At Whitsunday 1810, I went to live in St. Bernard's Row, Stockbridge, and from Northumberland Street to Stockbridge the road was lined with hedges enclosing cornfields. The Water of Leith was a clear running stream, with plenty of roaches and eels.

March 31, 1856. News arrived of the signing of Treaty of Peace.² Meeting in Council Chambers, Bailie Kay, Preses, to drink wine and [eat] cake. Bailie Tullis told a story of the old Volunteers, of which honorable corps he had been a member. Once, while drilling in Heriot's Green, Sergeant

¹ Both Pitt the Younger and Charles James Fox died in the same year, 1806.

² The Treaty of Paris, which ended the Crimean War, was signed in March 1856.

Goold, addressing one of the party, Bailie Boog, told him that if he held his musket in that way, he would never shoot a man in his life. 'God forbid,' cried Bailie Boog, 'that I should ever shoot anybody!'

April 2. Died Miss Elizabeth Gray, the last surviving sister of the late John Gray,¹ Town Clerk, and aunt of C. Cnyham [Cunningham], she aged 107 years and 11 months. Near the beginning of the present century the estate of Auldham² in East Lothian was purchased by Mr. Sligo from Mr. Colt, or, as he was called in the vernacular, 'Cowl o' Awdam.' The farm of Scoughall was burdened with Mrs. Colt's liferent, and she being above 70 years of age, a comparatively low valuation was put upon her life, in settling the price; but she lived to 103!

May 1829. Mr. Sinclair³ and I, accompanied by his brothers Willie and Malcolm (Malcolm died as suddenly as John, 27 Feb. 1861), and with a company of at least 200 people, went on a steamboat excursion down the Firth to the Isle of May. It is awful to think how many of the company known to us have since departed this life. Among them was James Donaldson, S.S.C., afterwards one of the Bailies of Edinburgh. There was also Professor Jameson,⁴ and his class, on a geological excursion, and we enjoyed the benefit of a lecture on the structure of the island. One of his party was the cele-

¹ One of the Council's 'two great organs'—'a judicious man, with a belly, white hair, and decorous black clothes; famous for drinking punch, holding his tongue, and doing jobs quietly; a respectable and useful officer, with an exclusive devotion to the Town Council, but with such municipal wisdom, and such an intimate acquaintance with their affairs, that he was oftener the master than the slave.'—Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*, new ed., 1874, p. 84.

² Situated close to Tantallon Castle, Auldham was originally a separate parish, but in the seventeenth century became part of Whitekirk.

³ Probably John Sinclair, who was Conjunet Clerk with Laurie from 1851-59.

⁴ Robert Jameson (1774-1854), mineralogist, Regius Professor of Natural History and Keeper of the Museum at Edinburgh. He was the author of *Mineralogy of the Scottish Isles* (1800), and was co-founder with Sir David Brewster of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*.

brated Sir Peter Buchanan Nimmo,¹ a perpetual student of the University, and a candidate for some of its chairs. Some people seemed to think that Sir Peter was more rogue than fool. He was in the practice of travelling through the country in summer, and sorning upon old collegians. On one of these excursions he arrived one afternoon at Gosford House,² East Lothian, and being well known to Lord Elcho, himself an old collegian, he was called in and introduced to the company then at dinner, among whom was the Duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry. In the course of the bantering that took place in the course of the evening at Sir Peter's expense, the Duke conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, or, as Sir Peter affirmed, a baronetcy, and from that day forth Sir Peter bore the title! My sister heard Sir Peter himself tell this to Earl Grey, in the lobby of Douglas's Hotel, St. Andrew Square, where his lordship was staying, on the occasion of his visit to Edinburgh, at the grand dinner given him by the citizens, in 1834. Sir Peter introduced himself to his lordship, telling him he had received his title from the Duke of Buccleugh; but the Earl evidently did not understand him, and passed on. He was said to have been the brother of one James Nimmo, well known for many years as 'Jemmy the Showman,'³ who constantly carried about with him for exhibition, what he called a Diamond Beetle. Another of the company at the May, was the present eminent Professor William Fergus[s]on,⁴ of King's College, London, then a student at our university, and his brother John, then clerk to Messrs. Cuninghame & Bell,

¹ There is no mention of this 'celebrated' personage in Sir. A. Grant's *Story of the University of Edinburgh* (2 vols., 1884).

² The words 'more likely Amisfield' have been added in pencil.

³ This, it seems, is a mistake. The showman's name is said to have been James Beatson. *MS.*

⁴ Sir William Fergusson (1808-77) was Professor of Surgery in King's College, London, 1840-70. He was created a baronet in 1866, and, in the following year, was appointed Sergeant-Surgeon to Queen Victoria. Sir William Fergusson was Surgeon to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, 1836-40.

W.S. On that same day, Mr. Beatson, then living in the country, came to town to keep his office in Mr. Sinclair's absence; but he caught cold, and 'dwined' (dwindled) away till he died, about the end of the year, when Mr. S[inclair] was appointed Keeper of the Council Records in his stead. His brother Robert Beatson is at present, and has been for many years, in the Sas[ine] and Charter Office. His son David is now Session Clerk of the City and Registrar of the District of St. Giles. His third son, James, is first or senior clerk in the Council Record Office. Resigned in 1859, and died in 1862.

Towards the end of last century there was a cloth merchant, of the name of John Black, who kept shop and made money in a small shop, north side of High Street, opposite the old Jail, the Heart of Midlothian. He had a shopman of the name of James Brown, and a housemaid of the name of Martha, or Mattie, Dunn. He left upwards of £10,000 to a family of cousins, of the name of Swanston, settled at Monkrig[g] or Seggersdean, near Haddington, one of whom, Janet Swanston, became the wife of John Grieve, merchant in Edinburgh, my mother's brother, and is still living (16th April 1856) in the 87th year of her age. It was from her I got the story of the three shades of colour in her cousin's establishment. She died, Feb. 1859, aged 90 years.

16th April [18]56. Coming through the Grassmarket this morning with Mr. Adam, the City Accountant, I was reminded of being one of a company of many hundreds, perhaps thousands, who accompanied down the old West Bow and through the Grassmarket and West Port, two Irish gentlemen of the names of Kelly and O'Neil, on their way to be hanged, between Morningside and Braidburn, for highway robbery, on Wednesday, 25th January 1815.¹ Notwithstanding the distance and the state of the weather, the ground being covered with snow, there was scarcely a smaller company in

¹ A brief reference to this incident will be found in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii., p. 40.

attendance at the hanging than if it had happened at the usual place of execution, the west end of the Tolbooth. At the said renowned 'west end' I once (1815) witnessed the hanging of two strapping young men, for robbing a person on the highway, at or near the Fishwives' Causeway, of the trifling sum of three and sixpence (3/6)! I don't, however, remember the time. The first hanging I saw there was in the spring of 1809, or 1810, of one John Armstrong for robbing a shop at Dalkeith. In Dec. 1813, I witnessed the execution of Christian Sinclair, an old woman from Orkney, for murdering her brother's illegitimate child. She had promised that when she came out of jail, she would fly off from the hands of the executioner; but she hung quietly enough, to the disappointment of many superstitious folks who had faith in her prediction. I once saw a namesake of my own, one, James Lawrie, suspended at the 'west end'; but when, or for what offence, I cannot distinctly recollect.

These were the days for hangings, between 30 and 40 years ago. I just read yesterday that when a man tried in England before Mr. Justice Burton, and condemned, complained that he should be hanged for such a trifle as stealing a horse, the Judge said, 'It is not for stealing a horse that you are to be hanged, but in order that horses may not be stolen.' This could have afforded but small consolation to the poor victim of a ferocious law.

Apropos of hanging there is a story told of a relation of mine that deserves to be recorded for its atrocity. James Torry, a cloth merchant in the High Street, was the cousin-german of my mother's father, and one of the Bailies of Edinburgh towards the end of last century. It being his duty, on one occasion, to attend to the gallows an unfortunate delinquent, who was very loath to depart, and spent a deal of time in praying and psalm singing, Bailie Torry is said to have whispered to his fellow magistrate, 'I wish he would be done; that knuckle of veal will be roasted to a cinder!'

The hangings in those days took place at 3 o'clock P.M., and the officiating Bailies used to comfort themselves with a tavern dinner after their work. *Sed tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.* I was told this story forty years ago by Adam Paton.

This reminds me of another story as remarkable for profanity as the other for atrocity. Bailie Wm. Dunlop, a spirit merchant in the Grassmarket, was also an elder in the New Greyfriars kirk session, which was known as 'the wet session.' On one occasion of dispensing the sacrament there, the Town Council were represented by Bailie Peter Forbes, a wine merchant, and consequently, presumably, a judge of wine. Bailie Dunlop was sitting next him at the table, and during the ceremony said to his neighbour, 'What do you think o' that wine? it's Bungy's.' 'Bungy' was the nickname of Bailie John Smith, a wine and spirit dealer at the Cowgatehead, who had supplied the wine on that occasion. Bailie Dunlop from all I heard of him was a good-hearted man, but rather profane and reckless. On one occasion a woman called for him as an elder, to go and pray with some one in great distress. 'Hae,' said the Bailie, 'there's half a crown to ye; it'll do you far mair guid.'

In the old Council Chamber, at the west entrance to the Parliament Close, deserted by the Magistrates and Council in 1811, there was an inscription in large gilt letters on a black-board, which stood afterwards, many years, in the officer's room downstairs, viz. '*Quisquis Senator officii causa hanc curiam ingredens ante hoc ostium omnes animi affectus iram odium amicitiam abjicito nam ut aliusquis aut iniquus queris ita quoque Dei judicium expectabis ac sustenebis.*' The board disappeared several years ago, during some alterations in the room, and I write the above words from memory. 27 Nov. [18]57.

John Rhind, Cashier of the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Socy., died at Marine Villa, Pirniefield, 21 April 1826.

Patrick Stevenson, Cashier in the Chamberlain's Office, formerly writer in Edinburgh and afterwards Keeper of the Register of Deeds and Protests, died 5th Oct. 1817. His wife was a sister of the Rev. Dr. Brunton of the Tron Church, and his son, the Rev. Patrick Stevenson, is minister of Coupar Angus.

William Gray Cuninghame, Writer to the Signet, and Keeper of the Register of Sasines, etc., within burgh, died 31st Dec. 1838, aged 38 years and a few days. He was the eldest son of Charles Cuninghame, W.S., and Conjt. [Conjunct] Town Clerk.

In the early part of the present century there were three Lord Provosts in succession, the initial letters of whose names were W. C., namely, William Coulter, William Calder, and William Creech. William Coulter was a hosier and stocking-weaver in Edinburgh, and became Provost in succession to Donald Smith, Esq., at the annual election in October 1808. He died in March 1810, and was honoured with a public funeral,¹ the procession marching from the High Church, where his body had been previously deposited,² by the High Street and South Bridge to the Greyfriars churchyard, where a large free-stone sarcophagus long marked the place of burial. It stood in the open ground to the north of the Church, but the last time I was there, it seemed to have been flitted considerably to the northwest, where it will now be found alongside of a cross road that leads past the burying grounds of Willy Dunlop, and Johnny, commonly called 'Bungy Smith,'

¹ The Order of the Procession at the funeral of Lord Provost Coulter will be found in the Appendix to Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh* (new ed., 1816, p. 573). Laurie is incorrect in saying that Coulter 'died in March 1810.' His death occurred on 14th April, and his funeral took place on the 21st.

² It had been conveyed the previous evening from his Lordship's house in Morningside to the High Church where it was received by the Magistrates. At twelve o'clock on the day of the funeral the flag on Nelson's monument, in the erection of which memorial Coulter had taken an active part, was 'hoisted half mast high, and two streamers of crape displayed from its top.'

both already mentioned in these memoranda. Provost Coulter is said to have been much gratified, during his last illness, with the prospect of the grand funeral that awaited his remains, if he should die in office! His widow continued his business for many years, as a hosier, in his large shop, north side of the High Street, at the head of Geddes' Close, and his only son, a lieutenant in the army, was killed at the battle of Albuera, in Spain, in 1811. Provost Coulter's town house was No. 1 Greenside Place, afterwards converted into and long occupied by Bailie Wright as a seed warehouse; but he had also a nice villa at Morningside, which was purchased after his death by Alexr. Falconer, Esq., who made large ornamental additions to the house, and called it 'Falconhall.'

Provost Calder¹ was a grocer and spirit dealer, with several shops: one at the foot of the Candlemaker Row, facing the lower gate of the Greyfriars; one at the head of the Canon-gate; one at the West Port; and one in the High Street, at the head of Stevenlaw's Close. His dwelling house was one of the villas at the head of the Links.

Provost Creech was a bookseller, and his shop was the one formerly occupied by Allan Ramsay, at the east end of the Luckenbooths, looking down the High Street. His name CREECH, in large letters on a gilt ground, was above the door; but it is said to have been formerly 'W. Creech,' which was read by a country wife 'Woo-creesh,' the lady stepping into the shop to ask for a sight of the article. The original pronunciation seems to have been 'Creekh,' but it was pronounced 'Creetsh.' His town house was No. 3 George Street, north side, and his country house, the villa of Trinity Grove. He was reputed to be very parsimonious; and, some complaint about his dinners having reached his ears, he is reported to have said that if he were to fill the Meadow Tank with wine Jamie Denholm² and Willie Fraser would drink it dry. He died in 1815, leaving a fortune of £30,000, which came

¹ He was Lord Provost, 1808-10.

² See also p. 179.

into [the] possession of the Rev. Charles Watson, minister of Burntisland, and his sisters, the children of the late Charles Watson, upholsterer, Greenside Street.

I recollect very well the personal appearance of all the three Provosts, but they were all out of office before I came to the City Chambers. Provost Creech was succeeded in Oct. 1813 by John Marjoribanks,¹ Esq., Younger of Lees, in Berwickshire, a partner in the banking company of Ramsay, Bonar & Co., and M.P. for Bute. He soon afterwards obtained a baronetcy. He was a tall, big man, and was the first who added 'Lord Provost of Edinburgh' to his signature in Charters and other documents, which was abbreviated into 'Lord Provost' by his successor, William Arbuthnot, Esq.²

On the Queen's Birthday 1839, I went with two friends (James Wm. Campbell, afterwards first Clerk of the new Sheriff Court of Chancery, but then a Clerk in the Exchequer chambers, and Dr. Oliver, both now deceased) on an excursion to Fife. Sailing from Newhaven pier, I think, or the Chain pier, I don't remember which, we landed at the north side of the Queensferry, and walked to Burntisland, passing through Inverkeithing, and by Fordell House, Otterston, Cockarnie, and Aberdour. In Inverkeithing we were tormented by boys to 'mind Charley Coots.' I asked who Charley Coots was, but none of them could tell. He was the substitute there

¹ His name is associated with the erection of the Regent Arch and the Calton Jail. Marjoribank's municipal work was in a measure complementary to that accomplished by Lord Provost Drummond, for he was chiefly instrumental in the creation of the broad and imposing approach to Edinburgh from the east. His mother, it is interesting to recall, was a daughter of Archibald Stewart, Lord Provost in the 'Forty-Five.

² Lord Provost for the second time in 1822, Arbuthnot was created a baronet on the occasion of George IV.'s visit to Edinburgh. At a grand banquet in the Parliament Hall, His Majesty, says one account, 'called for a bumper to the Lord Provost, dubbing him a Baronet as Sir William Arbuthnot, whence he was called the Royal Baronet.' In his *Journal*, Scott mentions having breakfasted at Arbuthnot's residence, where he met 'a select body of Tories, to decide whether we should act with the Whigs by owning their petition in favour of the Catholics.' Arbuthnot was, in fact, a friend of Scott, the 'special point of communion' being, says Lockhart, 'the antiquities of the British drama.'

for the Johnny Wilkes of Edinr., and I think it not unlikely that he may have been originally Charlie Fox, who, as the inveterate opponent of Pitt, could never have been in favour in so rotten a burgh as Inverkeithing.

Forty or fifty years ago there was a Chinese gentleman in the Excise Office, Edinburgh. He had been brought from China in his youth, by a gentleman of the name of Dundas, who had procured for him an appointment in the Excise Office, where he rose at last, by seniority, to the head of the list of Accountants, by the name of William Macao. He was, in his latter days, a slightly made, little, old man, with a glazed yellow face, and the regular Chinese eyes; but whether he was a Christian or a pagan, I never heard. He was married, however, and had a son, bred a Writer to the Signet, and still standing on the list of the Society, as having entered in 1824, by the name of W. R. Macao. He had also two daughters, whom I have seen. All these children of his bore strong unmistakable signs of their parentage in their physiognomy; but they seem to have all left Edinburgh years ago, and I have never heard what became of them. (8th Feb. [18]58.)

A number of names beginning with the word 'Meikle' have been converted by their owners into Celtic 'Macs.' For example, the descendants of Andrew Meikle,¹ the inventor of the thrashing machine, call themselves McKell. Other cases are M'Elmail for Meiklemail, M'Illrath for Meiklewrath, M'Lehose and M'Laws for Meiklehose, M'Illquhoun, or McIlvain for Meiklewame, McKelvie for Meiklevie (big man), McIlriach for Meiklewrath (?). In Berwickshire the name Hindmarsh is called Aimers, and some Hindmarshes so call themselves. In Fifeshire, 37 years ago, I heard the surname Ballingall pronounced Mungaw or Bungaw. Ballingry is pronounced Bingry.

¹ He was a mill-wright near Dunbar, the district to which Laurie himself belonged. Meikle invented the drum threshing-machine in 1784.

21st April 1858. This is the anniversary of my father's death, which happened 21st April 1807—fifty-one years ago. *Eheu fugaces labuntur anni.*

24th June [1858]. A grand procession of the Freemasons to lay the foundation of a new hall for the Grand Lodge in George Street.¹ I had thought the brotherhood was yielding like other old institutions to the Spirit of the age, and dying out; but, on the contrary, there was to-day the largest assemblage of the brethren ever known, no less than 4000 forming a line of a mile and a half in length. As they passed along before the Exchange, I could not but ask myself, reflectingly, how many people were now present, who witnessed a similar procession of Masons to lay the foundation of a new gaol at the back of the Parliament House fifty years ago. I find, on reference to the *Scots Magazine*, that it happened, 8th September 1808, in the provostry of Donald Smith, Esq., and that the number of brethren was reckoned at 1000 only. I remember it very distinctly, particularly the tyler of the Roman Eagle Lodge in burnished armour. How many of the present company are likely to be in the High Street, on some summer day, after the lapse of another half century!

On 24th June 1815, 43 years ago, I was sitting in the office, when there arose a great shout and hurra from the court. On looking out, I found it arose from a crowd of people collected round Bailie Waugh, the acting Chief Magistrate, who had been reading to them a letter from Sir John Marjoribanks, the Lord Provost, then in London, containing the first distinct intelligence that had reached Edinburgh, of the battle of Waterloo, fought on the preceding Sunday, the 18th.

There was once a writer in Edinburgh of the name of James Finlay, who was a noted miser. He lived in Sandiland's land, head of Craig's Close, north side of the High Street, and Provost Creech, who was almost equally noted for a fast grip,

¹ The foundation stone was laid by the Grand Master, the Duke of Atholl.

is said to have called for James, to get a lesson in economy. 'If that be a' ye 're come for,' quoth James, 'we may as weel put out the candle.' 'That 's quite enough,' said the Provost, 'I require nothing more.' I heard this story forty years ago, or more.

22 April [18]59. A heavy fall of snow last night. To-day the snow melts before the sun; but in the shade it is a strong frost. I don't recollect of such another event for upwards of 30 years. In the preaching week of 1826, or [18]27, more probably the latter, I was intending to go to the country, but was prevented by a heavy snowstorm, which lasted for several days. I have seen showers of snow in May.

June 17, 1859. George Milne, Assist. Town Clerk, and formerly Clerk to the Board of Com[mission]ers of Police, died, after eight months' confinement (*i.e.* illness).

July 14 [1859]. John Sinclair, Conjoint Town Clerk, died this morning, aged 54 years [and] 4 mo[nths].

Feb. 24, 1860. The 78th Reg[imen]t arrived in Edin. by railway from Fort George, at 6 p.m., and [was] received by so great a crowd, 50 or 60,000, that they took an hour to march from Waverley Bridge to the Castle. On 19th March 1816, the 42nd Reg[imen]t was welcomed in a similar manner on their return from Waterloo. They entered the city by the Abbeyhill road and Canongate, and took two hours to march from Portobello to the Castle, a distance of 4 miles, so dense was the crowd that welcomed them. On the 26th of the same month, the 2nd. Batt. of the 78th, 400 strong, landed at Leith from transports, and was allowed to enter the city, without any demonstration at all!

In Birrel's *Diary*¹ (published by Sir J. G. Dalzell, upwards of 60 years ago) there is an account of a juggler who astonished the lieges of his day. 'The 10 of July 1598, ane man, some

¹ Robert Birrel, an Edinburgh burgess, who in 1532-1605 wrote an interesting diary, which was published in Dalzell's *Fragments* in 1798.

callit him ane juggler, playit sic souple tricks upon ane tow, qlk. was fastenit betwix the tope of St Geills' Kirk steeple and ane staire beneath the Crosse callit Josias (now old Post Office) close heid. Ye like was never sene in yis countrie, as he slaid doun the tow and playit sae mony pavies on it.'—In 18(?) the new Assembly Hall¹ having been struck and set on fire by lightning, it was resolved to place a conductor on the steeple, and a man who had acquired some notoriety for climbing steeples [with] the nickname of Steeple Jack, was employed to do the work, which he did in a very workmanlike manner, by means of ropes and ladders, without the aid of other scaffolding. He afterwards applied to the Magistrates and Council for permission to exhibit his agility before the eyes of Edinburgh's wondering citizens, upon a rope (or tow, as Birrel calls it) to be fixed at the top of Nelson's monument, and somewhere else down below. I shewed him the story in Birrel's *Diary*, with which he was much gratified, and told him of an accident that had then recently happened to an American exhibitor of the name of Alexander, who, while performing on some apparatus at Blackfriars Bridge, London, inadvertently hanged himself in one of his own ropes, the spectators believing that it was part of the performance. Nothing daunted by such a prospect, Jack persisted in his application, which, however, was refused. Jack was present at the discussion, and had the pleasure of hearing old Bailie Gray emphatically remark 'The puir man 'll be sure to fa' and break his neck, and we 'll get a' the wyte o' t' for letting him.'

For some years prior to Whit[sunda]y 1806, John Gray,² the once celebrated Town Clerk of Edinburgh, lived in the second flat upstairs of the front land of Chessel's Court, Canongate, and his nephew, Charles Cuninghame,³ in the third flat, while the first flat was occupied by Mr. Joseph Brown,

¹ The Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland was built in 1842-44 at a cost of £16,000. The spire is 240 feet high.

² See p. 157.

³ See p. 153.

baker, the famous Canongate Bailie, who once ordered the 'defunct' to be summoned for next court day! The first and second of these flats are large and spacious, with lofty ceilings, and my uncle, John Grieve, went into John Gray's house, when he left it in 1806. In the autumn of that same year, I lived a week in it, when on a visit to Edinburgh with my father and mother, and was often in it afterwards. Bailie Brown had a large family of sons and daughters, with whom I was well acquainted; but they all died before him. His second son, Joseph Brown, baker in Canongate, married Janet Henderson of Fawside, the sister of the wife of my good friend John Hutchison,¹ who, by the bye, purchased the 2nd and 3rd flats from the Misses Gray, and lived in the second for two or three years, in or about 1816-18. John Gray was a famous man in his day. His portrait represents him as a very stout man with a broad white waistcoat. He was, *inter alia*, a great golfer, and I was told of his coming home one day to Chessel's Court in great triumph, as winner of the silver club, or some other honour, at a grand golf match. This silver club, the gift of the city of Edinburgh, used to be carried annually to Leith Links, in public procession, by Archy Campbell, with the town drummer beating (probably the Rogues' March, for anything I know to the contrary) before him. What has become of it now I do not know. I have not heard of it for many years. The Hon. Company of Golfers, I believe, now play at Musselburgh; and the site of their hall is now occupied by the new Leith Hospital.

John Gray's white waistcoat reminds me of Captain James Burnet² of the City Guard, who exhibited, in full dress, a white cassimer waistcoat, with gilt buttons, over one of the largest, broadest paunches I ever saw, except only that of a flesher at Musselburgh (probably the Deacon Painch of *Mansie*

¹ See p. 151.

² The last Captain of the City Guard. There is an etching of him together with an account of his career in *Kay's Portraits*.

*Wauch*¹ whose paunch was like a huge based rim or a bow o' meal carried before him. Captain Burnet, however, notwithstanding his great circumference, was a very cleanly made, and always neatly dressed man, of apparently quite a superior caste to the men of the gallant corps he commanded. He was a regular attender as a juryman on the services expedited before the Bailies; but alas! he died in or about 1816,² and the Guard, deprived of its head, was disbanded at Mart[inna]s. 1817. They paraded for the last time in the court of the Exchange, and marched upstairs to deposit their arms and accoutrements in one of the garrets of the City Chambers. Their last drummer, Donald Gunn, lived for a number of years in the capacity of Town Drummer, and was the last of these honourable functionaries. His only duty seemed to be to go with Archy Campbell and the Golf Club to Leith once a year, and through the old town every night at ten o'clock beating his drum. The Town Guard were dressed in red (brick red and not scarlet), longtailed coats, with blue facings and lapells, red waistcoats and breeches, long black gaiters on their legs, and three-cornered cocked hats on their heads. In attending 'hangings' and the Commissioner they carried muskets and bayonets, and were accoutred as soldiers; but when acting as sentries at their own Guard house, the ground flat of the Heart of Midlothian, at the entrance of the Exchange, and in attendance on King Charles in the Parliament Square, they carried Lochaber axes, a very formidable-looking weapon for a strong man to wield. It might have cleft a skull in twain in a trice. Their sergeants carried halberts, like those of the town officer. They seem to have been at one time, if not always, great reprobates; and I have seen a printed order of the Magistrates, stating that great annoyance had been given to the neighbours by the habitual cursing and swearing of the Guard, and therefore

¹ A humorous tale by David Macbeth Moir ('Delta').

² He died on 24th August 1814.—*Scots Magazine*.

warning them to abstain, under pain of a penny, I think, for every oath, to be deducted from their pay. They were generally old soldiers, and retained their military habits, for the army swore terribly in Flanders, and probably everywhere else.

I came to Edinburgh in 1808, and for about a dozen of years thereafter I was a sinner in the Old Church. My grand-uncle Dr. Henry Grieve¹ was one of the ministers, whether good or bad, I cannot say; for tho' I remember his personal appearance in the pulpit most distinctly, though it is fifty years ago, I have no distinct remembrance of his style or manner of preaching. He was a relic of the last century, and always appeared on Sundays in a three-cornered cocked hat, tight knee-breeches, silk stockings, and silver buckles in his shoes. He had been for upwards of thirty years minister of Dalkeith, and was very intimate with Duke Henry of Buccleuch and his next parochial neighbour, the famous Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk. He was a staunch adherent of the Moderate party, and had been Moderator of the General Assembly,² and a man of such note among them as to have obtained a place in *Kay's Portraits*, where his head, a tolerably good likeness, with a pair of long ears, is attached to the body of a cuddy-ass; but, on what occasion, or on account of what delinquency he had obtained such an honour, I do not at present recollect. I have not seen the book for many years; probably not since Mr. Bell,³ who died in 1850, pointed out the figure to me. If I am not mistaken, his uncle, Dr. Carlyle, is one of the asinine figurants in the same picture.

Dr. Grieve died in 1810, at his villa of Canaan House. His wife was Jenny Home, the sister of John Home, the author of *Douglas*; but their children died young. John and Jenny

¹ Some particulars regarding Dr. Grieve will be found in the sketch entitled 'Faithful Service Rewarded' in *Kay's Portraits*, vol. ii. He was one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal, and one of His Majesty's Chaplains-in-Ordinary for Scotland.

² In 1783.

³ Carlyle Bell, Town Clerk of Edinburgh.

Home were the children of George Home, Town Clerk of Leith, a cadet of the family of Bassendean, and in fact the cousins of Dr. Grieve, whose paternal grandmother was Ann Home of that same family. His great-grandmother was Catherine Sinclair of the family of Longformacus, a family through whom Sir Walter Scott claims kin with the royal family of Bruce. I recollect very well the event of John Home's decease in 1808. Mrs. Grieve was a very kindly old body, who used to treat her juvenile visitors with shortbread and sweets. She died in March 1810, about six weeks after the Doctor. Dr. Grieve was succeeded in the Old Church by Dr. Thomas Macknight (the father of Councillor James Macknight), from the College Church. He was the son of Dr. James Macknight, the translator of St. Paul's Epistles and Harmonist of the Gospels.¹ Dr. James was a very dry preacher, and one Sunday, having got wet on his way to church, his colleague, Dr. [Robert] Henry, the historian,² bid him just go up to the pulpit, and he would be dry enough there. I never heard him preach; but he could hardly have been drier than his son, Dr. Thomas, whose sermons, however, were always very short; and I recollect of his once closing his forenoon discourse just as twelve o'clock was 'chapping' in the tower overhead. His colleague, Dr. Andrew Brown,³ was rather livelier and longer but no great 'shakes' either. For one or other of them, the Rev. John Hunter,⁴ son of Dr. Andrew Hunter⁵ of the Tron Church, used to preach

¹ Macknight published a *Translation of all the Apostolical Epistles* in 1795, but his most famous work was a *Harmony of the Gospels* (1756).

² He received a pension in 1781 for his *History of England* (5 vols., 1771-85; 6th vol., 1793). Dr. Henry had previously been minister of both New and Old Greyfriars. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1774.

³ In addition to his parochial charge, he was Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in Edinburgh University. Dr. Brown, who was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1813, died on 19th February 1834. He was 'characterised by the eloquent composition of his writings, the unobtrusiveness of his manners, and the kindness of his feelings.'—Cameron Lees, *History of St. Giles' Church* (1889), p. 282.

⁴ See D. Butler's *Tron Kirk of Edinburgh* (1906), pp. 197-8. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

occasionally; and one of the longest and driest sermons I ever heard was preached by this same Rev. John Hunter, when minister of Swinton, one Sunday evening in the Scottish Church at Tweedmouth about 1825 or 6. He was soon afterwards translated to the Tron Church of Edinburgh as assistant and successor to the Rev. Dr. Simpson¹ (the father of Waterloo Jimmy—one of the City Assessors); but this being the first instance of such an appointment in Edinr., it was thought not unlikely to be challenged, and therefore he took the precaution of getting the draft of his presentation revised by his friend, Mr. James Moncreiff. It was challenged both in the General Assembly, where I heard 'Hairy Kobren'² make a long speech on the subject, and also in the Court of Session, where the reviser of the draft, then Lord Moncreiff, sustained the presentation of his own making. Scarcely anybody but myself and the principal Clerks knew of his Lordship having had a hand in it. The other day,³ when I heard Dr. Hunter officiating as Chaplain of the Town Council, his voice rung in my ears as the very sound that had wearied me so much in the days of yore at Tweedmouth. His father Dr. Andrew Hunter lived in the large house, formerly occupied by Lord Kames, at the head of Dr. Young's New Street, Canongate, the appearance of which was completely spoiled a number of years ago, by the erection of a range of low shops in front of it, towards the street. He⁴ died in 1809. He was succeeded in the Tron Church by the Rev. A. Brunton,⁵ who then lived in Saint John's Street, the house now occupied by the senior minister of Canongate. The elders of the Tron Church were in those days and a good while after, not more holy than their brethren of the 'wet Session' of the New Greyfriars. I knew several of them very well. One of my

¹ See D. Butler's *Tron Kirk of Edinburgh* (1906), p. 197.

² Henry Cockburn.

³ The date, 18th December 1860, is inserted in pencil.

⁴ Dr. Andrew Hunter.

⁵ See Butler's *Tron Kirk*, pp. 192-3.

friends, a baker, induced a brother elder, a brother-in-law of John Hutchison's, to sign [a] certificate of character to the keeper of a bad house in Dickson's Close, probably a customer, to enable him to obtain a public house licence from the Magistrates! And, on the faith of their recommendation, the paper was signed also by Dr. Brunton. The licence, however, was refused. A like trick was once played on the Rev. David Dickson of the West Kirk, by one of his elders. Dr. Dickson was indeed notoriously easy in signing official papers.

One of the clerks in the City Chambers, when I came to them, was a perfect counterpart of Paulus Pleydell's clerk in *Guy Mannering*. He was Sandy Macdonald, the officiating clerk of Sequestrations in the Bailie Court, always very trustworthy, though his master, Charlie Wilson (nick-named 'Chuckie' from his fondness for chuckies) used to be sometimes very much in the fidgets, when there had been a sale, and Sandy did not appear at his usual hour. He was a great music man, precentor of the New Greyfriars Church, and teacher of church music in Heriot's Hospital; but, unfortunately, he just almost lived upon whisky. He could do nothing till he got his morning dram, but, after being 'primed,' he wrote a very good strong hand, and kept himself perfectly steady during office hours. He had a pound a week and regularly on Saturday his wife came up to get 'the picture,' and they went away together to break it! He used to officiate in turn in the New North Church on Tuesdays and Fridays; and on one of these occasions when Dr. Davidson¹ of the Tolbooth Church was officiating, as soon as he heard Sandy's voice, he looked over the pulpit, bid him sit down, and precented himself. On another occasion he fell asleep

¹ Grandfather of Dr. Thomas Randall Davidson, the present Archbishop of Canterbury. A sketch of his career appears in *Kay's Portraits*. In one of his speeches in the General Assembly of 1840, Chalmers referred to 'that venerable Christian patriarch, Dr. Davidson of Edinburgh, whose heavenward aspirations, whose very looks of love and grace celestial, apart from language, altogether bespoke the presence of a man who felt himself at the gates of his blissful and everlasting home.'

during sermon, and did not hear the psalm given out, and he knew not what to do till some kind Samaritan went up and shewed him the place. It is said also, that in the cold winter mornings, when there was no congregation, Sandy would adjourn, with the morning lecturer and the beadle, to a neighbouring public house, to spend the hour! The lecturer at that time was a 'waufie,' of the name of Chapman. Sandy could drink nothing but the hard raw material; toddy made him sick. One day the wags of the City Chambers (of whom I was one for the nonce) invited Sandy and another gent. of the same kidney, to dine in Mrs. Brown's in the Fleshmarket Close (about the year 1824). The two guests declared their decided preference for the raw material, and were supplied *ad libitum*. They got, of course, as drunk as David's sow, and their kind entertainers sent them home with blackened faces. For the sake, however, of the hospitable entertainment, the gentlemen pocketed the affront. Such were the sports of those days! Sandy lived in a garret in the Cowgate, and it used to be a favourite amusement for some of the wilder youths to finish their evening's amusement by adjourning to Sandy's house, where they were always welcome, when they brought with them the means of treating their host and his wife. At last, however, poor body, he caught cold one day, and died after two days' illness, like a ripe apple that could hang no longer. We raised a subscription to bury him and [to] provide for the immediate wants of his family, and he was buried respectably in the Greyfriars. So much for his uniform good nature.

March 13, 1861. Walked to Leith by Bonnington—formerly called Bonnytown—through the Coalhill and along the shore to the far end of the East Pier. Between 30 and 50 years ago, the old harbour used to be crowded with shipping, that part of it between the two drawbridges, with large one-masted smacks that carried on the trade, both goods and passengers, between Leith and London. Above the upper bridge the

shore was always lined with colliers, whence the name of Coalhill. There were three or four Companies, to whom the great smacks belonged; and it used to be an amusement to the idle denizens of Edinburgh and Leith to go down to see the smacks sail, as they usually did, three or four at a time on the Tuesdays and Fridays; and fine looking vessels they were, in latter times very handsomely fitted up for passengers. But their voyages were very wearisome. Fifty hours was reckoned a quick passage; but they oftener took a week or even considerably over. In the spring of 1830, a family of near relatives of mine left Edinr. to go to live in London. They sailed from Leith on a Friday, but could not get out of the Firth, and lay in Aberlady Bay till the following Thursday, but, after all they got to London on Saturday, the 8th day out. One of them returned to Edinr. in 1832 by sea, and was again a week out, having been driven to the coast of Holland. Some people did not care, for of course they lived all the time at the expense of the Company, whose passengers they were; but in general, I believe, it was reckoned a tedious business. I went to London myself in the steamship *City of Edinburgh* in 1825, and was 52 hours on the voyage; but in the river we passed a smack which was said to have been out three weeks from Dundee!

To-day the old harbour is all but empty of ships and vessels, not a craft at the Coalhill, and, between the bridges, only two small steam-tugs. All the smacks are gone, and even their successors, the clipper-schooners. Nothing has been able to withstand the steam; and the last sailing Company was dissolved two years ago.

'Tween 40 and 50 years ago the grand passage across the Firth, between Lothian and Fife, was from Leith to Kinghorn, and the ferry-boat station was at the foot of the Shore, at the land end of the pier. The boats were decked vessels, a sort of clumsy small sloop, with a single mast (without top-masts), and three sails—a jib, a foresail, and a mainsail. They

carried horses and cattle down below, and passengers on deck. The first time I went to Fife was in May 1814, the preaching week, and, if I remember right, we took only about an hour and a half from Leith to Kinghorn. When I returned, a week after, I crossed in a small pinnace, in about 50 minutes, a very good passage. Shortly afterwards a sort of cutters were introduced, large open boats, very like the Newhaven fishing boats, in shape at least; but they had two masts, with sloop sails, not square like those of Newhaven. The hinder part was seated round about for passengers, with a locker in the middle, which served also for sitting on when required.

In or about the year 1821, I went to Kirkcaldy one Saturday for fun. There, I met with a party of botanists, one of whom was a schoolfellow, George W. Arnott,¹ now Professor of Botany at Glasgow. We dined together at Kirkcaldy, and then rode to Pettycur, and shipped on board a cutter. It was calm when we sailed and so continued for some time, but a gale got up, and gave us a most tremendous tossing. I was sitting on the corner of the locker, . . . and Arnott was sitting facing me, . . . and every lurch the boat gave a sea leaped over us, striking me on the back of the head and Arnott in the face. We could not better ourselves, for every seat was occupied all round, and we were kept fully an hour in this most disagreeable predicament. The gale fell before we got across, though we were driven considerably to the eastward, and we got quietly into Leith after a passage of 2½ hours. All the time of our trouble the skipper sat quietly and steadily at the helm as if there was nothing the matter, and his men lay down in the forepart of the boat, under shelter of the upraised windward side.

Much about the same time, though it may be a year or two more or less, one of these cutters, the *Wemyss Castle*, was upset in a squall, and went to the bottom in the middle of the Firth.

¹ He was appointed Professor of Botany at Glasgow University in 1845, and was associated with Sir William Hooker in botanical publications.

How many people were drowned I don't recollect, but one of the number was a herring curer or merchant of the name of Hutchison—a brother, I believe, of the present Town Clerks of Burntisland, Alex. Hutchison, S.S.C. and James Hutchison.

It was shortly after this, or much about the time, that small steamboats were first used on the ferry, sailing from Newhaven pier to the Fife coast. On the King's birthday (4 June, 1822) I went, with George Steele, then a clerk in the office, to pay a visit to Adam Paton, then living with his family in lodgings at Aberdour; but we took a very round-about road. Sailing from Newhaven we touched first at Pettycur, then at Burntisland, and then landed at Aberdour. Returning in the evening, we sailed eastwards to Burntisland only, and thence direct across to Newhaven. In the middle of the day we took a boat from Aberdour to Inchcolm, the only time I ever was on that island. It had at that time a swivel gun battery on the eastern peninsula, and was garrisoned by an old artilleryman, who lived in the abbey with his family. I have never been on Inchkeith.

After that three small steamboats were provided for the ferry by the Ferry Trustees, sailing between Newhaven on the south side, and Burntisland, Pettycur, and Kirkcaldy on the north side, the coaches from the north-east meeting them at Pettycur or Kirkcaldy as the wind and tide suited, while those from Perth and the north-west came down to Burntisland. Landing or shipping at these places was sometimes very disagreeable, if not dangerous, for, when the tide was out, passengers were landed or shipped by means of small boats, sometimes overcrowded, and over very rough water; and not seldom we were sometimes landed, at Kirkcaldy especially, on men's shoulders. This continued, with little, if any, amendment till 1844, when by agreement with the Trustees, the ferry passed into the hands of the Duke of Buccleuch and Sir John Gladstone¹ of Fasque. They made, or got made,

¹ Father of the Victorian statesman.

a new road along the coast from Kinghorn to Burntisland, and provided two handsome iron steamers to carry on the trade from thence to Granton; Newhaven and Leith being entirely abandoned as ferry stations. This arrangement continued for two or three years, when the ferry was transferred to the Edinr. and Northern (now the Edinr., Perth & Dundee) Railway Company. I have crossed the Firth nearly 700 times, having lived a good part of five summers at Burntisland, and crossing every day in the years 1846-47, 48, 53 and 54.

Jamie Denholm was a hatter on the North Bridge Street; but to that trade he added the better one of being Lord Melville's¹ political agent or whipper-in; and scandal alleged that he had had a good share of secret-service money. For years he was always in the Town Council, either as a trades-councillor or Deacon of the Incorporation of Waulkers and Convener of the Trades; and it was some irregularity in the mode of his election at Michaelmas 1817, that gave occasion to a law plea that cost the Good Town upwards of £2000, to no good purpose. The object of the pursuers, using the name of Deacon Alexr. Lawrie, was to get the election of the Council reduced, cassed, annulled, and set aside, so that there might be an opportunity of infusing new blood into the rotten system by means of a poll-election of the citizens, which was the usual method of restoring Town Councils in such circumstances; but, after several years [of] litigation, the pursuers tired of it, and the Council paid them £1100 to be quit of them. . . . Jamie Denholm was a tall, handsome man; but, in his latter years rather red-faced—the consequence of the frequent 'booses' to which his office subjected him. He got himself at last appointed Treasurer of Heriot's Hospital,² and died in 1822. While his face was only red, that of his

¹ Robert Saunders Dundas, second Viscount Melville (1771-1851), became M.P. for Midlothian in 1801.

² He was elected 9th August 1813.

friend, the Right Hon. William Dundas, so long the M.P. for the City,¹ was literally purple.

Queues were still in vogue in the first and second decades of this 19th century; and were worn by soldiers till they went to Spain in 1808. The trouble they gave the soldier was enormous. In my native town of Dunbar there were two sets of barracks, one for cavalry, and the other for infantry and artillery, and somehow or other I was very much among the soldiers, even in their barrack rooms. I have seen them dressing, getting their heads besmeared with grease and flour or powder, and a huge goblet-shank attached to a knot of hair at the back of the head, and hanging down to the middle of the back, or farther. Sailors wore similar appendages, but no powder, and their tails consisted of their own long hair tied round with tape or ribbon. When the army went to Spain in 1808, these tails and hair powdering were found inconvenient, and the still subsisting fashion of close cropt hair was introduced. Besides the hair-dressing, soldiers in those days were subjected to another absurd fashion. They wore white cloth breeches with long black leggings up to their knees, with a long row of bright buttons outside. These buttons were to keep clean and be fastened every day, to the great annoyance of the men; but they got quit of them, too, in Spain, grey trousers being substituted for the white breeks and black leggings. On their heads they wore caps of the most fantastic shapes, that baffle description. Dragoons wore large three-cornered cocked hats, and huge leather boots up to the middle of their thighs, forming the most grotesque figures imaginable; but the Spanish war put an end to all that trumpery. The last person, I recollect, wearing a tail till the end of the chapter was William Wilkie, an emeritus tailor, who sat in the Old Church, and died about

¹ 1812-31. The son of Robert Dundas, the younger, he was War Secretary, 1804-6. In 1814 he became Keeper of the Signet, and in 1821 Lord Clerk Register.

1821. The last who wore a three-cornered cocked hat, as his ordinary dress in Edinr. was Dr. James Hamilton, Senior, physician, there; and next to him Ebenezer Wilson, a beadle of the Tron Church, who lived at the foot of Libberton's Wynd. I believe both these 'cockies' figure in *Kay's Portraits*.¹

¹ See vol. ii.

INDEX

- ACHESON. *See* Aitchison.
 Adamson, John, 42, 43.
 Advocate's Close, 89.
 Aikman's Close, 72.
 Aikman, Archibald, grocer, 155.
 Airdry, Lady, 46.
 Aitchison, Sir Archibald, of Glencairney,
 3, 4.
 — of Gosford, 72.
 — James, 3.
 — John, 3.
 Alexander (Alschunder), Williame, 37, 43.
 Alison, Andrew, 143.
 Allan's Close, 96.
 Allan, Robert, baxter, 142.
 Anchor Close, 98.
 Anderson, Dame Elizabeth, 108 *n.*
 — W., landlord of the George inn, 145.
 Arbutnot, William, Lord Provost, 164
 and *n.*
 Armstrong, John, hanged for robbery, 160.
 Arnott, George W., prof. of Botany, 177
 and *n.*
 Arthoure, Williame, deacon of the
 Cordiners, 37, 43.
 Atkinson, Edward, landlord of the George
 inn, 145.
 Augustinian Canons obtain grants of land
 in Edinburgh, 102.
 Auldham, East Lothian, 157 and *n.*
- BAILIE FYFFE'S CLOSE, 76, 139.
 Bailie Nairn's Close, 60.
 Baillie, John, landlord of the Coach and
 Horses inn, 126.
 — Robert, acquires King's Stables, 114.
 Baird's, afterwards Brown's, Court, 56.
 Bairds of Newbyth, owners of Gordon
 House, 56.
 Bakehouse Close, 1-2, 5, 72.
- Balfour's coffee-house, 137.
 Barbers, 28 *n.*
 Barclay, Margaret, wife of Sir John Byres,
 88.
 Barrie, Arthour, 37, 43.
 Barron's Close, 97.
 Baxter's Close, 75.
 Baxters' Incorporation, 27, 29, 34, 37, 38.
 Beatson, David, registrar, 155, 159.
 — Robert, Sasine office, 159.
 Bell's Close, 82.
 Bell, Carlyle, town-clerk, 148, 152 and *n.*—
 154, 171 and *n.*
 Bellenden, Helen, wife of Clement Cor, 90.
 Beth's Wynd, 77, 78.
 Birkmyr, Thomas, 37, 43.
 Birrel's *Diary*, 167 and *n.*, 168.
 Bisset, Anthony, 140.
 Black (Blak), Alexander, 44.
 — Andro, blacksmith, 36, 42.
 — John, cloth merchant, 159.
 Black Bull inn, 131-132, 137-139, 146.
 Black Turnpike, 83, 85.
 Blackfriars' gardens, 113.
 Blackfriars' Wynd, 76.
 Blackie Hostel, 77.
 Blyth's Close, 59, 61, 73.
 Bontine, John, 97.
 Borelands, proprietors of King's Stables,
 115.
 Borthwick's Close, 82.
 Borthwick, Alexander, vintner, 47, 100.
 Boswell's Court, 57.
 Boswell, James, residence of, 75.
 Bothwell's Close, 60.
 Bothwell, Adam, bishop of Orkney, 88.
 Bowhead House, 63.
 Bowie, Jerome, chaplain of 'St. Mary's
 below the Castle Wall,' 115.
 Boyd's Close, 129.

Boyd, James, innkeeper, 129, 146.
 Brandsfield, formerly Dalry, 108 n.
 Brodie's Close, 66.
 Brodie, Francis, wright, 66.
 — William, deacon and burglar, 14, 66.
 Brown, Walter, notary public, 44.
 Brown's Close, 87, 95.
 Brown, Andrew, prof. of Rhetoric, 172 and n.
 — Joseph, bailie, 168.
 — [son], 169.
 — Thomas, proprietor in Sempill's Close, 59.
 Brownhill's Court, 74.
 Brownhill, James, 74.
 Bruce's Close, 93.
 Bruce, Robert, 44.
 — of Binning, 94.
 Brunton, Rev. A., minister of the Tron Church, 173.
 Bryson, Steven, 36, 42.
 Buchanan's Close, 67.
 Buchanan, George, 83.
 Bull's Close, 75, 100.
 Burghs of barony, 25.
 — of regality, 25.
 Burnet's Close, 82.
 Burnet, James, Captain of the City Guard, 169 and n., 170.
 Burns, Robert, residence of, 77.
 Butter Tron, 58.
 Byres Close, 87.
 Byres, Sir John, of Coates, 79, 87.
 CACHEPOOL or Bull's Close, 100.
 Calder, William, Lord Provost, 162-163.
 Calton 'Crag,' 117-118.
 Cameron, Annie I., *The Canongate Crafts: an Agreement of 1610*, 25-44.
 Campbell, Archibald, of Succoth, 46.
 — town drummer, 169, 170.
 Cannon-Ball House, 10, 56.
Canongate Crafts: an Agreement of 1610, 25-44.
 Cant's Close, 92.
 Cap-and-Feather Close, 100.
 Carfrae's Close, 77.
 Castle Bank, 113, 119.
 Castle Barns, 107, 108 n., 109.
 Castle Hill, north side, 58.

Cauldwell, John, friar, 113 n.
 Chessel's Court, hotel, 133-134.
 City Guard disbanded, 170.
 Clark, James, owner of livery stables, 132; opens a hotel, 133.
 Clerk, Sir James, of Penicuik, proprietor of Sempill's Close, 59.
 Coach and Horses inn, 126.
 Coach fares to London, 132.
 Coates House, 79.
 Cookburn, Henry, 'Hairy Kobren,' 173.
 — John, landlord of the George inn, 143-144.
 Colt, Sir Robert, advocate, 46.
 Conn's Close, 82, 100.
 Convener Court of the associated incorporations, 27.
 Cor, Andrew, 91.
 — Clement, 90.
 Cordiner's Incorporation, 27, 29, 34, 37, 38.
 Coulter, William, Lord Provost, 162 and n.
 Covenant Close, 82.
 Cowan, William, *A Note on Huntly House*, 1-5.
 Craft guilds, 26.
 Craig's Close, 93, 95, 96.
 Craig's Plainstones, 93.
 Craig, John, 43.
 — jr., 44.
 — Sir Lewis, Lord Wrightshouses, 93.
 — Sir Thomas, of Riccort, 93.
 Craighall-Rattray, 65, 74.
 Cranston's Close, 74.
 Cranston, James, 74.
 Creech's Land, 78.
 Creech, William, Lord Provost, 162-163, 166.
 Crochallan Club, 98.
 Crosbie, Andrew, advocate, 90.
 Crystie, William, 36, 42.
 Cullen's Close, 66.
 Cunningham, Charles, W.S., town clerk of Edinburgh, 148, 152, 162, 168.
 — William Gray, W.S., 162.
 DALRY, 102, 105, 107, 108 n., 109, 110.
 Dalrymples of Stair, 62.
 David I. attacked by a stag in Drumseloh Forest, 102.
 Davidson's Close, 127.

Davidson, James, 37, 43.
 — Thomas, minister of the Tolbooth Church, 174 and n.
 — Yaxly, landlord of the Red Lion inn, 134.
 Deacon Convener, his powers and duties, 30, 38.
 Deacons of Trade, 28, 31.
 Denholm, Jamie, hatter, and treasurer to Heriot's Hospital, 163, 179 and n.
 Dewar, David, 36.
 Dick, Sir William, of Braid, 90.
 Dickison of Winkston, 72.
 Dickson, Allan, 72.
 — David, minister of the West Kirk, 174.
 — John, of Hartree, 75.
 — of Whitslade, 75.
 Don's Close, 93, 95.
 Donaldson, James, S.S.C., 157.
 — William, 36, 43.
 Douglas, John, surgeon, 142.
 Dowie's tavern, 73.
 Drummond, George, of Blair, 46.
 — Sir George, Lord Provost, 98.
 Drumshugh forest, 102.
 Drury, Sir William, 68.
 Drysdall, John, 36, 37, 42, 43.
 Dumbreck, John, landlord of the White Horse inn, 130-131, 146.
 Dumfries, Earl of, 57.
 Dun, James, landlord of the White Hart inn, 137-138, 146.
 Dunbar's Close, 86.
 Duncan's Close, 127.
 Dundas, John, 152.
 — William, Lord Clerk Register, 180 and n.
 — elder and publican, 161.
 EAGLE and Henderson's nursery, 79.
 East Coates House, 88.
 Edjar, Patrick, 57.
 Edinburgh Sugar House Company, 4.
 Edward Hope's Close, 60, 62.
 Elgin and Kincardine, Countess of, 77.
 Ellem, James, incumbent of 'St. Mary's below the Castle Wall,' 115.
 Ellis, Adam Gib, W.S., a collector of Edinburgh antiquities, 54, 62, 68, 80.
 Erskine, James, of Barjarg, 46.
 Esplene, John, 36, 42.
 Eviot, James, 36.
 FAIRDEN'S CLOSE, 75.
 Fairlie of Comiston, 74.
 Falconer, Alexander, of Falconhall, 163.
 Fergusson, Robert, poet, 100.
 — Sir William, prof. of Surgery, 158 and n.
 Ferrier, James, 143.
 — Robert, 142-144.
 Ferry from Leith to Kinghorn, 176-179.
 Fethie, Henrie, 44.
 Finlay, James, a noted miser, 166.
 Fires in Edinburgh in 1700 and 1824, 81.
 Fisher's Close, 66, 75, 98.
 Fleshers, 28 n.
 Fleshmarket Close, 100.
 Floriculture in mediæval times, 111.
 Forbes, Jane, 155.
 — Peter, bailie and wine merchant, 161.
 — Sir William, of Pitsligo, banker, 150 and n.
 — William, keeper of the Council Records, 155.
 — town clerk, 155.
 Fordyce Close, 98.
 Forrester's Wynd, 77, 78.
 Forrester's of Corstorphine, 78.
 Fortoun, Charles, 43.
 — John, 36, 42.
 Fortune's Close, 100.
 Foular, George, deacon of the Hammermen, 36, 42.
 — John, 36, 42.
 Foulbridge Well, 108 n.
 Fountainhall Close, 74.
 Fowler's Close, 98.
 Fowler, William, 99.
 Freemasons' Lodge, George Street, 166 and n.
 French Ambassador's house, 71.
 GAIRDNER, Alexander, 36, 42.
 — John, 36, 42.
 — the king's gardener, 113.
 — William, 36, 43.
 Galloway's Close, 86.
 Galloway, Patrick, 3.
 — Thomas, 3.

- Gardens of the Castle*, by C. A. Malcolm, 101-120.
 Geddes Close, 100.
 Geddie, John, *The Sculptured Stones of the 'Royal Mile'*, 49-100.
 George inn, 124, 139 and n., 140, 144-145.
 Gladstone's Close, 75.
 — Land, 10, 17, 75.
 Gladstone, Sir Thomas, 75.
 — William, surgeon, 75.
 Glen, Thomas, dag maker, 36, 42.
 Goldsmiths, 29.
 Gordon, Lord Adam, 4.
 — Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of, 56.
 — George, 1st Duke of, 56.
 — Henrietta, Dowager Duchess of, resident in Bakehouse Close, 2.
 Gordon House, sculptured stones at, 56.
 Gosford's Close, 51, 72.
 Gourlay, David, 70.
 — John, collector of customs, 70, 71.
 — Robert, collector of customs, 67, 70.
 Grant, Sir Francis, 66.
 — William, Lord Prestongrange, 66.
 Grassmarket, 105-106, 110.
 Gray, Elizabeth, 157.
 — or Aitchison, Janet, 3.
 — John, town-clerk of Edinburgh, 147, 168, 169.
 — W. Forbes, editor of *Laurie's Reminiscences of a Town Clerk*, 147-181.
 — Sir William, of Pittendrum, 76.
 Grieve, Henry, minister of St. Giles' Church, 147, 171 and n.
 Grindlays of Orchardfield, Temple Lands, 116.
 Gunn, Donald, town drummer, 170.
 HAIG, Ann, wife of Thomas Hutchison, 152.
 Hairt. See Hart.
 Hamilton's Close, 66.
 Hamilton, Archd., friar, 113 n.
 — James, physician, 181.
 — — stabler, 129.
 — Margaret, wife of Sir Archibald Aitchison, 5.
 — — of Earlsall, 105 n.
 — Patrik, 36, 42.
 Hammermen Incorporation, 2-4, 27, 29, 34, 36, 38.

- Hammermen's Close, 3.
 Hanging for robbery, 159-160.
 Hanna, John, 36, 42.
 Harper, Sir John, of Cambusnethan, 74.
 Hart's Close, 100.
 Hart, Andro, printer, 96, 100.
 — James, dag maker, 36, 42.
 — — goldsmith, 36, 42.
 Hastings, Marquis of, 155 and n.
 Henderson's Close, 75.
 Henderson, Janet, of Fawside, 169.
 Henry, Robert, minister of Old Greyfriars', 172 and n.
 Hepburn, Sir Adam, of Humber, 140.
 Heriot's Close, 87.
 Heriot, Helen, wife of Sir Thomas Craig, 93.
 — Robert, of Trabroun, 93.
 High Riggs, 106-108.
 Holyrood Abbey founded by David I., 102.
 Holyroodhouse, Henry, Lord, 57.
 Homs, of Kames and Renton, 99.
 — Cristopher, 37.
 — George, town clerk of Leith, 172.
 — Jenny, wife of the Rev. Dr. Henry Grieve, 171.
 Hope's Close, 67.
 Hope House, 71.
 — Sir Thomas, of Craighall, 70.
 Hopper's Close, 75.
 Horse Wynd, 140-141.
 Hotel established in 1781, 133.
 Howard, Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, 56.
 Hume, David, residence of, 75.
 Hunter, Andrew, minister of the Tron Church, 172-173.
 — James, and Co., bankers, 150 and n.
 — John, minister of the Tron Church, 172-173.
 Hunter-Blair, Sir James, banker, 150 n.
Huntly House, by William Cowan, 1-5.
 Huntly, George, 1st Marquess of, 2.
 Hutcheson's Close, 100.
 Hutchison, John, keeper of the Register of Sasines, 151, 153, 169.
 — Thomas, baker, 152.
 Hyndford, Countess of, 57.

INCHCOLM, 178.
 Incorporated Trades of the Canongate, 25-44.

- Incorporation of Bakers, 5, 27, 29, 34, 37, 38.
 Incorporation of Cordiners, 27, 29, 34, 37, 38.
 Incorporation of Hammermen, 2-4, 27, 29, 34, 36, 38.
 Incorporation of Tailors, 27, 29, 34, 36, 38, 43, 77.
 Innes, George, cashier of the Bank of Scotland, 2.
 Inns in the Middle Ages, 124; inns of Edinburgh and their sites, 124, 128; enactments in their favour, 125; the accommodation provided, 126; the White Horse inn, 124-131; acts compelling travellers to lodge at inns, 125; the Coach and Horses and the White Horse inns, 126; the Black Bull, 131; the Red Lion, 134-136, 138, 146.
 Ireland's Close, 86.
 JACK'S LAND, 75.
 Jackson's Close, 100.
 James III. encourages tree planting, 112.
 James VI. in Anchor Close, 99; resident in Gourlay's House, 68.
 James's Court, 74-75.
 Jameson, Patrick, builder of the Royal Exchange, 84.
 — Robert, prof. of Natural History, 157 and n.
 — William, 84.
 Jamieson, James H., *Some Inns of the Eighteenth Century*, 121-146.
 Jardene, Thomas, 34, 36.
 Jardine's Close, 75.
 John Dickson's Close, 75.
 Johnson, James, of the *Scots Musical Museum*, 77.
 Johnston Terrace, 116.
 Johnston's Close, 65, 66.
 Johnston, Sir Archibald, of Wariston, 83.
 — Sir Patrick, 65.
 Jollie's Close, 60.
 Jonkene, James, 36, 42.
 Joyeie's or Josiah's Close, 96.
 KELLY and O'Neil hanged for highway robbery, 159.
 Kennedy's Close, 58, 82, 83.
 Kennedy, Quintain or Mungo, W.S., 83.
 Kerr, Henry F., *The Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh*, 7-23.
 King's Close, 95.
 — Stables Road, 103-105, 108-110, 113, 115, 116, 120.
 Kintore Close, 90.
 Kirk o' Field gardens, 113.
 Kirkaldy, Sir William, of Grange, besieged in the Castle, 104, 120.
 Kirkby, John, a Yorkshire schoolmaster, 136.
 Knights Templars, 106.
 Knox, John, resident in Warriston's Close, 93; his manse, 94.
 Kyle, James, 37, 43.
 LADY GRAY'S CLOSE, 76.
 Lady Stair's Close, 75, 76.
 — — House, 76, 95.
 Lady Wynd, 114.
 Laing, David, his collection of sculptured stones, 54.
 Lang Dykes, 117.
 Lauder, Sir John, of Fountainhall, 74.
 — William, coachmaker, 5.
 Laurie, Alex., writer, 153.
 — James, town clerk of Edinburgh, *Reminiscences of a Town Clerk*, 147-181.
 Law, Alexander, 37, 43.
 — Stephen, 83.
 Lawnmarket: north side, 73; south side, 63.
 Lawrie, James, hanged, 160.
 — Thomas, 37, 43.
 Ledingtoun or Levingtone, Johnne, 37.
 Lee's Close, 100.
 Leirmonth, Robert, 36, 42.
 Liberton's Wynd, 73.
 Liberton, David de, 106 n.
 — William de, 106 and n.
 Lillie, William, cordiner, 140, 142.
 Lindsay Square, 74.
 Little's Close, 66, 97.
 Little of Liberton, 73.
 — Clement, 66.
 — William, of Craigmillar, 66.
 Livingstone's Yards, 116.
 Lockhart (Lokhart), Abrahame, 36, 42.
 — Sir George, Lord President, 68.
 Lowden, James, pin-maker, 5.

Lower Baxter's Close, 75.
 Luckenbooths, 78.
 Lunardi's balloon ascent, 154 and n.
 Lyon's Close, 100.
 Lytilijon, Peter, 34, 36.

MACAO, WILLIAM, accountant, 165.
 — W. R., W.S., 165.
 M'Clellan, James, 36, 43.
 Macdonald, Sandy, precentor in New Greyfriars' Church, 174.
 M'Farlane, Duncan, innkeeper, 131, 136-138.
 Mackenzie, George, clerk to the Exchequer, 46.
 — Sir James, of Royston, 65.
 Macknight, Dr. James, 172 and n.
 — Dr. Thomas, 172 and n.
 Macmillan, John, landlord of the Red Lyon inn, 134.
 M'Morran's Close, 65.
 M'Morran, John, city treasurer, 66.
 — Ninian, of Newhall, 65.
 M'Naught, Robert, 61.
 M'Queen, James, writer, 143.
 Malcolm, Charles A., *The Gardens of the Castle*, 101-120.
 Malloche, William, 34, 37.
 Manderston, Patrick, proprietor in Sempill's Close, 59.
 Marjoribanks, Sir John, Lord Provost, 164 and n., 166.
 Marlin's Wynd, 84.
 Marwick, Sir James David, 149.
 Mary of Guise's Palace, 60, 62.
 Mary King's Close, 51, 95.
 Mason (Measone), Thomas, 44.
 — Walter, master of works, 112.
 Mauchan's Close, 67.
 Mauchan, Alexander, 67.
 — John, bailie, 67.
 Mediaeval inns, 124.
 — orchards, 101.
 Meggot, John, 44.
 'Meikles' changed to 'Macos,' 165.
 Melville, Henry, viscount, 155 and n.
 — Robert, viscount, 179 and n.
 'Meroat Croce,' 81.
 Merlion, Walter, 84.
 Middle Baxter's Close, 75.

Miller, Robert, *The Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*, 8-11.
 Milne's Court, 73, 74.
 Milne Square, 74.
 Milne, George, assistant town clerk, 167.
 Monteyth, Alexander, 37, 43.
 Morisoun, John, 37, 43.
 Morocco Close, 75.
 Morton House, Blackfriars Street, 57.
 Mossman, James, 78.
 Mowbray House, Castle Hill, 57.
 Mowbray of Barubongle killed in escaping from the Castle, 115.
 — Robert, of Castlewan, 57.
 Muill, Johnne, 36, 43.
 Mure, Alexander, of the Cannon-Ball House, 56.
 Mylne Square, 45-48, 99.
 Mylne, Robert, of Balfarg, the King's Master Mason, 45 and n.-48, 74, 100.

NAPIERS of Merchiston, 79.
 New Assembly Close, 82.
 New Bigging Street, 106, 110.
 New Black Bull inn, 139.
 Newcastle flying post coach, 137.
 Newlands, Margaret, wife of Alexander Mure, 56.
 — Robert, 36, 42.
 Nicolson, William, 37, 43.
 Nimmo, Peter Buchanan, 158.
 Nisbet, Lady, of Dean, 143.
 Nor' Looh, 105, 117.
 North Foulis Close, 100.
 Northesk, Earl of, 46.
Novus Vicus, 105.

OGILL or Ogle, John, 154.
 — Robert, bookseller, 155.
 Ogilvy, Alexander, deacon of the Tailors, 36, 42.
 Old Assembly Close, 82.
 Old Assembly Rooms, 63, 64.
 Old Bank Close, 67, 71.
 Old Baxter's Close, 75.
 Old Fishmarket Close, 82.
 Old Meal Market Close, 81.
 Old Post Office Close, 97, 98.
 Old Stamp Office Close, 100.

Oliphant, Laurence, W.S., 46.
 Orchardfield, 104-108 and n., 116.
 Ord's Close, 127.
 Ord, Lawrence, landlord of the White Horse inn, 127.
 Our Lady's Steps, 79.

PAGANSON, MALCOLM, gardener to David II., 111.
 Parliament Close, 77, 80.
 Parliament House, 80.
 Parliament Stairs, 76, 81.
 Paterson's Close, 75.
 Paterson, Andrew, 47.
 — John, 37, 43.
 — William, landlord of the White Hart inn, 138.
 Paton, Adam, 151-152, 178.
 Pearson's Close, 95.
 Peebles Wynd, 82, 83.
 Peebles, Alex., advocate, 140.
 Pinkertoun, Cuthbert, 37, 43.
 Pirie's Close, 150.
 Pitoairn, Archibald, 143.
 Pitoathlie, Archibald, 44.
 Plummer, Nicholas, 112.
 Polcatalieve, 104.
 Portobello Tower and its sculptured stones, 83, 84.
 Postchaise charges, 123.
 Preston, Mary, wife of Robert Bruce of Craigmillar, 94.
 — Sir Simon, of Craigmillar, 94, 95.
 Purves, Helen, wife of George Robertson, 142 n.

RAMAGE, MARGARET, wife of Robert Ferrier, 142-143.
 Ramsay House, 58.
 Ramsay, James, notary public, 42, 43.
 — Peter, landlord of the Red Lyon inn, 134, 146.
 Ramsays of Dalhousie, 58.
 Rattray, James Clerk, of Craighall-Rattray, baron of exchequer, 65, 73.
 Ray or Rae, David, 36, 42.
 Red Lyon inn, 134-136, 138, 146.
Regis Vicus, 105.
 Reid, Robert, landlord of the George inn, 145.

Reidpath, Thomas, 43.
Reminiscences of a Town Clerk, by James Laurie, 147-181.
 Rhind, John, 161.
 Richardson's Close, 100.
 Riddell, George, 65.
 Riddle's Close, 65.
 Riddle's Court, 76.
 Rippit, Thomas, 37.
 Roads between Edinburgh and London, 122.
 Robb, Agnes, 108 n.
 — Barbara, or Paterson, 108 n.
 — James, 108 n.
 — Janet, wife of William Lindsay, 108 n.
 Robert II. gift to the city in 1386 of the Tolbooth site, 7.
 Robert Gourlay's House, 67.
 Roberts, David, R.A., 71.
 Robertson, George, landlord of the George inn, 140-141 and n.
 — James, landlord of the Black Bull inn, 131-132, 138-139.
 Rockville, Lord, 57.
 Rosebery, Archibald, 5th Earl of, 76.
 'Ross's Folly,' 95.
 Roxburgh's Close, 91, 92.
 Roxburgh, John, 92.
 Royal burghs, 25.
 Royal Exchange, 95, 151 and n.
 Royston's Close, 65.
 Rynd, James, 61.

St. CUTHBERT'S Church, grant of lands to, by David I., 102; the glebe, 104, 117.
 St. Cuthbert's Lane Poorhouse, 77.
 St. Giles', plan of the precincts in 1386, 9; gargoyles removed to Swanston, 53; church and churchyard, 77-80; gardens, 113.
 St. Margaret's Well, 103-105.
 'St. Mary's below the Castle Wall,' 114.
 St. Monan's Wynd, 82.
 Schetky, Christoff, 135-136 and n.
 Scheves, Thomas, 37, 43.
 — William, 37, 43.
 Selater's Close, 100.
 Scott, Henrie, 36, 42.
 — James, portioner of Bristo, 140.
 — William, prof. of Philosophy, 140.

Scougal, John, artist, 90.
Sculptured Stones of the 'Royal Mile,' by John Geddie, 49-100.
 Sellar's Close, 87.
 Sempill's Close, 59.
 Sempill, Hugh, 12th Lord, 59.
 — John, 13th Lord, 59.
 — Robert, brewer, 108 n.
 Seytoun, Williame, 37, 43.
 Sharp, John, innkeeper, 138.
 — William, of Ballendooh, 3.
 Shaw's Close, 65.
 Ship Close, 100.
 Sibbald (Sibbitt), Williame, 36.
 Signet Library, 81.
 Sime, Rev. James, 16.
 Simson. *See* Symson.
 Sinclair, Archibald, advocate, 46.
 — Catherine, 172.
 — Christian, hanged for murder, 160.
 — John, bishop of Brechin, 78.
 — — depute town clerk, 148, 157 and n., 159, 167.
 Skene, Dame Catherine, 46.
 — Sir James, 73.
 Smellie, Alex., printer, 153 and n., 154.
 — William, printer, 154.
 Smith's Close, 65.
 Smith, Adam, 151 n.
 — Edmond, 36.
 — Egidia, wife of Sir William Gray of Pittendrum, 76.
 — John, bailie and wine merchant, 161, 162.
 — Sir John, of Grothall, 65, 66, 76.
 Soldiers' uniforms, 180.
Some Inns of the Eighteenth Century, by James H. Jamieson, 121-146.
 Somerville's Close, 60.
 Somerville's Land, 73.
 Somerville, Bartholomew, of Saughton Hall, 64, 73.
 — James, Lord, 96.
 — John, innkeeper, 128.
 — Peter, bailie, 64, 73.
 Stage roads from London to Edinburgh, 122.
 Stair, Elizabeth, Countess of, 76.
 Stevens, Williame, 37, 43.
 Stevenlaw's Close, 82.

Stevenson, Patrick, keeper of the Register of Deeds, 162.
 — — [son] minister of Coupar Angus, 162.
 Stewart's Close, 95.
 Stewart, Sir James, Lord Advocate, 90.
 Stirling, Irvine A., note on Mylne Square, 45-48.
 Swan's Close, 100.
 Swanston, Janet, wife of John Grieve, 159.
 Sydsers family, 95.
 Symson, Andro, 11, 76.
 — James, deacon of the Baxters, 34, 37, 43.
 TAILORS' Incorporation, 27, 29, 34, 36, 38, 43, 77.
 Tait's Close, 94-95.
 Telfer's Close, 94-95.
 Templars' Land, 63, 64; Temple lands of Orchardfield, 116.
 Tennant, Mungo, 72.
 — Robert, in King's Knows, 108 n.
 Thomson, David, 44.
 — George, town clerk of Musselburgh, 154.
 — John, 36, 42.
 Tod's Close, 59, 62, 77.
 Tolbooth, *The Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh,* by Henry F. Kerr, 7-23; the Tower, 9-11; the west block, 11; the precincts in 1806-18, 11-12; removal of the old Tolbooth, 12; description of the building, the place of execution, 14-16; the north front, 16; the west front, 18; ground floor; south front, 20.
 Tolleross, 108.
 Torry, James, bailie, 147, 160.
 Touris Close, 95.
 Touris, Sir John de, 106.
 Tournaments held at King's Stables Road, 103, 105, 114.
 Traill, David, provost, 113 n.
 Trials by Combat, 115.
 Tron Church, 83.
 Trotter family, 95.
 UPPER HIGH STREET; south side, 77.
 VALLENGE or Wallage, John, 36, 42.

WALKER, Alexander, baxter, 37, 43.
 — — landlord of the George inn, 140.
 — Sir Patrick, 88.
 Wallace, Nicol, 36, 42.
 — William, landlord of the George inn, 144-145.
 Walter Willie's Close, 67.
 Wardrop's Close, 75.
 Warriston's Close, 65, 76, 91, 92.
 Watson, Charles, minister of Burntisland, 164.
 'Way to St. Cuthbert's,' 104, 120.
 Weavers, 28 n.
 Weighhouse, or Butter Tron, 58.
 Weir's Close, 66.
 Weir, Janet, 153.
 — Rachel, 153.
 Well-House Tower, 102 and n., 104, 118.
Wemyss Castle lost in the Firth, 177.
 West Bow, 63.
 Wester Portsburgh, 109.
 Whale inn, 130.
 White Hart inn, 124, 131, 137, 138, 146.
 White Horse Close, 127.
 White Horse inn, 124, 126-131, 137.
 White, Martha. *See* Elgin, Countess of.
 — (Quhyt), Robert, 36, 42.
 Wightman, John, of Maulslie, 108 n.
 Wilkie, William, tailor, 180.
 Williamson of Foxhall, proprietor of Sempill's Close, 59.
 — David, 63.
 — Rev. David, 66.
 Wilson, Ebenezer, beadle of the Tron, 181.
 — William, writer, 2.
 Wotherspoon, William, accountant, 155.
 Wrights, 28 n.
 Writers' Court, 95.
 Wylie, Johnne, 37, 43.
 YAIR, James, minister at Campvere, 142.
 Young, Gavine, 36, 42.
 — James, 36, 42.

Ship Company Club

1914

APPENDIX

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

Etc.

Old Edinburgh Club

1924

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OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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REPORT OF THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 29th January 1925, at 4 o'clock.

Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, presided. There was a good attendance of members.

Apologies were intimated from the Right Honourable The Earl of Cassillis, Brigadier-General Robert Gordon Gordon Gilmour of Liberton and Craigmillar, C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., Sir Robert Usher, Bart., and Mr. William Bonnar.

The Seventeenth Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, was held as read, and is in the following terms:—

The Council beg to submit the Seventeenth Annual Report.

During the year ending 31st December 1924, there were twenty-two vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain twenty-one names on the list of applicants for admission.

LECTURES

A full and, judging by the attendances, attractive programme of lectures and excursions was carried through. An outline of the various meetings is all that can be given here, but detailed reports will appear in the next volume. A series of four lectures was delivered. On 17th January, in the Gartshore Hall, Mr. Henry F. Kerr dealt with the history and architecture of the Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh (Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*), his narrative being based mainly on personal study of old plans, drawings, and models, most of which were

4 REPORT OF THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL

exhibited on the lantern screen. Professor Hannay delivered the second lecture in the Gartshore Hall on 7th February. Taking as his subject 'The Scots Parliament,' his observations formed an introduction to the article entitled 'The Building of the Parliament House,' which appears in Volume XIII. of the Club's publications. The third and fourth lectures were delivered by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms. On 28th February, in the Gartshore Hall, he gave a racy account of the civic and social aspects of Victorian Edinburgh, and on 4th November, in the Royal Arch Hall, resumed the subject, treating on this occasion of 'Characters and Celebrities.'

EXCURSIONS

Three excursions were held during the summer. The first took place on Saturday, 3rd May, to Carberry Tower, the Scottish seat of Lord and Lady Elphinstone, the main interest of the visit being a pilgrimage to the supposed site of the surrender of Mary Queen of Scots. A company, numbering nearly two hundred, assembled in front of the mansion, where they were welcomed by Lord and Lady Elphinstone. Unfortunately the programme had to be somewhat curtailed on account of bad weather, but the inspection of the interesting contents of the Tower, and the walk through the beautiful grounds to Queen Mary's Mount—a walk varied with charming prospects of the surrounding country—were thoroughly enjoyed. Dr. Thomas Ross described the architecture of the Tower, and the prominent historical associations of Carberry were recalled in a paper read by Mr. W. Forbes Gray. At the close of the proceedings Lady Elphinstone entertained the company to tea.

On Saturday, 7th June, the members visited the Magdalen Chapel, the long and chequered history of which was recounted by Mr. William Cowan, the President. The final excursion for the season took place on Friday evening, 20th June, when a company, numbering about sixty, visited Newhall House, Carlops, which has many interesting associations with Allan Ramsay and the social and literary life of eighteenth-century Edinburgh. An address on the history and memories of Newhall was to have been given by Sheriff Moncrieff Penney. Unfortunately he was unable to be present owing to illness, but a paper which he had prepared was read at his request by Mr. W. Forbes Gray. After inspecting, by kind permission of the

MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB 5

owner, Horatio R. F. Brown, Esq., LL.D., many interesting relics in the mansion, the company walked through the finely wooded grounds, including the famous glen—the Habbie's Howe of Allan Ramsay. The excursion was favoured with ideal weather.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CLUB

Volume XIII. of the Book of the Club was issued in May. The Council have pleasure in announcing that Volume XIV. is now in preparation, and will, it is hoped, be issued in the autumn. The contents have not yet been definitely settled, but the volume will probably include Huntly House, by the President and Mr. F. C. Mears; The Sculptured Stones of the Royal Mile, by Mr. John Geddie; The Gardens of the Castle, by Dr. C. A. Malcolm; Edinburgh Inns, 1760-90, by Mr. James H. Jamieson; The Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, by Mr. Henry F. Kerr; and Reminiscences of a Town Clerk (James Laurie, 1808-61).

BURGH RECORDS

At last Annual Meeting reference was made to the proposal to print in some form the Manuscript Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh; and it was stated that the Council of the Club had addressed a letter to the Town Clerk pointing out the great importance of the proposal. The members of the Club will be glad to learn that the Town Council has now approved of the scheme, and appointed a competent person to undertake the work. Details have yet to be arranged, but it is expected that the preliminary work of examination and transcription will be proceeded with very shortly.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, made an appeal to the members to see if they could not make some contributions to the Club's publications. They would be very glad to have exhaustive articles, but the Council would also welcome shorter papers. A brief note might be most valuable in order to get on record matters which otherwise would pass into oblivion. The printing of interesting manuscripts not hitherto in print would also be encouraged by the Council. It was satisfactory to note, he continued, that the Town Council had agreed to undertake the work connected with the Burgh Records. A

competent person had been appointed to undertake the transcriptions, which would be done with the help of an Advisory Committee. He imagined that they would follow the line adopted by the Burgh Records Society many years ago. That work came down to the year 1589, and he presumed it would be taken up at that stage, and anything thought to be of value would be transcribed and put permanently into print. The Club continued to flourish and to fulfil the objects for which it was instituted. It was a very valuable thing that there should be a body such as that Club in the city, which could voice the opinion of many citizens on many points that came up. They had abundance of societies and organisations in the town which looked after the utilitarian side of things, but there was another point of view which ought to be represented in dealing with anything connected with the history, buildings, etc., of the city. It was important to have a body that could voice those feelings, and to which the Town Council were inclined to listen with some respect.

Proceeding to refer to the proposal before the Town Council by a firm to erect a bridge or gangway over the Cowgate on the west side of the South Bridge, which would block out the view of the Cowgate from that point, he said it had been represented that the Cowgate was not very beautiful, and, besides, it was not even antique. It was also said that it was of very little consequence whether people saw the Cowgate from the South Bridge or not. That was not wholly the case. As they knew, during Edinburgh's long history its development had to a very great extent been connected with and depended upon the natural features. Edinburgh had its origin in the Castle Rock and the ridge running to the east thereof, and one of the most important features which had greatly influenced the way in which the city had developed had been the deep valley existing on the south side of the ridge, which was now represented by the Cowgate. In early days it was, of course, probably a green valley outside the town. In course of time many important buildings were erected in the valley and on the south side of it. The result was that after the battle of Flodden the Flodden Wall was built in order to take in and protect those important establishments. As a result of the building of the Flodden Wall, Edinburgh was confined within comparatively narrow limits, and the congestion reached its limit in the eighteenth century. When the city burst its bounds the southern suburbs and the New Town sprang up. The main points from which the existence of this valley

could be realised were from the South Bridge and the George IV. Bridge. If it were built over strangers might walk along the South Bridge and perhaps imagine that they were on *terra firma*, so to speak, instead of on the top of the Old Town. The proposal at present was only to build on one side, but if that were allowed it might be a dangerous precedent. It should be emphasised that building up on this side of the South Bridge would completely obliterate what to his mind was an interesting historical view which threw a great deal of light upon the development and past history of the town. He probably voiced the opinions of most members of the Club on this matter. They considered it of great importance, and hoped that their municipal rulers would not give their consent to any such proposal.

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

Mr. Cowan then moved the re-election of Lord Rosebery as Hon. President, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, and Mr. W. B. Blaikie, LL.D., as Hon. Vice-Presidents. The motion was cordially adopted.

On the motion of Mr. John Geddie, Mr. William Cowan was unanimously re-elected President of the Club.

Mr. Thomas Ross, LL.D., Mr. Robert T. Skinner, and Mr. John Geddie were appointed Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Hon. Secretary, Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, C.A., as Hon. Treasurer, Mr. W. Forbes Gray, as Editor of Publications, and Mr. W. Melvill Sym, C.A., as Hon. Auditor.

Mr. John Russell, Mr. J. Wilson Paterson, Mr. James Stuart, W.S., and Mr. William C. A. Ross were elected Members of Council.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. F. C. Mears, Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., Mr. William M. Wilson, and Mr. William K. Allan, the retiring Members of Council.

Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S., moved a vote of thanks to Mr. William Cowan for presiding.

The Meeting then terminated.

LECTURES

I

OLD TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH

On the evening of 17th January 1924, in the Gartshore Hall, Mr. Henry F. Kerr narrated the history and expounded some original views concerning the architecture of the Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh. As the lecture drew attention to one or two points of considerable importance, the Council decided to print the substance as a paper, together with several drawings. Mr. Kerr's contribution will be found on pp. 7-23. of this volume. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides. These included a large-scale map of the neighbourhood as it was in 1817, and showing also the position of the older Tolbooth before 1386; the Exchange, with its arcade (which disappeared after the fire of 1824); the New Tolbooth at the south-west angle of St. Giles'; the Goldsmiths' Hall; and George Heriot's shop at the head of Beth's Wynd. The lecture was largely attended, and, on the motion of Mr. William Cowan, the President, a cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Kerr.

II

THE SCOTS PARLIAMENT

Professor R. K. Hannay, LL.D., delivered the second lecture on 7th February 1924, in the Gartshore Hall, Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, presiding.

Taking as his subject 'The Scots Parliament,' the lecturer alluded, at the outset, to the present state of knowledge regarding the Parliament of Scotland. The Introduction to the first volume of the Acts, written by Cosmo Innes in 1844, was a valuable piece of work, but was now in many respects antiquated. In 1901 Professor Rait published his Stanhope Prize Essay on the subject, and as the result of further

investigation that historian had now in the press a volume which would mark an important stage in the study of Scottish institutions.¹ During the last few years Professor Rait and the lecturer had been in constant communication on the subject. They had been impressed by its great difficulties, the little that had been done, and the tentative character of many of the results. But Professor Rait was right in thinking that publication would be a much-needed aid to general knowledge, would afford a starting-point for discussion, and might awaken interest in matters regarding which even competent Scottish historians were often far at sea. After comparative reference to England and France, Professor Hannay explained characteristic features of the Scottish Parliament, and especially the existence of an Assembly of Estates, which oscillated between Privy Council and full Parliament, known latterly as Convention. A natural growth in the geographical and strategic position of the country, it was competent to grant supply, but it infringed at various points the sovereignty of Parliament, and contributed to arrest constitutional development.

III

VICTORIAN EDINBURGH

Sir James Balfour Paul, C.V.O., LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, delivered two lectures on this subject. The first treated of the civic and social aspects, and was delivered in the Gartshore Hall on 28th February 1924. There was a large audience, over which Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, presided.

Sir James Balfour Paul said the history of modern Edinburgh was almost contemporaneous with the advent of the Victorian era; for it was not till the introduction of railways that the city became really responsive to outside influences. Five years after the accession of Queen Victoria the first railway to Edinburgh was opened, which was the precursor of great changes in the manner of life of the inhabitants. Although the New Town had been built for many years, the city was still comparatively small. On the north it did not extend much beyond Canonmills, while Newington Parish Church, which was opened in 1824, marked the southern limits. There was practically no urban dwelling west of Haymarket, though to the east the city was pretty much as it

¹ Professor Rait's volume was published in 1924, under the title of *The Parliament of Scotland*.

was now, save that Abbeyhill was not densely populated. Within the city the Lothian Road sloped downwards rather steeply from Princes Street. The present site of the Caledonian Station was occupied by Kirkbraehead House, while further up were Dr. Candlish's Church, Scott's riding school, and Captain Orr's military academy for cadets. Separated from these by St. Cuthbert's Lane was the gaunt building of St. Cuthbert's Poorhouse.

Princes Street was only two-thirds of its present width. On the south side was the top walk of the Gardens, the use of which was reserved to those possessing keys. At the Register House there were two imposing curved staircases which projected much further into the street than they do now, while the embrasures, which shelter a clock and a barometer, were originally designed for sentry-boxes. Opposite was the old Theatre Royal and Shakespeare Square, and on the west of the North Bridge was the Turf Hotel, together with Croall's coach office, from which started conveyances for Dunfermline, Portobello, Musselburgh, and Blackshiel. Further south was a range of shops called the New Buildings, at the end of which, approached by a curious balcony bracketed on to the south wall, was the Rainbow Tavern, a notable dining-place in its day.

Proceeding, the lecturer mentioned that the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway was opened in 1842, but only as far as Haymarket, and the line to Berwick four years later. In 1848 the Caledonian Railway was opened. A service of buses drawn by two horses connected the city with Leith, the way-bill being checked at Middlefield in the old coaching manner. Later, three-horse buses were plying between Stockbridge and Newington, the drivers and conductors of which wore white hats and red coats. The latter were also equipped with tin horns, with which they heralded their approach. The Portobello buses, on the other hand, were of the diligence type, with a coupé in front called the 'basket,' probably from the French word *banquette*. The private carriages in Edinburgh were generally very imposing, and added much to the picturesqueness of the streets. Sedan chairs had practically disappeared before 1850, though even then one or two might occasionally be seen.

The amusements and recreations of Mid-Victorian Edinburgh were few and simple. There were no football matches, no tennis courts, no dancing rooms, but in Rose Street there was a racquet court, where the Duke of Edinburgh was occasionally to be seen during his stay in

the city. Golf was played after a fashion on Bruntsfield Links, but anybody who wanted a good game went to Musselburgh. There were no tea-shops, afternoon tea not having yet become an institution. Ladies making afternoon calls were generally offered sherry and biscuits or cake. Dinners were much earlier in those days, five or half-past five o'clock being quite usual, as the master of the house, if he were a lawyer, had to return to his office in the evening, where he remained till nine or later. No account of Victorian Edinburgh would be complete without an allusion to the pantomimes, the libretti of which were written in many cases by men of real literary ability, and were not merely a collocation of music-hall turns loosely strung together.

Dealing with the social life of the citizens, the lecturer commented on the many changes that had taken place during the last fifty years. Gone, and perhaps not much regretted, were the stately private dinner-parties. The hard drinkers of previous generations had disappeared by Victorian times, but there was still much claret drunk, and very good claret, too. Now claret was rarely placed on the table, half a glass of port satisfying the needs of most men after dinner. The change, Sir James remarked, was mainly owing to the habit of smoking, which was quite incompatible with the enjoyment of good claret. Smoking, indeed, had had a powerful influence on the temperate use of liquor. In the conduct of funerals, too, there had been a decided change for the better. In Victorian times it was *de rigueur* to hand round glasses of sherry and sometimes black gloves, while no family of position would bury their relatives without the aid of a hearse with four horses, and sometimes with 'mutes' or baton men walking in front. In this, as in many other things, the mode of life had been simplified, but one could not but look back with regret on the better manners and the greater leisure of the days when Victoria was Queen, and when Edinburgh was smaller and less commercial than it was now.

The second lecture, which dealt with 'Characters and Celebrities' of Victorian Edinburgh, was delivered on 4th November 1924 in the Royal Arch Hall, Queen Street. There was again a large attendance, and Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, presided.

Sir James Balfour Paul began with a reference to the old Zoological Gardens, which occupied ground nearly opposite to Claremont Crescent. It was extraordinary, he said, how such a place of entertainment should have survived for twenty-seven years, dating from 1840. Its attrac-

tions were slender, consisting of a meagre zoological collection (including a fine elephant and two noble tigers), reinforced by military spectacles, firework displays, and balloon ascents. But it had to be remembered that in early Victorian days competition was less keen, and an unsophisticated public were glad of any entertainment that had the charm of novelty.

Passing on to speak of noted personages of Victorian Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul remarked that on the whole one met with much more individuality in the streets than now, when the grindstone of education moulded everybody on conventional lines. Even the beggars could boast of one or two fine figures in their ranks, such as Campbell the piper, a venerable Celt, who sat in a smart little carriage like a modern perambulator. It bore the Campbell crest of a boar's head emblazoned on the panels, and was drawn by two massive and sagacious dogs. Then the pedestrian, as he passed the east end of the Theatre Royal, could not help noticing the bulky figure of Sarah Sibbald, 'Apple Glory' as she used to be called, presiding at her stall, where she sold rosy-cheeked apples and fish which went by the name of 'dried speldrins.' After alluding to street musicians and pavement artists, the lecturer deplored the passing of picturesque costumes which made the streets of Edinburgh brighter than they were to-day. The Newhaven fishwives had ceased to wear their becoming headgear and their yellow and white striped petticoats and aprons; the postmen were no longer clad in scarlet swallowtail coats with tall hats ornamented by a cockade; while soldiers, clad now in mud-coloured khaki, were in striking contrast to their predecessors, who were arrayed in scarlet and gold.

In early Victorian days some remarkable men might have been singled out from the well-dressed people who thronged Princes Street on a fine afternoon. There was, for instance, Ronaleyn Gordon Cumming, a most handsome and stalwart Highlander, the first, or one of the first, big game hunters in Africa. Gordon Cumming had a large collection of sporting trophies, which he exhibited in a room in Princes Street. Another familiar figure was Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, antiquary and student of ancient odds and ends, his feet encased in the thinnest of dancing pumps, and his neck swathed in a huge Brummellian tie. Victorian Edinburgh also included among its celebrities Thomas De Quincey, that strange creature who seemed to have come from fairyland; Jeffrey; Cockburn; Christopher North of

the *Noctes*; and David Laing, the erudite Keeper of the Signet Library. More learned than these, perhaps, though he left nothing to show for it, was Principal Lee, the Archdeacon Meadow of John Hill Burton's 'mighty book-hunters.' Lee amassed an enormous library, many books being duplicates or triplicates. Of University notables, Principal Sir David Brewster was mentioned, likewise James Pillans, Professor of Humanity, whose career extended from 1778 till 1864, and whose classes the lecturer attended. The Edinburgh of those days was still a literary centre, which was attributable in large measure to John Blackwood, the publisher and editor of the famous magazine.

Victorian Edinburgh was staid and decorous, but there was plenty of fun. To hear Sir Daniel Macnee, the President of the Royal Scottish Academy, tell one of his after-dinner stories was an education in the art of story-telling. Sir Henry Littlejohn, the genial Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, was equally amusing, though in a somewhat different way. Sir Archibald Geikie, in his recent book, told how another Professor of the same subject, Sir Douglas Maclagan, and Sir Robert Christison impersonated two distressed seamen begging on the street—an irresistibly comic performance.

There were in those days great names in the medical profession—Goodsir, the anatomist; Sir James Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform; Sime, the surgeon—keen, hard, and sharp as a razor, of whom it was said that 'he never wasted a word, a drop of ink, or a drop of blood.' The Victorian Age could also boast of men like Christison, the eminent toxicologist; Argyll Robertson, the oculist, handsome and debonair; Sir Patrick Heron Watson, one of the foremost operators of his day; Matthews Duncan, of obstetric fame, able, blunt, and downright in everything he said or did; and Keiller, who remembered the old Kirk o' Field being taken down to make room for the new University buildings, likewise the 'resurrections' and the trial of Burke and Hare. At that time public feeling was so inflamed that if a man appeared in Infirmary Street carrying a box, he was greeted with the shout of 'Shusey, shusey' (French *sujet*), and was lucky if he got away without being set on by the crowd.

The lecturer also mentioned Dr. John Brown, the genial author of *Rab and his Friends*; George Balfour, the heart specialist; Joseph Bell, the prototype of 'Sherlock Holmes'; and Dr. John Smith, the eminent dentist, who both composed and sang songs, painted pictures, and wrote several of the best pantomimes ever produced in Edinburgh.

While a great church-going and church-supporting city, Edinburgh did not produce many great preachers during the Victorian Age. Chalmers, no doubt, lived for ten years into the Queen's reign, but his sun was setting. The two great preachers of the period were undoubtedly Thomas Guthrie and James Macgregor. Another contemporary was the eminent reformer of Church worship, Dr. Robert Lee, of Old Greyfriars, whose 'innovations,' so bitterly opposed during his lifetime, became the commonplaces of the next generation.

Turning to the legal profession, the figure of Lord President Inglis, the lecturer remarked, stood head and shoulders above all his compeers. Never had the Court of Session a greater chief, while the Judges over whom he presided were, on the whole, a most competent set of men. Some belonged to the great county families, while others, without any adventitious aid, had reached the Bench by sheer force of ability. The Parliament House in those days was a place of much *camaraderie*—stories, lampoons, character sketches, and general gossip being then more prevalent. Legal preferment, too, was more easily, speedily, and fairly obtained, the cleverest men getting the chief prizes, while the less gifted thought themselves lucky if they became a Sheriff-Substitute in some lonely isle.

Sir James Balfour Paul was thanked for his lecture, on the motion of the President.

EXCURSIONS

I

CARBERRY TOWER

ONE of the most enjoyable excursions in the history of the Club took place on 3rd May 1924, when nearly two hundred members visited Carberry Tower, the Scottish seat of Lord and Lady Elphinstone, and also the 'supposed' site of the surrender of Mary Queen of Scots. One says 'supposed,' because, while the Elphinstone family and others cling to the tradition that that site lies within the Carberry grounds, where a stone has been raised in recent times to commemorate it, there is a counter-tradition that the deed of surrender took place at Cousland, a few furlongs away. The Carberry monument stands on a ridge

behind the house, and the Carberry tradition has this to commend it, that the sentiment which has gathered round the name of the Queen of Scots, and what is known of her character, favour the supposition that it was on high ground that she chose to surrender to the Confederate Lords. The inscription on the monument, which is surmounted by a crown and the letters 'M. R.', records a detail of that fatal day in June 1567 which may be assumed also to be characteristic of the Queen. We learn from it that Mary mounted her horse before surrendering, and this incident is also commemorated in a painting in Carberry Tower, though whether the painting gave rise to the legend or was in itself a memory of fact is problematical. Assuming the detail to be true, the figure of the waiting Queen, mounted, comes to the mind's eye with all the force and appeal of a last gesture of royalty.

On the lawn, in front of the Tower, Lord and Lady Elphinstone welcomed the guests. Unfortunately, the programme had to be shortened owing to a heavy downpour of rain. Taking his stand near the principal entrance to Carberry, Dr. Thomas Ross gave an interesting architectural description. He explained that the Tower, which now forms the vestibule to a spacious modern mansion, was one of remarkable strength, and an excellent example of an attempt to render an ancient keep suitable for the use of artillery.

The party then entered the mansion, where Mr. W. Forbes Gray read a brief historical account of Carberry, which, in ancient times, was variously spelt. Carberry is first mentioned in 1125, when David I. granted the lands to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline. David's charter was successively confirmed by Malcolm IV., William the Lion, and Alexanders II. and III. In 1541 Hugh Rig and Janet Hopper, his wife, received a nineteen years' lease of the lands and coal-pits of Carberry, and two years later were granted a charter by the Commendator of Dunfermline, afterwards confirmed by Mary, of the lands and others contained in the lease of feu farm. Rig probably erected the Tower. At all events he was commemorated in a couplet referring to the cherubs which adorned the corbelling :—

Auld Hugh Rig was very big, but a bigger man was he
When his cherubs chirped on his new Tour of Carbere.

A burges of Edinburgh, Rig belonged to a noted family. Buchanan described him as remarkable for his large body and great strength, while Knox mentioned him in his *History of the Reformation*. In 1537 Rig

was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates. He represented Edinburgh in the Scots Parliament, and was Depute Constable. The Regent Arran frequently consulted him, and he was mixed up in the affairs which led to the disastrous Battle of Pinkie. Dying soon after, he was succeeded by his son James, who, in 1555, built a 'new house . . . on the south side of the enclosure adjoining the garden.' James Rig, whom Knox included among his debtors for teinds and maills, served on the jury in the trial of John Sempill of Beltrees for being concerned in the slaughter of the Regent Morton. During this laird's tenure the most famous incident connected with Carberry took place—the surrender, on 15th June 1567, of Mary Queen of Scots to the Confederate Lords. Here, too, she took her last farewell of Bothwell.

Rig's son, Quintigernus, was returned heir to his father in a tene-ment in the burgh of Edinburgh. After having continued in the family of Rig for five generations (1541-1659), Carberry was acquired by Sir Adam Blair, who was Commissioner of Supply for Edinburgh in 1686. At the Revolution he corresponded with the exiled James, and his lands were forfeited in 1695. The next owner was Sir Robert Dickson, Bart., of Inveresk. He was Commissioner to the Scots Parliament (1703-6), and voted for the Union. Dying in 1711, he was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name. Carlyle of Inveresk in his *Autobiography* referred to Sir Robert, who, however, did not reside at Carberry, but let it to his brother-in-law, Lord Elchies, a Judge of the Court of Session. About 1752 Carberry was sold to John Fullerton. He died in 1775. Having no family, he made an entail of the estate by which Elizabeth Coult received saisin of Carberry in liferent. On her death in 1802, the estate passed to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Fullerton of Carstairs, and niece of John Fullerton of Carberry. She was the wife of the Hon. William Elphinstone, third son of the tenth Lord Elphinstone, Chairman of the East India Company, who prefixed the name of Fullerton to his own. The Hon. Elizabeth Fullerton Elphinstone of Carberry died in 1840, having survived her husband six years. On the death of their eldest son, John, unmarried, in 1854, the estate was inherited by his only surviving brother, Lieutenant-Colonel James Drummond Buller Fullerton Elphinstone.

Carberry Tower contains many treasures, some of which were brought under the notice of the party during a tour of inspection. A portrait of Mary, or what is supposed to be one, attracted much attention. It is the face of a child, and is very different from the portraits in the

Bodleian collection. The building boasts many objects of art, and the armoury, which is in the old tower, contains the weapons of many nations.

But the glory of Carberry is its grounds with their miniature lake and their paths, which open upon surprisingly different vistas—sometimes upon an avenue of firs with closely-cropped grass borders, or upon shady coverts with emerald turf and clumps of yellow and cream daffodils, or studded here and there perhaps with primrose, cowslip, or primula. The company afterwards walked through the grounds to Queen Mary's Mount, Lord Elphinstone acting as leader. On the way the trenches which the English troops had thrown up before the Battle of Pinkie were inspected.

On returning to Carberry Tower, Lady Elphinstone entertained the company to tea. The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to Lord and Lady Elphinstone for their hospitality.

II

MAGDALEN CHAPEL

The Magdalen Chapel, the quaint spire and cannon-shaped gargoyles of which the pedestrian cannot help noticing as he surveys the Cowgate from the vicinity of the Public Library, was visited on 7th June 1924, when the long and chequered history of the building, secular as well as ecclesiastical, was recounted by Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club.

The Magdalen Chapel is one of the few remaining pre-Reformation buildings in Edinburgh, and, from the point of view of national history, is of great interest, since it was virtually the birthplace of Presbyterianism. It was with this aspect that the President mainly dealt, the architectural and other features having been fully described by Professor Baldwin Brown and Dr. Thomas Ross in Vol. VIII. of the Club's publications.

Originally the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, which made provision for a limited number of old men, or 'bedsmen' as they were styled, it was founded by Michael Makquhen and his widow, Janet Rynd, who died in 1553. The hospital was under the charge of a chaplain, part of whose duty was to hold regular services in the Chapel in

accordance with the Roman ritual. The Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh were appointed by the foundress to be perpetual patrons. At the Reformation the Chapel was devoted to the service of the Reformed Kirk, though the Hammermen continued to carry out the intentions of Janet Rynd in providing a home of rest for poor old men, and in managing all the affairs of the institution. From this time onwards till 1858, when it was purchased by the Protestant Institute of Scotland, the Chapel was used principally as the meeting-place of the Incorporation, though religious services continued to be held within its walls.

Referring to outstanding historical incidents connected with the Chapel, the President mentioned that John Craig, a Scotsman by birth, who had spent some years in Italy as a priest, but had espoused the Protestant faith, returned to Scotland at the Reformation and began preaching in Latin in the Magdalen Chapel, that language being more familiar than his native tongue, which he had almost forgotten as the result of his residence abroad. Craig was subsequently appointed minister of the Canongate, and then colleague to John Knox in St. Giles'. In many modern books it was stated that the first General Assembly in 1560 met in the Magdalen Chapel, but this, the President remarked, was probably a mistake. None of the older histories, such as Knox's or Calderwood's, stated where this meeting took place, and for many years thereafter it was distinctly stated that the General Assembly met in the Tolbooth. The only exception was the memorable Assembly of 1578, which met in the Magdalen Chapel under the Moderatorship of Andrew Melville. At this Assembly the draft of the Second Book of Discipline was prepared, the adoption of which determined that Presbyterianism was to be the form of government of the Kirk of Scotland. The President also recalled that after the execution of the Marquis of Argyll in 1661 his headless body was laid in the Chapel, being eventually conveyed to the family burying-place at Kilmun, and that in 1685 the body of his son, the Earl of Argyll, was treated in the same manner.

When, in 1584, the city was divided into four parishes, the Magdalen Chapel was assigned to the south-east parish, though it was doubtful if the arrangement was actually carried out. In the reign of James VII., when Episcopacy was dominant, the Presbyterians were prohibited from holding services in the Magdalen Chapel, but it appeared that, in return for certain sums of money, the King permitted them again to use it. In

1833 the Chapel, according to Chambers, was in the occupation of a congregation of Bereans.

A cordial vote of thanks was awarded to the President on the motion of Dr. Thomas Ross, who presided.

III

NEWHALL HOUSE

The last excursion of the season took place on 20th June 1924, when a company numbering about sixty visited (by kind permission of the then proprietor, Mr. Horatio R. F. Brown, LL.D.) Newhall House, Carllops, which has many interesting associations with Allan Ramsay and the social and literary life of eighteenth-century Edinburgh. The company assembled on the lawn behind the mansion, where an address on the history and memories of Newhall was to have been given by Sheriff Scott Moncrieff Penney. Unfortunately he was unable to be present owing to illness, but the following paper, which he had prepared, was read by Mr. W. Forbes Gray :—

Many who walk through the glen of the North Esk below the Carllops, called Habbie's How since the days of Allan Ramsay, fail to notice the mansion-house of Newhall, in the grounds of which the glen lies. It is situated high up on the northern bank, but somewhat obscured by trees. Yet not only is its site remarkable—it may be compared and contrasted with that of Brunstane Castle and of Old Woodhouselee farther down the river on the same side—but it is itself one of the most interesting houses in Midlothian, mainly on account of its associations, literary and artistic.

In spite of its name it is, like New College, Oxford, anything but modern, for the name occurs in a charter, now lost, of about 1405 in favour of Lawrence Crichton, and for over two hundred years it remained in that family. They built a castle, doubtless of considerable strength considering its site and the important position it occupied in the county, but nothing of it remains unless the foundations, the present house, with later additions, dating from the early years of the eighteenth century. There is a tradition, lacking somewhat in support, that, before the castle, the site was occupied by monastic buildings, and confirmation of that is found in the names of Monksburn, Monks-

haugh, and Monksrig, and of the Spitals (Hospitals) on the slopes of the Pentlands to the north. Another tradition derives the first names from that of General Monk, alleged to have been in the neighbourhood before the Restoration, which may explain the reference in *The Gentle Shepherd* to 'ane ca'd Monk.'

After various vicissitudes, the estate was sold in 1646 to Alexander Pennecuik. This date is for us the beginning of the story of Newhall, and his name is the first of a remarkable succession of eminent men connected with it. Alexander Pennecuik, as the name was then spelt, 'Sometime chirurgeon to General John Bannier [1601-41], the Swedish general, and since chirurgeon-general to the Auxiliary Scots Army in England,' was one of the Penicuiks of Penicuik, and it has been pointed out as 'a curious coincidence that he should have bought Newhall, thus returning to his own country-side and becoming neighbour to the lands whence he took his name, just before John Clerk, Merchant-burgess of Montrose'—the first of the line which still owns that property—'purchased the lands and the barony of Penicuik,' in which the lands of Newhall were originally included.

Having, however, shortly afterwards married a second wife, through whom he inherited Romanno, some six miles distant, Pennecuik lived little at Newhall, died after 1692, aged well over ninety, and is buried in Newlands Churchyard. He was succeeded in Newhall and Romanno by his better known son, Alexander Pennecuik (1652-1722), doctor, botanist, poet, and the author (assisted by John Forbes) of a *Description of Tweeddale*, published in 1715. Like his father, he preferred to live at Romanno, and in 1702 gave Newhall as a wedding gift to his elder daughter, by whose husband, who was deep in debt, it was in the following year sold to Sir David Forbes. But he still kept up his interest in Newhall, and was a frequent visitor to its new mansion-house.

Sir David Forbes it was who built the oldest part of the present house, and who began to assemble well-known men within its walls, being himself a member of a distinguished family, the Forbesses of Culloden. He was succeeded by his son, John Forbes, Advocate, who continued his father's work of beautifying the estate by planting trees—the fine woods which later so changed the aspect of the glen being first planted by them—and his father's habit of gathering congenial spirits together.

But let an elaborate inscription above the fireplace in what is

still called 'the Club Room' introduce us to this celebrated coterie. It runs as follows:—

'Among the numerous clubs in and about Edinburgh during the earlier part of the eighteenth century the most celebrated was that known by the name of 'The Worthies,' which met weekly at Leith in a tavern kept by a Mrs. Forbes from the north of Scotland, whose beauty heightened her other recommendations. It consisted of the most distinguished characters of their country, and among others contained the following members: Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the support of Thomson the poet, first Lord Advocate and then Lord President of the Court of Session; Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, one of the senators of the College of Justice and with Duncan Forbes entrusted by Government with the management of Scots Affairs; John Forbes of Newhall, Esquire, Advocate, cousin to Duncan Forbes, with him the friend and patron of Allan Ramsay, and with Alexander Pennecuik, M.D., formerly of Newhall, joint author of the *Description of Tweeddale* in his predecessor's prose and poetical works; William Aikman of Cairny, Esquire, portrait-painter, cousin of Mr. Forbes of Newhall and the publicly lamented benefactor of the poets Ramsay, Thomson, and Mallet; John Stuart of Innemeity, Esquire; Captain David Kennedy of Craig, and Dr. Clerk, physician in Edinburgh. Their portraits, with that of their landlady, painted by Mr. Aikman, were hung up in the Club Room in Leith and have since been removed to this apartment in Newhall House, where, with other persons of distinction, they frequently met and, amidst the scenes and characters introduced into it, heard Allan Ramsay recite, as he proceeded with it under their auspices before it was printed, his inimitable pastoral comedy, *The Gentle Shepherd*, or *The History of Sir William Worthy*.'

Besides the portraits by Aikman of those named in this inscription—there is none of Dr. Pennecuik—there is a portrait of Aikman himself, a portrait of Allan Ramsay the poet, probably by Smibert, a second one of Lord President Forbes by Allan Ramsay junior, one of Allan Ramsay junior himself, and a pleasing picture, possibly by David Allan, depicting Allan Ramsay reading his poetry to the Club, with Mrs. Forbes bringing in the punch-bowl. This last-named picture occupies a conspicuous and unusual place, being let into the centre of the ceiling. There is a print of William Tytler of Woodhouselee (1711-92), Writer to the Signet, Vice-President of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and Editor of the *Poetical Remains of James I.*, who in that work incidentally mentions that 'while I passed my infancy at Newhall . . . the seat of Mr. Forbes, and the resort of many of the *literati* at that time, I well remember to have heard Ramsay recite different scenes of *The Gentle Shepherd*, and particularly the two first, before it was printed.'

Two other portraits, not in the Club Room, deserve attention. One is that of a man in the uniform of the Royal Company of Archers, with the artist's name Ri. Waitt and the date 1715 upon it. In an old catalogue, it is given as that of the Chevalier de St. George, but Mr. Horatio Brown thinks it is more probably that of Archibald Burnet, last proprietor of the Carlops before that property was acquired by John Forbes. He joined the Royal Body Guard in 1708, and was executed in 1715 for participation in the Rising of that year. The background of the picture is of special interest, being Parliament Close, and showing not only the statue of Charles II., but the old entrance to the Parliament House, with the statues of Justice and Mercy. These statues were only recovered in 1913, after being found buried in a garden in Drummond Place, and are now in the corridor of the Outer House. The other portrait is that of Janet, the younger daughter of Allan Ramsay the poet, painted by her brother.

From the name of the Club, it has been suggested with considerable plausibility, Allan Ramsay gave the father of his gentle shepherd the name of Sir William *Worthy*, while his character and history were taken from those of Sir David Forbes.

It is worth remembering that Sir David Forbes married a sister of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1649-1722), the first baronet, and that another sister was the wife of William Aikman of Cairnie, so that Baron Sir John Clerk (1676-1755), Aikman the portrait-painter, and John Forbes of Newhall were all first cousins, while John Forbes was also first cousin to Lord President Duncan Forbes, who, like his other cousins, was frequently at Newhall. Duncan Forbes became Lord Advocate in 1725, the year in which his uncle Sir David died, and appointed his cousin one of his Advocates-depute. The room on the first floor in which he used to sleep is still called 'The Advocate's Room,' while Baron Clerk's brother, nicknamed 'Wandering Willie,' commonly occupied one of the attic rooms.

This same year 1725, in which John Forbes succeeded his father, is that in which Allan Ramsay's pastoral comedy was published, and therefore the central and outstanding date in the history of Newhall. Thereafter public interest is deflected from the house of Newhall and the club which met there, and is concentrated upon *The Gentle Shepherd* itself and the scenery therein described. It is sad to have to relate that John Forbes, who had done so much for the property, to which he added that of the Carlops across the Esk and so in Peeblesshire,

both by planting and by agricultural experiments and improvements, fell into financial difficulties, and in consequence, after his death in 1750, the estate was sold.

But in 1782, when it came into the possession of Robert Brown, Advocate, it entered upon a new period of prosperity. With him the story of Newhall culminates. Of a retiring disposition, he is yet in some respects the most outstanding figure among all its owners. He showed his appreciation of the purchase of the property made for him by his grandfather and guardian, Thomas Dunmore (1706-88), of Kelvinside, Glasgow, by erecting to his memory in 1794 the striking obelisk that stands in a field visible from the house. He collected many pictures and, partly for their reception, in 1795 made a very successful extension of the house on the south side, which he called 'a romantic addition in the Gothic Chapel style.' But he gloried above all in the connection of his property with *The Gentle Shepherd*. He identified all the places mentioned in the poem as within his own lands. He published anonymously in 1808 a handsome illustrated edition in two volumes, with introductions—a presentation copy in his own handwriting is in the Advocates' Library—in which he made good this claim, and at the same time conclusively demolished a rival one recently revived in an edition of the poems in 1800. That was to the effect that the *locus* of the pastoral comedy was to be found on the Logan Water at the head of Glencorse, and that 'Sir William Worthy' was to be identified with a former proprietor of Woodhouselee. The yet more recent theory of the late Mr. Stillie and of Miss Warrender, in favour of the neighbourhood of the Hunters' Tryst, is if possible even less tenable.

To crown all, Robert Brown set up on the parterre towards the south and directly above the glen a pillar, with a sundial on the top, commemorative of the inception and development of the poem and marking the directions in which the different places named in it are to be found. The west side bears that 'Here Alex. Penneucik of Newhall, M.D., is said to have given Allan Ramsay the plot of his celebrated Pastoral Comedy of *The Gentle Shepherd*,' and below are the names of 'Habbie's How and Mause's Cottage.' On the north side is a full-rigged ship—the crest of the Browns—and below it a set of pan-pipes, a lute, a shepherd's crook, a pen, and a comedian's mask. On the east side it is stated that 'Here Allan Ramsay recited to his distinguished and literary patrons, as he proceeded with them, the

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1925

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CONSTITUTION

I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'

II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.

III. The membership of the Club shall be limited to three hundred and fifty. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, countersigned by a proposer and a seconder who are Members of the Club. The admission of Members shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have full discretionary power in filling up vacancies in the membership as these occur.

IV. The annual subscription shall be 10s. 6d., payable in advance on 1st January. Any Member whose subscription is not paid within four months from that date may be struck off the Roll by the Council.

V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Editor of Publications, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes. Representatives to such Committees may be appointed from the general body of Members. At meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and at meetings of the Council seven.

VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.

VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.

VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and the Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and the Auditor for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall hold stated meetings in April and October, and shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club. Papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear. Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except at the Annual Meeting of the Club. Notice of any proposed alteration must be given in writing to the Secretary, who shall intimate the same by circular to each Member not less than seven days prior to the meeting. No alteration shall be made unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present at the meeting.

CONTENTS OF PREVIOUS VOLUMES

VOLUME I

- PROVISIONAL LIST OF OLD HOUSES REMAINING IN HIGH STREET AND CANONGATE OF EDINBURGH. By BRUCE J. HOME. *With a map.*
- THE EMBALMING OF MONTEOSE. By JOHN CAMERON ROBBIE.
- THE PANTHEON: AN OLD EDINBURGH DEBATING SOCIETY. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- SCULPTURED STONES OF OLD EDINBURGH: THE DEAN GROUP. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*
- THE BUILDINGS AT THE EAST END OF PRINCES STREET AND CORNER OF THE NORTH BRIDGE: A CHAPTER IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH. By WILLIAM COWAN.

VOLUME II

- EDINBURGH AT THE TIME OF THE OCCUPATION OF PRINCE CHARLES. By WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE. *With illustrations.*
- THE FLODDEN WALL OF EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations and a plan.*
- THE COVENANTERS' PRISON IN THE INNER GREYFRIARS YARD, EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations.*
- THE CANNON-BALL HOUSE. By BRUCE J. HOME. *With illustrations.*
- THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH: II. THE WEST-END AND DALRY GROUPS. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*
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- AT THE BACK OF ST. JAMES'S SQUARE. By JAMES STEUART. *With illustrations.*
- EDINBURGH STREET TRADERS AND THEIR CRIES. By JAMES H. JAMIESON. *With illustrations.*
- OLD CELLAES AND RELICS DISCOVERED DURING THE EXCAVATIONS FOR THE NEW CHAPEL AT ST. GILES' CATHEDRAL. By FRANCIS CAIRD INGLIS. *With illustrations.*
- STATUES OF JUSTICE AND MERCY, FROM THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE. By THOMAS ROSS, LL.D. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME III

- THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH. By SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms. *With illustrations.*
- THE BLACK FRIARS OF EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations and a map.*
- AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRIDAY CLUB, WRITTEN BY LORD COCKBURN, TOGETHER WITH NOTES ON CERTAIN OTHER SOCIAL CLUBS IN EDINBURGH. By HARRY A. COCKBURN.
- THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH: III. MISCELLANEOUS. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*
- THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT SQUARE: BEING AN HISTORICAL NOTICE OF THE SOUTHERN PRECINCTS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. GILES, EDINBURGH. By RALPH RICHARDSON. *With an illustration.*
- LADY STAIR'S HOUSE. By THOMAS B. WHITSON. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME IV

- GEORGE DRUMMOND: AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LORD PROVOST. By WILLIAM BAIRD. *With a portrait.*
- THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH: IV. WRYCHTIS-HOUSIS. By JOHN GEDDIE. *With illustrations.*
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS (First Article). By JOHN A. FAIRLEY. *With illustrations.*
- AN OLD EDINBURGH MONUMENT NOW IN PERTHSHIRE. By THOMAS ROSS, LL.D. *With illustrations.*
- THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDLY CONTRIBUTORS OF RESTALRIG. By Rev. W. BURNETT. *With an illustration.*
- RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND RESEARCHES AT HOLYROOD. By W. T. OLDRIEVE. *With plans.*

VOLUME V

- SAINT MARGARET OF SCOTLAND AND HER CHAPEL IN THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE. *With illustrations.*
- THE SITE OF THE BLACK FRIARS' MONASTERY FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY. By WILLIAM COWAN. *With illustrations.*
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- MOUBRAY HOUSE. By ANDREW E. MURRAY. *With illustrations.*
- LETTERS FROM JOHN BONAR TO WILLIAM CREECH CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF THE SPECULATIVE SOCIETY. By Rev. HENRY PATON.

VOLUME VI

- DAVID'S TOWER AT EDINBURGH CASTLE. By W. T. OLDRIEVE. *With illustrations.*
- THE INCORPORATED TRADE OF THE SKINNERS OF EDINBURGH, WITH EXTRACTS FROM THEIR MINUTES, 1549-1603. By WILLIAM ANGUS.
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.

VOLUME VII

- THE HOLYROOD ORDINALE: A SCOTTISH VERSION OF A DIRECTORY OF ENGLISH AUGUSTINIAN CANONS, WITH MANUAL AND OTHER LITURGICAL FORMS. By FRANCIS C. EELES. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME VIII

- THE MAGDALEN CHAPEL, COWGATE, EDINBURGH. By THOMAS ROSS and G. BALDWIN BROWN. *With illustrations.*
- THE VISITATION OF THE COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH IN 1690. By R. K. HANNAY.
- THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
- JOHN WESLEY IN EDINBURGH. By W. FORBES GRAY. *With illustration.*
- THE ANCIENT REGALIA OF SCOTLAND. By W. MOIR BRYCE.

VOLUME IX

- INCIDENTS AND DOCUMENTS, A.D. 1513-1523. By R. K. HANNAY.
SHIPPING AND THE STAPLE, A.D. 1515-1531. By R. K. HANNAY.
EDINBURGH ENGRAVERS. By JOHN C. GUY. *With illustrations.*
THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
THE SEDAN CHAIR IN EDINBURGH. By JAMES H. JAMIESON. *With illustrations.*

VOLUME X

- THE BURGH MUIR OF EDINBURGH. By W. MOIR BRYCE.

VOLUME XI

- MAP OF EDINBURGH IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By HENRY F. KERR.
With map.
THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
SHELLEY IN EDINBURGH. By WALTER EDWIN PECK (M.A., Columbia). *With illustrations.*
ON THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE. By R. K. HANNAY.
THE TAILORS' HALL, COWGATE. By THOMAS ROSS, G. BALDWIN BROWN, and
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VOLUME XII

- NOTES ON THE NAMES OF THE CLOSES AND WYNDS OF OLD EDINBURGH. By CHARLES
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THE OLD TOLBOOTH: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS. By JOHN A. FAIRLEY.
THE MAPS OF EDINBURGH, 1544-1851. By WILLIAM COWAN.
MEASURED DRAWINGS OF LAWNMARKET AND CASTLEHILL MADE BY THOMAS HAMILTON,
ARCHITECT. By F. C. MEARS. *With plates.*

VOLUME XIII

- THE BUILDING OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE. By R. K. HANNAY and G. P. H.
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BEARFORD'S PARKS. By WILLIAM COWAN.
LIST OF OWNERS OF PROPERTY IN EDINBURGH, 1635. By CHARLES B. BOOG
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