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THE BOOK OF THE  
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THE BOOK OF THE  
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SIR DANIEL WILSON, AUTHOR OF 'MEMORIALS OF EDINBURGH.'  
From painting by Sir George Reid. Reproduced by permission of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

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# THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

SEVENTEENTH VOLUME



EDINBURGH

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FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

1930



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SIR DANIEL WILSON : THE MAN  
AND HIS WORK

**B**IOGRAPHIES of lesser men are as thick as brambles in September, but there has been no biography of Sir Daniel Wilson, though more than a third of a century has passed since his death. Authentic information regarding some aspects of his distinguished career is not readily obtainable. His brother, George, whose span of life was not more than half of Daniel's, was more fortunate. In 1860 a bulky memoir of George Wilson by a sister was published. It might indeed have told us more of Daniel, but it is a valuable guide to the earlier part of his career.

Maitland, the first historian of the Scottish capital, was born in Brechin ; Hugo Arnot in Leith ; Robert Chambers in Peebles ; and Daniel Wilson in Edinburgh. So of those four men, to whom the story of Old Edinburgh owes so much, Wilson alone could claim to be a native. That distinction, however, belongs to another famous writer on Old Edinburgh with Canadian associations—James Grant, the novelist.

Daniel Wilson was born on January 3, 1816, at 5 Calton Hill, at the point where that winding street dips to the Lower Calton. His father, Archibald Wilson, had come to Edinburgh from Lochfyneside a few years before, and in 1812 married Janet Aitken, daughter of a Greenock surveyor. The elder Wilson was originally a tea-dealer at 2 Greenside Street, but subsequently was a spirit merchant at Regent Arch, a business in which he was engaged till his death in 1843. He had a large family, and little money to support it. Most of the eleven children died in childhood, but Jeanie survived to

marry and become the sister-in-law of Mrs. Oliphant, the Victorian novelist. The Wilson household must often have been a mournful one; and it is not surprising that the future historian of Old Edinburgh, recalling boyish memories, should have had, as he informs us, 'dim visions of little sisters and brothers whose cradles I rocked and by whose sick beds I watched as they faded away in their early years, and the dark shadow was again and again thrown across our diminished circle.'

There is a curious parallel between the childhood of Walter Scott and that of Daniel Wilson. Those two passionate lovers of Edinburgh might well have succumbed in infancy to the practice of living in 'lands' piled 'deep and massy, close and high.' For the children of Walter Scott, W.S., that died in the College Wynd, and the children of Archibald Wilson that passed away at 5 Calton Hill, might have survived had they been brought up in healthier dwellings. Possibly what saved Daniel and George Wilson was the fact that the breezy summit of the Calton Hill was so near their house; its grassy slopes, its rocks and declivities became their playground.

Daniel Wilson and his brother owed much to their mother. She was upright and affectionate, and intent on giving her sons the best educational advantages. Daniel attended a school kept by George Knight, which he affirmed was second to none in Edinburgh. Afterwards, with his brother George, he was sent to the High School. Both still were pupils when that institution was removed from the Old Town to the classical building which, for more than a hundred years, has adorned the southern slope of the Calton Hill. In 1828-29 Wilson and his brother, aged respectively twelve and ten, formed a Juvenile Society for the advancement of knowledge, and conducted a weekly journal, of which Daniel was editor and principal illustrator. Dr. Philip Maclagan says that Daniel executed an allegorical heading for the paper. The Juvenile Society had also a coat of arms which was prominently

displayed in their meeting-place—a room in the Wilson house. It is interesting to observe, bearing in mind the field in which Daniel Wilson won his spurs, that the members revelled in antiquarianism. There was a museum, which, Wilson was fond of recalling, had a 'little collection of coins, penny tokens, Chinese cash, a shilling of Edward I., and two or three dearly prized Roman brasses.'

As the boys grew up, Arthur's Seat lured them from the Calton Hill. There they watched the boring through the trap-rock of the tunnel which was to admit Edinburgh's first railway. And when at last the line was opened, Wilson wrote: 'A good, honest quadruped, fed on oats and hay—not on coke and coal—drew the rude railway carriage at an exceedingly safe and moderate pace. Sometimes a Musselburgh fishwife would hail the driver, who would stop the train till the creel and its owner got leisurely on board.' The brothers also made many excursions to the Firth of Forth. The sight of the ships in Leith Road, Daniel confesses, awoke Robinson Crusoe longings. A Saturday's ramble, too, 'carried us to Granton and away beyond it to old Roman Cramond, where the sculptured eagle of the legionaries of the second century, still visible on the rock, was a source of never-failing wonder to us.'

A close companion of the brothers was William Nelson, son of the founder of the well-known publishing house. Daniel, who was often in the antique house of the Nelsons at the Bowhead, with its wainscotted rooms and painted panelling, refers to Nelson's mother as one whose 'kindly hospitalities are among the most pleasant recollections of my own schooldays.' It was a happy thought that led to the writing of William Nelson's biography by his old schoolmate, who, in a foreword, says: 'The friendship between us extended in interrupted union . . . from early boyhood till both had passed the assigned limits of threescore years and ten.' Wilson's memoir of his friend, which was published in 1889,

contains interesting recollections of Edinburgh in the first half of the nineteenth century.

After leaving the High School Wilson entered the employment of William Miller, the engraver. He could not have had a better teacher as regards the artistic side of his work for Old Edinburgh. Miller was an outstanding man. Turner, for whom he engraved many pictures, regarded him as a craftsman without an equal. Under Miller, Wilson became so proficient that it needed an expert to distinguish the work of the pupil from the work of the master. In later years, Wilson paid a fine tribute to the gifted engraver and his unwearied devotion to art.

But Wilson did not yet feel equipped for his life-work, and so, after gaining an insight into the engraver's art under the distinguished tutelage of William Miller, he attended Edinburgh University along with his brother George. While studying hard, the brothers entered with zest into College life, and their active brains and organising capacity led them to institute another society. It bore the high-sounding title of The Zetaethic, and Daniel acted as secretary during the two years it lasted. We get two glimpses of the brothers during their student days. In 1834 they regularly attended the meetings of the British Association, which met that year in this city. The other occasion is reminiscent of Old Edinburgh. One night in January 1835, when the Wilson family, then residing at 26 St. James' Square, were about to retire to rest, a relative came to the house to inform them that the Register House was on fire. Daniel and his brother hurried to the scene, and found in flames, not the Register House, but a huge tenement at the corner of North Bridge and Princes Street.

After his career at Edinburgh University was over, Wilson, in 1837, went to London, where he was active in the world of literature and journalism. He seems for a brief period to have acted as literary adviser to the publishing house of

Macmillan, then in its infancy. In 1848 he received a testimonial from the brothers Macmillan, in which they expressed gratitude for much that they had learned of bibliography from their intercourse with Wilson. 'Your knowledge of history, of arts, of literature, and of science, but especially of the early history, antiquities, and literature of our own country, is so much more extensive and accurate than ours that it would be presumptuous in us to speak in your praise.'

Though George remained in Edinburgh, the two brothers had several happy reunions in London, on which occasions they took especial delight in visiting the historic buildings of the Metropolis. Daniel lived in lodgings in the village of Stratford-le-Bow, on the borders of Essex; but in 1840 he removed to a house of his own, having married Margaret Mackay, daughter of Hugh Mackay of Wellpark, Bridge of Allan.

Two years later, probably for financial reasons, Wilson returned to Edinburgh, and set up business as a print-seller and artists' colourman, first in West Register Street and then at 25 Hanover Street. His house was at 32 Broughton Place. But while the print-selling business was specially attractive to a man of Wilson's temperament, it was limited in scope and probably not sufficiently remunerative. At all events, the business was disposed of in 1848 to James Keith. One interesting episode of this period was that Wilson acted as publisher of a volume of his own poems.

The selling of prints, however, had one advantage. It brought distinguished citizens to Wilson's shop, and eventually procured him the friendship of one who was indispensable for the researches upon which he was then engaged—Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe—that 'latest survivor of quaint, obsolete, olden times,' as Wilson calls the great antiquary. Out of the opulent and whimsical stores of his memory Sharpe was able to supply Wilson with much valuable lore, which afterwards found its way into the *Memorials of Edinburgh*. They were

both—the young venerator of the past and the old, kind-hearted cynic—keenly interested in art and antiquities, and skilful with the pen as well as with the pencil and the brush. Sharpe put freely at Wilson's disposal gleanings from the times when earlier celebrities walked and talked and wrote in Old Edinburgh. And Wilson was fully conscious of the debt. 'I recall with gratitude,' he writes in *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, 'many favours and much wise counsel given in the half-bantering fashion in which he was wont to disguise his genuine good will.'

As a rule, artists and antiquaries seemed to excite Sharpe's aversion. It therefore says much for Wilson's tact and good sense that he was an exception. And when Sharpe made an exception, he did so thoroughly. 'You will always find me at home.' Accordingly, Wilson became a welcome guest in what he calls the Scottish Strawberry Hill, *i.e.* Sharpe's house (or rather museum, for it was crammed with the oddest of treasures) at 28 Drummond Place. The elder antiquary was keenly interested in the Porteous Riot, and it was a topic of frequent discussion with Wilson.

As an enthusiastic student of the past, Wilson found his *métier* when, in 1845, he was appointed Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. This position gave him a double advantage. It allowed him not only to indulge his antiquarian proclivities to the full, but brought him the friendship of the prince of Scottish bibliographers—David Laing, who was Treasurer to the Society. Wilson rendered many eminent services to antiquarian study. Besides discharging the secretarial duties, he contributed numerous papers to the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, displaying exhaustive research, careful and cogent statement, and clear exposition. It is regrettable that no adequate appreciation of the highly important work accomplished by Wilson has ever appeared in the *Proceedings*.

Wilson was Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries when

a great act of vandalism was perpetrated in our midst—the destruction of Trinity College. That there should be wantonly removed from the heart of Old Edinburgh one of the most inspiring monuments of Gothic architecture in Scotland was to Wilson a terrible thought. Accordingly, he became the prime instigator of a movement to avert so great a calamity. He was, it is true, ably assisted by David Laing and others, but upon the indefatigable Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries fell the main burden. Wilson plied his pen busily, and circulated remonstrance after remonstrance—did everything, in fact, that brain could devise to save Trinity College. Success lay, unfortunately, with the forces of reaction, and a gem of ecclesiastical architecture was given over to the despoiler. Wilson, as he reminds us in *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, witnessed the last religious services in Trinity College, which took place on Sunday, May 14, 1848, and were attended by the Magistrates 'who had sold it to the spoilers, with incongruous ostentation.'

When the removal of the edifice was finally decided upon, the Society of Antiquaries demanded that a search should forthwith be made for the remains of Queen Mary of Gueldres, the pious foundress, which were believed to be buried in the church. A committee, consisting of Daniel Wilson, Robert Chambers, David Laing, and others, was appointed to take steps in furtherance of this object. As Secretary, Wilson also was empowered to write to the Chairman of the North British Railway Company (the purchasers of the property), requesting that as the demolition of Trinity College had now been resolved upon, the carved stones and armorial bearings belonging to the fabric might be preserved for the Society's museum. In the prosecution of this work Wilson and Laing were the moving spirits.

Nor must it be forgotten that, chiefly owing to Wilson's exertions, a restoration of St. Margaret's Chapel was effected in 1853. This, the only building in the Castle of earlier date

than the fifteenth century and the oldest extant in Edinburgh, had been long neglected and even degraded to the uses of a powder magazine. Wilson's untiring efforts brought about a transformation, and the little oratory of the saintly Queen of Malcolm Canmore, which crowns the summit of the Castle Rock, is now recognised for what it really is—a thing of beauty.

During his secretaryship of the Society of Antiquaries Wilson devoted much time to the study of archæology, and in 1851 published an epoch-making work, *The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. This work, a second edition of which appeared in 1863, bore in its pages ample testimony to the fact that a competent and even brilliant historian of prehistoric times in Scotland had appeared. Indeed, we owe the word 'prehistoric' to Wilson, for the New Oxford Dictionary can produce no earlier use of the term than: '1851—D. Wilson, *The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.'

Another literary project, to which allusion has already been made, was then engaging much of Wilson's attention. Notwithstanding the distraction caused by the controversy over Trinity College, he was quietly completing the work that has endeared him to all interested in the annals of our city—*Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*. The work was originally issued in twenty-four parts, Hugh Paton, who brought out Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits* ten years before, being both printer and publisher. The serial issue seems to have proceeded throughout the year 1847, for in the preface, which is dated 'Christmas 1847,' Wilson refers to the work as 'now brought to a close.' Anyhow, it was published in two quarto volumes early in 1848.

Notable features of *Memorials of Edinburgh* are the engraved illustrations, of which there are over one hundred and twenty. The truth is, the work had been begun, not with the pen, but with the pencil. Wilson writes: 'In the grati-

fication of a taste for the picturesque relics of the past with which the old Scottish capital abounds, a considerable number of sketches and drawings accumulated, which acquired a value altogether apart from any claim to artistic merit, when the subjects of many of them disappeared in the course of the radical changes wrought of late years on the Old Town.' Believing that interest in the old buildings of Edinburgh was considerable, Wilson was induced to prepare a selection of his drawings for the engraver, and at the same time 'to draw up a slight descriptive narrative to accompany them.' While engaged in this work he was impressed by the lack of desirable information. This circumstance, together with the fact that the author had himself collected a good deal of curious lore, eventually led to a total change of plan, the outcome of which was a classic in the literature dealing with Old Edinburgh.

The older historians, such as Maitland and Arnot, though not without substantial merits, failed, in Wilson's view, 'to describe what they were themselves cognisant of.' They lacked 'that invaluable faculty of the topographer, styled by phrenologists *locality*.' Wilson laments that Arnot 'should have stalked through the purlieus of Old Edinburgh, elevated on historic stilts, at a time when a description of what lay around him, and a relation of the fireside gossip of the stately old Scottish dames of the eighteenth century, would have snatched from oblivion a thousand curious reminiscences, now altogether beyond recall.' It was reserved for Robert Chambers, in his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, to strike out an entirely new path, and with the 'happiest results.' In the *Traditions* the reader was made conscious of 'the humour and the pathos of the old-world stories of Edinburgh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.'

The *Memorials of Edinburgh*, however, was not intended to be either an imitation of Chambers on the one hand, or of Maitland and Arnot on the other. Wilson describes the contents of his work thus: 'They are pen-and-pencil sketches, professing

in general considerable minuteness of outline, though with a rapid touch, that precludes very elaborate finish. Accuracy has been aimed at throughout, not without knowingly incurring the risk of occasionally being somewhat *dry*.<sup>1</sup>

In the preparation of *Memorials of Edinburgh*, Wilson consulted some hundreds of old charters, title-deeds, and records of various sorts, many in almost unreadable script. He also made abundant use of the publications of antiquarian book-clubs like the Bannatyne, to which he added much curious matter derived from personal observation. Yet in spite of enormous labour and research, Wilson confesses that his work falls short of what was desired as regards accuracy. In selecting his illustrations, the author of the *Memorials* aimed at furnishing 'an example of all the varieties of style and character that were to be found in the wynds and closes of Old Edinburgh.' Some, however, were chosen for no other reason than to illustrate ancient manners.

Besides Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Wilson was indebted to many other 'zealous students of Scottish literary and topographical antiquities.' His friend, David Laing, in addition to affording him access to rare books and other curious sources of information, placed in his hands a series of pencil sketches, drawn by Daniel Somerville in 1817 and 1818, which enabled him 'to recover views of several ancient localities' demolished before his own sketching days. Further, Wilson had free access to what was probably the most perfect collection in the kingdom on topography and heraldry—the library of William Barclay Turnbull (the founder of the Abbotsford Club), the dispersal of which, by auction in 1851, occupied fourteen days. This celebrated archivist and antiquary was born in St. James' Square in 1811, and is buried in the grounds attached to Trinity Episcopal Church, Dean Bridge. Others who rendered substantial general assistance in the preparation of the *Memorials* were Dr. Robert Chambers, Alexander Smellie, the son of the famous printer, naturalist, and antiquary, and

Principal John Lee, the well-known bibliographer. Finally, the Town Clerk (John Sinclair) and James Laurie,<sup>1</sup> of the Sasine Office, facilitated Wilson's researches among the city charters and records.

On the artistic side, the *Memorials* owed most to Wilson himself. Many of the delightful vignettes were from his sketches, being drawn on the wood with his own hand. Outside help, however, was rendered by the author's friend, James Drummond, R.S.A., to whose pencil readers owe the view of the interior of St. Giles' Church, which forms the vignette at the head of the last chapter in the original edition (1848). Then the drawing of the ground-plan of St. Giles' Church, intended to illustrate the description of the successive additions to the edifice, an engraving of which is to be found in the Appendix, was executed by the Rev. John Sime, chaplain of Trinity Hospital.

It is worthy of remark that the historical sketch comprised in the first seven chapters of the *Memorials* was written, and was nearly all through the press, before Wilson found time to arrange a large collection of material in the form in which they are presented in the Second Part. This led him, in one or two cases, to modify somewhat his earlier views. For example, the opinion expressed on p. 50, vol. i., of the original edition, as to the total destruction of the whole private buildings of Edinburgh in 1544, he came to regard as erroneous. He therefore describes various edifices in succeeding chapters, the walls of which suffered little damage from that 'destructive conflagration.'

The *Memorials of Edinburgh* early took front rank in the literature relating to Old Edinburgh. It was esteemed a model of what a local history should be. More than eighty years have elapsed since the work was first published, but its reputation is undimmed. Wilson possessed a combination of

<sup>1</sup> His 'Reminiscences' are printed in vol. xiv. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, pp. 147-181.

qualities admirably adapted for his task. He loved minute facts, but was no Dryasdust. A fine literary instinct pervades the *Memorials*. Besides his talent for laborious and exact research, Wilson had another which enabled him skilfully and attractively to present the results of his burrowings among old charters and title-deeds. Combined with the true antiquarian spirit was the gift of lucidity, of compression, of vivacity. Wilson was an artist as well as a historian.

The wonder is, not that there are mistakes in the *Memorials*, but that there are so few. It is perhaps a tribute to the outstanding merit of the work that even its blunders have been appropriated. 'My volumes have been a free common for poachers,' writes Wilson in the Preface to the second edition (1891). 'I have not only seen my drawings reproduced—with a difference, as the heralds say—and my woodcuts employed, without acknowledgment, to illustrate the writings of other authors; but they have even appropriated my blunders.' Some of the results might almost merit a place among the curiosities of literature. Wilson's ballad of the 'Flodden Dead Mass,' inserted as a footnote in the first edition, was anglicised by Walcott, and inserted in *Scoti-Monasticon, the Ancient Church of Scotland*. Thence it crept into Dr. Cameron Lees' history of *St. Giles', Edinburgh*, in company with genuine legends of Flodden.

The *Memorials* was a labour of love: the author never received any remuneration, at least for the first edition. The arrangement was that profits and losses were to be shared between author and publisher, and the accounts unfortunately showed a loss. Wilson paid his share of the deficit. None the less he did not despair as to the ultimate success of the work. He interleaved a copy of the *Memorials*, and from time to time made notes with a view to a second edition. Having furnished the text and supplied all the drawings, as well as borne his share of the loss on the first edition, he regarded himself as undisputed owner of the copyright. His

astonishment may therefore be imagined when he learned, in 1872, of a reprint of the *Memorials* without his being even afforded the opportunity of revising the text. He writes: 'I had been for years in "another world," and my literary affairs were being administered as those of one who had died intestate.' Further annoyance was caused him when, in 1886, the reprint was issued unchanged. Four years later, Wilson wrote to his friend, Peter Miller, author of *John Knox and his Manse*, and one of his coadjutors in the preparation of a new authorised edition of the *Memorials*: 'It was in every way a wrong to me. I put it in the hands of a lawyer, but the plates were printed and the mischief past recall.'

The appearance of a pirated edition of his work no doubt influenced Wilson to prepare a new edition of the *Memorials*, whose popularity had grown with the years. After being issued in monthly parts, the work was published in 1891 by Messrs. A. & C. Black, in two handsome, large quarto volumes. The second edition was far from being a mere reprint of the first. Considerable portions, embodying the results of later research, were entirely rewritten, and much new matter was added, while there were few pages that bore no trace of emendation. The illustrations also were augmented and, in order to relieve the monotony of antiquarian narrative, several ballads of his own were introduced.

The fresh material included an interesting account of the Christie Miller family, whose members, together with Miller, the engraver (already referred to), were descended from William Miller, the Quaker gardener, who had his premises in the vicinity of Holyroodhouse. The Miller family afterwards owned the estate of Craigentenny. One of its members was William Henry Miller, the renowned bibliographer, and owner of the celebrated Britwell Court Library.

In 1878 Wilson published, through David Douglas of Edinburgh, a work similar in character to the *Memorials*, but less ambitious in treatment and not so severely antiquarian.

Printed in two octavo volumes, the *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh* is modestly referred to in a Dedication to the author's intimate friend, David Laing, as a 'literary trifle.' The work is certainly unpretentious and lacks the formalism which obtrudes itself in certain portions of the *Memorials*, but in the *Reminiscences* there is presented to us rich fruit from the mellowing stores of Wilson's memory. He 'dings down' hoary myths and graciously sets up sound historical and literary doctrine. The vignette, 'Ballad Hawker at the Cross,' is a reproduction of one of Kirkpatrick Sharpe's sketches, but the views and tailpieces are from Wilson's own pen-and-ink drawings. Altogether, the *Reminiscences* is one of the most readable and instructive works dealing with Old Edinburgh.

From 1853 onwards till the close of his life in 1892, Daniel Wilson's fortunes were wholly connected with Canada, where he became Professor of History and English Literature in Toronto University. In 1881 he was appointed President of that seat of learning, having previously declined the Principalship of McGill University, Montreal. He held other high educational posts in the Dominion, and in 1888 his services were recognised by a knighthood.

But although the last forty years of his life were spent in Canada, Wilson's heart still beat true to the land of his fathers, and particularly to its capital, where he first drew breath. Indeed, within a few years of his settlement in the Dominion he made it known that he 'would gladly return to the auld countrie.' In 1861 he was anxious to become a candidate for a Chair in St. Andrews University, and wrote his old friend, Robert Chambers, asking him to use his influence. The letter is dated August 26, and is written from University College, Toronto. In the opening paragraph Wilson laments that so many of his friends in the Scottish capital are dead, while others have removed to fresh scenes of labour. 'I seem,' he writes, 'to anticipate the time when

Edinburgh will be stranger to me than Boston or Quebec.' Even his correspondent 'had abandoned Edinburgh for the Great Metropolis'; otherwise he should have 'commended to Mrs. Chambers' kind attentions a young wanderer.'

'We have sent home, by the *Great Eastern*, our eldest daughter, to complete her education at Edinburgh, and are at present awaiting with such patience as we can muster, the news of her safe arrival. I anticipate some pleasure from the reported impressions produced by Edinburgh and its social circles on a young lady who left it at ten years of age, and now returns to it at the mature age of eighteen.'

Wilson then passes to the main topic of his letter.

'The Chair of History at St. Andrews was, as I dare say you are aware, converted into a Chair of Nat. Hist. and conferred on Dr. M'Donald. . . . Some years since Sir David Brewster communicated to my brother his desire to get Dr. M'Donald to retire on some allowance, and added that he had long fixed his eyes on me as the desirable man for his successor, if I would take it, it having been determined to restore it to its legitimate functions as a civil History Chair. By a recent letter from Dr. Day of St. Andrews, I learn that steps are likely to be taken before long to try and provide for the present . . . incumbent, and restore the Chair to practical efficiency; and Professor Day once more glances at me with a favourable eye. But unfortunately Sir David Brewster has ceased to have any voice in the matter, and Principal Forbes is a stranger to me. . . . You know St. Andrews so well that I venture to trouble you about this; as I feel that in the case of a vacancy of any Scottish History or Belles Lettres Chair to which I might be tempted to look, it is likely to be beyond my reach before I hear of it.

'I suspect the St. Andrews emoluments are inferior to what I have here; but I would make some sacrifice to get back to Scotland. You have now a definite idea of how I am situated in Toronto. Contentment is by no means difficult, and I am supposed to have long since settled down as a regular Canadian. To you, however, I may venture on the confession that I hear of old Scotland at times with the feelings of an exile, and would gladly return to the auld countrie.'

Wilson's hopes of the St. Andrews professorship were

doomed to disappointment. Fate had decreed that he was to be a 'regular Canadian' for the rest of his days. But Sir Daniel continued to correspond with old friends in the land of his birth; his interest in it, and especially Edinburgh, never slackened. It was therefore with peculiar gratification that he learned in the summer of 1891 that the Town Council of Edinburgh had unanimously resolved to admit him as a Burgess and Guild Brother of the city, 'in recognition of his distinguished literary services in historical and literary research.' Though an old man, and within a year of his death, Sir Daniel made the voyage to Scotland, and on August 21, 1891, in the Council Chambers, he received the Freedom of Edinburgh, which, he confessed in a finely reminiscent speech, he regarded more highly than his knighthood.

'From his earliest years his feelings and sympathies had been intimately identified with all the ancient associations and historical memories of the capital of his native land. The old legends and traditions of its closes and wynds, the historical memories that haunted them, were the object of his earliest study and investigations. . . . The Edinburgh he mostly thought of was Old Edinburgh, the old town of fifty or sixty years ago, the romantic town of Sir Walter Scott. . . . Edinburgh was to him what Jerusalem was to the old royal Hebrew, as the city of the Violet Crown was to the Athenian. He could say with all sincerity: "If I forget thee let my right hand forget its cunning." The greatest charm of Edinburgh lay in its historical associations.'

With these moving words we take leave of Sir Daniel Wilson. The story of his life, the record of his historical work, is one of which all interested in Old Edinburgh must feel proud. If ever there comes a time when the author of *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* is forgotten, it will be when this grand old city of ours has ceased to be proud of its rich heritage.

HUGH HANNAH.

'COCKPEN HOUSE,' CASTLEHILL

A VALUABLE contribution to the topography of the Old Town is contained in Vol. XI. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, in the form of a map on which are shown the names of the principal old houses, or their sites, as well as the situation of important wynds, closes, courts, etc., as they were in the middle of the eighteenth century. This is supplemented and amplified in Vol. XII. by descriptive notes dealing with the most interesting wynds and closes from Castlehill downwards.

There is one house, however, about which there appears to have been a misconception of many years' standing, the so-called Cockpen House, on the north side of Castlehill, and at the east corner of what is known now as Ramsay Lane. In this mansion the writer takes a personal interest, for it has been long known to him that Mrs. Cockburn, grandmother of Lord Cockburn, the Scots Lord of Session, and widow of Archibald Cockburn of Cockpen, resided near this spot up to 1761, when she was properly styled Lady Cockpen.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that Cockpen belonged for centuries to the Ramsays of Dalhousie. The Ramsays owned the property up to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, but in 1635 it was sold to Mark Carse, son of Richard Carse of Fordell, and in that family it remained until 1733, when it was purchased by Archibald Cockburn, Lord Cockburn's grandfather. His son, however, Archibald Cockburn, Sheriff of Midlothian and afterwards Baron of Exchequer, sold the estate in 1785 to George, Earl of Dalhousie, so that Ramsays regained their seventeenth-century inheritance.

This digression may seem irrelevant, but it really leads up to the subject of 'Cockpen House.'

When, in 1848, Sir Daniel Wilson published the first edition of the *Memorials of Edinburgh*, he referred (vol. i. p. 143) to 'an old stone land' occupying the corner of Ramsay Lane, and added:—

'Tradition, as reported to us, by several different parties, assigns this house to the Laird of Cockpen, the redoubted hero, as we presume, of Scottish song; and one party further affirms . . . that Ramsay Lane had its present name before the days of the poet, having derived it from this mansion of the Ramsays of Cockpen.'

In a footnote, he adds: 'The Lairds of Cockpen were a branch of the Ramsays of Dalhousie.'

We must now hark back some eighty-seven years, from the date of publication of *Memorials of Edinburgh* to January 1761, when the following advertisement appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*:—

'To be exposed to public voluntary roup and sale, within Forrest's Coffee House upon Wednesday, 11th day of February, that tenement of land lying on the north side of Castlehill in the Bell Close, as the same is presently occupied by Lady Cockpen and others.'

Now Lady Cockpen at that date was none other than the widow of Archibald Cockburn of Cockpen, born Martha Dundas, sister of Robert Dundas of Arniston, who died in 1753, and aunt of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville.

James Grant, when writing *Old and New Edinburgh*, discovered this advertisement, part of which he quotes (vol. i. p. 91), and, following Sir Daniel Wilson, he enlarges on the Ramsays being Lairds of Cockpen. On the authority of Wilson and Grant, this error has been frequently repeated up to the present time.

It is not very difficult to see how, in Sir Daniel Wilson's time, the mistake, assisted by hearsay and tradition, originated.

Lady Nairne, the authoress of the song 'The Laird o'

Cockpen,' is said by her biographers to have written it 'in her early youth.' Now she was born Carolina Oliphant in 1766, but the song did not appear in print until about 1824. With other songs of Lady Nairne's, it then became well known. At that date (1824) Ramsays were undoubtedly owners of Cockpen. Sir Daniel Wilson therefore jumped to the conclusion that the property had for centuries belonged to them and that the hero of the song was unquestionably a Ramsay.

Now the family history of neither laird, Archibald Cockburn or George, eighth Earl of Dalhousie, tallies with the story as related in the song. For instance, Archibald Cockburn of Cockpen (the second) married in 1766 Janet, daughter of David Rannie of Melville Castle, who could scarcely be described as 'A penniless lass wi' a lang pedigree.' Nor can it be said that 'Nae chickens appeared,' for she had nine or ten children before the property passed from the family. Lord Dalhousie, on the other hand, married Elizabeth Glen, niece and heir of James Glen, of Longerfoot, West Lothian, who was no 'penniless lass,' and she too had a large family.

But to return to the tenement of land 'occupied by Lady Cockpen and others.' As has been shown, it was in the Bell Close, a locality the situation of which has puzzled topographers; but it is well known that these old closes not infrequently had their names changed, and the Bell Close was doubtless one of them. The Close probably derived its name from the Bell Foundry, which stood on the west side of Ramsay Lane, adjoining the old reservoir. At one time John Meikle was the founder, but before 1763 the Bell House had become the property of the Town Council, who disposed of it in that year to Allan Ramsay of Kinkell, the painter, son of Allan Ramsay, the poet, who built Ramsay Lodge. In August 1764, with the object of improving his property, Allan Ramsay jun. built 'two houses in the London fashion for the accommodation of two genteel families,' and the Bell Foundry disappeared.

There can be little doubt that soon after this the Bell Close became known as Pipes Close—and known as such for many years—deriving its name from the City reservoir standing on the west side of Ramsay Lane. This corner has been rebuilt from time to time.

In the title-deeds of the property to the east of Ramsay Lane Lady Cockpen is mentioned on several occasions. In March 1763 (recorded January 12, 1770) there is a reference to 'the tenement next on the east to the Waterhouse, north side of Castlehill, lately possessed by Lady Cockpen, now by John Douglas, writer.'

We find the same property referred to so late as May 7, 1850. The entry contains these words: 'Which tenement consists of a dwelling house sometime possessed or occupied by Lady Cockpen.' Many of the records from 1756 to 1856 have been examined, but there is no mention of any Ramsays residing there.

It seems clear, therefore, that the so-called Cockpen House was nothing more than a 'land' or tenement occupied by different people, that Lady Cockpen (Mrs. Cockburn), up to 1761, had been one of the best known, and that Sir Daniel Wilson was led astray by 'tradition.'

When Lady Nairne wrote 'The Laird o' Cockpen' it is hardly likely that she would retail a story of well-known people living at the time, and it can only be supposed that her story was one of imagination and romance.

Many years before her day, however, there had been a song simply called 'Cockpen,' which bore no resemblance to Lady Nairne's. It appears in Herd's *Collection of Scottish Songs* (1776), and Cromek's *Songs of Scotland* (1810).

The song details the illicit love affairs of a laird of Cockpen, particulars of which can scarcely be given here; but the writer, some thirty years ago, copied from the Session Records of Cockpen parish a number of entries tending to show that the old song was written in the earliest years of the eighteenth

century, when Mark Carse, Laird of Cockpen, was on several occasions reprimanded by the Kirk Session for his conduct.

From the evidence here produced, it may be safely concluded that a song was written early in the eighteenth century in a coarse style, that, many years later, Lady Nairne knew of it, liked the title, and re-wrote it, introducing a different and purely imaginary story, but retaining a few of the phrases, such as, 'When she cam ben he bobbit fu' low.'

H. A. COCKBURN.

SCULPTURED STONES OF THE 'ROYAL MILE': III.<sup>1</sup>

IN this article the catalogue of 'The Sculptured Stones of the "Royal Mile,"' of date previous to 1745, is continued from the Netherbow to the gateway of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and is concluded. The numbers run from the last entry (177) on p. 134 of vol. xv. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. The triple classification of the stones has been retained, viz.: '(1) Those that hold their original positions in the buildings to which they belong; (2) those whose existence has been ascertained, but which 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.' For convenience of reference, the list of 'Abbreviations' is repeated:—

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>O.E.C.</i>	. . . . .	<i>Book of the Old Edinburgh Club.</i>
<i>S.A.S.P.</i>	. . . . .	<i>Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.</i>
<i>M.O.E.</i>	. . . . .	Wilson's <i>Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time.</i> (Orig. ed., 1848.)
<i>T.E.</i>	. . . . .	Chambers's <i>Traditions of Edinburgh.</i> (1st ed., 1825.)
<i>O.E.</i>	. . . . .	James Drummond's <i>Old Edinburgh.</i>
<i>O.N.E.</i>	. . . . .	Grant's <i>Old and New Edinburgh.</i>
<i>O.H.E.</i>	. . . . .	Bruce Home's <i>Old Houses in Edinburgh.</i>
<i>H.B.C.</i>	. . . . .	Mackay's <i>History of the Burgh of Canongate.</i>

<sup>1</sup> The first and second articles on the Sculptured Stones of the 'Royal Mile' were printed in vols. xiv. and xv. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 1925 and 1927. Previous articles, from the same pen, on the Edinburgh Sculptured Stones, appeared in vols. i., ii., iii., and iv. of the Club's Publications.

CANONGATE : SOUTH SIDE

178. *St. Mary's Street* (formerly Wynd). As noted by Mr. Boog Watson (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 88), the street 'takes its name from a chapel and convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which included a hospital, at the head of the wynd, on the west side,' destroyed probably about 1572 (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 125, and *O.N.E.*, vol. i. p. 297). This building is not to 'be confused with the Convent of St. Mary of Placentia,' lying south of the line of the Cowgate and South Back of Canongate (now Holyrood Road), which may not have been removed until 1658, when 'the hail houses in St. Mary's Wynd were demolished for access to the cannon mounted on the Netherbow.' There was 'a tenement of land of old called the church or chapel of St. Mary, lying beyond the Netherbow on the south side of the King's High Street, in the vennel called St. Mary's Wynd, on the west side, entering from the foot of World's End Close.' The line of the wynd, long the 'Rag Fair' of the capital, ran along, or parallel with, the Town Wall, which, in addition to the Netherbow, had a gate of entry at the Cowgate Port, while another archway, the St. Mary's, or Pleasance, Port (demolished 1715), faced the foot of the wynd and gave access to the Pleasance and St. Leonard's suburbs. Ainslie's Map of 1780 shows 'five closes with free entrance from the Canongate between St. Mary's Wynd and Goolan's Close'; and Mr. Watson enumerates Home's Close, Coutts' Close, Stinking Close, Boyd's Close, and Bell's Close (most of them with several *aliases*) as occupying this part of the south side of the Canongatehead in or adjacent to the space now filled by St. Mary Street, the formation of which, as recorded on a tablet on the building at the head of this now spacious thoroughfare, was the first completed work of the City Improvement Trust of 1867. The most noteworthy of these closes was Boyd's, also known as Ross's, Young's, and the White Horse Close (not to be confounded with the other close of that name at the bottom of the Canongate), so named from James Boyd, the host of the inn where Dr. Samuel Johnson sojourned on his arrival in Edinburgh on 14th August 1773. Illustrations of the inn and its approaches from drawings by James Drummond, R.S.A., are given in *O.E.C.*, vol. xiv. p. 130. The locality abounded in inns, coaching

and carriers' quarters, and other places for the convenience of travellers.

In Boyd's Entry, built into a wall a few yards from the panel that indicates the site of Boyd's Inn, is a LINTEL (Class 2), which may be reckoned as one of the oldest of the sculptured stones of the city. It bears the date '1523,' and contains a shield of arms, what has been described as 'a chevron between three birds' (presumably 'buntings'). Only one of the three can now be identified, that on the dexter side being mutilated, and that in base obliterated, its place being occupied by an incised cross, apparently of later date. The motto,

NISI · DEUS · FRUSTRA,

which resembles that of the City of Edinburgh, has been thought to imply a holder of magisterial office. What may be taken as the initials of the original owner of the house, and of his spouse, 'I. B.' and 'E. L.,' appear on either side of the date. They are flanked by a device consisting of an eight-pointed star, with in the one case a cross and in the other a circle in the centre. Balancing the shield is a 'Pot of Lilies,' the familiar device of the Virgin, which, with the other sacred symbols, may reasonably be supposed to bear some reference to the name of the locality and to the neighbouring religious house.

This stone has already been mentioned (*O.E.C.*, vol. xiv. p. 97) in connection with a Lintel, No. 95, shown in a drawing by James Drummond of the Old Post Office Close in High Street; it bears identical initials and arms, but with the date '1593,' and with 'Dominus' in place of 'Deus' in the motto. In *O.E.C.*, vol. xiv. p. 97, it is suggested that the sketch has been 'wrongly localised and the date, etc., erroneously noted.' Allusion has also been made (*O.E.C.*, vol. xv. p. 131) to the heraldic shield (No. 164) on one of the Trinity College Church stones in Chalmers' Close, which bears a bird and the letters 'I. B.,' supposed to be the 'canting' arms of John Bontine. The arms of Bontine of Bountinehall, registered 1680-7, are given in the *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* as 'a chevron between three bunting birds.' Another of the rare pre-Reformation sculptured stones is built into a wall in Simpson's Court, Potterrow. It contains sacred emblems, with the lettering 'JESU' and 'MARIA.'



Pre-Reformation Lintel in Boyd's Entry, St Mary's Street. See p. 24.

179. Do. Wilson also records the date '1680,' cut on a LINTEL (Class 3) of a doorway 'about the middle of St. Mary's Wynd, east side.' It has entirely disappeared.

180. Gibb's Close. None of the three closes immediately east of St. Mary's Street, and having access to it—Gullan's, Gibb's, and Pirie's—retains any evidence of former ownership or history, in the shape of carved stones. But on a LINTEL (Class 1) on a moulded doorway of a stair, No. 160 Canongate, is carved the date

1700.

The south side of the Canongate, as far as St. John Street, was, as Mr. Boog Watson points out, 'reckoned as under the Burgh of Edinburgh,' who were the Superiors, and 'all transfers of property are recorded in the Edinburgh protocols, not in those of the Canongate.' But these documents do not afford as much help as might be desired in tracing the fortunes of the locality previous to the time, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when poverty, neglect, and contumely began to fall on this once aristocratic locality.

181. Old Playhouse Close. Next in order comes the spacious Chessel's Court, the scene of Deacon Brodie's last burgling exploit, and Plainstone, Milne (called after the famous Master Masons of the name), and Weir Closes. All three are 'drawn blank' so far as concerns inscribed antiquities.

An 'exceedingly fine specimen of the style of building prevalent in the reign of Charles I.' (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 68), continues, however, to hold its place in this part of the 'Royal Mile,' in the shape of the front tenement of the Playhouse Close,



says Wilson. The coronet, along with Lady Home's monogram, is repeated over one of the interior doorways. Her initials 'M. H.' and coronet again appear on the shield upheld by one of the Lions (or Leopards), which, rampant regardant, ornament the (reconstructed) summer-house, in the south-east corner of the grounds, within which, it is said, the Treaty of Union was partly signed by the Scottish Commissioners. Moray House was the residence in 1648 and again in 1650 of Oliver Cromwell, who, according to an improbable story, here first 'discussed and approved' the design to execute Charles I. Lord Chancellor Seafield was its occupant at the date of the signing of the Union. At a later period the mansion became the head office of the British Linen Company's Bank, and was known as the Linen Hall. Gordon of Rothiemay's map of 1647 shows a passage entering between the two obelisks that still guard the gate on the Canon-gate, and having an exit at the 'South Back.'

185. **Bakehouse Close.** Passing the site of Finlayson's Close and of the Sugarhouse Close ('so-called from the old sugar refinery to which it led'), we reach (opposite the old Tolbooth of the Burgh) Bakehouse Close, a name that Mr. Boog Watson tells us 'comes from the bakehouse and property on the west side of the close owned by the Incorporation of Bakers of the Canongate.' Another name was Hammermen's Close, taken from the Hammermen's property on the east side. A courtyard on this side, entered through an ornamental archway with pendant keystone, gives access to 'the residence of Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairney, one of the Lords of Session appointed soon after the accession of Charles I.,' and created a baronet in 1628 (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 77). He has also been described as Secretary to the King, and as ancestor of the existing noble Irish family of the Achesons, Earls of Gosford. The house has several doors entering from this inner court, the principal being that on the left, having a LINTEL (Class 1), with the device cut in high relief, of a cock standing upon a trumpet, together with the motto

VIGILANTIBUS,

the date '1633' and a monogram containing the letters 'A. M. H.,' the conjoined initials of the builder and of his wife Dame



Huntly House: East Panel on Front Wall. See p. 30.

Margaret Hamilton. On one of the dormer windows, surmounted by the thistle, rose, and fleur-de-lys finials so familiar in the Canongate, is inscribed the initials of Sir Archibald Acheson,

S  
AA.

The date, it may be noted, is that of the visit of Charles I., on which occasion he passed the entrance of the Close, and received the homage of the City Magistrates at St. John's Cross. (It may be remembered that the initials 'A. A.,' with arms, an eagle displayed, described as those of Achison, or Acheson, were noted as having occurred on a Lintel, No. 13, in Blyth's Close, Lawnmarket (*O.E.C.*, vol. xiv. p. 61).

- 186-189. **Huntly House.** The wooden-fronted building with three gables, to the west of the entrance to Bakehouse Close, has been the subject of much speculation and controversy. The name, which associates it with the House of Huntly, is not of great age or unimpeachable authority; and Mr. Cowan, the late lamented President of our Club, has shown that there is nothing in the titles that connects it with the powerful Gordons of the North. The first Marquis of Huntly, slayer of the 'Bonnie Earl' of Moray, had a 'lodging' in the Canongate; but its locality has not been identified. Henrietta, daughter of the famous Earl of Peterborough, and widow of the second Duke of Gordon, tenanted a portion of the building in the early part of the eighteenth century; and this may possibly have helped to bestow upon it the name. Its other popular title, the 'Speaking House,' is

derived from the four PANELS (Class 1), which, placed above ornamental corbels in good preservation, it bears on its front. They contain a series of pious aphorisms with appropriate emblems. Beginning with the eastmost, they read :

HODIE · MIHI · CRAS · TIBI.                      1570.  
CUR · IGITUR · CVRAS.

which may be read, 'To-day for me ; to-morrow for you ; why worry.'

It may be gathered from Wilson that the date—presumably that of the erection of the building—was in his time concealed by the sign of the adjacent 'Lord Nelson' public-house. The second tablet bears the inscription :

VT · TV · LINGVÆ · TVÆ · SIC · EGO · MEAR ·  
AVRIAM · DOMINVS · SVM.

Thus translated by R. Chambers, 'As you are the lord of your tongue, so am I lord of my ears.' The third legend is :

CONSTANTI · PECTORI ·  
RES · MORTALIVM · VMBRA.

Translated, 'To the constant heart the affairs of mortals are but a shade.'

The fourth panel has, below, the words

SPES · ALTERA · VITAE ·

with the device of stalks of wheat growing out of bones, emblems of Death and Resurrection.

The building has been acquired by the Edinburgh City Corporation, and is being converted into the Municipal Museum.

190. **Wilson's Court.** Slater's Close or Court is the first opening below Huntly House ; and it may be noted, as illustrating the continuity of Canongate nomenclature and occupations, that, while it is mentioned by the name in the protocols of 1705 and 1719 (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 117), Andrew Slater,<sup>1</sup> slater, Slater's Court, was Treasurer of the High Constables of the Canongate

<sup>1</sup> Slater is the donor of the circular stained-glass window in the centre of the front gable of the Canongate Church.

in 1856, when it ceased to be a burgh. So recently as 1923 a small green in Slater's Court was occupied by Andrew Slater, slater. The Court has antique features, but no extant mural inscription or ornament. On the massive and lofty front tenement of the adjoining Wilson's Court, however, there is a moulded window, now built up, on the triangular pediment of which is incised the date

1685.

After Wilson's Court there are enumerated, in Mr. Watson's list, Cooper's Close, Gentle's Close, Crichton's or Carfrae's Close, Bull's or May Drummond's Close (named after a sister of Lord Provost George Drummond, 'the preaching Quakeress' mentioned by Pope and others), M'Grigor's and Stewart's Closes. This brings us to Milton House, built by Andrew Fletcher of Milton (brother of the Laird of Saltoun), who was raised to the bench as Lord Milton in 1724 and became, in 1735, Lord Justice-Clerk, in which capacity he presided at the trial of Captain



Huntly House : West Panel on Front Wall. See p. 30.

John Porteous. After his death in 1766, the mansion became a Roman Catholic school. Subsequently it was used as a brass foundry and gas-meter manufactory (*H.B.C.*, p. 141). Milton House School, which now occupies the site of this building, preserves some of the interior decorations, in the shape of landscapes by an Italian artist.

191. Reid's Court ('Dirleton's Lodging'). After Strathie's Close come Reid's Close and Haddington's Entry, which have a common entrance from the Canongate, but divide, and open separately into what is now Holyrood Road. At the head of Reid's Close there still stands the quaint form of 'Dirleton's Lodging,' in the occupation, until his death in 1687, of Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, who was a Senator of the College of Justice from 1664 to 1677. He was the author of *Dirleton's Doubts*, but survives in Presbyterian annals as a 'noted persecutor.' 'Dirleton's Lodging' has an interesting wheel stair, corbelled turret, arched ground floor, and other architectural features characteristic of the age, but has retained no inscription. Wilson, however, records (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 79) that there was upon it the date

1624

(Class 3). In an old house at the foot of the close there are some mural paintings of landscapes. A moulded gateway gives entry to what was the mansion of the Earls of Haddington, of which there are no remains. A more imposing structure, Queensberry House, has survived many changes and retains its name, although for a century it has been a House of Refuge for the Destitute. The house was built by the third Earl of Lauderdale, who disposed of it to William Douglas, first Duke of Queensberry, and was occupied by him and by James, the second Duke, who, like his father, was King's Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. He kept court in it during the stormy period of the Union negotiations, when is supposed to have taken place the grisly incident, recorded by Chambers, of the roasting of the kitchen boy by the idiot son of the Duke. Charles, the third Duke, was born in the House and was an occasional resident along with his Duchess, Pope's and Prior's Kitty, 'beautiful and young.' Both the first and second Earls of Stair died here, also the first Duke of Douglas. In 1801 it was sold by the fourth Duke of Queensberry, 'Old Q.,' and soon after came into the hands of the War Office, who heightened the building and converted it into barracks. None of the remaining features, exterior or interior, are deserving of record as sculptured stones. Below Queensberry House, the names of Boyd's, Cumming's, Thomson's, Penman's and Charteris Closes are

recorded (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. pp. 122-3); but like so many other things in the Canongate, they have come and gone. Of Lothian Hut, otherwise known as Lothian House (demolished 1825) and the Marquis of Lothian's Close, hardly the memory is left. Yet the 'Hut' was for a time the town house of the Lothian family, being built by the third Marquis about 1750; and in the period of its existence it had as a resident Professor Dugald Stewart, who had boarded with him as a pupil the future Lord Palmerston. A stone placed in the wall in a dark corner of the brewery buildings, near the Horse Wynd entrance, may be a relic of Lothian Hut. It reads:

SIMPLEX MUNDITUS  
MDCCLXV.

192. The Girth Cross. The site is indicated by a circle in the causeway at the bottom of the Canongate, which marks the boundary of the Abbey Sanctuary. The Cross (Class 3) is described as 'an ornamental shaft elevated on a flight of steps' (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 86). It so appears on the map of 1573; and apparently it existed in nearly the same state when Maitland published his History in 1753. Every vestige has been removed of this monument of ancient ecclesiastical justice, beside which, as at the Burgh Cross, higher up the street, proclamations were made and sentences of the law executed.
193. The Sanctuary Courthouse. There may be included in the list the fine LINTEL (Class 1) over the doorway of the Sanctuary Courthouse. This building is reached by entering the Palace Yard through the new gateway. On the right is noticed the ribs, attached to the Courthouse Wall, which are all that is left of the Gothic gatehouse of Holyroodhouse. The lintel has as its chief feature a shield containing the Scottish lion rampant, supported by unicorns with flowing tails, and surmounted by a very prickly thistle. The introduction of a rose balancing, on the sinister, a thistle placed on the dexter side of the design may indicate that the date is later than the Union of the Crowns.

## NORTH SIDE OF CANONGATE

194. **Old Fleshmarket Close.** From the Canongate-head, east of the Netherbow, and on the north side of the way, there was cleared away, under the operations of the Improvement Trust of 1867, a group of narrow and dilapidated closes, corresponding to those that stood opposite, on the site of the entrance to St. Mary's Street. Their place was taken by what is now Cranston Street (nearly on the line of the former Leith Wynd) and Jeffrey Street, and by the block of buildings which separates those comparatively new thoroughfares. Mackay, in his history of the Burgh, mentions Old Fleshmarket Close, Shepherd's Court, Ramsay Court, Coull's Close, and Midcommon Close as having been removed, while Mr. Boog Watson adds the Old High School, otherwise West Common or Ballantyne's Close. In Coull's Close, the traditional scene of a 'tragic Canongate mystery,' related in the notes to Scott's *Rokeby*, was James Ballantyne's Press, from which issued the 'Waverley Novels.' On the west side of the Old Fleshmarket Close, as Wilson supposes, was situated the house of William Oikis, of old styled the 'Parliament House,' in which the Regent Lennox met with Morton and other associate lords to pass doom on their former confederate, William Maitland, younger of Lethington. In this building were 'a large Gothic fireplace . . . with rich mouldings and clustered pillars,' and 'a large and curiously carved NICHE' (Class 3). The illustration of this (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 58) shows two shields, apparently blank.
195. **Old High School Close.** The West Common, otherwise Old High School Close, besides containing the bakehouses of the Incorporation of Bakers, gave access to the Canongate High or Grammar School, built on the lands of Henry Bellenden and originally founded, says Mackay, 'by the Abbots of Holyrood,' Superiors of the burgh, 'and referred to in a charter dated in 1529.' In terms of a gift granted by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, the Magistrates of the Canongate were given full power over the School. According to Wilson (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 59), the Old High School of the Canongate bore the date

1704.

196. **Midcommon Close.** Wilson, writing about 1848, says that several sculptured doorways and defaced inscriptions 'still remain both in Coull's and Old High School Closes,' but they have, of course, entirely disappeared. 'To the east of the latter,' he adds, with the main front in Mid Common Close, stood 'till within the last three years a fine old stone land,' with dormer windows. Over one of three on the first floor was a PANEL (Class 3) with the inscription, 'in large Roman characters':

I · TAKE · THE · LORD · JESVS · AS · MY · ONLY · ALL·SVFFICIENT  
PORTION · TO · CONTENT · ME. 1614.

Nothing has been ascertained regarding the fate of this interesting stone.

197. **Rae's Close.** East Common Close, called also Logan's Close, apparently after James Logan, Town Clerk of the Canongate in 1702, came next (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 60). Beyond it was Rae's Close (also known as New Logan's Close), which still exists. Its name is derived from 'the family of Rae of Pitsindie and Cangnoir, leading burgesses of the city in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.' Their tomb may be seen in the Greyfriars Churchyard. A James Rae, 'His Majesty's barber in the Canongate,' was Treasurer of the burgh in 1679. He built Rae's Land, on the north side of the street. The close was for long the only access to the North Back of Canongate between Leith Wynd and the Water Gate. A LINTEL (Class 3) over the entrance to the close bore the inscription:

MISERERE · MEI · DOMINE · A · PECATO · PROBRO · DEBITO.  
ET · MORTE · SUBITO · ME · LIBERA. 1 · 6 · 1 · 8

Grant (*O.N.E.*, vol. ii. p. 6) gives the reading 'libera me.' The inscription, with a slight variation, will be found in the *Theatrum Mortalium*, p. 248. Wilson describes the stone as 'partially concealed by a modern shop front'; but it has apparently been removed altogether.

198. **Morocco Land.** Immediately adjacent to the east is the Morocco Land, an ancient stone tenement with an antique gabled front, containing, in a recess over the second floor, the demi-figure of

a turbaned Moor, resting upon a SHIELD (Class 1) bearing a saltire, and supported by a moulded bracket. Explaining its presence, there is a tradition of the Canongate concerning a local 'Dick Whittington' (summarised in *O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 92, and told at length by Mackay and others), a certain Andrew Gray, a fugitive from justice, who returned with wealth gained as a pirate in the service of the Sultan of Morocco. Morocco Land was owned in 1703 by Robert Gray, husband of Marion Home.

199. Seaton's Close. Wilson describes (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 62), as a little to the eastward of Morocco Land, a building with ornamental crowsteps, a curiously moulded dormer, and, at the top of an outside stair, a beautifully moulded doorway. Here, under 'a rich double cornice,' in antique ornamental characters, was a LINTEL (Class 3) bearing the inscription:

SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLORIA.

All has gone, and Seaton's Close, which also bore the name of Oliphant's Close and Oliver's Close, presents now a low and mean entry that leads to nothing of interest. The statement, often repeated, that it belonged to the Lords Oliphant, is not borne out by the records. It takes its name (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. pp. 93-4) from Dr. Alexander Seton, son of Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, and sometime surgeon to General Wade's Regiment of Horse. He acquired it from his sister-in-law (wife of his brother James). She was Christian Oliphant, daughter of John Oliphant, Sheriff-Clerk of Edinburgh, whose father, William Oliphant, appears to have built the house. It later became part of the property of Douglas, Heron & Co., the unfortunate bankers in Ayr, whose disastrous failure has been alluded to by Walter Scott. The premises of Douglas, Heron & Co. extended to the adjacent Kinloch's Close (named after a wealthy Canongate merchant family) and to Ayr Bank or Lothian's Close.

200. Shoemakers' Lands. Here comes in New Street, an 'early city improvement' formed about 1760, and first named Young Street, after Dr. Thomas Young, who owned property on both sides of the thoroughfare as well as in Seaton's Close. New

Street remained private and secluded until 1810, when the public were granted access through it to the foot of the Calton Hill, but the thoroughfare has been almost wiped out by railway intrusions and alterations. The mansion of the learned and eccentric Henry Home, Lord Kames, is still intact, although sadly reduced in estate. Opposite are the remains of the entrance to the residence of his colleague and contemporary, David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. Little Jack and Big Jack Closes (recently demolished) were next on the line of the main street. They were built in the first half of the eighteenth century by Robert Jack, slater, and finished by his brother John, also a slater, and Bailie in the Canongate (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. pp. 96-7). David Hume wrote part of his *History* in Jack's Land, which he occupied from 1753 to 1762; and about the same period, Susan Countess of Eglinton and her seven stately daughters also lived there. The house of Sir Thomas Dalrymple of Binns, that resolute and remorseless King's man, who raised the 'Scots Greys'—'one of the meanest-looking buildings . . . ever, perhaps, inhabited by a gentleman,' says R. Chambers in his *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*, p. 230—was in a court at the bottom of Big Jack's Close, whence it was removed in 1779. Wilson, however (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 70), refers to its painted ceilings. East of New Street, the 'Shoemakers' Lands,' three in number, continue to hold their place in the front rank of the Canongate houses. They are pierced by two closes that have borne the titles of the Dark or Little and the East Shoemakers' Closes. They take the name from 'the building owned by the Corporation of the Cordiners or Shoemakers of the Canongate,' who obtained a charter of the property in 1647 (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 97). Of the eight Incorporations of the burgh—Wrights, Hammermen, Shoemakers, Tailors, Weavers, Fleshers, Bakers, and Barbers—the Cordiners alone have left traces of their place of assembly in the main thoroughfare. On the westmost tenement, over a doorway (but now placed over a window on the first floor), was a TABLET (Class 1) with the words:

BLESSED IS HE THAT WISELY DO  
THE POOR MAN'S CASE CONSIDER;

and the date

1725.

201. Do. In the adjoining close was the Hall of the Incorporation, 'fitted up with large oaken tables and chairs'—a carved chair or throne being placed at the head of the hall (*H.B.C.*, p. 130). These have all disappeared. The Hall, according to Wilson (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 71), bore the date

1682.

202. Do. A more elaborate device adorns the LINTEL (Class 1), crowned by an ogee roof, of the turnpike stair of the eastmost tenement, known as the 'Bible Land.' It has, as the central ornament, an open Book with the words :

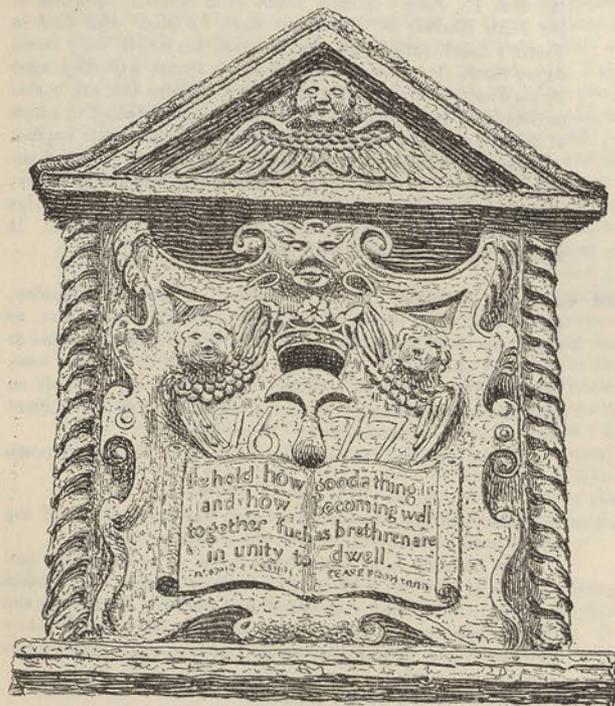
'Behold, how good a thing it is,  
And how becoming well,  
Together such as brethren are  
In unity to dwell.'

1677

—the opening verse of the Scottish metrical version of the 133rd Psalm. The words were inscribed also on the tablet over the Shoemakers' Land in Wester Portsburgh (illustration in *O.E.C.*, vol. ii. p. 124), which bears a close resemblance to the Canon-gate example in its design and emblems of a cordiner's 'rounding knife' and cherubs' heads, as well as in the text. The inscription also appeared on the Tailors' Hall in Easter Portsburgh (Potterrow). In smaller letters, below the verse, is inscribed the motto :

'It is an honour for (a) man to cease from strife.'

203. Tolbooth Wynd—'Lady Foulis's House.' Gladstone Court (an obviously modern name) and Miller's or Aitken's Close interposed between the Shoemakers' Lands and the arched entrance of the Tolbooth Wynd. The first of these was known as Bowling Green and as Magdalene Entry, from the bowling-green and from the Magdalene Asylum (now removed to the Dalry district), to which it gave access. Immediately west of Tolbooth Wynd (which led to the Charity Workhouse), with entrance by a spiral stair, is the ancient tenement to which Mr. Henry F. Kerr has attached the name of 'Lady Foulis's House.' The *Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston* (Scottish History Society's Publications, No. 16) records five bearers of the name of Lady Foulis, who died in the half century between 1670 and 1720—



TABLET. SHOEMAKERS' LAND

See p. 38

the first, Sir John's mother, Dame Jean Sinclair, daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Stevenson, East Lothian, who died in Foster's Land, Edinburgh, and the last, his fourth wife, Dame Agnes Scott, daughter of Bailie Andrew Bruce, who died, aged 80, on June 21, 1720. Like all the other ladies, she was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard. It has not been ascertained to which of them, if any, the name of the house in the Canongate applies. Among interesting features of this building are a projecting doorway carrying a newel stair that winds to the uppermost storey, and the carved FINIALS (Class 1) of thistle, rose, and fleur-de-lys that adorn the dormer windows overlooking the Canongate. It is structurally connected with the

204. Canongate Tolbooth, the 'Praetorium,' or Council Chamber, Courthouse, and Prison of the ancient burgh, which here, as elsewhere, repeatedly asserts its claim to have been founded in the reign of David I. Although now turned to humbler uses, the building continues, with the aid of its clock, set aloft on iron brackets projecting over the roadway, to form a prominent and picturesque feature of the 'Royal Mile.'

On the case of the clock facing the south are the Burgh motto

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA

—'Such is the way to the stars,' and the Burgh Arms of the stag's head with a cross between the antlers.

The building is of the French style of architecture, and consists of a tower, with spire and corner turrets, and a main building, embellished with panels and dormers, containing the former Courtroom. On a PANEL (Class 1) over the archway into the Wynd, in gilded letters and with rosette ornaments, is the inscription,

S . L . B.

PATRIE

ET POSTERIS . 1591.

205. Do. Over the window above this inscription is a small SHIELD (Class 1), bearing the Burgh Arms.
206. Do. Between the lower and upper windows of the tower, there was an ornamental SUNDIAL, now gone. There have been

various renderings of the letters 'S. L. B.' but the suggestion might be made that they are the initials of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, Superior of the Canongate at the date (1591) of the erection of the 'New Tolbuith' (there was an 'Auld Tolbuith' which may possibly have occupied the same site). Sir Lewis was Lord Justice-Clerk, and in his favour Bishop Adam Bothwell, Abbot Commendator of Holyrood, surrendered, in 1587, his rights as Superior of the Burgh of Canongate and of the Barony of Broughton. He was high in the favour of James VI., whom he accompanied to Denmark on the King's mission of marriage. Sir Lewis shared that sapient monarch's belief in witchcraft, and, according to Scot of Scotstarvit's *Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen* (1754), died of terror, 'in his own house in the Canongate,' in the autumn of the very year in which the Tolbooth was built, after witnessing a manifestation of the powers of one of the local warlocks, Ritchie Graham, in 'raising the Devil.' Sir Lewis was succeeded as Superior by his son Sir James, and by his grandson Sir William Bellenden (Baron Bellenden), who sold the superiority rights of the Canongate to his mother's brother, the first Earl of Roxburgh. The latter in turn disposed of them to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital, from whom, in 1636, they were acquired by the City of Edinburgh. The separate history of the Burgh, and practically the functions of the Tolbooth, closed with annexation to the larger community in 1856.

207. Do. On the Canongate frontage of the main building, between the two windows of the Council Hall, is a large ornamental PANEL with pediment surmounted by a group of thistles. It is now empty, but at one time is believed to have exhibited the Burgh Arms, with, underneath, the motto:

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

208. Do. On the TYMPANUM (Class 1) of this front, the heraldic design is repeated, with the inscription,

J . R . O . JUSTITIA

ET . PIETAS

VALIDE . SUNT

PRINCIPIS . ARCES

—the initials of the King, and a sentiment which James himself may have suggested as appropriate—'Justice and Piety are truly the bulwarks of a Prince.' The upper portion of this part of the building has been reconstructed, and the four ornamental dormers, bearing on their tympani the Scottish Saltire and the Royal City and Burgh Arms, with thistle, rose, and star finials, have taken the place of original plain forms, and date only from 1879. On one of them is repeated the inscription and date on No. 204. Beside an entrance on the ground floor is the memorial to the sons of the Canongate who fell in the Great War.

209. Do. On the LINTEL (Class 1) of the doorway of the inner porch are the words

ESTO FIDES

—'Be Faithful'; while over the platform in the Hall are two old wooden panels, with coats of arms. One of the two bells in the tower bears:

SOLI · DEO · HONOR · ET · GLORIA · 1608.

210. The Burgh Cross. The MARKET CROSS of the Burgh has been removed from the position it held on the 'croon o' the causey,' and placed on the footway in front of the Parish Church. It has been surmised, from the sketch in Gordon of Rothiemay's Plan, that it was on the model, in more modest form and size, of the Edinburgh 'Mercat Croce.' The Pillory, or Rack-stool, was beside it, and the shaft carried a 'Jougs.' Only the shaft, crowned by a floriated cross, which has incised on it the Arms of the Burgh, remains. It rests on a modern pedestal.

211. Canongate Parish Church. After the Reformation the nave of the Abbey Church remained the Parish Church of Canongate; but in 1672 an Act of the Privy Council declared it to be 'His Majesty's Chapel Royal in all time coming.' The congregation continued to worship in it, however, until 1687, when the measures taken by Charles's successor James to fit it for Roman Catholic rites and for the accommodation of the Order of the Thistle compelled them to remove to Lady Yester's Church, which was

a church of the same name as, and standing near the site of, the present building in Infirmary Street (*H.B.C.*, p. 60). In 1688 the Edinburgh Council, aided by funds bequeathed forty years before by Mr. Thomas Moodie of Gogar, acquired ground adjacent to the Tolbooth and erected the existing Canongate Church, a building which contains several features of antiquarian and architectural interest. One of these is the Burgh Crest on the apex of the gable turned to the Canongate, and another a large PANEL (Class 1) on the centre of the same frontage, containing the Royal Arms with supporters.

212. A PANEL below (Class 1) bears the Royal Crest and the motto:  
IN DEFENCE

213. Panmure Close. Beyond Dunbar's Close is Panmure Close, which earlier bore the name of M'Kell's Close (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 99). Wilson (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 81) states that at the head of it was 'an ancient edifice of the time of Queen Mary,' with ornamental staircase leading to the first floor, and at the top of a steep wooden staircase, a rich specimen of carved oak panelling, with the Scottish lion and other decorations. Over the doorway of an inner turnpike was a sculptured LINTEL (Class 3), with the letters

I. H.

and a shield charged with a chevron and hunting-horn, and bearing the date

1565

which is erroneously stated by Wilson to be 'the earliest date on any private building in the Canongate.' It is noted as having been built by John Hunter, Treasurer of the Burgh in 1568. According to Grant, who gives an illustration of the Lintel (*O.N.E.*, vol. ii. p. 21), the mansion was demolished in August 1853. A panel beside the entrance records the fact that Adam Smith, author of the *Wealth of Nations*, lived in Panmure House from 1778 until his death in 1790. This was the town residence of the Earls of Panmure.

214. **Brown's Close**—The 'Golfers' Land.' East of Monro's and Lochend Closes (named after a former owner, William Ferguson, Lochend of Restalrig), with the gate opening into Reid's Court, is a massive and lofty range of 'lands,' which constitutes one of the most impressive features of the Canongate. These are penetrated by Campbell's and Brown's Closes, and terminate in a piazza bounded on the east by Malloch's Close. Campbell's Close has had, among its residents, Archbishop Ross of St. Andrews and the thirteenth and fourteenth Earls of Morton, but retains no mark of these or other tenants. The tenement at the entrance to Brown's Close, known also as Somerville's and Paterson's Close, has retained a place in the Burgh history and legend as the 'Golfers' Land.' It is traditionally said to have been built by John Paterson, shoemaker, with his share of the stakes won at golf by the Duke of York, afterward James VII., from two boastful Englishmen (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 103). As evidence of this story, there is 'skied' at almost roof level a large PANEL (Class 1) bearing what Wilson (*M.O.E.*, vol. ii. p. 82) tells us are the arms of the Paterson family—'three pelicans feeding their young, with three mullets on a chief,' surmounted by 'a knight's helmet and a defaced crest, said to be a hand grasping a golfer's club.'

215. **Do.** On the level and to the right of the lintel at the entrance to the close is a PANEL (Class 1) with an inscription, said to be the composition of Dr. Pitcairne, that seems to celebrate the victory. It reads:

CUM VICTOR LUDO, SCOTIS QUI PROPRIUS, ESSET  
TER TRES VICTORES POST REDIMITUS AVOS,  
PATERSONUS, HUMO TUNC EDUCEBIT IN ALTUM  
HANC QUAE VICTORES TOT TULIT UNA, DOMUM.

Below are the words,

'I HATE NO PERSON'

—an 'anagram' of the name 'John Paterson.'

Wilson advances reasons for believing that the house was 'lost instead of won by the gambling propensities' of the owner. It appears to have been built or acquired in 1609 by Nicol

Paterson, maltman in Leith, from whom it was inherited in 1632 by his son John, who appears to have been a brother to another Nicol Paterson, described in the Latin epitaph on the family gravestone in Holyrood Churchyard as 'Secretary to the Most noble and excellent John, Earl of Rothes, illustrious Viceroy of Scotland.' John died in 1663, and was succeeded by the John of the legend, who was several times a Bailie and probably rebuilt the house. Pursued for debt, he parted with it before the end of the century to John, second Lord Bellenden, who died in the house in 1704.

216. **White Horse Close.** Near 'Golfers' Land' stood the lowly edifice, shown in sketches of the Canongate as 'Jenny Ha's Change House,' where, among others, John Gay resorted when he was the guest or secretary of the ducal possessors of Queensberry House, nearly opposite. Immediately behind the site of Jenny Ha's, with access from Galloway's Entry and from Whitefoord Close, is Whitefoord House. It occupies, as recorded on a tablet, the site of 'My Lord Seton's Lungeing in the Canongate,' the family house of the Earls of Winton, and as such is introduced in Scott's *Abbot*. Whitefoord House was built by Sir John Whitefoord, and had as one of its later occupants Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, who sat on the bench as Lord Bannatyne, and was one of the last titled residents in the Canongate. Adjoining it is Callender House, built by a descendant of John Callender, Deacon of the Blacksmiths Incorporation and farrier to James VI. He became the laird of Craigforth. The gabled tenement between Ramsay's Close and Duncan's Close, although bearing a modern date on its front, is crowned by dormers and finials that appear to proclaim a much earlier origin. White Horse Close, almost opposite to the site of the Girth Cross and the Abbey Strand, is more familiar in the ears and eyes of Edinburgh sightseers than its namesake in St. Mary's Wynd. It opens into a court around which are grouped a picturesque collection of buildings, old or restored, and of wood or stone. One of them, on the right, is the roundel stairway to the residence of John Paterson—'Bishop Bandstrings'—one of the last of the line of the seventeenth-century Episcopal Bishops of Edinburgh. Facing the entry to the Close is a

massive stone stair, and over a projecting window above is carved a date which has given rise to some controversy :

1623.

This has lately taken the place of an older date, '1523,' which was obviously too early, but was used to support the tradition that Mary Stuart stabled here a favourite white palfrey. It has been quoted also as '1603' and '1683.' The Close had as its oldest name 'Ord's' or 'Laurence Ord's Close,' from a merchant burges of the seventeenth century (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 106). It was also called Davidson's Close, after a later proprietor. According to Chambers, it was at one time the 'Royal Mews.' It has a secure place in fiction as the harbourage of Roland Graeme and Adam Woodcock, and the meeting-ground of Edward Waverley and Fergus MacIvor. The close has an entry to Calton Road, which is overlooked by nine gables with plain dormers.

217. **The Water Gate.** The old building known as Robertson's Land adjoins the Water Gate, where in former days watch and ward was set and toll taken of goods entering the Burgh by the Easter Road from Leith—cherished rights that explain the 'standing toast' at Canongate municipal feasts, 'The Water Yett! the Treasurer's Auld Wife!' Here entered the coaches from London and Newcastle; and outside of it was the horse pond that may have given the 'port' its name. Robertson's Close was named from a cowfeeder in Croftangry, who, at the end of the eighteenth century, acquired houses and bakehouses in the area 'on the north side of St. Thomas' Chapel.' It is on or near the 'Clausura Sancti Andree et St. Catherine' (afterwards apparently known as Bell's Wynd), that led to the Chapel and Almshouse founded, in 1541, by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld and dedicated to the Virgin and All Saints. The Charter, the text of which is quoted by Maitland, enjoined services, on the founder's birthday, by the chaplains and bedesmen before the altars of St. Andrew and of St. Catherine in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and granted for their support the lands of Lochflat. After the Reformation the Chapel and Hospital were purchased by the Canongate Magistrates and



Lintel, Bull's Close. See below.

converted into houses for the poor. These were demolished in 1778. Over the LINTEL (Class 3) of the doorway were the Arms of the Canongate, with two cripples, a man and a woman, as supporters, and the words

HELPE · HERE · THE · POORE · AS · ZE · VALD · GOD ·  
DID · ZOV.

In *H.B.C.*, p. 150, it is stated that on the removal of the old Water Yett (concerning which we are told nothing), the site was marked by a wooden arch, stretching across the narrow roadway, and ornamented with the Burgh Arms, 'but the buildings on the east side having become dilapidated, were taken down, the roadway widened, and the wooden arch altogether removed.'

218. **Bull's Close.** Since this article was put in type, the Rev. W. C. Fraser, chaplain of Queensberry House, has called my attention to a massive LINTEL (Class 2) which has been brought to light in the course of the demolition of the buildings on both sides of Bull's Close (formerly No. 106 Canongate). It is understood to have formed part of a staircase attached to the common wall of the tenement immediately to the west, and in its hidden position it appears to have escaped the notice of Wilson, R. Chambers, Drummond, and other recorders of the antiquities of Edinburgh. It seems to bear a familiar Latin motto, with the first, and one or two of the other letters, effaced, viz.,

(A)VXILIVM · A · DN(O),

with the translation below,

MY · HELP IS OF YE L(ORD).

The last three letters are almost cut away by a square hole which may have been made to hold a bar or bolt. The inscriptions, in large and well-formed letters in relief, run on either side of a shield, bearing a chevron between two mullets in chief and what looks like a crescent or an annulet in base. Below the inscription, on the dexter side of the stone, are the date and initials :

1586 · I V · FF.

It may be noted that, according to the *Ordinary of Scottish Arms*, several families of Wilsons—a not infrequent name in Canongate records—bear the arms of a chevron between mullets, those of Wilson of Soonhope, which family owned and gave its name to the adjoining 'Wilson's Court,' having in addition 'a heart pierced with a spear' on the chevron. This may possibly give a clue to the initials 'I V' and to the armorials. The close, also known as 'May Drummond's Close,' according to Mr. Boog Watson (*O.E.C.*, vol. xii. p. 120), derives its name of 'Bull's' from Robert Bull, wright, burgess of Edinburgh, who with his wife Jean or Joanna Wright, daughter of John Wright, the former owner, disposed of the property to Peter Lamont in 1701. 'A chevron between three battle-axes (for Wright)' forms part of the arms of the family of Ramsay-Gibson-Maitland of Barnton.

219. As an addendum to the Catalogue of the 'Sculptured Stones of the "Royal Mile,"' mention may be made of a fragment of an ogee-shaped NICHE (Class 2), of a type familiar to the locality, which has been disinterred in the course of recent reconstruction operations in the premises of Messrs. W. & R. Chambers, near the foot of Roxburgh Close.

JOHN GEDDIE.

## ST. PAUL'S WORK

### THE HOSPITAL

THE Hospital of St. Paul's Work at the foot of Leith Wynd has received scanty attention from the chroniclers of the Good Town, and, at that, not wholly correct. Though the actual place has long disappeared, its history, as found in the City Records, is of sufficient interest to be worth considering.

Maitland, in his *History*, gives the most satisfactory account of the founding of the Hospital. He quotes, from an inventory, a charter, lost at his time, by Thomas Spence or Spens, Bishop of Aberdeen, setting forth how he, with consent of William, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had founded a Hospital in Leith Wynd for the reception and entertainment of twelve poor men, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and endowed by him with lands and rents to the amount of one hundred and nineteen pounds Scots. Maitland places the date of the charter about 1479.

The time when the better known name of the Hospital appeared in use cannot, so far as the Council Records are concerned, be stated definitely.<sup>1</sup> In 1501 the place is called St. Paul's Hospital, and in 1528 John Foular's protocols mention the Hospital and Place of St. Paul. In 1582 the foundation is alluded to as Our Lady Hospital. So far as appearances go, these might have been two separate places. Fortunately another protocol book of Foular's, under the date 1525, gives what must have been the official title—The Hospital of the

<sup>1</sup> In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts (vol. i. p. 107) there is an entry for the year 1489 that refers to 'St. Paul's Work.'

Blessed Mary of the Place of St. Paul. It seems possible, though there is no direct evidence, that the better-known name was the older, marking an earlier religious site. It was no unusual thing for one church to be built on the site of another, either existing or destroyed, and religious sites may and do perpetuate holy places older even than the Christian religion. But, so far as regards St. Paul's Work, this is pure surmise.

In the early records the history of the Hospital is scanty and not very eventful, consisting chiefly in narrations of the appointment of chaplains and bedemen. It does not appear much in chronicles, other than the official records of the town.

The founder, Bishop Spence, figured in the diplomatic negotiations of his day and held office as Keeper of the Privy Seal. He died in Edinburgh in 1480 and was buried in Trinity College Church. Keith describes him as 'a Person singularly well-turned for business,' but that is all his epitaph.

One of the most fertile hunting-grounds for information about Old Edinburgh is the collection of protocol books of the early notaries-public, now in the Register House. To note all the references to St. Paul's Work would be lengthy and would serve no useful purpose, but two early examples are given to show the type of entry. The first concerns a transfer of land to the bedemen of the Hospital in 1525, recording a resignation by John Anderson in favour of John Stewart and of the other brethren and confrères of the Hospital of the Blessed Mary of the Place of St. Paul beside Trinity College . . . of a tenement of the late Sir Thomas Tod, Knight, on the south side of the High Street in Snadoun's Close, on either side thereof. 'The same day John Stewart, one of the brether of the Hospitall of Our Lady in Sanct Pauls Wirk in the name of himself and of the laif of the brether of the said Hospitall that had only annuell of the land of umquhile Sir Thomas Tod liand in Snawdonis Clois with consent of Maister Johne Williamsoun, Preceptor and Maister of the said Hospitall quytelamis and dischargis Johne Ander-

son of all maner of clamys for ony annuell or uther dewiteis awing to thame for the said land in ony tymes bygane.' This piece of land is referred to again in the inventory of the Hospital's property made in 1579, and is valued at £15 Scots.

A deed of 1528 records the investiture of a chaplain. The entry is interesting particularly as regards the statement that, at that date, the patronage of the Hospital was vested in the Town Council. Grant in his *Old and New Edinburgh* (vol. i. p. 301) states that the Council became proprietors subsequent to Queen Mary's charter of the Kirk livings, but this deed shows that their interest in it was at least forty years older. It runs as follows :—

'John Mauchane, one of the baillies of Edinburgh, passed to the Hospital and Place of Saint Paul near Trinity College; and there the said Baillie in name of the Provost, Baillies Council and Community of the said burgh, Patrons of the service and chaplainry founded by the late Thomas, bishop of Aberdeen, gave and delivered the said service and chaplainry to Sir John Tyndale, chaplain, by delivery to him of a book, chalice and vestments of the High Altar of the said place and dignities thereof, and invested and instituted him in the said service and chaplainry with all its annualrents, emoluments, fruits, profits and pertinents thereof; and this as freely as the same were possessed and enjoyed by his predecessors, according to the foundation made thereupon. Witnesses: Edward Littill, John Marjoriebanks, Alexander Adamson, James Barbour, John Broune and William Adamson.'

The first mention of the Hospital in the Council Records (in 1501) does not concern the building itself, but merely some houses beside it. It is narrated that the Provost, Alexander Lauder, and forty-four neighbours, all mentioned by name, had been summoned to a justice ayre touching these houses which had been destroyed. Not till 1535 does the Hospital recur in the Records: in that year the chaplainry of the Lady Altar was granted to Sir James Barroun. Thereafter the entries concern themselves principally with the nomination of bedemen. Some interest attaches to many of these, which



tend to show that there was no apparent social degradation in becoming a bedeman. The nominations may have been a kindly gesture of the Council towards misfortune, or possibly, a less charitable explanation, a put-up job. In February 1556-7 James Cokke, goldsmith and burges of Edinburgh, became a bedeman. He did not enjoy his place for long, as it was filled on his death in March of the same year. In 1580, another of the same surname and trade, Adam Cokky, was admitted. These are among the curious cases, for it must have been some relative of their own, James Cokky, who was jeweller to Mary Stuart, and one of those in the Castle during its defence by Kirkaldy of Grange. How they were so poor, when one of the family was so wealthy, is not explained. A somewhat similar entry records in 1584-5 the admission of David Rynd, brother of the late Robert Rynd, goldsmith. The Rynds, judging from various references, were apparently a well-to-do burges family: can it therefore be conjectured that David was the unlucky member?

On the whole, burgeses are the exception rather than the rule. One nomination in the last-named year records a career of misfortune: 'John Banks, merchant, has watched, warded and borne portable charges and has been of good report and is now poor, therefore he is promised the next vacant bedemanship.' History is silent as to whether he obtained it.

That perfect peace did not reign among the bedemen is suggested by an act of Council of March 1556-7, whereby the Master of the Hospital, Sir William Makdowgall, was ordered to collect all rents and annuals, and to divide them equally among the bedemen four times in the year, according to the terms of the foundation.

An entry of March 1579-80 suggests also that there were more applicants than accommodation. A place in the Hospital was granted to George Huchesoun, 'ane auld, and faillit creatour past the aige of thre scoir yeiris,' and Mr. John Pres-

toun obliged himself to build for the new bedeman a 'tofall' or lean-to upon his own expense. Possibly the supply of individual 'cells,' of which we learn in an earlier entry, had given out. A somewhat unusual appointment was made in October 1580, when James Marjoriebanks, natural son of the late John Marjoriebanks, was admitted. Such persons as a rule were outside the consideration of such establishments, or at least a veil was drawn over any irregularity of birth. Among others who found a refuge in the Hospital after the Reformation was one Nicoll Huchiesoun, chaplain.

The numbers of the bedemen may or may not have declined after the Reformation, but the Records pay less attention to individuals. In 1579 the Council put on record the endowments of Paul's Work, 'the Rentall of the Hospitall of our Lady, callit Sanct Paullis Wark in Leith Wynde.' The founder had infest his Hospital with annualrents amounting in all to £120 Scots. These vary considerably from the largest, drawn from the lands and barony of Kellie in Fife, £26, 13s. 6d., from the barony of Dysart of £20, and from the lands of Belsches in the sheriffdom of Berwick of £10. Many of the annualrents came from land in Edinburgh, of which the largest were from a land belonging to Thomas Tod, Snowdon herald, lying opposite the Market Cross, and from a land of his in Bell's Wynd: these were respectively £15 and £16, 6s. 8d. Other annuals of the good Bishop's endowment were for smaller sums, of which 13s. 4d. was the least. To these the rent-roll added the sum of £17, 19s. 9d., formed by gifts of other men 'of gude memorie,' who left, presumably according to their wealth or devoutness, annuals varying from £6, 13s. 4d. to 5s.

The coming of the Reformation might have left the bedemen unharassed had it not caused some distress of mind to their preceptor and collector, Sir William Makdowgall. An act of Council of 19th June 1560 rehearses a petition of the bedemen that, their collector having taken refuge in the Castle, they could not obtain payment of their annuals and other

duties. What had caused the priest to betake himself there is not known, but curiously enough the date of the complaint is only nine days after the death there of the Queen Regent, Marie of Lorraine. It may be mere coincidence: it might be that Sir William attended the death-bed of the Queen, who, as even her opponents admitted, 'died most christianly.' But the collector's indiscretion does not seem to have entailed his dismissal, for in 1578 he was summoned in peremptory fashion to produce his 'perfitte compt and reknyng' under pain of losing his office, because, as is added pertinently, he was 'chargeit heirto of befoir and disobeyit.' He must have done so, for in December 1579 he was summoned again for the same reason. Perhaps his dilatoriness was due to old age, for he seems to have died in February 1580, as a bailie and Mr. John Preston were deputed to distribute the money from a box of his among the poor of the Hospital, to whom it belonged. In March of the same year the deacons were summoned to confer with the Council anent the choice of another preceptor, but the appointment was delayed for three months, when Patrick Vernour, son of John Vernour, writer, was given the office.

Vernour held office for a bare two years, and in his place Roger Wilson, writer and schoolmaster, was made Master of the Hospital. The Council seem to have seized the opportunity to revise the statutes of the Hospital for Master and bedemen alike. Rules were laid down for the services, which took the place of the prayers of the Old Faith, and exacted attendance on the 'Prayers and preiching in the Town,' in addition to at least an hour spent daily in community worship. Maitland prints the rules *in extenso*, and they are interesting reading. The Council apparently were no iconoclasts: they ordered that all the rules of the original foundation should be kept, which were not repugnant to the true religion. They also, as did the founder, understood the imperfections of human nature and did their best, so far as regulations could go, to ensure exemplary conduct among the inhabitants of

the Hospital. A year later the Master, Roger Wilson, appeared before the Council, declaring that he had read the prayers in the Hospital, according to his instructions, but that the Kirk had objected.

In 1585 there came before the Council a proposal to build a leper house in the ground of St. Paul's Work. The place was visited repeatedly by the Council, but the plan was discarded, and the site near the Chapel of the Rood of Greenside was granted to the charitable builder.

But the Hospital appears to have begun to fall into disuse towards the end of the century, for an act of Council of March 1589 granted 'ane competent number of the reddiest and lowsest staynis of the hospitall of Sanct Pawles Wark' for the repair of the church of Trinity College. The Council did have the wall round the churchyard mended three years later, but for no special reason. In 1597 an order was given that the yard and dykes should be built up with timber and the place used for poor children and others found begging in the streets, who were to be housed there and fed by the magistrates. Evidently Paul's Work was at that time empty of bedemen. A refuge for homeless children, the Hospital later in the same year became also a place of confinement for sturdy beggars, placed there for two or three days and fed on bread and water. An act of Council authorised the payment of £12, 12s. for food supplied to the inmates, but about a month later, for a reason not given, the poor were removed thence to the upper hospital of Trinity College.

Still the idea of the Hospital remained so late as 1608, when a Master was appointed, Andrew Dalrymple by name, to the town's 'hospital of St' Paul's Wark, called the Lady Hospital,' so well did the old name cling.

#### THE MANUFACTORY

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Town Council, in obedience to a royal command, endeavoured for the

second time to plant a weaving industry in the burgh. Envoys were sent to Norwich and even to Leyden, and, by lavish promises and some expenditure of money, induced some half-dozen weavers and their families to settle in Edinburgh. The experiment, though subsidised by the Town and the Burghs, could not be termed a success, and languished for some years. Its history, found in MSS. preserved in the City Chambers, has yet to be written, but this is not the place, for the industry was not housed in Paul's Work. In 1618 the matter was brought forward again: attempts were made to find what voluntary contributions towards the industry might be had: a Scots weaver, resident in Delft, by name William Dickson, was induced to cross the seas, and the Council entered into a contract with him anent the starting of a weaving industry. Things moved slowly, however. In December 1619 a piece of ground on the south side of Paul's Work was bought by the Council for the purposes of the weavers for 1300 merks, the money being obtained from the voluntary contribution. In 1620, the Kirk Council recorded that a house had been built there at a cost of £1359.

The contract between the Town Council and William Dickson of Delft figures at length in the Records under the date 13th November 1619. The preamble states the reason for the venture, the injury to the realm by the export of the 'native commoditeis unwrocht . . . be the working of the quhilk commoditeis . . . ydle people might be sett on work and sustenit,'—reasonable enough in effect. Dickson engaged to bring across before the end of March 1620 his family and servants with four other experts in the making of stuffs, one of them a Frenchman, La Fleure. Each was to bring four looms with the necessary equipment, a calender, a twining mill and sixty wheels, great and small, a kettle for fulling and colouring the stuff, a press with its furniture, combs and all other necessaries. They were bound to continue the work for ten years from March 1620, to fill vacancies by death

among the masters by others as efficient, so that there should always be five masters, each qualified for six years in their craft. During the ten years they were to be responsible for the upkeep of their looms and other equipment. They were to employ fifteen persons to each loom for seven years at first, and thereafter for six years, providing them with meat, drink and clothes. They were to receive 'lasses and maidens' of nine years to serve at least three years, and, after the first year, to support them and supply wheels. Should they be kept for more than three years, they were to receive wages. Immediately after beginning the work, they were to receive ten poor persons gratis for three years, and after these another ten, the said poor to be supported for the first year by those who presented them. They were bound, further, to instruct all their apprentices, both poor and others, in all points of their craft, concealing nothing. They were to make their stuffs of the breadth and quality of Leyden stuffs and sell them according to the current monthly price of Amsterdam, at an exchange of 20s. Scots to 20 stuives. They were bound to bring their stuffs to the common hall of the burgh (to be built for that purpose), to be examined by the inspectors and sold to merchants and burgesses. If the stuffs were not sold fourteen days after their production, they were at liberty to export them at their own risk. They might not sell to any but merchants and burgesses under pain of confiscation, and sell only at the price set by the inspectors and the materials passed by them. Apprentices might be taken only if sent by the Council or with the Council's consent. And, after the expiry of the ten years, they must not leave the burgh, but remain and work, under the conditions stated as to quality and price, with the additional one that they were to undertake no private work.

The Town Council, for their part, bound themselves as follows: to furnish houses rent-free for seven years, thereafter for payment to be agreed upon: to admit the masters gratis to the freedom of the burgh, their apprentices to be admitted

as thereafter to be determined: to pay the masters 13s. 4d. weekly for each poor lad and provide a suit of clothes and two shirts for the first year: to supply bedding which the masters should keep in order: to pay William Dickson and the other masters £5000 Scots by instalments, viz. £1000 for their journey and the purchase of materials, £4000 at the commencing of the work and signing of the contract, of which £2000 was to be returned at the end of the ten years. Further, the Council arranged to have the sole choice of the inspectors of the work.

With so many conditions it would indeed have been surprising had the undertaking flourished. Doubtless the Council were genuinely anxious to find a solution for their problem of the support of the poor, but equally they were desirous to do nothing to damage their own interest as merchants. The expenses of the work proved greater than was anticipated, as also the requirements of the industry. A legacy to the work by William Maule was devoted entirely to repaying the cost of building houses and conveying the masters from Holland, in addition to the money provided by the Council. Another legacy by him of 1000 merks and one by William Rig of 625 merks disappeared in the work of equipment.

A further expense was incurred in February 1621 by the engagement of a dyer. Jeromias Vanderheill, 'colour master,' signed an agreement to serve the Council in dyeing stuffs in St. Paul's Work, both those belonging to burgesses and those made in the place, including clothes, stuff, stockings, yarn or wool. Among other conditions were those of receiving two apprentices and a long instruction as to the colours to be used and their price. In August of that year the collectors of the voluntary contribution in aid of the industry made their report. Of the sums promised for the drapery, £1402, 11s. 3d. was yet to be collected. The money received was handed over to the Treasurer of the undertaking. Throughout that

year and the next a few entries note the slow progress of the work. In July 1622, the Treasurer of the drapery had £546, 19s. 9d. in hand, six pattern pieces of stuff, and bonds to the value of £300. A new expense was incurred by the building of a calender mill, for which the Treasurer had to borrow an extra 500 merks. In April 1623 a curious unexplained state of affairs is recorded in an act of Council, threatening punishment to any who should entice away or reset children from St. Paul's Work.

The undertaking seems to have aroused little outside interest, for contemporary writers, with the exception of Calderwood, seem to pass it over. He only mentions it to complain of the scandal caused in 1621 by the Dutch and English weavers, who celebrated May Day games to which the population of Edinburgh seem to have resorted from curiosity.

In 1625 the undertaking seems to have changed hands. The Records give no indication as to the reason, beyond the appointment of a committee to inquire into and discuss the work with the managers, whose names are given as John Trotter, elder, David Jonkein, David McCall, David Murray, John and James Nairne. Collections for the use of the work diminished, the amount recorded in 1629 being merely £80, 0s. 4d.

The appointment of the new masters seems to have brought about a new order, and for a time the references to St. Paul's Work and the industry are obscure. The difficulty is caused by the introduction of a new institution, the House of Correction. How far it was synonymous at first with the woollen manufactory has, so far, not been elucidated to any satisfactory degree, for the two places became separate, if indeed they did not start as such. On the surface, it seems impossible that the magistrates could have imposed an institution like the House of Correction upon a semi-commercial undertaking, but then they did stranger things. And, on the other hand,

it seems impossible that there should have been two establishments for the manufacture of woollen goods on the same spot. The confusion straightens out a little in 1632.

Meanwhile, whatever the connection, the entries regarding Paul's Work manufactory continue. At the end of 1629 a committee of five members was appointed to supervise it. At the close of January 1630 its funds were increased by £94, 10s. 4d. collected from new burgesses. In February four wardens and inspectors of all stuff and clothes made there were appointed. An entry of March 1633 notes the provision of iron work for the houses of Paul's Work, 'without the house of Correction.' At this time money seems to have come in fairly regularly. The dues by new burgesses were paid over once or twice a year, while inhabitants of the burgh frequently left legacies of considerable size, or helped it during their lifetime with donations. The name of one man occurs several times: David Jonkeyne or Jenkin, merchant, gave 500 merks at two separate times that the interest of the money might be spent on the poor of the work. Other persons left sums large or small, of which more hereafter. Contracts seem to have been many and detailed. One was made in October 1641, between the Town Council and Robert Trotter, Thomas Leishman and others for five years. These men offered to keep sixty poor children at work and to pay four per cent. of the legacy of Robert Johnston, lent to them, to the parents of the children. They were granted the houses at Paul's Work, outside the Correction House and the houses at Bonnington Mills.

In January 1647 the Council met the tacksmen of Paul's Work to renew the tack. No conclusion seems to have been reached, for in 1649 a proclamation was issued, announcing the intention of setting a tack: 'ordaines proclamatioun to pas throw this Burgh be towk of drum to acquaint the Nighbours . . . taking into consideratioun the present condition of the manufactorie, how profitable the samen might be to

the Nighbours . . . if it were weill manadged. . . .' After some months' delay a tack was made to Robert Trotter, and the bailies were instructed to inspect the looms and other tools and report thereon. In June of the same year the collectors of the Town's imposition of the Merk per Tun and Pack of Goods were ordered to pay 500 merks for the use of Paul's Work, and in September the building was overhauled by John Mylne, the King's Master Mason, and an agreement made with him as to repairs, to the value of 400 merks. In 1654 a new tack was granted to Thomas Leishman and Robert Brown. In 1655 the executors of David Jenkin, having granted a bond for his legacy of £500, were authorised to present two poor persons to the manufactory.

If money could have made the place flourish, surely Paul's Work should have been a success. In September 1658 a committee was appointed to investigate the employment of a legacy by Robert Trotter to Paul's Work and Bonnington Mills of 4000 merks. This does not explain that only a small part of the mill lands was granted to the manufactory for certain processes in the work. In 1659 there is a reference to yet another legacy by Robert Johnston. In November of that year the Council considered alternatives to the policy of setting the manufactory in tack, having, somewhat prematurely, cancelled the existing tack; but they arrived at no conclusion.

In January 1660 a complaint was made by the deacons and brethren of the weavers and waulkers, which, all things considered, might well have been made sooner. They complained against the master of the Correction House and his servants, and against Paul's Work for taking in other folk's wool to spin and weave and their cloth to waulk. The Council apparently found the charge proven, and were in duty bound to support the crafts. Therefore the master was forbidden to use any wool but what he bought himself, and the weavers and waulkers were authorised to search the pre-

mises at any time for unfree work. Under such conditions it is hard to see how the industry could flourish. In May of the same year the Council of Paul's Work reported to the Town Council several recommendations for the improvement of the place. They suggested that a register should be kept of the legacies and other monies, among which they noted a bond of the Town's for 4000 merks, dating from 1645, David Jenkin's legacy of £500, Robert Johnston's of 18,000 merks, £400 given by act of Council in 1660, and David Cruickshank's legacy of £229. They suggested that a seat be provided for the children in the 'loft' presumably of Trinity College Church; that there should be five 'indwellers' in the Work, to whom the children should be allotted. Beds, they said, should be provided for the children. The boys should be prentices for seven years and the girls for five, more or less, according to their age on entry. The masters of the Work should be bound to teach the children 'all the poynts of their calling of spinning, fyning, weiving of stuffis or making of seyis,' and a man should be appointed to inspect the proficiency of the children. This, the Council approved, and the entry is valuable as differentiating between the two establishments, for apparently Paul's Work was a training school for the young and the Correction House a place for old and incorrigible vagrants, put to some work in connection with the same trade.

In 1664 an act of Council records an act of Parliament of Charles II. (12th June 1661) forbidding export of cloth unless made by a company and allowing such exports to be free of customs and excise for nineteen years.

There is a long gap in the history of Paul's Work in which nothing of interest is recorded. Then in May 1673 a further set of regulations was issued for the manufactory. Like other statutes in the Town's books, the frequency of their enactment is proof of necessity. These statutes are interesting as a last attempt to pull the establishment together and

to place it on a satisfactory basis. Ten years later the manufactory was replaced by another industry. The details of the new statutes show some care for the welfare of the children. These were to be drawn from burgess families, or the inhabitants of Leith, Canongate, West Port, Potterrow and other suburbs. Payment was to be made to the manufacturers of 2s. a day for burgess bairns and 1s. 6d. for others, and each was to be provided with a suit of clothes, two shirts, two pairs of stockings, a pair of shoes, two bands and a bonnet. Provision was made for the children after the expiry of their indentures: a boy, continuing in Paul's Work and able to spin fine wool, was to receive 2s. a day: a boy, serving out his indenture, was to be made burgess and any one born within the bounds of the burgh was to receive 20 merks to buy wool and a wheel. A certain amount of care seems also to have been enjoined for their health. The masters were not allowed to wash the wool or yarn in the house, but in the public close; they had to keep the windows in repair and the close clean, and had to see that the children had good and sufficient food, small drink and sufficient beds. The masters and their families were obliged to sleep in the place 'for preventing of casual accident.' In case of punishment, the Treasurer was bound to see that the masters and teachers did not put the children in 'Clogs'—the word does not appear to be in Jamieson's Dictionary—for longer space than their fault deserved, and that in the daytime only. For continuing the punishment by night the masters were to forfeit a quarter's pay. Attendance at the College Church and in the hall of Trinity College was exacted on Sundays, and the chaplain of the Hospital was to examine the children daily in presence of the whole family. There are other regulations anent admissions, payments and other matters, but these are the most important, and show a laudable attempt to make the place as efficient and as comfortable as possible.

Probably on the strength of these new statutes there was

a considerable number of admissions, and the records of 4th November 1673 narrate that the overseers presented twenty-two children of Paul's Work in good order before the Council, who returned hearty thanks to them for their faithfulness and diligence in their charge. An act of Council of November 1675 records an overture concerning Paul's Work for binding twelve burgess bairns yearly and for giving them 200 merks each.

Hereafter the history of Paul's Work was uneventful till 1681. Then an act of Council related the failure of the woollen manufactory except for a little spinning and making of stockings. This preceded the recording of a new tack to Thomas Kennedy and John Trotter of the houses of Paul's Work for a woollen or linen manufactory, with people sent from abroad, for teaching boys, girls and servants. As so frequently happened, there was considerable delay before the proposed reform was carried into effect. It was not till 1683 that the matter was discussed again. Then, in August, a proclamation was made, stating that the manufactory had proved of little or no use in the employment of poor boys, and that, in view of the new scheme of linen and silk manufactories by certain neighbours, it was proposed to transfer to that work and to those who should employ their stock in it, the use of the buildings of St. Paul's Work and those at Bonnington, formerly belonging to the manufactory of cloth, also the annual rent of the stock of Paul's Work, provided the undertakers engaged to employ as many young boys yearly at work as they could. On this occasion, as at the beginning, the Council seem never to have questioned their own right to divert the funds of charitable donors to purposes they considered suitable.

By September the tack had been made out to Kennedy and Trotter, according to the terms of the proclamation. The payment of the annual rent was granted for nineteen years, being the duration of the tack, and made retrospective to April 1681. Fountainhall, in his *Decisions* (vol. i. p. 709),

refers to an action of reduction of this tack pursued by the Town against Sir William Binny or Binning, and other partners of the linen manufactory in 1696, on the ground that the tack was contrary to the original donation. If the learned judge said so, presumably it is true, but it is difficult to assign a reason for it, as the Council had granted the tack themselves and had set the precedent of diverting the funds to that same use. Also in 1699 the Council came to an agreement with Sir William Binning and granted the tack.

There succeeded again an uneventful period in the history of Paul's Work. The Records note questions of finance, with which this article does not profess to deal, and regulations with regard to the children, such as the appointment of a teacher, late of Heriot's Hospital, to act under the chaplain, the provision of clothes and Bibles for the boys, and a report on their condition.

Sir Daniel Wilson, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh* (vol. ii. pp. 180-1), implies that the revenues of the work were dissipated on the various unsuccessful ventures. Much money undoubtedly was lost, but chiefly that collected or donated for the purpose. A note, found in the City's Miscellaneous Papers, referring to a new contract in 1720, gives some idea of the property belonging to Paul's Work. In addition to the houses and buildings there, Lord Forglen's park belonged to the Work and certain houses at Bonnington Mills, acquired by the Town from Logane of Bonnington in 1617. In 1697, the governors of Paul's Work had a charter of Sickman's Acre and Ferguson's Croft, roughly adjacent to Trinity College. The note goes on to state the revenue derived from various bonds, of which three by the Town Council amounted to £144, 8s. 0d. a year. Burgess dues averaged £9, 18s. 9d., while rents of houses and lands totalled £57, 1s. 8d. This note indicates that Paul's Work was at that time a woollen manufactory, at least in part, but that fifteen looms were assigned to the weaving of linen.

But the days of Paul's Work as a separate institution were numbered. In February 1750 the Treasurer of the Poorhouse was authorised to collect arrears of rents and to set the houses belonging to the place to the best possible advantage. This step is explained by an entry in the Council Records of May of the same year. It narrated briefly the founding and endowment of the hospital by the Bishop of Aberdeen and others, and its utilisation for the purposes told in this article, and went on to a proposal made by the Managers of the Charity Workhouse to train a certain number of orphans, male and female, in the Workhouse upon the funds of St. Paul's Work. The Council probably were weary of the repeated attempts to work their charity on an adequate financial basis, for it is recorded that they 'judged from the experience they have of the good management of the said Workhouse that this fund in their hands under the direction aforementioned is more probable to answer the good design of the donors than it has hitherto done in the hands of private undertakers.' Accordingly the funds of St. Paul's Work were handed over to the Treasurer of the Workhouse and his successors. The habit of the Town Council of hedging their gifts with many restrictions, the probable cause of the failure of all previous undertakings, remained with them till the end. They required that twenty children, from those entitled to the city's charity, and as many more annually as the funds could support, were to be admitted on presentation by the Town Council, either boys or girls, 'to be maintained, educate and trained up in the Principles of Religion and to labour and industry . . . under the name of the children of Paul's Work.' They were to be lodged apart from the other workhouse children, and to have a particular dress, the boys in dark grey cloth with metal buttons, the girls in coloured gowns laced with green. The boys were to be taught writing and arithmetic. The act continues, 'and so soon as they come of age that enquiry be made . . . into the genius, in-

clination and capacity of the several boys, that in case they do not incline to follow forth the manufacture in which they are to be employed within the house they may be bound out apprentices to such trades and occupations as their inclination and capacity shall point out as most proper for them,' a provision worth quoting for its astonishing open-mindedness. At the expiry of their apprenticeships, the boys were to receive a sum not exceeding five pounds, according to their good behaviour. Similarly the girls, two years after their departure from the workhouse, were to receive a sum not exceeding two pounds. It might be interesting to investigate the further history of these children of Paul's Work, but, the buildings having been abandoned, the actual connection, however slight, with Bishop Spence's foundation had gone.

#### CORRECTION HOUSE AND WORKHOUSE

In 1632 a lengthy act of Council, referring to the laws made both by Parliament and themselves for the suppression of idle vagabonds and the exceeding need for compelling them to 'betake themselves to sum vertew and lafull calling for winning of thair leiving,' proposed the establishment of a Correction House for a year. From the avoidance of any mention of the experiment of 1626, it is safe to assume that it was a failure. They proceeded to state that they had been in treaty with strangers 'who hes bein brocht up in the lyik housses abroad in uther countreyes.' The list of those for whom this place was to be established is all-embracing: vagabonds, sturdy beggars, idle and masterless persons, strong in body and able to work, 'above the aige of aucht yeiris and under the aige of threscoir yeiris, servands dissobedient to maisters and children dissobedient to parents, lewd livers, common scoldis and incorrigibill harlottes not amending to the ordinar discipline of the churche'—a wild confusion of offences with never a hint of segregation. These

were to be brought to the Correction House, to remain there 'according to thair merite.' They were to be compelled to work and to be supported by the Master thereof in such manner as he found their work to deserve. After consultation with the Kirk Sessions they agreed to expend 3000 merks for a year's fee to the Master of the new house.

The appointment was made on 25th August 1632 of a certain William Stansfield of Wakefield in England. The Council allotted for the residence of himself and his family the most easterly cross-house in St. Paul's Work, and for the House of Correction the two most easterly houses on the south side of the close of the said work. These houses were to be enclosed within a wall and the windows barred. A reference to the house 'buildit with the Kalendar mill' as a boundary of the wall shows the existence of the other establishment. The conditions under which Stansfield undertook the post are too many to rehearse, except very briefly. He had to receive persons sent by the magistrates to the number of fifty, to find work, food, tools and bedding for them. In addition to more or less incorrigible beggars he was bound to receive such others, young or old, as might be sent for a few days' imprisonment and punishment. The instructions provided for their spiritual welfare: one of his servants had to read prayers to them on Sundays. A clause provided for the contingency of an epidemic of any kind.

From the institution of the Correction House till 1656 the books of the Town Council record only the election of its Council and sundry repairs—the place had no history, but one may take leave to doubt whether it were happy. In 1656 six elders, approved by the Kirk Sessions, were to be added to the Council. In 1659 it was ordered that Robert Stansfield, keeper, son of William Stansfield, was to be allowed 10s. Scots weekly towards the support of each person in the Correction House.

Either this or another part of the building was used as a

hospital for the wounded of General Leslie's army during the campaign which preceded the battle of Dunbar, but we learn this from extraneous sources, not from the Records.

In April 1651 an act of Council enjoined the placing of a lock on a back door opening to the Canongate, the position of the door being found prejudicial to the Excise. It is surely pardonable to wonder whether the prisoners or the Keeper amused themselves with smuggling in drink. In 1675 the Committee, charged with inspection of the Correction House, was invited to visit it to find a suitable room for keeping 'distracted persons'—a proceeding which provokes new wonder as to what had been done with such people before. In 1683 the Kirk Treasurer was ordered to pay the Keeper 2s. weekly for keeping a 'distempered' person.

In March 1684 Robert Stansfield was succeeded by Robert Mowbray, who took on the post under much the same conditions. Some few weeks later the Council entered into a contract with him anent keeping the town free of beggars: to go into it in detail would be unprofitable, for the undertaking was no more and no less successful than former attempts. In October 1688 Mowbray was made burgess and gild brother for having kept fifty of Argyll's rebels, afterwards sent to Jamaica. How long were the wretched men confined there? Payments made by the Council were apt to be tardy, but the abortive rising of Archibald, Earl of Argyll, planned to coincide with the landing of the Duke of Monmouth, took place in 1685. Mowbray got his honours just in time, for, by the end of the year, the tables were turned and Argyll and his followers from rebels became martyrs in the cause of liberty.

Another change was made in 1690, when Alexander Watson became Keeper after the resignation of Mowbray. There must have been considerable difficulty in running the establishment during his tenure of office, probably on account of the expense of living, for no fewer than four increases in the

sum allowed for the maintenance of prisoners are noted. Reference is made in 1694 to the transportation of women from the Correction House to America. In 1710 the sole allusion to any form of industry is an act for repair of the dyeing house. It is far from satisfactory, for it has been impossible so far to ascertain whether the house maintained any connection with the adjoining manufactory.

There are frequent references to the Correction House from 1710 to 1748, when an agreement was made with the managers of the Charity Workhouse to house the occupants there pending other accommodation. Among the city archives is a manuscript, the *Book of the Committee for the Oversight of the Charity Workhouse at the Foot of Leith Wynd*. As to this place, most histories of Edinburgh, so far as can be ascertained, are silent. So far as the Council minutes go, it seems that the Workhouse and the Correction House were in close proximity, probably parts of the same building. The Keeper of the Correction House, Robert Paterson, was also Overseer of the Workhouse, so that we cannot be far wrong in surmising that they were both established in Paul's Work. That they were not entirely the same is proved by a minute of the Committee ordering that those detained in the Workhouse were, for a third offence against the rules, to be sent to the ordinary House of Correction. But, in spite of the evidence of the manuscript, it must be said that the Council Records appear to make no distinction between the two.

The book contains the proceedings of the Committee together with the accounts from 1731 to 1739. It opens with a copy of an act of Council of 24th March 1731, bearing that the Council and Justices of the Peace for the shire had ordered that all persons entitled to the charity of the city should, before 15th May, come and receive from the magistrates proper warrants for their maintenance in the Charity Workhouse, and that all vagrants found begging after that date were to be seized and taken there. Vagrants not entitled to the

charity of Edinburgh were to be confined in the House of Correction for thirty days on bread and water, and thereafter dismissed the town. The establishment was to be financed from funds provided by the New Gift of 2d. on all ale and beer, and, if the funds fell short of the purposes mentioned, £300 sterling was to be paid in monthly instalments. A Committee, composed of six members of the Town Council, three of the College of Justice and three justices of the peace, were to administer the place. Later, to these were conjoined members of the Kirk Sessions.

The Committee, by virtue of their powers, set about making rules for the establishment, proceeding first to a bill of fare for the occupants. By the niceness of its calculation and the extreme cheapness, it seems worth quoting *in extenso*. It was made up and signed by Hugh Cleghorn and Andrew Gardner, merchants, John Walker, skinner, and Archibald Punton, baker. Gardner, or Gairdner, was the founder of the Orphan Hospital. It is difficult to assess the nutrition contained in the diet set down, but it may be taken as fairly likely that it was no more than sufficient.

£ s. d.

Breakfast—After taking tryal how many Pynts of Pottage a peck of Oat meal at 7 pence per peck (the current price of Lothian meal this year) will make Its found that Ten Pynts of good Thick Pottage may be made of the said Peck of Meal which is sufficient to breakfast 24 Healthful Persons, inde . . . . .	0	0	7
To which adding twenty four half mutchkins Two penny ale which is reckoned sufficient kitchin for breakfast to said 24 Persons at ½d. per half-mutchkin	0	0	6
Total for breakfast	0	1	1

Dinner—For Dinner Its reckoned that Beef to the value of 18 pence will make Twenty four Pynts of Broth or Kail which is sufficient to serve 24 Persons two days. Inde for flesh per day . . . . .

	0	0	9
--	---	---	---

To make the said 24 pynts of Kail it will require Eight

pence worth of Barley or Grots and Greens, Being	£	s.	d.
per day . . . . .	0	0	4
For Bread to said 24 persons for two days 48 plack			
loaves is Reckon'd necessary, being 16d. which per			
day is . . . . .	0	0	8
Total for dinner (No Drink being allowed)	0	1	9
For Supper twenty four loaves as above is . . . . .	0	0	8
And Twenty four half mutchkins of ale is . . . . .	0	0	6
	0	1	2
Total per diem for twenty four persons . . . . .	0	4	0
which is Two pence per Diem for Each Person.'			

On this economical basis the establishment was begun. In October 1731 an agreement was made with the justices of the peace for the shire anent the numbers to be admitted, one fourth of which, being sixteen persons, were nominated by the shire. Long and copious details are given as to finance and the presentation of persons for admission, which need not be noted, and it is laid down that no one is to be released without a warrant from the magistrates.

In December of the same year it was reported by the weekly visitors that several persons were become very insolent and abusive, and frequently guilty of cursing and swearing. As a corrective measure it was ordered that, while the first offence might pass with a rebuke, the punishment for the second offence would be to have the daily allowance of food cut down by half, and for the third to be removed to the ordinary House of Correction. The same meeting of Committee ordered that every man was to have a clean shirt once a week, and that 8s. weekly was to be allowed for soap.

From 1731 to 1739 the book proceeds to give the accounts of the establishment, lists of all persons confined there and minutes respecting food, clothing and other expenses. The accounts, giving the number of persons supported, usually rendered for periods of two months at a time, would furnish

interesting statistics as to the number of poor and the length of their detention. To tabulate them is beyond the scope of the present article, but a few figures may show the numbers of vagrants dealt with. The greatest number of inmates at any time was 69, male and female, for November and December 1737, the least 15, in July and August 1738. There is reason to believe that, between these dates, an act had ordered the decrease. During the period of approximately eight years, 213 women were sent to the Workhouse. Of these one was an inmate for six years consecutively. The shortest period of detention was one day. In the whole time twenty-two women died and three were allowed to leave, but were sent back, presumably as being caught begging again. With regard to the men, there were 125 admissions: two men were inmates for the whole period recorded, and, as with the women, one day was the shortest period for which any one was detained. During the whole time there were seven deaths, of which two were those of children. Four men were discharged but re-admitted.

The accounts present the difficulty of fluctuation between the two currencies, Scots and sterling. It is provoking if any attempt is made to calculate costs seriously, but for a passing glance is clear enough. Some care has been taken to differentiate between the shares of the Town and the shire, but not always consistently. Roughly, the cost of board for the inmates seems to have been debited to the Town, while the shire was responsible for coal, light, washing, clothing, repairs, funerals and the escort of the Town Guard, needful for recalculants.

Though no more than a few examples can be given, the book presents much of interest. From it we learn that, in cases of sickness, an extra penny was added to the cost of the day's diet, though history does not relate upon what dainty it was expended. One woman was in receipt of this extra diet for months at a time. Once or twice a laconic 'Elopt'

closes the record of an individual, not grateful for the shelter and meagre diet afforded by the Workhouse, and others attained their last importance with the expenses of their funerals.

In September 1732 a minute recorded that Robert Paterson had given the poor their whole diet, that there was no complaint against him, and that he should be allowed £100 for his past services. Clothing seems to have been supplied fairly frequently, also coverings for the beds, of which the straw was renewed every two months. At one time there was laxity in that respect, and an inventory was ordered. It was also declared that none should be supplied except those who had an order from the weekly visitors. However, the latter were mindful of their duty, for in less than a year, the inmates were supplied amply with clothing.

In 1734 the overseer was allowed to take two boy inmates as apprentices, thus relieving the Town of the expense of their maintenance, in return for which the Council allowed them 40s. and a suit of clothes for each of the children. In the same year a complaint was made that, because there was only one door to the building which could not be kept shut, the inmates, allowed into the outer close to take the air, stole into the streets and remained out till nightfall. To prevent this a private door was made for Paterson, opening on the back of the Canongate, and the outer gate was kept closed. At the same time it was noted that the apartments, particularly the women's house, were much crowded 'which occasions a very nauseous smell,' and it was ordered that the house was to be cleaned at least three times a week. The upper rooms were to be fitted up and reserved for the sick poor alone.

A gap in the manuscript occurs after August 1736. It is accounted for by the death of Robert Paterson, and an act of the Town Council of 24th November 1736 appointed his wife, Agnes Potter, as Keeper. She carried on till January 1737, when John Home was appointed. He seems to have signalled

his advent by some very necessary work of repair, notably 'clengeing the well which has not been done for many years' at a cost of half a crown. But after February 1738 the number of occupants of the Charity Workhouse dwindled to about twenty, save for March and April 1738, when there were fifty-two.

The manuscript ends abruptly, and the Council minutes take up the tale. Many of them deal with repairs, so much so that it is hardly surprising to find an entry of 25th November 1747 anent a meeting with the Directors of the Charity Workhouse to discuss the building of a new Correction House. Here it must be noted that the new Workhouse near Greyfriars had been occupied in 1743, so that, presumably, Paul's Work had been given over to the Correction House alone. On 3rd February 1748 the plan for the new building was passed and the Treasurer ordered to pay for the same. On the same day an agreement was made with the managers of the Workhouse to accommodate criminals therein. On 29th June 1749 the Council decided to sell the old House of Correction by public roup, and in May 1750 other subjects belonging to St. Paul's Work, including houses in St. Ninian's Row and the buildings where the manufactory formerly was carried on, were disposed of in the same way. During the course of the year an inventory was made of the heritable property and bonds belonging to the 'Hospital called Paul's Work,' and the whole funds assigned to the Poorhouse.

But, though it might be possible to investigate the later history of the lands and the funds, with the passing of the actual buildings of Paul's Work out of the control of the Town Council, this narrative has a natural end. It is only an attempt to put together the more important stages in the history of the old Hospital of Bishop Spence, and still leaves untouched other manuscripts in the archives of the Good Town.

MARGUERITE WOOD.

## GABRIEL'S AND OTHER OLD ROADS

THE old roads to the south and east of Edinburgh are well known, but it is otherwise with those to the north and west, which, for a variety of reasons, have not received the attention they deserve. The accompanying plan indicates the locality of these old roads and paths. It has been compiled from a study of maps and surveys dating from the eighteenth and earlier part of the nineteenth century. Some have been published in the Royal Scottish Geographical Society's volume, entitled *The Early Views and Maps of Edinburgh, 1544-1852*,<sup>1</sup> but the remainder are in the custody of the Town Council, and are practically unknown. The following is a list of the maps and surveys consulted :—

- Plan of Edinburgh (about 1730).
- "    "    by Edgar (1742).
- Plan of 'Harriot's' and City Lands (1759).
- An anonymous Survey (1767).
- A composite Plan from surveys by Edgar, Wood, Ferguson, Robinson, and Scott (1774).
- Ainslie's Plans of 1780 and 1804.
- Knox's Plan of Midlothian, showing Belford Bridge (1812).
- Kirkwood's Plan (1817).
- Lothian's Plan (1825).
- Grainger and Miller's Survey (1828).
- Ordnance Survey (1852).
- Bartholomew's 'Chronological' Map (1919), valuable for outlying roads.

One of the most interesting and important roads during the period covered by this paper was that to Queensferry. Leaving

<sup>1</sup> The letterpress was supplied by the late William Cowan and Harry R. G. Inglis.

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the Old Town by the Lawnmarket, the traveller making for the Ferry descended the West Bow (A), with its quaint buildings, and, proceeding through the Grassmarket and the West Port, would, on emerging from the latter, turn sharply to the right and then to the left. After skirting the base of the Castle Rock, and mounting to the village of Kirkbraehead (B) (west end of Princes Street), he would pass along what is now Queensferry Street. The Earl of Moray's house would be on his right. At this point he would have a choice of two roads. Either he might descend the steep hill to the Water of Leith village, and proceed by Dean Path onwards; or (certainly in later times) he would go by the old Belford Bridge (C). After crossing that structure he would mount a steep hill, and then after passing Ravelston Dykes and Dean Park Farm (now gone), he would, by turning sharply to the left, reach the present line of the Queensferry Road (D). At this point the new Queensferry Road from the Dean Bridge joins the old road.

But, if instead of Queensferry, Linlithgow or Stirling was the destination, the traveller, on reaching Kirkbraehead, would turn directly to the left, and proceed by a road which was pretty much on the line of Shandwick Place, Haymarket, and Coltbridge.

Travellers coming from the west did not always enter the city by the Grassmarket and West Bow, but would, on arriving at Kirkbraehead, proceed by the Lang Gate, or Lang Dykes, to Multries Hill (E) (where the Register House now stands). At this point they would descend into the valley at the base of the Calton Hill, and enter the city by St. Andrew's Port (F) and the Nether Bow Port (P). There was also a path which led from Multries Hill across the valley to Halkerston's Wynd, the upper portion of which opened into the High Street. This path was very much on the line of the present North Bridge (G).

Early maps indicate two paths from Stockbridge by which

those who attended St. Cuthbert's Church might come. On the 1730 Plan of Edinburgh there is shown a path crossing the present Charlotte Square, and swinging northwards through what is now Moray Place and Doune Terrace, but on later maps another road is shown to the east of this one. It runs almost straight downhill, through what is now Wemyss Place. Part of this road still exists as Church Lane.

There was another road to the north of the city, whose associations were far from pleasant—Gabriel's Road. In 1717 it was the scene of a horrible murder, of which the curious may read in Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, and in the same author's *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (vol. iii. pp. 422-4). Lockhart, again, in *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* (2nd ed., vol. ii. pp. 196-201), devotes several pages to recounting the melancholy story, and says the road in which the crime was committed derived its name from the murderer. Another work called *Celebrated Trials* (6 vols., 1825) gives the murderer's name as Thomas Hunter. Both are erroneous. Whatever be the derivation of the name Gabriel's Road, it is in nowise connected with the murder. The crime was committed, not by a person of the name of Gabriel (as Lockhart would have us believe), but by a young man called Robert Irvine. But be the explanation of the origin of the name of the road what it may, Lockhart is convinced that Gabriel's Road is 'a more shocking name' than Muschat's Cairn in the *Heart of Midlothian*, though he is careful to indicate that this highway had other and less melancholy associations than those alluded to. From an 'archaic *jeu d'esprit*' he quotes the words, 'As thou lookest to the road of Gabriel and the land of Ambrose,' and adds 'that the last proper name is that of the keeper of a tavern.' This celebrated hostelry, the scene of the *Noctes Ambrosianae*, was situated at what may be called the town end of Gabriel's Road, now covered by West Register Street, though a small portion of the old road is represented by the lane leading to the head office of the Royal Bank.

In the eighteenth-century Directories there are numerous entries that mention Gabriel's Road. But all the houses in that thoroughfare were confined to the small area immediately west of the Register House.<sup>1</sup> Beyond it Gabriel's Road, according to a contemporary account, was 'a beautiful and sequestered footpath bordered by hawthorn hedges.' It seems to have been used as a kirk road to St. Giles' by those living at the hamlet of Silvermills, as well as by the inmates of Inverleith House. The return journey would be made either by Halkerston's Wynd or, in later days, by the North Bridge. At Multries Hill (E), Gabriel's Road would be entered, the slanting path at the Café Royal being the beginning of it. From this point the road crossed the Royal Bank feu, and passed behind the west side of Duke Street, where a wall between Abercromby Place Gardens and a private back green marks the line of the western hedgerow (H). Its breadth can be traced in the north wall of 16 Duke Street, and measures about 18 feet. For a considerable distance beyond this point Gabriel's Road can only be followed on maps. These show its course as far as Cumberland Street, where it turned westwards (J). It then swung round to the village of Silvermills (K). Gabriel's Road again comes into view as the western boundary of the Royal Deaf and Dumb Institution (L). It next appears to the east of Saxe-Coburg Place, and continues till it joins Glenogle Road (M). Then it crossed diagonally to the Water of Leith, where probably stepping-stones assisted the pedestrian to the far side of the stream (N). From thence there was a pathway to Inverleith House, which is shown on the plan of 1767 as well as on

<sup>1</sup> In Lockhart's *Life of Scott* (vol. v. p. 114) it is stated that during the spring of 1815 James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, 'was confined to his lodgings, in an obscure alley of Edinburgh, called Gabriel's Road, by a dangerous illness.' It must therefore have been in one of the dwellings referred to above that the poet stayed. From his lodgings Hogg issued his 'apologetic effusion' to Sir Walter Scott after the incident connected with the projection of *The Poetic Mirror*. The letter is dated 'Gabriel's Road, February 28, 1815.'

Ainslie's map of 1804. Gabriel's Road, it may be added, gave access to the old village of Broughton, the branch road turning to the right at Abercromby Place (H). From this point, too, a farm road seems to have gone in a westerly direction.

In Edgar's maps of 1742 and 1765, also in Ainslie's of 1780, there is shown a road which, after traversing the gorge between Multries Hill and the Calton Craigs, mounts the south-west portion of the Calton Hill. This road formed the approach to the old Calton Burial Ground (O) previous to its being divided by the making of Waterloo Place. This road still exists as the steep, winding thoroughfare beginning near the north side of the Regent Arch, and ending at the eastern extremity of Waterloo Place. On the left-hand side, as you ascend, are several blocks of old-fashioned houses, in one of which Burns's 'Clarinda' lived and died. Ainslie's map of 1780 shows paths encircling the Calton Hill.

The approaches to Leith also afford an interesting study. From Edinburgh the direct road was by the Nether Bow Port (P), Leith Wynd, St. Andrew's Port (F), and St. Ninian's Row, at the head of which was Leith Walk (Q), the shortest road for the pedestrian. In early days vehicular traffic went by Broughton Loan, at the foot of which a road to Leith branched off to the right (R). It followed much on the line of the present Bonnington Road. Broughton Loan, it may be added, led to the ancient Barony of Broughton (a portion of which still survives to the east of Broughton Market); also to Canonmills.

The Ferry Road to North Leith (S) is another old highway, being shown in the Plan of 1730. If, however, the traveller's destination was South Leith, or, if he was coming from the West country, he would pass through Kirkbraehead, and, proceeding by the Lang Dykes and Multries Hill, descend to St. Ninian's Row. Here he would turn sharply to the left and proceed either by Broughton Loan or Leith Walk.

Marked 'T' on the map is a road linking up Leith and

S

TO QUEENSFERRY  
DEAN

TO STIRLING

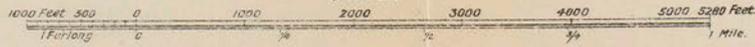
OLD ROADS & PATHS TO THE NORTH & WEST OF EDINBURGH.



To QUEENSFERRY  
DEAN PARK  
To STIRLING

T & A CONGTABLE LTD, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH

SCALE.



Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

Compiled by Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A. 1929.

Canonmills. This road, which united with Broughton Loan, was continued westwards on the line of Henderson Row to Stockbridge; and might further serve as a line of communication between Leith and the West country. One map shows the road which connected Leith and Canonmills joining Broughton Loan at what is now Heriohill Terrace, but as there was a sand mound immediately to the east of this point, it is doubtful if it came that way. It is possible, however, that this road may have skirted the base of the mound, and afterwards been brought into line with the road going west from Canonmills. To the north of this cross-road was another which followed the line of Glenogle Road (U). It led to the ford near Stockbridge, and thence to that village, by what is now St. Bernard's Row.

At Stockbridge several roads converged (V)—the kirk road to St. Cuthbert's; the two cross-roads to Canonmills; the road going west along what is now Raeburn Place; and the road through Dean Street, and past St. Bernard's Crescent to Ravelston Dykes.

Through the area covered by the roads to the north and west of Edinburgh, the Water of Leith pursues its course. As the water power of this stream was utilised by the mills along its banks, there was formerly a network of mill-lades, especially in the vicinity of the Dean Village. One of these still keeps the Water of Leith company down the valley from the Dean Bridge (Y). At Silvermills, in the old days, this lade divided, one part flowing straight to the pond at Canonmills, while the other, turning southwards, curved round in front of Fettes Row (Z), and then also emptied its waters into the pond. Broughton Burn, which may have had its source in the village of that name, has long been covered over.

All the roads and paths mentioned in this paper are plainly marked on the accompanying map, as well as others taken from the surveys, referred to in the preceding list.

## CHARLES II. STATUE, PARLIAMENT SQUARE

A SINGULAR interest attaches to the statue of Charles II. in Parliament Square. It is not only the oldest in Edinburgh, but probably the oldest lead equestrian statue in Britain. Though lead has long been used for statues, there are very few of that metal in this country, at least of the equestrian order, a fact which may be explained by their great weight being concentrated on the small sectional area of the points of support at the feet. If one leg is off the pedestal, the strain upon the other three is very great. Be that as it may, it is noteworthy that there are in Petersfield, Hampshire, and in Dublin lead equestrian statues of William III. which are markedly similar in design to that of Charles II. in this city. All three represent the rider as a Roman general wearing a chaplet of laurel. The legs of the figure are free of the horse, there being no stirrups.

The equestrian statue of Charles II. has been the subject of much antiquarian research, but the material afforded by the Burgh Records has never been fully drawn upon. Perhaps the most interesting fact that emerges is that, contrary to popular belief, the Statue was actually completed in the lifetime of the subject. Charles II. died on 6th February 1685, but exactly a month before, on 7th January, the Town Council, in view of the facts that 'the Kings ma'ties statu in mettall is radie to be pute up in the parliament closs'; that it is 'necessarie thr be ane handsome and fyne pedestill pute up whereupon the statu is to stand; and that ther maist be ane handsome ravell (railing) of good iron work pute about the same'—the Council recommended that Baillie Robertsons, Baillie Hammiltoun, the Dean of Gild Theasr,

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Deacone Watsone and Deacone Penman be empowered to bargain with James Smyth 'for the foot of work of the sd pedestill which is to be erected of the figure presented befor the Counsell.' It will be noted that Smyth was employed to carry out work connected with the pedestal. Robert Mylne, His Majesty's Master Mason, was responsible for the pedestal itself, and as the statue could not have been placed in position without it, the commission must have been executed while Charles II. was still alive.

The Council also instructed George Mitchell, Deacon of the Hammermen, 'speidilly to goe about the making of the said iron ravell that the statu may be erected befor his royall highnes' arriveall at this cittie.' Mylne's work on the pedestal would appear to have been proceeded with expeditiously, for on 13th February 1685 the Council authorised part payment to be made 'for erecting and building pedestill in Parliament Close, whereon the lait King's Majestie his statu is to be sett upon.' The railing round the monument was not completed till September. In the accounts of George Drummond, Treasurer of the City, for the year ending Martinmas 1685, occurs this entry:—

'Item to cash for the King's Statue in the parliament closs per act of Councill and a bill of Exchange drawn by Mr. James Smith for the samyne	£2,580	0	0
Item charges in shipping it		38	8 4
Item mony to Robert Milne, mason, for erecting the pedestill per act and precept		938	14 0'

In *Historical Notices*, under date 16th April 1685, Lord Fountainhall gives impressions of the monument as it appeared within a few weeks of its erection, though the wording of the entry might lead one to suppose that he had come fresh from the unveiling, if there was such a ceremony in those days. Anyhow, this is what Fountainhall writes:—

'The late King's statue on horseback, was erected and set up in the Parliament Crosse. It stood the Toune of Edinburgh very dear,

more than 1000lb. sterling. Some alledged, It was wrong placed, with the tayll to the great gate and image of Justice above the Parliament-[house] door. He is formed in the Roman manner, like one of the Caesars, almost naked, and so without spurs and without stirrups. . . . The vulgar people, who had never seen the like before, ware much amazed at it. Some compared it to Nebuchadnezar's image, which all fell doune and worshipped; and others foolishly to the pale horse in the Revelation, and he that sate theiron was Death.'

Four years later the Statue was viewed approvingly by a famous English traveller, Thomas Morer. He writes: 'The pride of Edinburg (*sic*) is the Parliament-Yard or Close, as they call it. In the midst whereof is the effigies of King Charles II. on horse-back, a well-proportioned figure of stone, and natural enough.'<sup>1</sup>

The next entry in the Records occurs on 6th November 1689, when the Council considered a claim for payment at the instance of William Clerk, advocate, who had been commissioned to compose the Latin inscription which appears on the pedestal. In his petition Clerk mentions that in 1687 Sir Thomas Kennedy, who was then Provost, ordered him an abatement of 'ane hundered thirtie one pounds, being a year's cess of his land in Ed' fra Martimes 1686 & Witsonday 1687.' This cess the collectors 'since that tyme' had never demanded, the petitioner having paid 'the current cess ever since preceding Witsonday last till of late he had quartered souldiers on him for that year's cess w<sup>lk</sup> the supplicant thought should hav been allowed to him as a gratuitie for the inscription.' Clerk therefore petitioned the Council 'to allow abatement to him of the sd. year's cess of Martimes 1686 &

<sup>1</sup> *A Short Account of Scotland*, London, 1715, 12mo. Portions of this interesting work are reprinted in Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*. Morer had not observed correctly, for he says the Statue was of stone. In *A Journey Through Scotland*, by J. Macky, 1723, reference is made to the 'fine Square' behind St. Giles', and to the 'Equestrian Statue of King Charles the Second in the middle.' Thomas Carlyle, again, in his *Reminiscences*, alludes to the 'sublime Horse-Statue in Parliament Square,' of which, however, he confesses that he has a very faint image.

Witsonday 1687 as a gratuitie for the sd. inscription.' The result of this petition was that Clerk was allowed 'ane hundred merks Scottis.'

By 1732 the Statue, which is of cast lead and supposed to be of Dutch origin, was in need of repair. Attention was again called to its decayed state in 1755, 1766, and 1767, but apparently not till 1785 was the work taken in hand. In 1767 the Statue was given a coat of white paint, and in September 1786 three guineas were expended so that it might receive three coats of 'strong paint.' On the former occasion, the author of *Dorando* (James Boswell) sent the following verses to the *Caledonian Mercury*, which appeared in the issue for 26th September 1767:—

'Well done, my Lord, with noble taste,  
You 've made Charles gay as five and twenty,  
We may be scarce of gold and corn  
But sure there 's lead and oil in plenty.

'Yet for a public work like this  
You might have had some famous artist.  
Tho' I had made each Merk a Pound  
I would have had the very smartest.

'Why not bring Allan Ramsay down  
From sketching coronet and cushion?  
For he can paint a Living King  
And—knows the English Constitution.

'The milk-white steed is well enough  
But why thus daub the man all over  
And to the swarthy Stuart give  
The cream complexion of Hanover?'

By 1817 the Statue had again become dilapidated, and repairs were undertaken. The Dean of Guild, in reporting the completion of the work, mentioned that the east end of the pedestal had been designed for an inscription tablet, but

if one ever existed, it had disappeared. Accordingly, the aperture had been finished off in ashlar so as to harmonise with the rest of the pedestal. Later, however, he stated that the tablet bearing William Clerk's inscription had been discovered while cleaning a vault under the Parliament House, and that it 'had been lodged in safety.' At the request of Lord Provost Kincaid Mackenzie the tablet was restored to its place at the east end of the pedestal, and at the same time a copy of the inscription was inserted in the Minutes of Council, together with the following translation: 'He (Charles II.) squeezed, bruised, and crushed the Basilisk (i.e. rebellion) in the very eggs'—presumably a reference to the rising of the Covenanters. This, however, is only a portion of a very grandiose inscription which, so far as is known, has never appeared in print. The following is a translation:—

TO THE MOST AUGUST, MOST MAGNIFICENT  
CHARLES THE SECOND  
OF BRITAIN, FRANCE AND IRELAND,  
MOST INVINCIBLE MONARCH

Whose birth Divine Providence smiled upon at the same moment as a noonday star was seen. Who, after passing his youth on the field of battle under his father until his father's execution, claimed his right, vigorously indeed but unsuccessfully, for two years: for, being oftener unequal to victorious Rebellion, he was forced to go into exile for nigh ten years. But in foreign lands he was shielded and watched over by heavenly guards [despite the compacts, deceits, threats and arms of the Usurper]. At length, like as the Sun issues more clearly from the clouds, returning to his Kingdom, he recovered his rights without bloodshed. He set up, enlarged, established and confirmed Church, Civil Polity, Peace and Commerce. Then, in the Dutch War, he at once became illustrious: between neighbouring warring nations he was Arbiter of War and Peace. And at last the old Rebellion breaking out again, he, by the help of Pallas, not of Mars, choked, crushed and trampled underfoot the Basilisk in the very eggs.

To him, therefore, the Chief of Wonders, Highest in Peace and Glory, [this monument is dedicated].

Why was the inscribed tablet removed from the pedestal and hidden below the Parliament House? An answer is suggested by an account of the Statue written in 1821, and quoted in 1824 by a writer in the *Courant*:—

'The tablet containing the inscription had been removed from the pedestal during some parts of its history when the expressions it contains would prove disagreeable to the ruling party. . . . The injury which this fine structure has sustained seems to have arisen from the freedom used with it every year, for a long period, during the life of the late King, on the 4th of June, when boys were allowed to go up and decorate the whole with flowers and garlands which were fixed by nails driven into the lead, and thus moisture was admitted and the metal destroyed.'

In 1824 the Statue was again requiring attention, the internal supports having given way. On 18th August the Council authorised the Superintendent of Works to take down the Statue, and report as to its condition. The date of this decision is interesting, being taken shortly before the great fire which occurred in November of that year, when the greater part of Parliament Square and the whole of the south side of the High Street, as far as and including the steeple of the Tron Church, were destroyed. Some prints of the conflagration show the pedestal without the Statue, and it has been assumed that horse and rider were removed hastily to save them from the flames. But as the Statue is ten feet high and weighs probably six tons, it is obvious that its removal must have been slow. In any case, the fact that the fire was not the occasion of the removal is made clear by a Minute of 5th December 1832, when steps were taken for again setting up the Statue 'which had been removed during the operations on the surrounding buildings.' Further, in May 1825 the sum of £32, 18s. 2d. was paid to David Macgibbon as 'wages to policemen for watching King Charles' statue from September 1824 to February 1825. Eventually the Statue was removed to the Calton Jail, where it lay for

ten years. Here is a detailed account of this episode taken from a newspaper<sup>1</sup> cutting, dated July 1829 :—

'Some time ago the Statue was taken down, in consequence of an apprehension that it might fall. Shortly after, Mr. Westmacott,<sup>2</sup> the sculptor, being in Edinburgh, was consulted as to the best mode of repairing the figure of the horse, and he recommended that the limb, which had been forced upwards from pressure, should be removed, and a new one made. This was opposed by Mr. Brown, the Superintendent of Public Works, and Mr. Robert Selater, then Deacon of Hammermen, who were of opinion that the defective part of the limb might be forced out by internal percussion; and with the assistance of Mr. Dick,<sup>3</sup> veterinary surgeon, this plan was successfully carried into operation, and the horse was restored to the fine symmetry it originally possessed. In order to guard against the effects of external pressure in future, it was proposed to put a strong iron frame within the horse, which is a mere shell, and to fill the inside with a composition, to prevent water injuring the frame. The Statue was for some time kept in a temporary building in Parliament Square, but in consequence of the alterations on St. Giles', it was found necessary to remove it; and it was intended to lodge it in the garden behind Bridewell,<sup>4</sup> but on its being conveyed thither on a carriage, it was discovered that the gate was not high enough to allow it to pass; for the height of the horse, from the fore feet to the top of the ear is eleven feet. As the jail gate is higher, it was taken thither, and placed in the courtyard. It is said a temporary erection is to be constructed to protect the Statue until the repairs on St. Giles' and the buildings in the Parliament Square are completed. At a meeting of those having an interest in the subject, the general feeling was that the Statue should be again put up in the centre of Parliament Square. The pedestal on which the Statue formerly stood has been taken down within these few days.'

A new one was then built, into which the old inscribed tablet was inserted. The work was completed in 1835, when the Superintendent of Works expressed thanks to Convener Dick 'for his kind and gratuitous services in superintending

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the title of the newspaper has not been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Westmacott (1775-1856). He was knighted in 1837.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the founder of the Veterinary College.

<sup>4</sup> This building occupied part of the site of the Calton Jail.

the repairs on the horse, whose symmetry had been rendered more perfect than ever by his attentions.'

On 12th May 1835 Henry Cockburn saw for the first time 'the second Restoration of Charles II.' In his *Journal* (vol. i. p. 95) he writes: 'A very respectable piece of Art. The horse had cracked at the fetlocks, but his legs are now mended, and his other frailties soldered, and his inside is sustained by a strong muscular system of oak, so he is expected to defy the weather, and remain sound for another century.' The original internal framing of the horse's body was probably of iron, as is the case with regard to the contemporary lead equestrian statue of William III. at Petersfield. If so, the oak frame referred to by Cockburn dates only from 1835.

The prediction that the repairs carried out in that year would keep the Statue 'sound for another century' was not fulfilled. Repairs were again necessary in 1877; but these seem to have been of the nature of patchwork. At any rate, in less than fifty years the monument had become so unsafe as to necessitate repairs of the most drastic character. In 1922 the Statue was removed from the pedestal, and, under the superintendence of James A. Williamson, City Architect, assisted by Henry S. Gamley, R.S.A., the eminent sculptor, subjected to restorative treatment so thorough that Cockburn's expectation has now some prospect of being realised. In the course of the operations an opportunity was afforded of studying the structural features of the Statue. These were carefully noted (as well as photographed), and the following is a summary of what the examination disclosed :—

The figure of Charles II. seems to have been cast in one piece and soldered to the body of the horse. Both the lower portion of the rider's body and the upper portion of the horse's back are hollow. As regards the figure of the animal, several castings have been necessary. The central portion of the belly is cast in one piece; the hinder part of the body, including the legs, in another; and the front portion with the head and the upper parts of both forelegs, in a third.

The lower parts of the front legs appear to have been cast separately, likewise the tail, which is connected with the body by an iron dowel. The shell at the near hind quarter is from  $\frac{3}{8}$  to  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch thick. The inner surface was covered with a thin coating of plaster of Paris.

The internal oak framework of the figure of the horse was found in perfect condition. It consists of two longitudinal bearers which fit closely to the outline of the back. These rest on short uprights placed at the ends. The uprights again are supported by short horizontal beams fitted to the outline of the lead. These are imbedded in resin, which in some parts is fully six inches thick. From the longitudinal bearers spring four cross-bearers which are also shaped so as to fit closely to the back.

The lower part of the near hind leg was found to be supported by an iron bar sunk into the stonework to a depth of nine inches. The upper end consisted of two fangs connected with a solid bridge of lead that overlapped the iron. As the thickness of the bar was quite insufficient for its function, besides being much corroded, a new one of similar design but of greater sectional area was substituted. The lead encasing the near foreleg bore traces of such frequent mending that it had to be strengthened. It was also found that while the iron bar, supporting this part of the body, had sufficient section longitudinally, it had not enough lateral thickness. The bar, therefore, was reinforced with iron plates. In the case of the foreleg which has to carry the whole weight of the front part of the horse and rider, evidently the lead was mainly relied on for imparting the necessary strength, the metal being harder than the lead encasing used for the other parts of the horse. The internal surface of the body of the animal was found absolutely dry.

The present pedestal is of Craighleith stone, the whole being treated in a broad and dignified manner. The panel inserted in the east end is of marble. It bears a long Latin inscription, the incised lettering of which is particularly noticeable.

E. J. MACRAE.

#### THE INCORPORATION OF CANDLEMAKERS OF EDINBURGH, 1517-1884

‘NO more interesting chapter in the history of Edinburgh,’ writes Sir James D. Marwick,<sup>1</sup> ‘could be written than that which would describe the gradual development of these crafts . . . their incorporation by means of seals of cause granted by the magistrates; the constitution of these subordinate incorporations; their struggles to participate in the management of the common affairs of the burgh; and the steps by which they laboriously gained their object.’ A sketch of the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh on the lines indicated by Sir James Marwick is now possible, owing to an enormous quantity of documents relating to this Craft, together with a continuous record of its existence from the year 1736, having been recently bequeathed to the National Library of Scotland. All this material has been examined by the writer, and the main result of his researches is here embodied. It should be explained, however, that notwithstanding the formidable bulk of the papers, there are wide gaps in the earlier history of the Candlemakers, arising chiefly from the want of the Minutes. An exhaustive narrative is therefore impossible. None the less the material available is ample for the purpose of this article, which seeks to outline the story of the Incorporation by affording a description of its constitution, rights and privileges, its relations with other crafts, its attitude towards national issues, and, above all, the part it played in the social and industrial life of the city.

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*, 4to, 1909, p. 39.

## I

The Candlemakers occupied a distinctive position amongst Edinburgh crafts. Though an ancient Incorporation (a fact duly attested by a Seal of Cause, dated September 5, 1517, confirming the brethren in their rights and privileges), it was throughout the greater part of its history without civic status. Along with the Barbers, the Candlemakers stood apart from the fourteen Incorporations constituting the Crafts of Edinburgh. They were not included in the Decree Arbitral of James VI., dated April 22, 1583 ('The Sett of the Burgh,' as it is familiarly called), which is equivalent to saying that they had no part in the joint affairs of the Incorporated Crafts, and were not represented in the Convenery.

The isolated position of the Candlemakers has been attributed to a dispute between the merchants and the craftsmen which occurred in 1582.<sup>1</sup> But some time before that date the Incorporation was regarded as inferior to the others. This, however, was not due to any feeling of hostility on the part of the crafts constituting the Sett. On the contrary, they made repeated attempts to obtain for the Candlemakers a voice in the municipal government. For example, on September 30, 1564, the Deacons of the fourteen Incorporated Crafts petitioned that the Deacon of the Candlemakers might, in respect of the Seal of Cause of the Incorporation, share with them the responsibility of electing officers to the Town Council; but they met with a rebuff. The city fathers refused the petition on the ground that the occupation of candlemaker was unworthy of a Deacon.<sup>2</sup> Five years later (December 2, 1569) the petition was again presented, and again refused, because there was no evidence to show that there had ever been a Deacon of the Candlemakers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Colston, *Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *City Records MS.*, vol. iv. pp. 111-112.

<sup>3</sup> *Extracts, City Records*, vol. iii. p. 266.

But however we may account for the persistency with which the Town Council subordinated the Candlemakers, there can be no doubt that this Craft was a thriving one for three hundred years. As far back as the reign of James IV. candle-making gave employment to a considerable portion of the community. One of the earliest references (probably the earliest) to the Craft occurs in a Seal of Cause granted to the Fleshers on April 11, 1488, where it is ordained that no craftsmen, candlemakers or others, should use the Craft, except sons of freemen of the Craft. From that period until the introduction of gas-lighting early in the nineteenth century candle-making was one of the most flourishing of Edinburgh crafts.

Great improvements have been effected in modern times in the manufacture of candles as the result of scientific chemistry, but until almost the end of the eighteenth century, when spermaceti was introduced, tallow and wax, principally the former, were the only materials employed. Tallow candles were of three kinds. First of all, there were the 'Dips,' which were made by stretching a number of wicks upon a suitable frame, so that they might hang at a distance from each other equal to about double the intended thickness of the candle. The wicks were then dipped in a trough of melted tallow, and, after being cooled, were dipped again and again until the required thickness was obtained. Mould-candles, on the other hand, were cast by pouring the tallow down a pewter tube, along the axis of which the wick had been previously fixed. Wax candles, again, were not moulded on account of the contraction which wax undergoes in cooling, and the difficulty of drawing it from the moulds. The wicks were warmed and suspended over a basin of melted wax, which was poured over them until they acquired the proper thickness. They were then rolled in a hot state between two flat pieces of smooth hard wood, kept moist to prevent adhesion. It is important to bear in mind these facts if certain passages in the following narrative are to be understood. Candlemaking in the old days

may have been remunerative, but it was obviously an unpleasant occupation. Indeed the stench incidental to the processes of manufacture was so abominable that, as will be indicated, the industry was ultimately relegated to the outskirts of the burgh.

## II

While the records of the Candlemakers begin with the year 1517, the Craft as a corporate body is older. The Seal of Cause unambiguously assumes pre-existence. Though this document is usually referred to as a primary charter, it is really a Charter of Confirmation. The Seal of Cause was granted, in response to the 'supplicatioun' of the Candlemakers, for 'the conforming and keping of thair statutes and rewles, maid for the common weill of this burgh and King's lieges reperand thairto, accordand and conformand to the *awld statutes and privileges that thair had* of the provest, baillies and counsal of the said burgh' of Edinburgh.

The Seal of Cause also furnishes evidence that the Candlemakers, like the other Incorporated Crafts of the sixteenth century, were in bondage to mediæval custom, that the industry was encircled by a network of corporate and local restrictions.<sup>1</sup> Every year the craftsmen were to choose a Deacon from amongst those who were freemen and burgesses of the town. This official was 'to rewle and conforme the said craft in all guid rewle.' Only freemen, or the wives of freemen, could be masters and 'set up buith,' an achievement that was linked with the payment to 'Sanct Geil's wark' of 'half a merk of syluer.' Candlemakers were also to contribute to the 'beylding and uphalding of the Licht of ony misterfull alter within the College Kirk of Sanct Geill, quhar the

<sup>1</sup> For a full description of the constitution of the Crafts, and the position and rights of members, see *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*, by Sir J. D. Marwick (1909). Interesting particulars will also be found on pp. 11-56 of vol. vi. and pp. 26-27 of vol. xiv. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

said deykin and craftismen thinks maist neidfull, and half ane Mark by and quhill the said Craftismen be furnist of ane alter of thair awin.' Nor did this end the obligations to religion. Each master and occupier of the Craft was to give ten shillings annually 'in the honour of Almichtie God, and of his blissit mother, Sanct Marie, and of our patrone Sanct Geil, and of all sanctis of heaven' for the 'furthering of ony guid reparatioun, ather of licht or of ony other neidfull grayth . . . within the said College kirk.' In the case of non-compliance the Deacon and the rest of the Craft were to 'poynd with ane officer of the toun,' and cause the offender to 'pay ane pund of walx to our Lady Altar, quhill thair get ane alter of thair awin.'

The rules and restrictions pertaining to the secular sphere are set forth with scrupulous care. The Incorporation, loyal to the mediæval conception of trade, aimed at establishing a monopoly in the manufacture and sale of candles within the burgh, and all their regulations were framed with this object. Craftsmen were to refrain from sending 'ony lads, boyes, or servands opinlie upon the Hie-gaitt with ony candill to roup or to sell in playne streitts, under the payne of escheitting of the candill, and paying ane pund of wax to our Lady alter.' A second offence incurred heavier penalties, and a third resulted in the delinquent being punished by the Town Council. It was lawful, however, for each master to have a servant who would 'gang honestlie throw the toun with creill and stufe to furneis his callands with,' but not 'to rowpe tham opnly to sell.' The servant was to 'beir on his creill his maister's merk, to ken him and his stufe.'

Further, it was unlawful for a candlemaker to take an apprentice for less than four years, or to take the apprentice of a brother craftsman without permission. Then, with a view to maintaining the standard of craftsmanship, it was decreed that masters must produce 'guid and sufficient stufe,' 'honestlie handlit,' and worth the money. All women except

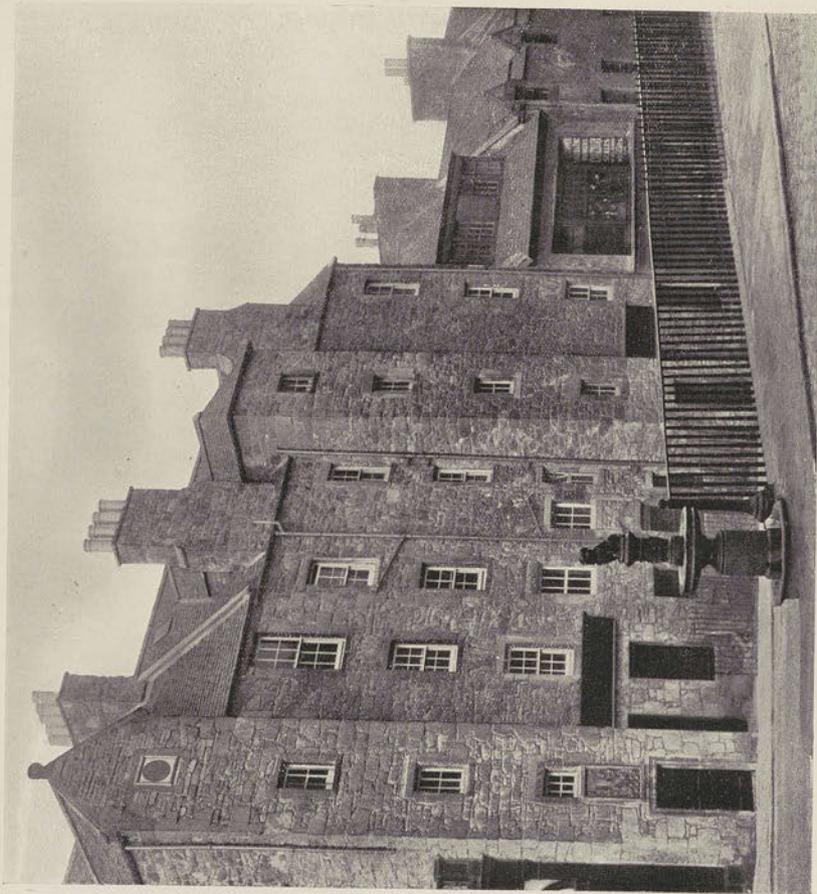
freemen's wives were to be 'expellet the said craft.' Rights and privileges were for freemen alone, and those who did not qualify must remain servants and were forbidden to set up a booth. Those, again, who had completed their apprenticeship were to work only to a member of the Craft 'unto the tyme that thay be redde to wirk thair awin wark and to be fremen of the town.' Such are the characteristic features of the constitution of the Incorporation of Candlemakers.

The Seal of Cause was ratified by James VI. in a Letter of Privilege, dated May 4, 1597. In the seventeenth century, however, the Craft became conscious that their rights and privileges were being minimised if not ignored, and steps were taken to vindicate them. On September 2, 1668, and again on September 27, 1693, in response to representations, the Town Council passed Acts in favour of the Incorporation. Their position was further strengthened by an Act of the Scots Parliament, dated July 17, 1695, confirming and ratifying the Letter of Privilege granted by King James. In spite of this legislative enactment and their own Acts upholding the rights and privileges of the Craft, the Town Council, early in the eighteenth century, challenged the position of the Candlemakers. This led the craftsmen to raise an Action of Declarator in the Court of Session, by whose decree of July 4, 1716, all their ancient rights and privileges, exclusive of their having a representative in the Common Council, were confirmed.

### III

It is unfortunate that the Minutes of the Incorporation as far as the year 1736 have been lost. The earlier portion of the history of the Candlemakers has therefore to be pieced together from occasional references in the Burgh Records and by gleanings from the enormous quantity of papers of the Craft in the National Library of Scotland.

While it cannot be precisely determined when the Incor-



CANDLEMAKERS' HALL, AS RESTORED

poration took its rise, it is certain that, as already indicated, candlemaking was being carried on in Edinburgh in the reign of James IV. Allusion has also been made to the fact that tallow was then the principal ingredient and that the process caused a stench which at times was intolerable. It is therefore not surprising that the early entries in the Burgh Records should deal with this nuisance. On October 3, 1505, the melting or rinding of tallow in 'fore housis on the hie gaitt' was forbidden, the penalty being 'escheitt of the stufe.' In February 1557-8 the President of the Court of Session had evidently complained of the smells caused by candlemaking, for there is a quaint entry from which it appears that the Town Council ordained Thomas Mow and Elizabeth Nudry, his spouse, 'to abstene, desist, and ceis in all tyme cuming fra all melting of ony crakkings of talloun within thair bak hous or ony vthir houssis liand in William Huchesonis clos sa lang as maister Henrie Sinclair, dene of Glasgow, president of oure Souerane Ladeis counsall and sessioun, remains within this burgh, for avoyding of the corrupt and ynhalsum air cumand thairthrow to my said lord presidentis hous.' Towards the close of the same century complaints of rinding and melting of tallow in 'forebuithis and forehoussis contrer the statutes of the toun' were still vocal. On March 14, 1592-93, candlemakers were warned that they would be fined if they allowed the 'savour' of their trade to 'cum to the Hie gaitt, Kowgaitt or common streits.'

But the Town Council were insistent that the finished article should be above suspicion though they banned the noisomeness attending its manufacture. Candles must be of 'guid and sufficient stufe bayth weik and talloun,' and must be sold 'na derare than for iijd.' the pound (October 30, 1508). Rigorous fines were imposed upon craftsmen who sold their wares above statute price, and the frequent mention of the subject rather implies that the practice was common. Similarly, candlemakers must have 'thair ballandis and wechtis' always

ready, so as to be able to sell in pounds and half pounds. Defaulters were to be punished, the penalty to be increased for each offence (October 8, 1529).

The large quantities of tallow consumed in candlemaking brought the Craft into close relations with the Fleshers, and, as the sequel will disclose, the two Incorporations were constantly at variance, the one accusing the other of infringing its rights, or of taking an unfair advantage. On May 4, 1526, it was ordained that the Candlemakers 'sall extent and beir all portable chairgeis with the . . . flescheouris, because it wes vnderstand that the said candilmakeris was in vse till extent and be with the saidis flescheouris in tymes bygane.' In 1579 the relationship of the two groups of craftsmen was invested with a sombre touch, for on May 22 the Fleshers came under obligation to furnish the Candlemakers with a mort cloth.

'The haill members of our said Craft (Fleshers) Binds and obliges us that the said Mort Cloth shall be furth command to all and Sundrie the Dead Corps of the said Candlemaker Craft, as well as to the Corps of our Defunct, for their honourable convoy to buriall.'

The Fleshers were not to sell tallow to strangers but only to 'nychtbouris and to the Candlemakers,' but an Act of the Privy Council, dated December 28, 1693, permitted unfreemen and country fleshers to sell outside Edinburgh. Tallow was also the cause of a dispute with the Cordiners, an echo of which is heard in an entry in the Burgh Records for October 15, 1548, where it is declared that Candlemakers buy 'na kitchein fie nor paynsche tawche (tallow) in hurt of the occupatioun of cordiners.' By an Act of the Town Council (April 20, 1546) craftsmen were to be fined who carried 'ony candill owtwith the towne to sell in landwart.' Decrees in similar terms were issued in 1551, 1553, 1554, and 1555. Neither candles nor tallow were to be transported abroad; and in 1581 a royal licence granting permission to transport was actually renounced. But in spite of the embargo the offence was widely

prevalent, and sometimes caused a local scarcity of candles and tallow. The penalty in 1590 was £10 Scots, but it seems to have had little effect. In 1594-95 it was discovered that 'ane intollerabill quantity of maid candill' was being 'transportet furth of the realme' that had been 'maid and furnist be the candill makers of this burgh, quhairby the derth of talloun and candill is greittie increst.' Consequently, the Magistrates on January 15 summoned the members of the Craft and compelled them to promise that in future they would not 'dispone . . . abone the quantity of six stayne at anes without speciall licence' from a bailie. By 1623 the regulation was so far relaxed as to allow of the disposal of twenty stone of tallow.

There appears to have been a good deal of illicit candlemaking carried on outside the Town Wall, the produce of which was shipped abroad. On December 11, 1583, a group of candlemakers 'dwelland in St Mary Wynd' were obliged 'to withdraw thame selffis, houshald and famileis, and dwell within the wallis of the town,' that thoroughfare being 'ane suspect pairt for randing of talloun and sending the sam away furth of the realm, to the greitt hurt of the King's Graces lieges.' One of the offenders was John Dudgeon, who was ordered to remove 'furth of the place quhair he dwellis vpoun the town wall in Leyth Wynd.' Here also abode Henry Wilkie who, exercising his craft in similar circumstances, was ordered, on March 9, 1603, to 'remove his famile and warkhous furth of the said wynd and cum and dwell . . . within the portis of this burgh.'

But the Town Council sometimes rested from their labours of imposing what to interlopers at least were vexatious restrictions, and turned a sympathetic ear. On January 6, 1579-80, the Craft petitioned to be freed 'fra all poynding . . . for ony sovmes quhairto they war extented be the merchantis . . . in-safar as they war subiect to beir all portabill charges with the . . . fleschour craft,' and the city fathers, taking into consideration that the Candlemakers had 'na vther tred to leve

by,' decreed that they 'sall be extentit with the saidis fleschouris, and that sic of the candilmakeris as vsis ony tred of merchandise lyke as thay have bene in all tymes past subject to extent with the merchantis sall pay extentis with the merchantis alsweill for tymes bygane as to cum.'

In December 1668 the Town Council ordained 'the haill Candlemakers of the burgh' to keep three market days each week—Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday—the market place to be betwixt Niddry's Wynd and Blackfriars Wynd, and the 'mercatt time' to be between 'nyne hours in the foirnoon and two hours in the afternoon.' Neither the Candlemakers within the burgh nor those coming from Dalkeith and other places in the neighbourhood were to sell their produce 'upon the Streetts or in the weighous or any uther publick place of the City (the Candlemakers of the city ther shops being excepted) bot upon the said mercatt days' under the pain of 'forfaulter of ther candle' and a money penalty. This Act and another in similar terms (passed on December 12, 1683) was the result of protests by members of the Craft, who, having enjoyed several 'very ancient privileges' relating to 'ther trade of making candle,' were injured by the promiscuous selling of candles within the burgh.<sup>1</sup> Nor was the vigilance of the Craft limited to seeing that the stranger within the gates sold only upon market days. It was insisted that his goods be of the best quality; and in order that this obligation might not become a dead letter, the Magistrates were petitioned 'to send ane visitor throw the Mercats to try the sufficiencies of all Candle that shall be ther presented.' The 'visitor' (what would now be called an inspector) was to be empowered 'to confiscat any candle that shall be found insufficient, and [to] apply the one half thereof for the poor of the Candlemakers and the other half to the use of the hospitall within this city.'

<sup>1</sup> An interesting commentary on this action is afforded by an entry in the Minutes, dated May 6, 1766, where it is recorded that a quantity of candles taken from hawkers were given to the Clerk of the Incorporation 'as usual.'

In 1693 the Incorporation was greatly perturbed over the action of the White Paper Manufactory. This Company claimed to have made great progress in the making of white paper, and, for their encouragement, craved that a considerable duty should be imposed on imported paper, likewise that an Act of the Privy Council, 'lately impetrat by the said White Paper Men,' be declared to have the effect of an Act of Parliament. This proposal gave much offence to the Candlemakers, who had already suffered at the hands of the White Paper Men. Notwithstanding that by 'immemorial use and wont' the Incorporation had had the right of 'making Rage-weik-Candle, as an Advancement and good to their Craft and matter of great Contentment and Conveniency to the Leidges,' the Paper Company had 'in a most Clandestine manner' obtained a measure 'discharging the Candlemakers from all further . . . making of Rages . . . under severe Pains and Penalties.' The Incorporation regarded this fresh attempt at legislation on the part of the Company as likely to end in a further encroachment on their rights and privileges, and resolved to frustrate it by every means in their power. A war of pamphlets ensued. The case for the White Paper Manufactory was bolstered up by 'fallacious and frivolous arguments,' and, if successful, would 'sett up and establish the said White Paper Company upon the Ruines of the Candlemaker Craft, and that most wrongously and unjustly.' Besides, the inhabitants of the burgh were 'better served with Ragg-weiks than any others, as affording the absolutely clearest Light.' Then, as a parting shot, it was urged that the Candlemaker Craft was 'more universally useful . . . and more absolutely necessary to the Nation than that of Paper.' This 'designed Monopoly' caused much searching of heart for several years, and the pamphleteering war was still proceeding briskly in 1700 when the Incorporation issued a spirited reply to the arguments of the White Paper Manufactory. How it all ended has not been ascertained, but the episode is typical of the tenacity with which the Candle-

makers held to what they conceived their ancient rights and privileges.

## IV

But this contest was of minor importance in comparison with the protracted and at times embittered controversy waged with the Fleshers—a controversy carried on in defiance of the elementary principles of political economy, for it occurred before the days of Adam Smith. As we have seen, tallow at that time played so important a part in candle manufacture that the dependence of the craftsmen on the Fleshers was vital. The Candlemakers therefore procured certain privileges from the Town Council, the object of which was to safeguard their industry by securing a steady and plentiful supply of tallow. One statute prohibited the selling of this commodity in open market, a matter on which the Incorporation laid great stress. Only after the Candlemakers had been served were the Fleshers entitled to sell tallow to all and sundry. Nor was this the only restriction. The Fleshers were bound to dispose of tallow to the Candlemakers at prices fixed by the Town Council. In 1693 the price of rough tallow did not exceed 48s. Scots per stone, and as this figure was lower than could be obtained from outsiders, the Fleshers naturally chafed at the regulation, and repeated and insidious attempts to evade it were a fruitful source of friction. One method employed to circumvent the Candlemakers was to mix offal with the balls of tallow ('flesh or insufficient stuff' is the phrase used in the Records), a subterfuge which led the Craft to propose that one of its members should be appointed 'searcher,' *i.e.* to see that what was offered by the Fleshers was the genuine article. It is noteworthy that so late as 1810 the Candlemakers corresponded with the Fleshers regarding the appointment of searchers of rough fat, and that in 1826, when the Fleshers proposed the discontinuance of the office, the Candlemakers declined to return an answer till the former established a regular and

proper market in which tallow would be exposed for sale. Finally, in 1829, the Candlemakers appointed a committee to wait on the Fleshers with reference to the searching of tallow.

Convinced that without tallow of good quality their trade was gone, the Candlemakers throughout a long period bombarded the Town Council with complaints of the inferior tallow offered by the Fleshers, while the real substance was finding a market either beyond the burgh or in foreign countries. The Fleshers vigorously took up the challenge and sought to demonstrate that they were the injured party. The Candlemakers, it was averred, were charging high prices, but it was answered that if there was a 'heightening of the rate of the candle,' it was due to the 'unreasonable exactions' of the Fleshers in the matter of tallow. In 1712 the Procurator Fiscal took action against the Incorporation for charging 'extravagant prices,' which resulted in the Town Council issuing a proclamation regulating the price of candle as well as of tallow, non-compliance with which incurred a penalty. Three years later, the Fleshers were flagrantly defying the municipal statutes, and the Candlemakers obtained a Declarator restraining them from rinding of tallow. The judgment of the Court also declared that the Town Council could compel the Fleshers to sell tallow to the Candlemakers to be consumed within the burgh as well as fix the price. But this decision was reversed by the House of Lords on June 29, 1715. After the triumph for the Fleshers matters seem to have quietened. Not only did the Magistrates cease to fix the price of candles; they encouraged the Craft 'to buy and make good Work in expectation of a better price.' The Fleshers, again, were at liberty to sell their tallow to whom and at what price they pleased, or, if they did not get the price they wished, they could rind the tallow and send it to foreign parts. In 1784 the Candlemakers were again ventilating an old grievance—the 'mixing of offal and refuse' with

rough tallow and the selling of this substance as the genuine article. The complaint evidently was well established, since the Fleshers ordained that any freeman-member found guilty would be liable to a penalty of £12 Scots for the first offence, £24 Scots for the second, and £36 Scots for each additional offence.

There was more than a suggestion of inconsistency in the fact that while the Craft kept a watchful eye lest any person who was not a member should make or sell candles within the liberties of Edinburgh, it was not averse to importation of the goods for hard cash. If it be true that in 1704 James Hardie, journeyman to the Incorporation, bound himself not to make or sell candles in any part of the suburbs nor within five miles of the city under a penalty of 500 merks Scots, it is equally true that in 1710 the Incorporation granted a 'tolerance' to John Moffat, candlemaker, Musselburgh, for payment of £16 yearly. In other words, Moffat might import candles into the burgh without being interfered with, though he could not set up a booth or sell to retail shops.

## V

It cannot be definitely stated when the Incorporation was first established in the thoroughfare that has long borne the name of Candlemaker Row, at the head of which stands the Convening Hall with its quaint frontage and moulded doorway above which is displayed the arms of the Candlemakers, their motto, *Omnia manifesta luce*, and the date 1722. Most likely the craftsmen fixed their quarters in this locality early in the seventeenth century. Previously their workshops had been situated in or near the High Street, but the unsavoury smells connected with candlemaking caused the Town Council in August 1621 to pass an Act enjoining the members of the Craft 'to provide themselves of Houses, for melting of their Tallows and Cracklings, at some remote parts



CANDLEMAKERS' CONVENING HALL, SHOWING INSCRIBED PANEL

of the Town, from the Common Streets, Closes and Vennels of the same.' At this time the locality which came to be known as Candlemaker Row was not regarded as part of the burgh, and the Magistrates allotted it as 'the most proper place for the Candlemakers.'<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of the Minutes of the Incorporation for this period it is difficult to say how far and precisely in what circumstances the terms of the Act of 1621 were given effect to. Gordon of Rothiemay's Plan of 1647 shows no buildings in the above-mentioned area, which seems to indicate that the removal of the Candlemakers, if it actually took place, was of a temporary character. Probably, too, the Act, for reasons which cannot now be stated, was not made obligatory on all members of the Craft. Anyhow the industry was being carried on in other parts of the town in the middle of the seventeenth century. One candlemaker, Thomas Burne, had his premises in Forrester's Wynd. On October 24, 1654, a fire occurred in his workhouse, which destroyed much property. This calamity led the Town Council to appoint a committee to consider ways and means of preventing 'the danger of fyre by removeing of candlemakeris and brewers of quaavitæ to corneris, and for provyding of watter spowttis and uther instrumentis and things relating to the safetie of the toun.' The committee recommended that the Candlemakers should be segregated in the Muck Port in Leith Wynd, but the latter petitioned in favour of a piece of waste ground at the Society Port 'betwix the porter's house, doun along the kirkyard dyke to the Greyfreir gate, for against the east end of the kirk, for workhouses for melting tallow and making

<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the eighteenth century the craftsmen for some reason temporarily removed their workshops from Candlemaker Row, which caused 'the proprietors of Brown's Buildings' to raise an action in the Court of Session. As the MS. from which this information was abstracted is torn, the result is unknown, but there is this note: 'Altho the Candlemakers are advised by their Counsel that this action is not well founded, yet as the pursuers seem determined to distress them, it becomes necessary for them in their defence to know every particular that may lead to defeat of the action.'



candles, and to keep shops in the town for selling them.' The Town Council gave a favourable answer, and so, for what appears to be the second time, the craftsmen settled in the locality which has in all likelihood borne the name of Candlemaker Row ever since. It is worthy of note that whereas in 1621 the Craft was enjoined to remove to this suburban portion of the town on account of the abominable odours incidental to candlemaking, the second migration was brought about by a disastrous fire.

The Convening Hall (admirably restored, and likely to remain for long one of the historic buildings of Edinburgh) is unquestionably a most impressive relic of the Incorporation of Candlemakers. Hitherto comparatively little has been known of its history, but among the papers in the National Library is the contract for the erection of the building. It is dated April 11, 1722, and the contracting parties are William Braidwood, Boxmaster to the Candlemakers, and James Watson, late Deacon of the Masons of Edinburgh.

Watson binds himself 'to build a sufficient stone tenement' consisting of 'four storries from the ground betwixt the Candlemakers land in the Candlemaker raw on the south syde and Hendrie's land on the north syde, and that with a Stone Turnpyke and a moulded door at the entry to the Turnpyke, and an moulded [shield ?] for a coatt of arms, and three windows for light in the Turnpyke.' Then follows a description of the four stories. The ground one is to have 'a large door and two windows fronting the [street] and to be made levell in height of the joisting and flooring with the floor of the first storrie in the Trades land on the south.' The second storrie, besides having 'a large door with two large windows . . . fronting to the fore streett,' is to be provided with 'two large windows fronting to the Grayfriars Kirkyeard, and to be made levell in height and flooring with the second storrie in the sd. Trades land.' The third storrie is to conform to the style and dimensions of the second, while the fourth, as the

'Conveening house to the Trade,' is 'to be of height six foott in the syde walls above the floor of the third storrie, with two large windows fronting the fore streett and two large windows to the sd. Kirkyeard of the manner of storm windows.' In 'the building up the north gavell' the mason is 'to carry up in each storrie above the ground storrie two sufficient vents, four whereof to be Square Jamms, and the Conveening house vent to be a Concave Chimney.' Then the hearth floors are to be hewn and laid. The contract ends thus:—

'For the which Causes the sd. William Braidwood, for himself and as representing the sd. trade, hereby obliges himself to pay to the sd. James Watson the sum of Two hundred pounds . . . so soon as the sd. tenement . . . shall be sufficiently built and finished in the manner above men<sup>td</sup>. And to furnish to the sd. James Watson, Stones, Lyme and Sand allenary to the effect a. men<sup>td</sup>. upon the Trades own proper charges and expenses. And both parties oblige them to perform the premises . . . under the penalty of one hundred pounds Scots money.'

The Convening Hall, which, as the building contract mentions, is on the fourth floor of that portion of the Candlemakers' tenement nearest the entrance to Greyfriars Churchyard, is a square, oak-panelled apartment stretching the whole width of the building, and, as we have seen, lighted from both sides, each having two large windows. The view from those in the rear is particularly fine. In the foreground is Greyfriars Church with its rural setting, while beyond the houses on the south side of the Grassmarket the eye is attracted by the lofty grandeur of the Castle. The members of the Incorporation, sitting in their Convening Hall, must often have looked upon this scene, and as they contemplated its sublimity, perhaps the tongue of faction was occasionally hushed.

The restoration of the Convening Hall to its original state has brought to light an interesting feature which links the apartment with the interior of the Magdalen Chapel, the meeting-place in the old days of the Incorporation of Hammermen. In the Hall are arranged in chronological order

twelve inscribed panels containing, in letters of gold, records of benefactions in the form of legacies to the Incorporation of Candlemakers. The panels are painted on the oak paneling, and all are placed as high up as possible. They do not extend round the apartment, as might be imagined in the case of an Incorporation with so protracted a history. Some explanation, however, is afforded if the panels be regarded in the same light as those of the Hammermen—as palimpsests. In several instances there are distinct traces of the inscriptions that are now visible having been superimposed on earlier ones. Each states the amount of the gift, also the date of the death of the testator and his age. The wording of the inscriptions as well as the character of the lettering is quaint, yet it is possible to discern a certain uniformity, which gives colour to the view that the panels were executed about the same time.

One point to be specially observed is the limited period covered by these recorded benefactions. The earliest panel bears the date 1685, the latest 1798, whereas the panels of the Hammermen extend from 1555 to 1813. In only one panel does the term 'Candlemakers' appear. Another notable feature is the relative insignificance of the sums bequeathed. Three craftsmen left 100 merks each, and other three half that amount. The largest donation is £200 Scots. Most of the benefactors died young, five before attaining the age of fifty-two. William Cochrane lived but twenty-seven years. As these panels shed an interesting light on the history of the Candlemakers, they are here transcribed with the exception of one which is largely obliterated.

D<sup>n</sup> ALEXANDER  
several times Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
100 merks.  
He died on 19<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>  
1685  
aged 51 years

ROB<sup>r</sup> HENDRY  
several times Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
50 merks.  
He died on 12<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>  
1696  
aged 58 years

JOHN FRASER  
late Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
100 merks.  
He died on 26<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>  
1708  
aged 31 years

JOHN LISTON  
late Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
50 merks.  
He died on 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup>  
1710  
aged 37 years

WILL<sup>s</sup> MOFFAT  
several times Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
L200 Scots.  
He died on 23<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>  
1737  
aged 64 years

JOHN FERGUSON  
who was several times  
Boxmaster to the  
Incorporation left  
to the poor thereof  
00<sup>1</sup> Scots which  
was paid by Marg.  
Mathison his relic  
of Edin<sup>b</sup>. Died Jl. [July]  
1748 aged 58 years

<sup>1</sup> Figure indecipherable.

WILL<sup>s</sup> COCHRANE  
left to the poor  
of the Incorporation  
50 merks.  
He died on 6<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup>  
1710  
aged 27 years

ROB<sup>r</sup> LIVINGSTON  
late Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
100 merks.  
He died on 24<sup>th</sup> July  
1711  
aged 45 years.

JA<sup>s</sup> BRAIDWOOD  
several times Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
L100 Scots.  
He died on 12<sup>th</sup> June  
1742  
Aged 62 years

JOHN SPROTT  
several times Deacon  
of the Incorporation  
left to the poor thereof  
L100 Scots.  
He died on 18<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup>  
1779  
aged 79 years

ALEX<sup>s</sup> STORIE  
late Deacon of the  
Candlemakers  
Edin<sup>r</sup> left to the poor  
of the Incorporation  
100<sup>li</sup> Scots  
who died 28<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup>  
1798  
aged 73 years

Besides the tenement containing the Convening Hall, the Incorporation at one time owned virtually the whole of the property on the west side of Candlemaker Row. These buildings were used by members of the Craft, partly as workhouses and partly as dwellings. In the Minutes and miscellaneous papers there are numerous references to transactions in connection with these 'lands.' In 1680 the Town granted a lease 'for two 19 years' to George Mathie, candlemaker, of 'two Houses and Candlemakers Shops or workhouses then possess by him lying in Candlemaker Row.' Another lease was granted in 1683 to James Wilson of a piece of waste ground, described as part of Candlemaker Row, on which to erect a dwelling, and a workhouse for manufacturing candles. This property was purchased in 1709 for behoof of the Incorporation. In 1718 the Craft granted a lease to John Sampson 'of that Candleshop or workhouse with the Dwelling house and pertinents above the same built by Walter Guthrie, candlemaker, and formerly possessed by John Smith, candlemaker.' We also hear of the Town Council in 1744 disposing to the Incorporation for £95 sterling three tenements in Candlemaker Row, in which freemen were accommodated with workhouses.

In a Summons for Reduction at the instance of James Thomson against the Incorporation, dated December 10, 1851, full and interesting particulars are given of the properties on the west side of Candlemaker Row. The description is as follows:—

'(1) That tenement of land, consisting now of three shops and two flats above, with garrets, lying immediately to the north of the eastern entry to the New Greyfriars Church and Burying Ground, and which was several years ago erected and since improved by the Incorporation, and on the site of subjects described as that ruinous tenement and ruinous shops or candle-shops of the same, lying immediately under the north side of the entry to the Greyfriars Church. . . .

'(2) Those two tenements of land lying on the west side of the Candlemaker Row, commonly called Henry's and Binnie's Lands, many years ago rebuilt, and consisting each of a shop flat and three flats above, and entering by two common stairs; and which tenements were erected on the sites of what in the ancient titles are described as Henry's Land, and also that other tenement called Binny of Nisbet's Land.

'(3) That new-built tenement consisting of a shop flat and three flats above lying on the west side of Candlemaker Row, and bounded on the south by the Harrow Inn and on the north by William Lamont Scott's tenement, and which new tenement was erected by the Incorporation on the site of the candle-shop with dwelling house above built by Walter Guthrie, candlemaker, and as sometime possessed by John Smith, candlemaker.'

It is quite apparent from the Minutes that the Incorporation often found the management of their property burdensome. In 1775 the craftsmen presented a petition to the Dean of Guild Court, which stated that they suffered 'very great Inconveniences for want of water, none being nearer to them than that of Bristo Street on the south, and the Pipe at the foot of the Row on the north.' They therefore proposed 'upon their own Expenses and upon their own Property, near to the door of the workhouse possess by Robert Sprott, to dig for and sett down a well. . . . They likewise Proposed to put and keep up a Pump and cover over the same, so as no person could receive injury thereby.' Then in 1788 the Town Council declared their intention 'to bring forward the Gateway or Entry to the Grayfriars Churchyard' whereby access to the upper portion of the Incorporation's tenement would be shut up. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to watch over

the interests of the Candlemakers. Further trouble arose in 1797 through a decree of the Dean of Guild Court 'to have the back windows of the Houses belonging to the Trade, and looking into Grayfriars Churchyard, shut up or secured by Iron Bars or Stanchells, . . .' This, the Incorporation contended, would empty the houses of their tenants and thus decrease the revenue of the Craft. In 1807 the Candlemakers, believing that 'a tenement next to the Customer's Lodge, Bristo Port,' which for some time had been possessed by the Town, belonged to them, requested the civic authority to produce its titles. Whether these were forthcoming has not been disclosed, but in the case of non-production the Craft indicated their willingness to sell the property to the Town on reasonable terms.

## VI

No records exist of the early meetings of the Craft in their new Hall at the top of Candlemaker Row, which, it may be added, continued to be the meeting place until the middle of the nineteenth century, by which time the doom of the Incorporation was sealed. The Convening Hall, as has been mentioned, was erected in 1722, but the Minutes that have been preserved do not begin till 1736. The first fourteen years are therefore a blank, though certain miscellaneous papers supply an inkling of what was then happening. The early Minute Books, it must be confessed, are not enlivening reading. Like most documents of the kind, they are dry and verbose, devoted largely to routine business, and to serving up wearisome details of squabbles, or of methods to be pursued in order to preserve ancient rights and privileges. They shed comparatively little light on the social life of Edinburgh. The year 1736 witnessed the Porteous Mob, yet the barren pages of the Candlemakers contain no reference to an event which set the whole city in an uproar. But if the early Minutes are for the

most part strictly confined to the internal affairs of the Incorporation, we are occasionally rewarded with an item which imparts a touch of human interest and, it may be, humour, as, for instance, the injunction to the Boxmaster 'to put up the tenn Commandments in a broad near the chimney piece,' presumably of the Convening Hall (July 29, 1740). But this salutary decision was surely nullified by another taken at the same meeting—to lay 'asyde of the Reading of prayers at publick meetings.' Then there were the delinquencies of Deacon James Braidwood, by whose 'malicious information' the Incorporation was, in 1741, 'fined each in £500 Scots for melting of tallow in their workhouses in the Candlemaker Row,' likewise for using the presses for boiling purposes. Braidwood also transgressed by bringing a 'strange nottar publick' to the Convening Hall, for which he was fined £3 Scots, the money being given to the poor.

In 1743 the Candlemakers were in low water financially, and there was a call for economy. Repairs upon property and loss of rents—together with public burdens and ancient debts—all pointed to the necessity of following 'more regular and frugal methods.' Six years later, however, the Incorporation had sufficiently recovered to be able to allow journeymen £3 Scots for drink, though with the injunction that they were to be 'home at their master's house at or before ten o'clock at night.' Probably another sign of reviving strength was the fact that on December 20, 1750, it was decided to subscribe £100 sterling to the Edinburgh Chamber for the White Herring Fishery. Again, on June 18, 1762, orders were given for the making of eighteen new chairs to replace those in the Convening Hall, which were 'much failed.' The new chairs were ready by the following September, but the members, finding that they did not answer the purpose, instructed the Deacon and Boxmaster 'to converse with Mr. Heriot who made them' with the object of providing another set of chairs more to their liking. But Heriot felt aggrieved, and failed to produce

the 'pattern chair.' Consequently, it was decided to employ another wright to make the chairs 'according to the pattern formerly agreed upon.'

Down to a period when the advances of science made the business of candlemaking no longer profitable, the Incorporation did all that was humanly possible to establish a monopoly within the burgh. Reference has already been made to this matter, but it is an aspect of the activities of the Craft so prominent in the Minutes that it deserves fuller treatment. If war was not being waged on the Fleshers, the 'outlander' who dared to make or vend candles within the city bounds was being relentlessly pursued. In 1726 the Incorporation petitioned the Town Council to debar unfreemen from commencing business in Leith. They also desired it to be declared lawful for apprentices and journeymen to seize candles imported by unfreemen.

So late as 1809 the Candlemakers complained to the Magistrates that their privileges were being invaded by William Bell, one of the members, Daniel Bell, his father, and William Lloyd, 'servant and shopkeeper to the saids William and Daniel Bell.' To the 'great hurt and prejudice' of the Incorporation, William Bell, it was declared, had two candle shops—one near the Netherbow, which Lloyd kept, and the other at the west end of the Luckenbooths, the profits of each being shared by William Bell and his father. The former had frequently been admonished at meetings of the Craft to forbear such a practice, but the only result was the obliteration of his own name from the front of the shop at the Netherbow and the substitution of his father's, and then of Lloyd's. The latter denied that he was the servant of either of the Bells, and explained that he had hired the shop at the Fountain Well (Netherbow) from William Bell at a rent of £20, 'for the purpose of selling snuff, tobacco, soap, blue, candles and other groceries.' The Bells, who were convinced that 'a few individuals of the Society' had displayed 'a ceaseless ill-will

against them,' repudiated any connection with the shop at Netherbow.

In 1785, when it was found that Charles Wallace, late merchant in Edinburgh, an unfreeman, was not only manufacturing candles but selling them in a shop in the Grassmarket, the Deacon and Boxmaster requested him to desist. Wallace refused, and was prosecuted. The same fate overtook, in 1799, other 'two Encroachers on the privileges of the Trade'—Christopher Armstrong, candle and soapmaker, near Dalkeith, who had opened a candle shop in Blair Street, and Robert Ross, hailing from Leith, who sold candles in premises at the Cross. Hawking candles from door to door, whereby 'a great facility is afforded of disposing of candles which have not paid duty,' was another serious offence. In 1815 the Board of Excise was requested to enforce the law by directing the officers to seize all candles found in the possession of hawkers and to prosecute the offenders. It was also complained that the duties on candles had not been properly levied from 'several manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh and Leith.'

A typical example of the spirit in which the Candlemakers went about their prosecutions is furnished by a letter of protest written by two members (a father and a son) in 1807. Both were indignant that their privileges should be invaded by 'a set of men, who are perfect strangers, and have not the shadow of a title to any such immunities.' In particular, 'Mr. Sanderson, emboldened by the perfect impunity of our culpable neglect,' did not hesitate 'to avow his purpose of contending with us single-handed.' If not checked his career threatened to end in 'the total subversion of every distinguished privilege belonging to the Corporation of Edinburgh Candlemakers.' Apparently the writers were not conscious that the Craft was already on the decline. If there had been 'culpable neglect,' it was because the 'rights and privileges' were no longer worth conserving.

It is significant of the value attaching to membership of the Incorporation that at so advanced a date as 1800 the entry money was raised. Apprentices serving for the freedom were in future to pay £30 sterling, and the sons and sons-in-law of freemen £20 sterling. In 1808 the entry money for apprentices was further increased to £50, while that of 'the sons or husbands of daughters of freemen' was augmented in a 'rateable proportion.' Increased entry money notwithstanding, the Incorporation in 1802 came to the conclusion that for the avoidance of 'the hardship of contributing three guineas to a publick dinner on occasion of the entry of a member,' this function should be dispensed with. Three years later, however, public dinners were again in fashion, the Boxmaster being authorised to pay five guineas towards an Election dinner instead of three guineas, the sum formerly allowed. These banquets, it would appear, were not always conducted with decorum, for on September 16, 1815, 'Mr. Neilson' reported that at a recent 'convivial meeting' of the Incorporation 'very improper language' had been used. It was therefore decided to expel from such meetings any member guilty of this offence. In 1829 'Mr. Charles' protested against money being spent on dinners, but did not find the brethren sympathetic. In less than a twelvemonth he again lifted up his voice in the same strain, and again went unheeded, £3 being voted for a dinner. This was in June, but in September there was a change of front. Many houses belonging to the Incorporation were unlet, and the arrears of rent were large. Accordingly, 'Mr. Rae' moved that there be no dinner on the occasion of the re-election of the Deacon, in which proposal the Incorporation prudently acquiesced. In the last years of their history the craftsmen usually dined in the Harrow Inn in Candlemaker Row, but the earlier functions were probably held in a tavern in the High Street. Here is the bill for a dinner held on September 16, 1769:—

A good hindquarter Mutton boiled with carrot, turnip, etc.	}	£1	7	6
A back . . . roasted beef w <sup>t</sup> potato				
A Pigeon Pye				
Four Ducklins roasted				
A Solon Goose				
Bespeaking Dinner . . . . .		0	10	0
Punch . . . . .		0	12	0
Port in Negus . . . . .		0	17	6
Port Wine . . . . .		0	6	0
Porter . . . . .		0	0	8
Brandy . . . . .		0	1	4
Biscuits etc. . . . .		0	1	1
Cook and [—] . . . . .		0	0	3
		£3	16	4

The Incorporation early appreciated the value of insurance. In 1740 instructions were given 'to insure the Trades lands' without delay. From that time onwards there were frequent transactions with local insurance companies. In 1809, there being a considerable sum in the 'strong box unemployed,' at least twenty shares were taken in the new Hercules Insurance Company, £200 being advanced for payment thereof. Six months later an order was given for the 'insurance of £4000 on Trades lands' with the same Company, and subsequently £50 was spent in insuring the furniture of the Convening Hall. In 1824 the Incorporation took fifty shares in the newly founded Scottish Union Insurance Company.

## VII

Nothing in the history of the Candlemakers is more creditable than the liberal spirit they generally displayed towards charitable and philanthropic enterprises. Besides supporting the poor who had a special claim on their bounty, the brethren held out a helping hand to many a worthy cause. In 1740

twenty shillings sterling was paid to the poor of the Episcopal clergy, and in 1763 the Candlemakers shared with the Sett of the Burgh the expense of prosecuting the governors of George Heriot's Hospital for neglecting their duties, representations having been made that 'Mr. Rothead, late Treasurer thereto, had run in arrears about £1000 sterling,' mainly owing to the accounts not being regularly settled.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, when John Campbell, 'tenant of the Convening room on Sabbath evenings for teaching poor children,' asked to be relieved from paying a half year's rent, in respect that the school had been in abeyance during that period, the Incorporation agreed. In 1812 the use of the Convening Hall was granted to the famous Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson (afterwards of St. George's Church but then of New Greyfriars), for the purpose of holding a 'parochial Institution School.' Nor did the Incorporation turn a deaf ear when the Rev. David Dickson applied for a subscription on behalf of a committee for preventing contagious fever among the poor; five guineas were sent. In 1817 a bargain was concluded for the presentation of a girl to the Merchant Hospital at £200, and in 1824 ten guineas were subscribed in aid of the sufferers 'by the late calamitous fires in the city.' It must be recorded, too, that the Candlemakers were among the original subscribers to the Royal Infirmary. In 1737 the Incorporation had under consideration an appeal from the 'Managers of the Surgeons' Hospitall off Edinburgh,' to the following effect:—

'That whereas your Petitioners have with much Pains and Expence set on foot a Charitable Hospitall for the Recovery of the Diseased Poor. And as we are now undertaking to Build a house for that Purpose, we hope all the Incorporations will generously contribute for so Good an End. And as by our Constitution every Donor to the Extent of a

<sup>1</sup> The reference to Heriot's Hospital recalls the interesting fact that in 1834 the Incorporation, but for the low state of their funds, would have rendered financial assistance to aid the Deacons of the various crafts in their efforts to be declared governors of that institution.

Hundred Marks Scots or Upwards may be chosen Directors; it would be our Great Pleasure to see that all the Incorporations were so Intituled by their Generous Contributions that every Incorporation might have their Deacon and Box Master chosen Directors.

'May it therefore Please you to Contribute Generously and have the Blessing of God and the Distressed Poor. Signed in Presence and by Appointment of the Managers att Edinburgh the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1737.

'WILL<sup>M</sup> MITCHAELL P.'

The Incorporation did not fail to gain the boon held out by the 'Managers of the Surgeons' Hospitall off Edinburgh,' for it was unanimously agreed to subscribe two hundred merks Scots, which the Boxmaster was instructed to pay to William Wardrop, Surgeon, Treasurer to the Managers.

### VIII

In the early days the Craftsmen restricted themselves to watching over their peculiar interests, to seeing that the candlemaking industry flourished in Edinburgh under their sole auspices. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, however, especially after the industrial revolution, there came about the infusion of a humanitarian spirit which took cognisance of religious and philanthropic work.<sup>1</sup> Candlemaking was the be-all and end-all of existence no longer. And with this wider and more tolerant outlook, this desire to combine improvement of social conditions with the prosperity of the Craft, there also arose an intelligent and active interest in prominent events and movements of the time, national as well as local.

That good order and tranquillity should reign in Edinburgh was an ideal which the Craft kept steadily before it. Unfortunately, the spirit of misrule which found an outlet in the

<sup>1</sup> The Incorporation, as we have seen, was in its early days not unresponsive to the claims of religion, but that was before the Reformation.

Porteous Mob was persistent, and in 1738 the Magistrates had to deal with 'great Disorders committed on the high streets of this City and Suburbs by disorderly and idle persons strolling under cloud of night insulting his Ma'ties Leidges, and in a Mobish and riotous manner making fresh attacks on the City Guard, in open defiance of Law and good order, which may be attended with most dismall Consequences to this Community.' The disorders occurred on the nights of July 6, 11, and 12, and were in great measure, says a Proclamation issued by the Magistrates, 'occasioned by the Servants and Apprentices of the freemen Merchants and Crafts men of this City Strolling on the Streets at unseasonable hours.' Accordingly, the Master and Assistants of the Merchant Company, the Deacon and Master of the Incorporation of the Surgeons, the Master of the Society of Barbers and Wigmakers, Candlemakers and Brewers, and all other Incorporations were commanded to 'take such proper means as may effectually restrain their respective Apprentices and Servants from Strolling and walking on the Streets after the hour of Ten at night'; and as a security for good government 'the Constables, the City Guard and Town Officers' were empowered to arrest every servant and apprentice walking on the streets after ten o'clock.

The tolls was another matter of keen interest to the Candlemakers. When, in 1763, a Bill was introduced into Parliament for imposing an additional toll on the roads in the county of Edinburgh, they joined with the other Incorporations in opposing the measure. The matter became prominent again in 1775, when increased tolls were thought necessary to meet the cost of 'a new intended bridge to the south of the city.' Again the Candlemakers swelled the forces of opposition. Not only was the project 'prejudicial to the Old Town,' but fresh tolls were to be resisted on the ground that they were 'solely for the conveniency of the opulent and not for the benefite of the poor indigent Inhabitants.' The Incorporation also opposed the legislative measure brought forward in 1779 for



Sir

You are requested by the  
Deacons order to attend a meeting of the  
**Incorporation of Candlemakers**  
in their Conveening house on

the 24 day of February at 2 o'clock  
afternoon precisely with certification

Wm. Kinloch Officer

Edin. 25 day of  
February 1811

repealing the penal laws in Scotland against Catholics, the proposal 'being contrary to the Principalls of the Revolution.' And when, in 1793, certain persons, 'assuming to themselves the stile and Title of the British Convention of the Friends of the People,' held meetings in the Cockpit in the Grassmarket, the Craft regarded them 'as having no other tendency than to subvert Legal Government, occasion riot and disorders, and Encourage Sedition.' Consequently, on December 23, they thanked the Magistrates 'for their spirited Exertions to preserve peace and Good Order,' and resolved to support them 'in every Exertion for the publick good.'

The year 1812 was ushered in at the Tron Church with the usual boisterous merriment. But on this occasion jollification developed into unbridled licence, and serious rioting occurred. The worst phase was the conduct of a band of young men who attacked peaceable citizens. They also committed numerous robberies and murdered a watchman. Three of the ring-leaders were executed on a gibbet in the High Street. The Candlemakers took a grave view of this incident, and on January 22 adopted a series of resolutions anent 'the late Atrocious and alarming disturbances subversive of all good Order.' They expressed 'in a most imperious manner . . . their uttermost detestation and Horror at the unexampled Outrages,' but at the same time let it be known that they had 'long considered the present police of the City (*i.e.* the Town Guard) to be totally inadequate to the Inhabitants; and, from the Imbecility of the Officers, Injurious to the morals of the Younger Classes of the Community, by allowing them to committ crimes of a lésser nature with impunity.' Thus young people were led 'to Attempt and to perpetrate crimes of greater magnitude; and the dreadfull Effects have been so severely felt, that we look forward with Satisfaction to the day when the Police of the City shall be again fully put under the Jurisdiction of the Magistrates.' And the Candlemakers gave their action a practical turn by appointing a committee to act



with other public bodies in petitioning for a repeal of the Police Act. In 1816 a measure to amend the Act was promoted, but as it contained a clause referring to 'steam engines and furnaces,' the craftsmen opposed it as likely to injure their interests as a body. About this time, too, the duty on candles was felt to be oppressive, and in 1823 a memorial was forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer emphasising the 'hardships' under which the industry laboured. On March 12, 1831, the Incorporation petitioned in favour of the Reform Bill.

Even in matters affecting the spiritual welfare of the community the Candlemakers bore a part. In 1762 they supported the General Kirk Sessions of Edinburgh and the Merchant Company in opposing a ministerial presentation made by the Town Council, doing so 'as necessary and seasonable attention to the interest of religion and liberty in this City.' It was imperative that they as well as posterity should be delivered 'from such a Yoke of Bondage, which step (?) of Lordly dominion hath not been preceded in this city since the happy Revolution.'

Nor was the Incorporation neglectful of the claims of patriotism. In 1778 the sum of £50 was voted to Lord Provost Dalrymple's fund for raising a new regiment of Royal Volunteers 'in the present critical conjuncture against his Majesty's Rebellious Subjects in North America.' Then, in 1795, the Candlemakers presented an address to George III. congratulating His Majesty 'on his late escape from the assault of a lawless mob.' Further, in 1814, they were appealed to by the Magistrates to subscribe to a fund for the completion of the Nelson Monument on the Calton Hill, which was 'suffering considerably from its present unfinished state.' Again, on July 7, 1815, twenty guineas was voted to Bailie Waugh's fund 'for the widows and children of those brave men who have fallen in the late Glorious Battle of the 18th instant.' The reference of course is to Waterloo.

## IX

Rarely has Edinburgh witnessed such gaiety and splendour, such regal magnificence as on the occasion of the visit of George IV. in 1822. In the principal ceremonies the Candlemakers bore a conspicuous part. They were represented on the Committee which arranged the details of the Royal progress from the Palace of Holyroodhouse to the Castle; and for 'their honour and respectability, and for showing their loyalty to His Majesty and their sense of the high honour conferred on the Metropolis,' the Incorporation requested that every member should attend. Each was to wear a silver medal of the King, the expense being borne by the Incorporation. The medal was to be attached to a green riband and worn round the neck. Then the members of the Incorporation were to carry a white rose and a white rod, and to wear a cockade in their hats. On the day of the royal progress the Candlemakers walked in procession from their Hall to the place assigned them by the Magistrates. They were accompanied by a number of freemen together with journeymen and apprentices. The latter bore a green silk flag (specially ordered for the function) on which the Arms of the Incorporation were blazoned. An instrumental band headed the procession of the Candlemakers. After the ceremony was over, the members of the Craft and 'a great many of the freemen and their friends dined together in honour of the occasion.' Considerable expense was incurred, but when the time of reckoning came, there was no murmuring; a sense of loyalty prevailed. 'The Corporation must be satisfied that on such an occurrence, to which there has been nothing similar in Edinburgh for two hundred years, it was most proper to uphold the loyalty, honour and respectability of the Corporation by every means in their power.' And the same dutiful feeling was evinced on the accession of William IV., an address being unanimously voted.

## X

In the various improvement schemes of the city the Candlemakers took a deep interest, in particular in that project which eventuated in the making of George IV. Bridge, or the new South Bridge as it was then called. In April 1825 a committee waited on the Lord Provost for the purpose of learning whether, in view of the fact that, according to the proposed plans for the new thoroughfare, a considerable portion of the Incorporation's property in Candlemaker Row would be swept away, the members would be allowed to rebuild in harmony with the Town's plan (provided no demand was made for the value of the buildings taken down), or whether the Town would erect on paying compensation duly assessed. The Lord Provost characterised the proposition of the Candlemakers as 'destructive of the whole principles upon which any improvements could be effected,' but stated that as no buildings were to be erected on the sites of those belonging to the Incorporation, all discussion on that point was futile. A problem, however, of even greater importance remained unsolved—the right of the Incorporation to continue to manufacture 'candles in the Candlemaker Row, a Branch of Trade which in these days of fastidious feeling will be attempted to be called a Nuisance in whatever place it may be carried on, unless at a most inconvenient and of course expensive distance from Town.' The committee in charge of the matter did not prescribe any course of action, believing that 'much nice legal discussion might take place,' but they prevailed upon the Town to insert a clause in the parliamentary Bill giving power to a jury to decide the value of the Incorporation's privilege of manufacturing candles and carrying on other branches of their trade within the city.

Following upon the proceedings that have been narrated, the Craft decided to let the whole of its property in Candlemaker Row on the understanding that the rents of the work-

houses occupied by members should not be raised. The property consisted of eight tenements valued by an architect at £3025.<sup>1</sup> Five of these, however, were reported to be 'very old and in general much dilapidated,' so much so as almost to necessitate rebuilding.

As regards the right to continue to carry on their industry in Candlemaker Row, the Incorporation were speedily disillusioned. In June 1834 the craftsmen were informed that part of the ground in front of their property might be required by the Improvements Commissioners, an announcement which caused dismay, since it was impossible to carry on the manufacture of candles without an open space in front of the work-houses. In short, if the front ground were taken away, the Town, so far as the Candlemakers were concerned, might as well take the property immediately behind. This view was strongly urged before the Improvements Commissioners.

In 1790 the Incorporation enlarged the scope of their activities by launching a scheme for the support of the widows of members—a scheme which, while conferring substantial benefit, was in the end the subject of much expensive litigation. A further development took place in 1805 when about £260 was laid aside with the object of raising a fund 'for the fallen back members and the wives of those who may not have acceded to the scheme for widows presently subsisting.' To this sum £20 was to be added yearly until the total amount reached £1000, when the 'annual rent' was to be applied as the Incorporation directed. In 1814 it was ordained that every member contracting a second marriage should contribute, in addition to the Widows' Fund, £10 if his wife were under forty years of age and £5 should she exceed that age. This step appears to have been dictated by a wish to strengthen the position of the Widows' Fund. Owing to 'the great increase in the number of widows,' the Fund was low, and in

<sup>1</sup> On May 10, 1838, an offer of £1500 was accepted for the whole of the property 'to the south of the upper or East Gate into the Greyfriars Churchyard.'

1816 the beneficiaries were asked to accept an allowance of £15 per annum until the Craft was again able to pay the customary £20. But one widow, Mrs. Keddie, objected to her annuity being restricted, and went to law. The Incorporation took the opinion of counsel, which was unfavourable. There the matter seems to have rested until the decline of the industry and the consequent depletion of the funds again forced it to the front.

## XI

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century the invention of gas-lighting, which was the main cause of the decline and ultimate extinction of the Incorporation, made very considerable progress. Yet the craftsmen were sublimely unconscious of the blow that was impending. So late as 1819, in the confident belief that the Incorporation had still a future, a committee was appointed to consider the question of purchasing a gold chain and medal, which were to be worn by the Deacon. One member regarded the proposal as 'improper and unnecessary,' but his was a voice crying in the wilderness. The gold chain and medal were bought at a cost of £36,<sup>1</sup> and on December 22 the Deacon was invested with the insignia. Soon after, the actual facts of the unenviable situation of the candle industry were gradually revealed, and from time to time measures were taken to avert disaster. In 1822 Parliament was petitioned to place a duty on gas-lights and reduce correspondingly the duty on candles. Two years later, another petition was forwarded to the House of Commons setting forth that in consequence of the invention of gas-lighting, 'now almost universally used in the Shops and Warehouses of the City of Edinburgh,' the candlemaking trade had been 'greatly injured.' The petitioners stressed the point that, unlike candles, gas-lights were not liable to duty. Moreover, the

<sup>1</sup> There appears to have been a previous chain, but 'considerably worn.'

candle duty pressed heavily on 'the lower class of artificers,' who were compelled to work by candle-light. Another anomaly was the irregular levying and frequent evasion of the candle duty in country districts. There being no response from the legislators, and the situation growing more desperate, a third petition was sent to Parliament (1829), demonstrating that candles were the only artificial light subject to duty, the imposition on those of tallow manufacture being one penny per pound (or nearly 15 per cent. *ad valorem*). As two-thirds of the tallow needed for making candles was 'the agricultural produce of this country,' the repeal of the candle duty would increase consumption and afford 'additional employment for British capital and labour.'

The next few years were crucial. By 1836 the affairs of the Incorporation had become so embarrassed that on September 17 'Mr. Charles' moved, and 'Mr. Lees' seconded, that the Deacon's gold chain and medal, which had been purchased seventeen years before, should be immediately sold. All the members present acquiesced save the Deacon and 'Mr. Thomson.' The matter was further discussed on October 20, when 'Mr. Charles' again moved for the sale of the chain, his motion being again seconded by 'Mr. Lees.' The resolution having been carried, a dramatic scene occurred, which is best described in the *ipsissima verba* of the Minutes:—

'Mr. Charles then rose to take out the chain from the safe to lay the same on the table that it might be sent to a goldsmith for sale when the Deacon in a fury rose and seized the bag containing the chain and some other articles, and put it in his pocket, refusing to allow the chain to be sold. The Deacon stated that he could not sanction the sale of the gold chain till he had the authority of the whole members of the Corporation, both present and absent, and moved that the Clerk be directed to write to the absent members, and to report. Mr. Thomson concurred with the Deacon and further stated that Mr. Charles had no right to move for the sale of the chain till his reasons of protest were given in and disposed of, particularly as the Corporation had not come to any resolution as to the mode in which the chain was to be disposed

of. The Deacon then offered to put the chain etc. back into the safe, but was prevented by Mr. Charles. The Deacon afterwards placed the bag in the safe.'

'Mr. Charles' protested against the conduct of the Deacon, 'more especially in consideration of the low state of the Corporation funds,' and was supported by 'three other members.' The Deacon, however, insisted that the matter be delayed till the opinions of absent members were received. On November 15, letters were read from three of these. All expressed strong disapproval of the sale of the chain. 'I am decidedly against the chain and medal being sold for payment of the debts due by the Corporation, or for any other purpose,' wrote David Murray. How this affair ended the Minutes do not disclose, but the whole episode forms a fitting prelude to the story of the last days of the Incorporation.

## XII

About the time when the fate of the gold chain and medal was being decided, certain members began to devise schemes and entertain proposals for dividing amongst themselves the property and funds, and bringing the existence of the Incorporation to an end. The membership had fallen to ten, one of whom was living abroad, and, as was reported on March 22, 1837, the Craft was in debt to the extent of over £700. There had been a 'great fall' in the rents of the houses belonging to the Candlemakers, and it was very doubtful whether, after paying the interest of debts, feu duties, taxes, repairs, and allowances to the poor, there would remain sufficient to defray the annuities of the widows. Besides, no persons were now seeking entry to the Incorporation, nor was there any immediate prospect of any. These circumstances having been considered, the craftsmen decided that the prudent course was to sell their property, pay the debts due by them, compound with the widows on the Fund, and divide any balance that might



BANNER OF THE CANDLEMAKERS' INCORPORATION

See p. 123

remain amongst the existing members. The first step was to interview the widows, a delicate task which was entrusted to a committee.

The proposal of bringing the funds to a division received further consideration on April 20, when the Deacon reported that there was only one member on the Poor Roll; that only two persons were entitled to enter with the Incorporation, neither of whom appeared disposed to do so; that there were nine widows on the Fund, who originally drew £20 each per annum, but now only £15. One widow was entitled to such allowance as the Incorporation decided. The Deacon further stated that the widows were disposed to agree to a settlement, but they declined to give a definitive answer till the sum proposed to be paid was mentioned. Finally, the house property was valued at £3900, but whether this sum would be realised was problematic.<sup>1</sup> The meeting was unanimously of opinion that the proposal of settling with all parties who had claims upon the Incorporation and then dividing the balance should be carried into effect, but before arriving at a final decision it was resolved to take the opinion of counsel as to the legality of dissolving the Incorporation. It was decided, too, that in the case of the death of any member after that date, his widow should have no claim on the brethren.

On June 3, 1837, it was agreed to expend £815 in settling the total claims of the widows. Nine were offered £85 each and one £50, the sum of £30 having been already paid to her. Another step, which it was thought would bring the end of the Incorporation within sight, was taken on July 29, when the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

‘That having some time ago unanimously resolved to divide the funds of the Corporation and surrender all their rights within the Burgh. That no person having come forward to enter with the Corporation for

<sup>1</sup> In 1820 the Incorporation acquired three shops and two small dwellings in Clerk Street and Rankeillor Street. The above-mentioned figure includes this acquisition as well as the property in Candlemaker Row.

upwards of ten years notwithstanding the Clerk having written to all who have a right to enter and come forward, and having inserted an advertisement in the newspapers to the same effect. Therefore, in order to prevent any person who may suppose he has a right to enter from taking advantage of the present situation of the Corporation, any person now coming forward to enter shall pay the sum of £150 in addition to the other dues hitherto payable.<sup>1</sup>

One outcome of this resolution was that the Clerk wrote to four apprentices calling upon them to say within a month whether they meant to enter with the Incorporation, and mentioning that the entry money had been raised to £150. On November 30 it was agreed to borrow from William Dick such a sum as would make up the debt due to him to £1500, the money to be applied in settling with the widows, all of whom had accepted the offer of £85. But there must have been miscalculation somewhere, for, later on, the Incorporation sold parts of their heritable property to enable the widows to be paid.

Another step was taken in 1844, when the Convening Hall was converted into a dwelling, the Incorporation having 'fallen so much off,' and their meetings being 'few and unimportant.' It was stipulated, however, that the tenant was bound to give the Incorporation the use of the front room for their meetings.<sup>1</sup> The furniture of the Hall was disposed of at the same time.

### XIII

But the accomplishment of the scheme for dividing the funds was delayed by various difficulties. Most important of all were the doubts entertained as to the legality of the pro-

<sup>1</sup> The Incorporation appear to have ceased meeting in the Convening Hall in 1849. On March 7 of that year the members met in Johnston's Temperance Coffee House, Nicolson Street. Subsequent meetings were held, amongst other places, in Paxton's Royal Exchange Coffee House, in the office of the Clerk, Mr. John Henderson, S.S.C., in St. Patrick Square (1852), and in Messrs. Gibson and Hector's chambers, 3 North St. David Street.

ceeding—doubts which were shown, first by the opinion of counsel and then by the Court of Session, to be only too well founded. Not all the craftsmen had concurred. In particular, John Rae, who was living abroad, felt so strongly about the matter that he presented a petition to the Court praying for the appointment of a Judicial Factor to preserve and manage the funds. The petition was granted, and John Forrester, W.S., was appointed. Rae's action was regarded by his fellow craftsmen as 'an undue attempt . . . to deprive them of the right to manage their own affairs.' They also submitted their case to the Court, which reduced the resolution to divide the funds and dissolve the organisation. These proceedings being swept away, there was no alternative but to continue the Incorporation on the old footing.

In his capacity as Judicial Factor, Forrester summoned a meeting of the brethren for June 14, 1852. It was held 'within the dwelling house in the tenement in Candlemaker Row,' wherein was placed 'the iron safe belonging to the Incorporation,' which appears to have been built into the wall of the Convening Hall. Be that as it may, the members were called together in order that the safe might be opened and its contents examined. It was agreed that the Judicial Factor should open the safe. Before doing so the Deacon (James Thomson) explained that the keys which he had given up would not open the safe without other keys that had formerly been in the custody of the Clerk, Walter Ferguson. Since the latter's death repeated applications had been made by himself and others for the delivery of the keys, but they could not be found. The Deacon further explained that, in view of the meeting, he had enlisted the assistance of James Ritchie, a smith in the adjoining premises, who had advised him that it would be extremely difficult to open the safe without the keys. He refrained, however, from giving the smith authority to use violence. Nevertheless when the Judicial Factor proceeded to open the safe, the door fell on the floor, which

plainly showed that the safe had been forced. The contents, on examination, were found to consist of a small tin box marked 'Treasurer's Vouchers,' a leather bag containing sundry papers, several MS. minute-books, a variety of loose miscellaneous papers, and the seal of the Incorporation.

In 1854 the Deacon (James Thomson) became the sole surviving member of the Incorporation, John Rae and Alexander Abernethy, the only other craftsmen, having died. On September 29, Thomson, who had been connected with the Incorporation for forty years, elected himself to the offices of Deacon, Treasurer, and Key-keeper, and declared his intention to retain them until the 'entry of new members into the Body.' But the Deacon was not left long in sole possession. In March 1855 Thomas Dickson, who had served his apprenticeship to a freeman of the Incorporation, renewed his application for admission.<sup>1</sup> Thomson, apprehensive of the awkwardness of his situation, and wishing to be cautious, sought legal advice in regard to admission and other matters. He also prepared a memorial, in which he argued that his interest in the funds was greater than that of any member who might be admitted in future under reduced entry money. Further, that as the funds were no longer required for the maintenance of the ancient privileges conferred by the Seal of Cause,<sup>2</sup> the Incorporation was virtually restricted to being a benefit society, a function the Candlemakers had always discharged. Allow-

<sup>1</sup> Dickson's original application was made on the supposition that the raising of the entry money was illegal, and that he would not be called upon to pay £150. His conjecture having proved correct, he now requested that he should be admitted on the original terms. John Rough, candlemaker in Edinburgh, also applied for admission at this time.

<sup>2</sup> In 1846 Parliament passed an Act for the 'abolition of the Exclusive Privileges of Trading in Burghs in Scotland.' This measure hastened the decay of the Incorporation, for by it the candlemaking industry was thrown open to any one who cared to engage in it. The Act, however, allowed the Incorporation to retain its corporate character. As a matter of fact, the Candlemakers Craft of Edinburgh continued to exist for nearly forty years after the passing of the measure, though its condition throughout this long period was moribund.

ances to poor and decayed members and their children were variously described in the Minutes as 'The Poor's Fund,' 'Payments to Poor Brothers,' 'Payments to Decayed Brothers and their Orphans,' and other similar designations. In later years an Annuity Fund had been established, from which every member, whether decayed or not, received a sum varying from £10 to £15 per annum.

As regards the applications for admission of Dickson and Rough, the Deacon opposed them because both persons were 'strangers,' neither having served their apprenticeship with 'a Freeman by birth or marriage.'<sup>1</sup> The memorial also made clear the highly suggestive fact that from 1837, the year in which the division of the funds was resolved upon, large portions of the property of the Incorporation had been sold, each of the brethren receiving from the proceeds various payments amounting to £200 and upwards. But the Court of Session had declared these disbursements illegal. Members and their representatives were therefore liable to refund the money divided. Finally, in view of the fact that the recent proceedings of the Incorporation were invalid, the Deacon contended that the appointment of the Judicial Factor should be recalled and the Incorporation reinstated in the possession and management of their property.

But the opinion of counsel was unfavourable. The Deacon was not entitled to appropriate to his own use any portion of the funds or property. He was advised, however, to obtain the sanction of the Court to new laws and regulations, which were absolutely necessary, but before making application to obtain two or three new members, there being 'great awkwardness in a sole surviving member framing new laws.' Acting on this advice, Thomas Dickson (already mentioned) and James Simpson, candlemaker, Kirkliston, were admitted to membership on May 23, 1855, after having made their respec-

<sup>1</sup> There seems a discrepancy here, for Dickson, as has been mentioned, had been apprenticed to a freeman.

tive essays<sup>1</sup> and been found 'qualified tradesmen.' The entry money exacted from each was £50. The number of members was thus increased to three—Deacon Thomson, Dickson, and Simpson. The application of John Rough does not appear to have been successful.

## XIV

For the next twenty years the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh, representing as it did an industry whose knell had been sounded long years before, and embarrassed by a depleted membership and vanishing funds, exhibited but the dregs of vitality. The organisation had become a mere shadow of its former self, a survival of modes of life and of industrial conditions which were as extinct as the dodo; its proceedings were little better than a mockery.

In January 1875 the Town Council, as part of a scheme for acquiring the west side of Candlemaker Row as far as the Martyrs' Monument, made overtures with the object of buying the two uppermost properties of the Incorporation—those next the entrance to Greyfriars Churchyard. It was thought that if these buildings were demolished and the area thus cleared thrown into the public thoroughfare, a great improvement would be effected. But nothing came of the proposal.

Another application for admission to membership was considered by the Incorporation in January 1877. The applicant was John Dickson, a son of Thomas Dickson, who was directed to make his essay. But so lethargic had the members become that it was not till March 11, 1880, three years after the application had been first submitted, that John Dickson could regard himself as a member of the ancient Candlemakers Craft of Edinburgh. His payment on admission was

<sup>1</sup> On applying for admission to the Incorporation each applicant was assigned a piece of work in order to test his craftsmanship. This was called 'the essay' (or 'assay').

£33, 6s. 8d., 'being the sum heretofore accepted by the Incorporation on the admission of a son of a Freeman.'

The final stage in the long but not uninteresting history of the Craft was reached in 1882, when a petition was presented to the Lord Ordinary praying for sequestration of the estates of the Incorporation. The Judicial Factor was now dead, and the Craft was again reduced to one member—John Dickson, who had been admitted two years before. On September 22 the petition was granted, and in the following month a meeting was held for the purpose of electing a Trustee and Commissioners. The state of affairs then lodged showed assets amounting to £2033, 18s. 2d., while the liabilities totalled £1140. The surplus amounted to £756, 13s., but this was subject to expenses of realisation and sequestration. On July 23, 1883, a scheme of division amongst the creditors was approved. The claims, which were paid in full, were as follows:—

Mrs. Mary Porter or Charles, residing in Penicuik . . . . .	£209 15 5
William Macqueen, otherwise William Maxwell or Macqueen, Messenger-at-Arms in Edinburgh . . . . .	375 15 5
Robert Miller, now in Dunedin, New Zealand . . . . .	288 15 7
Mrs. Ann Taylor or Cowan, residing at 165 High Street, Musselburgh . . . . .	381 14 10
Henry Rae, 15 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London . . . . .	146 10 3
David Curror, S.S.C., Edinburgh . . . . .	30 0 0
Curror and Cowper, S.S.C. . . . .	17 4 8
William Henderson, Soap and Candle Manufacturer in Glasgow, residing at Annfield Terrace, Partickhill . . . . .	432 9 5

After the property of the Incorporation had been realised, and all claims met, there was a balance of close on £1500. About this time there were five fresh applications for membership:—

- (1) Andrew Muirhead, house painter, Edinburgh.
- (2) Rev. James Simpson, Free Church Manse, Monquhitter, the son of a deceased member.

- (3) Alexander Simpson, engineer, Glasgow, also the son of a deceased member.
- (4) Andrew Dickson, candlemaker, grandson of Thomas Dickson already mentioned.
- (5) Thomas Dickson, candlemaker, another grandson of Thomas Dickson already mentioned.

Muirhead sought to be admitted in right of his wife, who was the daughter of a former freeman. After taking the opinion of counsel, the Incorporation refused him admission, in respect that he did 'not fall within the class of tradesmen incorporated by the Seal of Cause and Royal Grant.' As regards the other applicants, it was pointed out that, with the exception of Andrew and Thomas Dickson, none were 'in business as candlemakers,' nor had they 'any intention of prosecuting the trade of candlemaking in the city of Edinburgh.' Besides, 'owing to the abominable smell arising from the tallow in the process of candlemaking,' the Magistrates would not 'permit them to do so were they to make an attempt.' They therefore 'could not set up booth within the Royalty, in which to rind rough tallow and make it up into candles, nor would the sale of tallow candles in modern civilisation be a remunerative trade.' The Free Church minister and the Glasgow engineer did not press their claims, and it is probable that the brothers Dickson, though candlemakers, followed the same course. At any rate, there were no further admissions to membership.

The last meeting of the Incorporation was held on April 23, 1884. It was attended by John Dickson, the only surviving member, and the Clerk, David Curror, S.S.C. There was submitted the final statement of H. W. Cornillon, S.S.C., Trustee on the Sequestrated Estate of the Candlemakers. It showed realised funds amounting to £3987, 16s. 3d., and a balance, after all expenses had been met, of £1648, 3s. 2d. which, with the addition of interest to date of discharge, reached the sum of £1681, 3s. 9d. In the following month

(May 9) the swan song of the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh was sung. John Dickson wrote to the Clerk as follows :—

'The Funds of the Incorporation being now concentrated in Bank, I think you should send the whole papers to me as the proper custodier thereof, and you ought to call in the Agent's Accounts, and send same to me with the Clerk's for settlement.'

On John Dickson's death in 1892, the voluminous records of the Incorporation came into the possession of his sisters, and in 1913 they passed to his grandnephew, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie Ross, Jun. Mr. Ross presented them to the late Mr. W. R. Reid of Lauriston Castle, who bequeathed them to the National Library of Scotland. These papers did not include the Charters of the Candlemakers. These were rescued from a rubbish heap, and purchased by Mr. Dunlop of Seton Castle, East Lothian, who presented them to the Town Council. The Silk Banner of the Incorporation, which was carried by the journeymen and apprentices on the occasion of George IV.'s visit to Edinburgh in 1822, and which is reproduced at page 128, was bought by Messrs. A. and J. Beveridge, Hawkhill Works, Leith, and is now in their possession.

INVENTORY OF WRITS BELONGING TO THE INCORPORATION OF  
CANDLEMAKERS OF EDINBURGH,<sup>1</sup> AND RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO  
THE DEFENCE OF THE PRIVILEGES CONFERRED ON THEM BY THEIR  
SEAL OF CAUSE AND RATIFICATIONS THEREOF

- No. 1. Copy of the Decree Arbitral pronounced by King James the Sixth and the other arbiters therein mentioned betwixt the Merchants and Craftsmen of Edinburgh, April 22 and May 14 and 25, 1583, and registered in the Books of Council, June 19, 1583.

<sup>1</sup> Only the principal items are given.

- No. 2. Defences for the Deacon and Brethren of the Fleshers of Edinburgh to the claim given in by the Deacon and Brethren of the Candlemakers of Edinburgh anent the extent of their taxation.
3. Act of the Incorporation of Candlemakers that none of them shall melt or rind tallow and convey the same out of the Burgh, dated March 4, 1590.
4. Obligation by the Candlemakers of Edinburgh that none of them shall sell or put away to any kind of merchant or stranger above the number of 20 stones of tallow under the pain of 100 merks, dated September 1, 1623.
5. Note of the Acts of the Town Council of Edinburgh in favour of the Incorporation of Candlemakers from the year 1517 to the year 1668.
6. Complaint, The Candlemakers of Edinburgh against the Fleshers for infringing on their privileges, dated October 31, 1683.
7. Instrument of Intimation, The Candlemakers of Edinburgh against the Fleshers thereof of their several Charters and Privileges conferred thereby, dated October 7, 1693.
8. Petition of the Candlemakers of Edinburgh against William Carse, William Weir, Andrew Adamson and William Macmillan, fleshers, Edinburgh, for refusing to sell their tallow and for selling it to candlemakers without the city, dated 1695.
9. Bond by James Hardie, journeyman candlemaker to the Incorporation of Candlemakers, binding himself not to serve any other candlemakers within the liberties of Edinburgh but the freemen candlemakers of Edinburgh, and not to sell nor make candles in any place of the suburbs of Edinburgh nor within five miles of the same under a penalty of 500 merks Scots *toties quoties*, dated October 10, 1704.
10. Petition for John Moffat, candlemaker in Musselburgh, craving the Incorporation of Candlemakers to allow him free liberty to import candles to Edinburgh without disturbance, he giving surety for payment of so much yearly to the Boxmaster as the Incorporation should think fit, dated 1708, with deliverance thereon, dated October 4, 1710, allowing him a tolerance for payment of £16 yearly.

- No. 11. Bond of the said John Moffat to the Deacon and Boxmaster of the Incorporation for payment of £16 per annum quarterly, and binding himself to observe all the acts and statutes made by the Incorporation on the same being intimated to him, and not to set up or make candles within the City of Edinburgh, suburbs thereof, or within four miles of Edinburgh under the penalty of 500 merks Scots, and not to set up nor sell to retailing shops in Edinburgh, dated October 7, 1710.
12. Representations by the Fleshers of Edinburgh to the Town Council of Edinburgh against the Candlemakers of Edinburgh, relative to the price of tallow and candles, dated 1710.
13. Instrument of Protest, The Candlemakers of Edinburgh against Andrew Dawson for not paying sums in his Bond to the Incorporation for giving him a tolerance to sell candles, dated September 5, 1711.
14. Obligation by James Dykes, candlemaker in Dalkeith, to the Candlemakers of Edinburgh, not to bring any candles to the City of Edinburgh except on the market days and market time under the penalty of loss of the candles that shall be brought in at other times, dated October 16, 1714.
15. Memorandum for the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh relative to their privileges, by Sir Walter Pringle, dated August 31, 1714.
16. Instrument of Protest, Patrick Moffat against Robert Cuming, flesher, for refusing to sell his 'tauch' at price fixed by the Magistrates, August 26, 1714.
17. Double of the Libel of Reduction and Improbation and Declarator at the instance of the Fleshers of Edinburgh against the Magistrates of Edinburgh and the Incorporation of Candlemakers there, dated November 1714.
18. Information for the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh and the Incorporation of Candlemakers against the Incorporation of Fleshers, dated January 27, 1715.
19. Petition for the Incorporation of Fleshers of Edinburgh against the Incorporation of Candlemakers, dated February 17, 1715.
20. Extract of the Process and Interlocutor, the Incorporation of the Candlemakers of Edinburgh against the Incorporation of the Fleshers of the said Burgh, dated February 15, 1715, in which the Court of Session found the Fleshers of Edinburgh

'ought to be restrained from rinding of tallow for sale,' as also found that 'the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh can oblige the Fleshers to sell their tallow to the Candle-makers for making of candles to be consumed in the Town at a price to be put thereupon by the Magistrates and Town Council'; and on advising a Petition for the Fleshers and Answers thereto, the cause was superseded until June following.

- No. 21. Copy of the Order of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, ordering and adjudging that the foresaid judgment of the Court of Session appealed from be, and the same is thereby reversed, dated June 29, 1715.
22. Decreet of Declarator, dated July 4, 1716, obtained before the Court of Session at the instance of the Candlemakers of Edinburgh against the Incorporation of Fleshers in Edinburgh and also against the Lord Provost, Bailies and Council of the Burgh, finding and declaring that the Incorporation of the Candlemakers have the only power of manufacturing of tallow in candle for sale within the Burgh of Edinburgh, and to sell and dispose thereof in their booths and otherways, and that no person within or without the said Burgh, and who are not admitted Freemen of the said Incorporation, ought to have the liberty to sell or make candle within the said Burgh nor to import candle in order to sell the same except upon the market days and market time allenarly; but prejudice to the Burgesses and Inhabitants of Edinburgh to make candles within their own houses to be burnt in their own families allenarly, and but prejudice to the shopkeepers of selling and retailing candle at any time according to use and wont: and also finding and decerning, in terms of the foresaid Extract No. 20 of this Inventory, of date February 15, 1715, reversed by the House of Lords, as already stated.
23. Petition for William Meek, candlemaker in Musselburgh, to the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh, craving them to grant him the privilege of bringing in his candles to Edinburgh at any time without respect to market days or time, he granting bond for £4 Scots quarterly during his life to the said Incorporation, dated December 2, 1716.
24. Registered Bond and Precept, The Candlemakers of Edinburgh

against the said William Meek, dated December 19, 1716, and registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Edinburgh, October 9, 1718.

- No. 25. Horning and Poinding raised thereon against the said William Meek at the instance of Patrick Moffat, then Boxmaster to the Incorporation, dated 7th, signeted 8th, and executed the 9th days of January 1719.
26. Decreet obtained in the two processes of suspension before the Court of Session, dated December 19, 1716, finding the Letters and Charge raised, used, and executed at the instance of John Johnston, Boxmaster to the said Incorporation of Candlemakers, for their behoof against the said Andrew Dawson and Thomas Johnston, orderly proceeded and decerning and ordaining the same to take effect and be put to further execution at the charger's instance against the said suspenders ay and while the said Andrew Dawson and Thomas Johnston, suspenders each of them, make payment to the said John Johnston for himself and in name and behalf of the said Incorporation of Candlemakers within the burgh of Edinburgh, of the sum of £3 Scots money, and that quarterly for the space of ten quarters preceding the 11th day of December 1716 years, and of the like sum quarterly in time coming during the said Andrew Dawson and Thomas Johnston, suspenders, their lifetimes, with the sum of twelve shillings Scots of penalty for ilk quarters failzie; and also decerning and ordaining the said suspenders to make payment to the said charger for himself and in name and behalf foresaid of the sum of £30 Scots money modified to them as their expenses in discussing of the above suspensions after the form and tenor of the bonds charged according to the laws and daily practice of Scotland in all points.
27. Registered Bond and Precept, The Incorporation of Candlemakers against John Moffat, candlemaker at Musselburgh, dated December 19, 1716, and registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Edinburgh, October 9, 1718.
28. Horning and Poinding, The Incorporation of Candlemakers against the said John Moffat proceeding upon the said Bond and Precept, dated 16th and signeted October 17, 1722, executed November 6, denounced December 19 and registered

December 21, 1722, of new executed April 30, 1726, denounced June 23, and registered October 20, 1726.

- No. 29. Decreet obtained before the Court of Session upon the 12th of January 1722 years, at the instance of Hugh Lyle, candle-maker in Dalkeith, against the Incorporation of the Candle-makers of Edinburgh, in the process of suspension at their instance against him of a decret of the Bailies, dated December 12 preceding, assoilzing the said Hugh Lyle from a process at their instance against him for importing candles into Edinburgh, and ordaining them to deliver the candles seized to Mr. Hepburn and the creels to Hugh Lyle, by which decret the Lords of Council and Session decerned and ordained the Candlemakers of Edinburgh to make payment to the said Hugh Lyle of the sum of £55, 16s. Scots, as the value and price of the said candles, creel and cover, and also modified the account of the damages and expenses to the sum of £50 money foresaid, and decerned and ordained the said Candlemakers to make payment to the said Hugh Lyle of the said sum of £50 of modified expenses.
30. Copy Complaint, the said Hugh Lyle and Fiscal against the Incorporation of Candlemakers, Edinburgh, for seizing his candles when coming within the Town several years back, dated 1723.
31. Duplies for the said Incorporation with the Judgment of the Sheriff thereon, dated July 29, 1723, sustaining the Complaint of Hugh Lyle for restitution of his candles and damages, and allowing him to prove the seizure of the candles libelled, and sustaining his alledgeance that the candles were previously bought for importation by the persons mentioned in the alledgeance relevant to be proven by the said persons, their oaths.
32. Petition for the Incorporation against said Judgment.
33. Second Petition for the Incorporation.
34. Answers thereto.

The Judgment on said second Petition is dated December 9, 1723, and is in the following terms: 'Finds that any seizure of candles by the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh of such as are exposed to sale on the street or Weighhouse or other public places off the Mercat day must be upon the peril

of the seizers, and finds the pursuer (Lyle) is not limited to any time for claiming the candles seized, and likewise finds that the views (?) produced by the pursuer and said to be under the hands of Messrs. Hog and Seton are not probative, and therefore allows the pursuer to prove the seizure of the candles by the persons condescended upon in his libel and Replies *prout de jure*, and likewise allows him to prove *prout de jure* that the candles so seized were delivered into the custody of the Deacon and Boxmaster of the Incorporation, and finds it presumed from their taking them into their custody that they gave warrant for the seizure, and finds the defenders (the Candlemakers) liable in restitution and damages, the pursuer proving in the above terms, and likewise proving a sale previous to the seizure by the oaths of the buyers condescended upon by him, and finds that the pursuer is not obliged to take the candles back, but the defenders must be liable in the prices thereof, and allows a conjunct probation of the current prices of such candles at the time of the seizure.'

- No. 35. Third Petition for the Candlemakers of Edinburgh against the Sheriff's judgment in process at Lyle's instance against them, and which Petition was refused on advising the same with Answers on February 5, 1724.
36. Horning and Poinding raised at the instance of the said Hugh Lyle against the said Incorporation (proceeding on Decreet of the Court of Session in his favour, dated January 12, 1722), dated 15th, and signeted 16th, and executed 22nd February 1723.
37. Note of Hugh Lyle's libel against the Candlemakers with Submission thereof, dated May 16, 1726, by the said Hugh Lyle to the determination of Patrick Moffat, candlemaker, with his decision thereon, ordaining 'the Candlemakers of Edinburgh to deliver, and the said Hugh Lyle to accept of, what of the within claim of candles are in their custody, and also Decerning the said Candlemakers, and their Boxmaster in their name, to pay to the said Hugh Lyle the sum of Five Pounds sterling money in full of his claim for the values of the within-mentioned candles and damages sustained by him in seizing and detaining thereof.'

- No. 38. Registered Bond and Precept, the Incorporation against William Johnstone, candlemaker in Musselburgh, for payment of £4 Scots quarterly for the freedom of bringing in candles to Edinburgh, dated October 2, 1723, and registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Edinburgh, September 9, 1724.
39. Petition for John Hutcheson, candlemaker in Leith, to the Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh, craving them to be pleased to deliver up his former bond, and admit him a stallanger upon such a composition as the Incorporation should determine, dated 1725.
40. Enactment of Janet Sinclair, in the College Wynd, judicially convicted of making candles within the City of Edinburgh, not by herself or any other by her order or direction to have, make, or cause be made, any candle or melt any tallow in any private house or otherwise, under the penalty of £100 Scots and confiscation of her tallow and candles, dated February 8, 1726.
41. Petition for the Freemen Candlemakers of Edinburgh to the Town Council of Edinburgh, for the purpose of getting unfreemen candlemakers debarred from commencing business within Leith, for changing the three market days into one, for debarring the sons and sons-in-law of freemen commencing business until they entered with the Incorporation, and for it being lawful to freemen apprentices and journeymen to seize all candles, publicly or privately, imported by unfreemen or their servants upon the risk of the maker thereof, not on the market day or time allenarly, dated 1726.
42. Copy, Charter from King Charles I., in favour of the good Town of Edinburgh, dated October 23 [1636], uniting the village of Leith itself and also the superiority thereof, and all its pertinents together with the City of Edinburgh into a Royal City, with the hail liberty, privileges, and immunities pertaining to a City or Burgh Royal.
43. Memorial for the Freemen Incorporated Candlemakers of Edinburgh anent their privileges, and annexation of the Town of Leith to the Burgh of Edinburgh, dated 1726.
44. Copy Memorial for the Candlemakers of Edinburgh to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Annual Committee of Burghs relative to frauds committed by unfair dealers, with the Committee's

- deliverance thereon, and copy of the Provost's letter to the Lord Advocate thereanent.
- No. 45. Petition of Archibald Smart, candlemaker, Canongate, for admission with the Incorporation on payment of such sum as the Incorporation should prescribe, with deliverance thereon, dated May 19, 1731, modifying the sum of £40 stg., and appointing his essay and essay masters.
46. Complaint, The Incorporation of Candlemakers against William Beattie, residing in Edinburgh, for selling candles on the streets, with his declaration and judgment of the Bailies, dated February 7, 1732, finding it proven that he had imported into Edinburgh '25 lib. of candles in a box,' and was in contempt of the laws and acts of Council libelled in offering the same to sale thro' shops and houses, and that they were lawfully seized in manner libelled, and confiscating the said candles and box as a lawful seizure to the pursuers, and with power to them to dispose thereof at pleasure, and have fined, and hereby fine, the defender, William Beattie, for the said abuse in ten merks Scots, to be paid to the pursuers, *nomine donum*, and ordain him to be imprisoned till he pay the same and enact himself not to be guilty of the like practices in time coming, under the penalty of £20 Scots in case of failzie 'attour performance,' with the said William Beattie's enactment to the above effect of same date.
47. Written Minutes for the Candlemakers against Margaret Mitchell with Interlocutor pronounced by the Court of Session on the Report of Lord Menzies, dated February 10, 1738, finding 'the defender cannot make candle within the City of Edinburgh for sale there, nor her husband, not being entered with the Corporation of Candlemakers, and also find she cannot refine tallow otherwise than prescribed by the 28 Act of Parliament in the 23rd Parliament of King James the 6th, reserving the consideration of the penalty.'
48. Licence and Toleration by the Candlemakers of Edinburgh to Mrs. Margaret Mitchell or Arthur, for making and vending of candles, dated April 12, 1738.
49. Bond and Obligation by her and her husband to said Incorporation, narrating the said process and licence, and obliging

- themselves to pay the Incorporation £12 Scots yearly, and dated April 12, 1738.
- No. 50. Copy Decree of Absolvitor, three members of the Incorporation of Candlemakers against the Procurator Fiscal of Edinburgh, dated April 22, 1741, in process before the Dean of Guild Court, relative to their melting tallow in their work-houses in the Candlemaker Row.
51. Petition for the journeymen Candlemakers of Edinburgh to the said Incorporation, relative to a scheme to be entered into for relief of their sick and poor, dated March 15, 1745.
52. Extract Act of Council, approving of a Minute of the Incorporation of Fleshers, etc., for preventing abuses in mixing of all (?) with rough fat or tallow, September 9, 1784.
53. Memorandum for Mr. Hugh Buchan, relative to Candlemakers and dispute with the proprietors of Brown's Buildings, dated September 9, 1773.

W. FORBES GRAY.

## THE GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE

FACING the traveller, as he approaches the 'New Town' by way of the North Bridge, stands a building now somewhat dwarfed by its neighbours, but which Hugo Arnot described as 'perhaps the handsomest building in the nation.' Its official designation is His Majesty's General Register House.

It is the repository of the National Records of Scotland, including those of the Scottish Parliament and Privy Council, Treasury and Exchequer, with other administrative records; and also of the public registers relating to land rights, the judicial records of the Court of Session and other courts, with a mass of miscellaneous records and muniments both of a public and private nature. There are also preserved therein the registers of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, with their antecedents, the old parochial records of Scotland.

The purpose of this article is to describe briefly the story of the edifice itself, and the narrative is for convenience divided into sections.

### I

To understand aright the *raison d'être* for the present structure, one has to recall something of the history of the Public Records of Scotland. Their story is full of romance, interwoven with a considerable element of tragedy. Had circumstances been otherwise, their bulk would have necessitated the erection of a much larger pile to accommodate them; but unwarrantable interference on the one hand, and neglect on the other, have contributed largely to their im-

poverishment, so that in many cases only fragments exist to-day where the possession of a complete series would be of inestimable value to the historian and record scholar.

The story of the misfortunes which have befallen our Scottish records is to some extent sketched in the Preface to the folio edition of the *Scottish Acts of Parliament*<sup>1</sup> and in Livingstone's *Guide to the Public Records of Scotland*.<sup>2</sup> To lovers of ancient lore it makes pathetic reading to find how much was filched from our country by its 'auld enemeis' of England, chiefly in the days of Edward I. and during the Commonwealth; and how much was irretrievably ruined by culpable neglect and apathy on the part of our own countrymen.

The National Records were from an early date stored in the Castle of Edinburgh, and after the ravages of Edward I. in 1282 and 1292, continued to accumulate, until about 1540 a 'Register Hous' had to be constructed there to accommodate them. Various payments relative thereto are noted in *Treasurers' Accounts*, vols. 7 and 8. Little further is heard of the records until in 1641 Parliament appointed a committee to inspect them, and in 1644 it reported 'that some of the registeres and records were so mould worne and spilt,' that they could scarcely be deciphered.<sup>3</sup> When Cromwell's Administration determined in 1651 to transport all the Scottish records to London, strenuous efforts were made to circumvent such a disaster; but these were, except in a few instances, unavailing, and the bulk of the archives found its way to the Tower of London. They lay there till 1657, when for convenience some were returned to Edinburgh; but in 1660 the *coup de grâce* was administered to a vast quantity of invaluable record material, when in the course of shipment four-fifths of the cargo found a resting-place on sea-bottom.

The Castle being found an inconvenient repository,

<sup>1</sup> i. pp. 24-7.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, pp. vi-xviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of Parl.*, v. p. 409; vi. part i. p. 227.

measures were now taken to lodge the records in premises where 'speedy and easie accesse may be had to them.' The Town Council of Edinburgh ordered part of the Laigh Parliament House to be fitted up for the use of the Lord Clerk Register; and Parliament gave orders in 1662 for transmission thither of the judicial records.<sup>1</sup> From time to time further transmissions were made, and by 1689 most of the records were in 'His Majesty's General Register House' (viz., in 'two laigh rooms under the Inner Session house')—except such as were still retained in the offices of various clerks. Fires were 'sett on and put out, and the windows opened and shut,' to prevent 'any damage to the registers'; but there the papers lay 'in a great disorder, yea in heaps,'<sup>2</sup> and a fire in 1700 was of great assistance in perpetuating this state of matters.<sup>3</sup>

It was soon discovered that the accommodation in Laigh Parliament House was limited in the extreme, and despite efforts to create and maintain some kind of order among the papers, conditions rapidly grew worse. The records 'are in a perishing condition for want of being rebound, the ratts, mice and other vermine haveing defaced the most valuable of them'; and as the onus of upkeep seems to have devolved at this time rather upon the magistrates and community of Edinburgh than upon any Government provision, the Town Council in 1722 added to their already extensive scheme for works of public utility the need of a 'proper hall or other convenience for accommodating the Court of Justiciary and a hall for keeping the records under the charge of the Lord Register of Scotland,' and obtained an Act for that effect.<sup>4</sup> A suggestion on the part of the magistrates to utilise for this purpose the north-eastern tower of Heriot's Hospital was strongly opposed by the custodian of the records, who urged

<sup>1</sup> *Town Council Records*, Aug. 1661; *Acts of Parl.*, vii. p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> *Papers relating to Records*, preserved in Gen. Reg. House.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of Parl.*, xi. p. 478.

<sup>4</sup> 9 Geo. I., cap. 14.

cogent reasons for providing a repository in close proximity to the Court of Session; *inter alia*, that if lodged in Heriot's Hospital, certain of the books 'are so very unportable, that the ablest porter in Edinburgh cannot pretend to cary three of them so great a distance, so speedily as to answer the design called for, besydes what danger ther may happen to these valuable bookes betwixt the tuo places is most uncertain, wheras if the place of keeping were near to the Parliament House all these inconveniences would be prevented.'<sup>1</sup> He submitted that if a month and a half's cess was imposed on the kingdom of Scotland 'for perfecting so necessary a work, which every persone in the kingdom hes a concerne in,' the Government would doubtless 'goe in to the proposall,' and the Parliament 'woud not only order the records to be rebound, but sufficient and convenient repositories built for ther preservation, and appoint a fund for that effect, and therby free the toun of Edinburgh of the heavie charge therof.' Too optimistic by forty years! Old customs die hard, and *festina lente* has become a traditional policy in relation to such things. Might the keeper have at least some new presses wherein to accommodate his increasing store?<sup>2</sup> but there is no '*fiat ut petatur*' on the back. Further disclosures were made when the Lord President (Duncan Forbes of Culloden) became interested; and his letters to the Lord Chancellor, with relative memorials, give a graphic picture of the situation.<sup>3</sup> Moths were eating the parchment, dampness was obliterating the ink; and twelve hogsheads of papers, returned to Scotland in 1660, still lay unopened.

In 1744 the Marquis of Lothian, then Lord Clerk Register, who took to heart the unfortunate state of the records 'very near as much as if it had happened thro' his own fault,' suggested as a temporary repository the 'Gate House belonging to the Abbey of Holyrood-house, in which the late Countess

<sup>1</sup> Papers *re* Records.

<sup>2</sup> Petition to Town Council, 1731.

<sup>3</sup> *Culloden Papers*, Nos. 197-9, 208, 209, 242.

of Forfar lodged,' to be refitted at a cost of £400 sterling, 'untill a General Register House, capable to hold the whole Records of the Kingdom, shall be built and finished.'<sup>1</sup> But nothing further transpired; the records remained in Laigh Parliament House, and a petition to the Town Council in 1747 for an increased allowance to provide 'a fire in each of the rooms where the records are kept, furnishing candle, tar-barrels, etc.,' being unanswered, had to be renewed in 1756. With such methods, and such combustibles, the marvel is that anything survived this long period of inaction.

At length, however, a great fire in 1750, and the collapse of much old property in the High Street in the following year, gave the magistrates of Edinburgh the opportunity of obtaining a site for much-needed improvements; and a wave of enthusiasm arose which eventually carried a large part of the population over the intervening valleys to south and north, resulting in the creation of the 'New Town.' How the records fared under this new development, the next section endeavours to show.

## II

The Convention of Royal Burghs, in July 1752, considered the report of their committee 'touching the purchasing an area for a public forum or exchange at the Cross of Edinburgh, erecting a building on the ruins on the south side of the Parliament Close, containing a Borough room, providing proper repositories for the Public Records of the nation, and the other useful works mentioned in the remit'; and in August their committee published 'Proposals' for erecting the Exchange on the north side of High Street, and a building 'upon the ruins in the Parliament Close' to accommodate the Courts of Justice, Convention of Burghs, Town Council, 'proper apartments for the several registers,' and Advocates'

<sup>1</sup> *Culloden Papers*, No. 242; *More Culloden Papers*, iii. pp. 224-8.

Library. The expense of these public works was to be defrayed by a national contribution.<sup>1</sup> In connection with the scheme a Bill was promoted narrating that 'several noblemen, many members of the College of Justice, and other gentlemen, and also the most considerable of the Incorporations of Edinburgh, have agreed to contribute certain sums, and certain of these noblemen with the Town Council and members of the legal faculty are appointed commissioners for causing to be erected or otherwise provided in convenient places within the City, buildings proper for keeping the Public Records under the custody of the Lord Clerk Register, and for a Library house to the Faculty of Advocates, a hall for the clerks to the Signet, a Town house, a hall or borough room for the annual convention of the Commissioners of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, and a council chamber for the use of the magistrates'; also for offices for Chancery, Exchequer, etc. The limits of the Exchange are defined; and certain buildings are to be rent-free and unleaseable, including the building for keeping the records under the custody of the Lord Clerk Register; and the town is to keep the buildings in repair. The Act was to be in force till the third Monday in June 1765, so far as related to the purchase of buildings and ground—and for all other powers till the third Monday in June 1774.<sup>2</sup>

This scheme took effect only so far as related to the Exchange, which was erected during the next few years. 'No further steps were taken to provide a building for the National Records, or a room for the Convention of Royal Burghs.'<sup>3</sup> The balance of the contributed funds was eventually applied towards building the North Bridge. But the provision of suitable accommodation for the Public Records was engaging attention in other quarters. On 5th September 1760 George II. granted commission to James, Earl of Morton, as Clerk Register of Scotland (which was renewed 27th March 1761 by

<sup>1</sup> Miller's *The Municipal Buildings of Edinburgh*, pp. 112 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Scots Magazine*, xv. p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Miller's *Mun. Buildings*, p. 119 note.

George II.); and Morton at once bestirred himself to get the matter placed on a proper footing. Doubtless through his advocacy, the Lords of Session and Barons of Exchequer were influenced to make representations in May or June 1765 to the Treasury, showing that the 'Repository for Records in this part of the Kingdom is, by the continual and necessary increase of the number of such records, become greatly insufficient for preserving the same in a safe and proper manner, insomuch that great parcels thereof are now lying in heaps against the walls, and upon the floors of the record rooms, for want of room to dispose of them more conveniently; that the present repository is so situated as to be very improper for preserving records, cannot be enlarged, and is capable of little or no improvement, being mostly underground without means of procuring light or air sufficient for managing or preserving the records, and subject to dampness so great and incurable that some of the records are thereby effaced, many of them rotting, and all of them in imminent danger of being destroyed if not speedily removed.' And the Memorialists 'apprehend a more proper place may be found for building or making such a repository, but do not understand that there is any fund immediately liable to bear the expenses attending the same.'<sup>1</sup> The Treasury was accordingly asked to approach His Majesty with a view to obtaining such a fund; and the outcome was, that on 7th June 1765 Treasury signified to the Barons of Exchequer that the King had appointed the sum of £12,000 sterling, out of the money arising from the sale of estates forfeited in Scotland by the Rebellion of 1745, to be applied towards purchase of ground, and building a proper repository; and the Barons were authorised to pay over the said sum to certain officers who were to act as Trustees for administering the fund. These persons were, the Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord Clerk Register, Lord Justice

<sup>1</sup> *Register of Reports to Exchequer*, vol. 6.

General, President of Session, Lord Chief Baron of Exchequer, and Justice Clerk, all for the time being—any three of them to be a quorum.

Preserved in the Register House are certain volumes of Minutes of the Trustees, from which much of the subsequent information is obtained. Four of the Trustees met on 14th August 1765, and at once deliberated upon a site. 'It is the opinion of this meeting, that the most convenient area unoccupied with buildings and of sufficient extent within the City of Edinburgh for placing the said repository, is the north-west quarter of the garden belonging to Herriot's Hospital; but that a proper place near the Court of Session for accommodating the clerks of Session with respect to the current business of the said court be provided'; and the Lord Register and others were instructed to speak with the Governors of Heriot's Hospital about purchasing a feu of the said ground. The Lord Register was also to 'employ some proper person or persons to make drawings and estimates for said building,' and inquire anent prices of material.

On 20th August the Trustees approached the Governors aforesaid with their proposal, and exhibited to them a plan of the ground to be feued, and also a plan of the building that was proposed to be erected on the site. Little time had been lost, evidently, and it seems likely that the Clerk Register had had his plans well thought out beforehand. Indeed, that this was so is proved by the following inscription on a plan and elevation reproduced by R. Baldwin in 1767:—'Morton Excogitavit, 1762.'<sup>1</sup> Probably the plan shown to the Governors was similar, if not this very one. It portrays a plain square building of one storey in height, surmounted by a dome. Its internal arrangement indicates an endeavour rather to provide accommodation for clerks of Court and transaction of current business, than to furnish space for the storage of records. Morton's keen desire had been to obtain

<sup>1</sup> *Plans, Reg. House.*

a site near the Excise Office; and his letter to Baron Mure of Caldwell, dated 28th July 1764,<sup>1</sup> shows his strong antipathy to a building of more than one storey, chiefly because of the risk of fire.

The Governors of Heriot's Hospital agreed to grant a feu-charter to the Trustees of 1 acre 1 rood 10 falls 32 ells for the sum of £500 sterling of purchase money, and £20 of yearly feu-duty; and the Trustees accepted this arrangement. A set-back, however, occurred when the Lord Register reported at the next meeting that several of the Writers to the Signet objected to Heriot's Garden on the ground that it was too far distant from the Session-house and centre of business; and it was found needful to discuss the proposals with the Society, and invite suggestions as to a better site. The result was that on 14th December 1765, when the Deputy-Keeper of the Signet presented a memorandum on the subject, the Trustees, being 'apprehensive that inconveniencies may arise from placing the repository for the records in Heriot's Garden, which they are desirous to avoid as much as possible,' promised to 'use their endeavours to place the said building in a more convenient situation, if such a one can be procured.' They appointed their next meeting to be on 8th February 1766; but no further meeting took place till 28th June 1768, when the number of Trustees was augmented by the addition of the Lord Advocate; and he and the Lord Justice Clerk were appointed to converse with the Town Council of Edinburgh 'on the subject of procuring an area for building the repository for the records.'

Meanwhile the whole complexion of affairs was changing. James, Earl of Morton, died in October 1768, and when the Trustees met again on 10th August 1769, Lord Frederick Campbell<sup>2</sup> occupied the office of Lord Clerk Register. Designs for the lay-out of the New Town had been submitted, and

<sup>1</sup> *The Caldwell Papers*, i. part ii. p. 259.

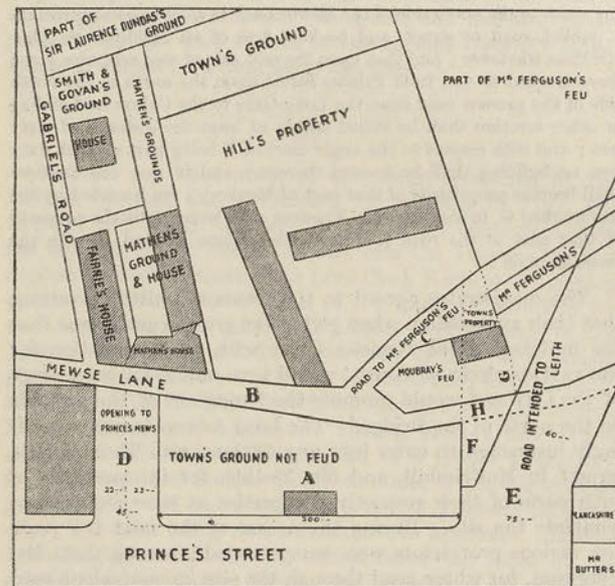
<sup>2</sup> Brother of John, 5th Duke of Argyll.

were ready to be put into execution; and the North Bridge, which spanned the intervening valley, was approaching completion. The magistrates were thus in a position to suggest a conspicuous and spacious site for the new repository, namely 'the area lying at the north end of the New Bridge and fronting it.' The Trustees accordingly visited this area, 'and also certain other areas in and about the City, particularly the Garden at the back of the Excise Office, an area to the east of Mr. Adam's Square, the area to the south of the Exchequer Chamber, and an area to the west of the Parliament House'; and 'it appeared to them that upon the whole the area at the end of the New Bridge would, all circumstances considered, be the most proper area for the above purpose, provided it should not be thought at too great distance from the Courts of Justice, and that it could be obtained upon reasonable terms.' The Lord Provost and other members of the Town Council stated that the said area belonged in part to the City of Edinburgh and in part to Mr. Hill, 'was distant about 450 or 500 yards from the Courts of Session and Exchequer, and might be walked at a moderate pace within about eight minutes.'

It was also reported that, as the area belonging to the city would not be of sufficient extent to contain a proper building for a repository for the records, it would be necessary for the Trustees to obtain right to Mr. Hill's property or a considerable part of it. There was also the question of whether the Trustees should have to pay for the Town's part of the ground, or whether the Town was bound to give the same gratis. On 20th September the Council passed an Act for giving the ground gratis. The property was then described to the Trustees with reference to a plan produced: which description is as follows:—

'The area marked A on said plan lying opposite to the north end of the Bridge, the center whereof is directly opposite to the center of the Bridge, extending to two hundred feet from east to west, bounded

towards the north by the road presently leading from the Long-Gate to the Calton, marked B on said plan, which road to the extent of said front is also to be made over to the Trustees, but with reservation of such entry to Mathie's house as he by law may be entitled to in case the said



PLAN OF SITE OF OLD REGISTER HOUSE.<sup>1</sup>

house shall not be purchased by the Trustees; and also the road presently leading to Mr. Ferguson's feu in Clelands yards marked C on the plan, in lieu of which Mr. Ferguson and such other persons as may have a servitude on said road are to have a passage from the intended road to Leith into Clelands yards.'

<sup>1</sup> For 'Mathen' in plan, read 'Mathew.' In this article the name usually appears as Mathie.

Thereupon the Trustees proposed

'that the whole space from east to west betwixt Humble's feu marked D and the area marked A now given to the Trustees measuring from fourty to forty-five feet or thereby shall from Princes Street upon the south to the north side of the Mewse Lane in all time coming remain a publick road or street, and be kept free of all buildings or other erections whatever; and that upon the east side of said area now given them marked E and from Princes Street upon the south to the north side of the present road from the Long-Gate to the Calton no building or other erection shall be raised within at least the distance of sixty feet; and with respect to the angle marked F being part of said sixty feet no building shall be erected thereon; and in case the Trustees shall become proprietors of that part of Moubray's feu bounded by the line marked G, in that case the Trustees shall have gratis the property of that part of the road leading to the Calton marked H with the foresaid angle F.'

The magistrates agreed to the terms submitted, averring that their expectation when giving the ground gratis was that the building of the Register Office with accommodation for the various clerks of Court 'would turn out to the advantage of the City and would promote the feuing out of the grounds on the north of the Bridge.' The Lord Advocate was accordingly instructed to enter into negotiations with Thomas Hill, wright in Multrieshill, and Mr. Mathie, for the purchase of such parts of their respective properties as were requisite to complete the site. During the course of the next few years the various proprietors were compensated; among them Mr. Ferguson, for whose road through the site an equivalent road was given at the north-east corner, in order to preserve 'the beauty, safety and utility of the building.' From the plan in connection with this arrangement it is clear that it was intended that a road should surround the building on all sides; but the scheme did not take effect.

The site thus obtained formed part of what was known as Multrieshill, upon which stood a hamlet of that name. The Lang Gait, passing from the Kirkbraehead (west end of

Princes Street) to the Calton, was here intersected by Gabriel's Road, a continuation of the road leading from Halkerston's Wynd by the eastern end of the North Loch.<sup>1</sup> The old line of the Lang Gait would run through the middle of the present building; and the lane now bordering the Register House property on the west is part of the ancient Gabriel's Road, and is so named on a number of the plans.

### III

Mention has been made of the design sponsored by the Earl of Morton, and delineated by Baldwin in 1767, but whether this design was ever submitted in connection with the new site is not clear. At any rate the Trustees on 21st September 1769 instructed the Lord Clerk Register to 'employ persons of skill to draw plans of the intended buildings for the records and for the Clerks' offices.' A meeting of the Trustees was held on 3rd August 1770 to deal with certain payments for the site; but it was not until their next meeting, 30th July 1772, that the Lord Clerk Register made his report. He had meanwhile employed 'Messrs. Robert and James Adams, Architects' to draw a plan of a proper Repository for the Records of Scotland, had examined it himself with all possible care, and had submitted it to the Trustees individually. The plan being now exhibited was approved, and the Lord Register was asked to authenticate the same by his subscription (only the South front Elevation so signed is extant). In a letter to his Lordship, Robert Adam<sup>2</sup> stated that he and his brother James were willing 'to furnish all the figured drawings, and all the various parts at large, contained in said plan, as the same might be wanted in course of the work; and that they would visit the work once every

<sup>1</sup> *Plans, Reg. House, No. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed King's Architect, jointly with Sir William Chambers, in December 1761.

year, if necessary, or once in two years, at the rate of 2½ per cent. on the money expended on the building, and 50 guineas as the expence of each journey to Edinburgh, without charging anything for the plan already drawn or their trouble in adjusting thereof.' The Trustees accepted the offer, and desired the architects to draw up an advertisement for the newspapers inviting tenders; and they appointed the plan to be lodged with John Adam, architect in Edinburgh (brother of Robert). James Salisbury, on the recommendation of Robert Adam, was appointed Clerk of Works at a salary of £100 per annum.

Apart from the 'Elevation' produced on 30th July 1772, and signed by the Lord Clerk Register, there are the following working plans prepared by Robert Adam on 14th October:—Ground Storey, Section S. to N., Elevation (in outline) of North front, Section (half) W. to E., and Plan of Cellars. For complete ground-plans of the two principal floors, recourse must be had to a reproduction by E. Thezard of R. and J. Adam's *Works in Architecture* (1900-1), originally published in 1773. These plans demonstrate the complete design which Robert Adam had in view. In addition to this, there is a model in wood, which is at present stored in the basement of the Royal Scottish Museum; it is about 5 feet 3 inches square, or on a scale of one-38th. A photograph of this model is given in Swarbrick's *Robert Adam and His Brothers* (London, 1915), p. 263; he is in error, however, in attributing it to Robert Adam, it was constructed by James Salisbury, the Clerk of Works, between the years 1790 and 1798, at the request of Lord Frederick Campbell. Robert Adam died in 1792.

Further plans and working drawings were prepared by Robert Adam between 1774 and 1776 relative to details of the front columns, windows and entablatures, with various mouldings and cornices. During the year 1785 sketches were made for the completion of the Dome room, also the orna-

ments, etc., for the front wall or parapet, balustrade of the stair, and design of the lamps. In 1786-8 details were given of the chimney-piece and doorway for the Lord Register's room; and in 1790 designs for a guard-house. These structural drawings and plans are now preserved in three portfolios in the Historical Search Room of the Register House.

By August 1773 the area had been cleared, and the ground made ready for laying the foundation. Tenders were advertised for, and thirty-eight estimates were received by the Lord Clerk Register. The building was to be 'of the best stones which can be had, least subject to blowing or to stains, and of the best colour and polish.' The estimates were submitted to the brothers Adam, who reported in favour of the tender of Messrs. John Wilson and David Henderson, masons, Edinburgh; stone to be from Craigleith or Ravelston quarries, sand from the Links of Leith, and lime from Gilmerton. They had based their calculations upon Ravelston as well as Craigleith stone, because Heriot's Hospital was built of Ravelston stone, and 'they can answer that it will neither blow nor waste, and that it is free of sulphur and brown spots.' Any faulty stones, especially in the south front of the building, are to be replaced. Drains were to be made leading to the 'great Canal,'<sup>1</sup> either on the east or west side of the Bridge. A hoarding was to be erected around the area to be built upon, and a supply of water led in. It was also arranged that 'when the work comes to go on, there shall be no building during winter, that is after the last day of October, nor before the first of March, and that the building shall be carried on so leisurely from year to year as to allow the parts built successively to settle and consolidate, before the others are put above them.'

The Clerk of Works was granted the use of one of the old houses on Hill's property, as being convenient for overseeing the operations; and a sum of £25 was allowed by the

<sup>1</sup> Anticipating a scheme outlined in Craig's plan, 1767, which was not carried out.

Trustees for putting it into repair. Alexander Tait, a Clerk of Session, acting for the Trustees, was to pay the contractors monthly.

On Monday, 27th June 1774, the foundation-stone of the 'Register Office or General Repository for the Records of Scotland' was laid by Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Register of Scotland, James Montgomery, His Majesty's Advocate for Scotland, and Thomas Miller of Barskimming, Lord Justice Clerk, being three of the Trustees, attended by Robert Adam, their architect and surveyor. There were likewise present the Lord Provost and other members of the Council of Edinburgh, the Judges of the Court of Session and Barons of Exchequer, Henry Dundas, Solicitor-General, Alexander Lockhart, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, John Mackenzie, Deputy-Keeper of the Signet, 'with many other persons of distinction.' 'In honour of His present Majesty, to whose bounty the public is indebted for this noble and most useful Edifice, there is inscribed upon a brass plate let into the foundation-stone the following inscription:—  
'CONSERVANDIS TABULIS PUBLICIS POSITUM EST ANNO  
MVILXXIV MUNIFICENTIA OPTIMI ET PIENISSIMI REGIS  
GEORGH TERTII.' The Lord Register, in presence of the above-mentioned Trustees, 'placed in a glass vase, hermetically sealed up and also let into the foundation-stone, one piece of each kind of coin which has been struck in gold, silver or copper during His Majesty's reign, together with a gold medal struck upon his Coronation.' The *Caledonian Mercury*, in its issue of that date, gives the additional information that 'Captain Ferguson, of the Navy, erected on a rising ground in St. James Square a platform where were placed thirteen ship guns, and an elegant tent or awning, which consisted of a state-room, quarter-deck, etc., on the top of which were displayed the British broad pennant and several other flags. The inside afforded a very pleasing repast of wine and sweetmeats to such of his acquaintances and friends

as could reach him for the crowd. The artillery, upon laying of the stone, gave three rounds in very good order, which were followed by three cheers from the spectators.'

From time to time John Adam visited the work, and expressed satisfaction with its progress. During cessation of the work in winter, straw was evidently used to cover the courses; some of the workmen were retained to prepare hewn stones, while the rest found employment in other directions. Robert Adam travelled from London in August 1776 to inspect the building. By that time it had been constructed to the top of the pillars and cornice,<sup>1</sup> all on a level; and he advised the Trustees to have the 'carcase' completed and the whole roofed in by the following summer, including the party or division walls, so that the timbers for the roof may be set in position; also that the Dome and pediment roof of the south front should be covered with lead instead of slate as 'more safe, more lasting and more beautiful.' He assured the Trustees that every branch of the work 'has been done in the very best, most substantial and workmanlike manner, and that it has given me the greatest satisfaction.'

By this time, however, funds were running low; and although in the spring of 1778 the Trustees succeeded in obtaining a grant of £2000, this was soon used up, and by the end of that year building operations ceased altogether, and there was no resumption of work till 1785, after a larger grant had been obtained from Government. Consequently for a period of at least six years the building stood desolate and untenanted, save for the fact, as Hugo Arnot describes it, that 'Edinburgh may indeed boast of having the most magnificent pigeon-house in Europe.'

The work outlined for 1785 was the finishing of the skylight in the Dome, completing of the four Towers, paving inner courts, constructing two inside staircases, clearing the

<sup>1</sup> Four Corinthian pillars support a pediment, in the centre of which are the arms of Great Britain. Above the whole front is a Corinthian entablature.

earth round the building to the intended level, surrounding the whole with a parapet wall and rail, and finishing the entrances to south and east agreeable to a sketch given by Adam. His design for the ceiling of the Dome was also to be executed. Interest on the accounts due to tradesmen was to be paid 'since giving up the building in 1778.' Tenders for the plumber and slater work were submitted; the carpenter work had been entrusted to the Clerk of Works as the most efficient person for the purpose. In the earlier stages the brothers Adam had advised that the laying of the brick courses should be done by a bricklayer and assistant from London, as they saw 'none of that branch' done well in Edinburgh. However, it was an Edinburgh mason (William Jamieson) who now received the contract for brickwork, and Thomas Clayton was employed for the plaster work.

Later in the year 1785, Adam's design for a parapet wall with entrance opposite the centre of the building was adopted, and the contract given to Robert Inglis, mason. It was agreed that the passages, hall, ground floor and first floor of the Dome should be paved with stones from Hailes quarry, and the gallery of the Dome with stones from Hailes and Craigleith. The whole of the windows were to be made of mahogany.

As the building proceeded, modifications were from time to time made in the interior structure; and in regard to passages, doorways, and fireplaces, full effect was not given to the original design. Adam's ambitious scheme of ornamentation was not carried out in its entirety. The Central Hall with its Dome is 50 feet in diameter and 70 feet in height. Here a light iron railing, surmounted by a mahogany banister, was substituted for the handsome stone balustrade which he sketched for the gallery; and the pavement, on which an elaborate pattern in black and white was to be picked out, is of plain stone. Nevertheless, the Dome exhibits a fair specimen of the Adamesque style, except that the treatment of the

medallions is more restrained than usual, in keeping with the chaste pursuits of those who frequent the building, lest gazing skyward they should be tempted to indulge in irrelevant flights of fancy.<sup>1</sup>

By the close of 1788 the rooms were ready for occupation, and were allotted to clerks of various departments. Each record official was to bear the expense of fitting up and furnishing the chambers assigned to him. He also provided his own fuel, and his own servant for cleaning his room. 'This system, by which all sorts of persons had a right to enter the Register House,' was put an end to between 1817 and 1819, and in lieu thereof each official paid £9 per annum. A few finishing touches were put to the edifice, and in the course of that memorable year 1789, a beginning was made with the transfer of the records from the Laigh Parliament House, when what Dr. Maitland Thomson describes as the 'battered veteran relics of the old regime' found at last a 'secure hospital,' and the promise of better treatment in the days to come. Arrangements had been made for heating the Dome and the adjacent chambers by means of flues from furnaces in the basement storey.

The outbreak of the French Revolution, and the fears entertained by the community in consequence thereof, prompted the Trustees to erect a guard-house for the protection of the new Repository; and Robert Adam was again approached to prepare designs.<sup>2</sup> This structure was placed in juxtaposition to Gabriel's Road, and stood in what now forms the courtyard at the head of West Register Street. It is shown on the Ordnance Map of 1853, but was probably pulled down when alterations and extensions were being made in 1857.

<sup>1</sup> At the instigation of the present Keeper of the Registers and Records arrangements were made prior to the War, and since carried into effect, for fitting up the Central Hall to serve the purpose for which it was obviously intended by the architect. It was opened as a Public Search Room on 29th January 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Plan dated June 1790.

It is probable that the plans engraved by James Basire and issued with the Report of the Parliamentary Commission on the Records in 1800, represent the structural modifications in Adam's design which had been adopted. Of course, only the dark-shaded parts were actually constructed by that date.

A new chapter in the story of the Register House now opens. Lord Frederick Campbell, whose portrait by Raeburn occupies a prominent place in the Dome, had been judicially thanked by the Lords of Session in December 1793 for his 'unremitting assiduity and eminent services in the execution of his office as Lord Clerk Register, and particularly in the great attention which he has bestowed upon the construction, fitting up, and completing of the new Repository for the Public Records, as well as the internal arrangement of the business there,' and for having obtained a permanent establishment for preserving the building and securing the safety of its contents.<sup>1</sup> But his interest in the condition of the records and their place of abode did not cease at this point. At his own private expense he introduced many improvements in the interior accommodation and means of access to the records; and in his enthusiasm he was ably abetted by Thomas Thomson, advocate (brother of Thomson of Duddingston, the celebrated painter), whom he had appointed as his Deputy in June 1806. Thomson's reports in that capacity elucidate much of the subsequent history of the building, which would otherwise be difficult to ascertain. Records were accumulating, and much important historical material was being collected by the Deputy Clerk Register from quarters whither it had drifted in the course of the past century. Not only was there pressing need of a rearrangement of the archives, but a more fitting position was required for the proper presentation and inspection of the principal National Records. The room in the centre of the south

<sup>1</sup> Papers re Records, in Reg. House.

front of the building,<sup>1</sup> allocated from the beginning for the use of the Lord Clerk Register, and so utilised by Lord Frederick Campbell, was thought to be the best for such a purpose; and thither they were transferred for the time being. Meanwhile sundry structural alterations were needed, and when Archibald Colquhoun succeeded, in 1816, as Lord Clerk Register, Thomson suggested to him that the soil should be removed from the area between the parapet wall and the front of the building, and windows broken out for the purpose of lighting ten rooms in the basement, hitherto only of use for storing fuel. This was accordingly done, a year or two later. Probably at the same time the inner courts were lowered to basement level, and windows opened in the lower floor of the Dome.

All this, however, was not sufficient, and on the entry of William Dundas to office in 1821 as Lord Clerk Register, Thomson urged the completion of Adam's original design for the building, by which more than one-third would be added to the accommodation available for record purposes. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1822 enabling further sums to be provided, and accordingly the Trustees met on 24th August of that year, and authorised Robert Reid, architect, 'Surveyor of the General Register House,'<sup>2</sup> to prepare plans for an extension on the lines indicated in the Act of Parliament, viz., 'according to the original plan or design thereof, part of which only has been finished, or according to such other plan or design as shall appear best adapted in the present state of the public records of Scotland for the purposes of such repository.' Reid accordingly produced his designs on 2nd October, and he was appointed to superintend operations, receiving an allowance of five per cent. upon the actual ex-

<sup>1</sup> Now occupied by the Lyon Office.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Reid of Lowood, b. 1776, d. 1856. He held a commission as King's Architect and Surveyor of H.M. Works; and designed, *i.e.*, Law Courts in Parliament Square, St. George's Church (Charlotte Square), also St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews.

penditure, in full remuneration for his trouble. The tender of William Wallace and Son, Builders, Edinburgh, was accepted, and the work proceeded. Accounts were finally adjusted with them in February 1834; but before that time the Trustees had to apply for a further Government grant, and an Act was passed in 1827 which narrates that they 'had found it expedient to alter, and in some respects to enlarge, the original plan or design of the building of His Majesty's General Register House, and also to alter and improve certain parts of the buildings formerly erected, and the interior arrangements of many of the apartments therein contained,' thus necessitating additional expense. It is at present uncertain where Reid's plans are, or what successive steps were taken in the execution of the work. In the contract with the builders, signed 23rd-30th October 1822, it is stipulated that the mason work of the new building is to be so far completed by 1st October 1823 as to allow the carpenter to put on and fix the roof so that the new part may be covered in, and the rest of the mason work is to be finished a year later. Stones from Craigleith, and pavement stones from Hailes, Craigleith, and Arbroath, were to be furnished.

The chief National Records now found lodgment in the large room on the north side of the building, which was ready to receive them about the end of 1827. It is now known as the Historical Search Room, and is the largest and most ornate chamber in the Old Register House. There is a heavily moulded ceiling, an early plan of which provides for roof lighting, which unfortunately has not yet been adopted. The ancient records are preserved in oak presses, and a few of the most important State documents are exhibited in cases. In the Curator's room at the west end of the chamber hangs a portrait of Thomas Thomson executed by Karl Christian Schmidt. Students and others may here consult the older records for historical purposes free of charge, on application to the Keeper of the Registers and Records.

By 1846 gas had been introduced in all apartments and passages, and lamps and candles dispensed with, thus providing further security from fire. This was superseded by electricity between the years 1897 and 1899.

Alterations in the screen-wall or parapet at the front of the Register House were proposed in 1842, partly with the view of widening and improving the entrance to Leith Street, and partly in connection with an application from the Earl of Dalhousie, as chairman of the Committee for erecting an equestrian statue in honour of the Duke of Wellington, which it was proposed to place in front of the building. At first it was suggested that the screen-wall should be thrown back, and the stairway altered; but it was eventually decided to keep the wall as it stood. The matter lay in abeyance for seven years, and then there was further controversy about the screen and the stairway; the entire screen was to be thrown about nine feet back, to a line corresponding with the houses in the eastern division of Princes Street. This was apparently executed during the erection of the statue. From the somewhat involved statements in the Trustees' books it would seem that the chief objection was to any alteration in the *line* of the wall, or its curvature at the ends, which might 'materially injure the general appearance of the building, of which the screen was evidently intended to form a prominent feature by the architect who designed it.'

The statue of 'the Iron Duke, in bronze, by Steell' (Sir John Steell) was completed in 1852, and unveiled in presence of a large number of pensioners, armless or legless, who met on the steps of the Register House for the first time since Waterloo.

The stairway of semi-circular shape was unfortunately squared off, when in 1890-91 the parapet wall was moved<sup>1</sup> at its east and west ends still closer to the south front of the building, much to the prejudice of its amenity.

<sup>1</sup> By arrangement between the Town Council and H.M. Office of Works.

Mention has been made of the opening up of Leith Street, and a few remarks may be offered on this subject, as it was evidently intended in the first instance that the amenities in the neighbourhood of the Register House should be carefully preserved. The line of road was begun in the year 1775, and runs along the eastern edge of the ground which had been purchased by the Trustees from the heirs of Robert Mowbray, wright, and which ground was known as Mowbray's Parks.<sup>1</sup> Upon this piece of ground lying between what is now East Register Street and Leith Street it was proposed to erect a row of dwelling-houses, and designs relative thereto were submitted by Robert Adam in 1785. These designs are extant, and portray a very elegant architectural scheme, which however proved too ambitious to be acceptable to the feuars, who alleged 'that the houses if built agreeable to either of Mr. Adam's plans would be much too expensive for that class of people who would fall to occupy them.' The gardens were to extend right back to East Register Street and St. James's Square. Accordingly the Trustees had to find that 'it will answer every purpose, both of safety and ornament to the Register Office, if a building such as was intended by Mr. Adams is erected on the area opposite to the east end of the Register Office, and the rest of their property there feued out without any other restriction than to keep the buildings in a line upon the side of the road, that they shall not exceed a certain height, and that they shall not be occupied by any trades or professions which may be deemed a nuisance, or which may expose them to the hazard of fire.'

## IV

As has been seen, the original fund provided for the erection of a Repository for the records was £12,000, to be paid to the Register House Trustees by the Receiver-General

<sup>1</sup> It formed part of the ground belonging formerly to Paul's Work.

out of sums obtained from the Forfeited Estates. This sum was deposited on 13th September 1765 in two equal proportions with the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank, at four per cent. The interest only was uplifted until July 1774, when the principal began to be encroached upon. It was applied to the purchase of ground from Hill (£1304, 14s. 8d.), Mathie (£853, 18s. 10d.), and the heirs of Mowbray (£540). The salary of Salisbury, Clerk of Works, began at Martinmas 1772, and there were payments to Robert Adam in November 1772, October 1773, and June 1774, at fifty guineas each time. Building was begun on 27th June 1774, and the item of £7, 12s. 6d. is paid to the undertakers for expense of laying the foundation-stone. Other interesting items are £9 for straw to cover in the building in the winter of 1774, £12, 7s. for wheat straw for a similar purpose at the end of 1775, and £14, 11s. for the following winter. By 11th April 1778 the capital was exhausted, and an extra grant of £2000 was obtained from Exchequer on 27th April 1778, in response to the appeal of the Trustees in August 1777 for a further sum 'to put the copestone on the carcass of this noble edifice.'

For the continuation of the work, interior decoration, etc., it was necessary to obtain more funds, and Government voted an additional sum of £15,000 from the same source as formerly (Forfeited Estates) in terms of Act 24 Geo. III. (23rd November 1784). This was paid in instalments, and discharge was given for the first moiety on 30th November 1786, and for the second on 2nd July 1789. There is no sufficiently detailed account of the expenditure of this sum, but at the end of 1789 the Trustees required still £2000 to finish the work, and to obtain this they resolved to sell by public roup the feu-duties payable to them for the houses in Leith Street and a tenement of houses in Gabriel's Road; and they also resolved to apply for an establishment of £500 per annum to keep the premises in proper repair. Royal warrant was accordingly granted on 12th January 1792 for this amount. A special grant of £1650

was made on 7th January 1813 for furnishings and repairs, and on 17th March thereafter the annual grant was increased to £1000. In relation to this last item, there is on record an interesting correspondence in 1809 between Lord Frederick Campbell and the Barons of Exchequer, which serves as a further illustration of his Lordship's fine public spirit. He possessed as a source of private income the feu-duties of Islay, amounting to £460 yearly; and he expressed his desire to resign this into the King's hands, in order that it might be applied in augmentation of the annual grant to the Register House. It was found impracticable to accept this magnanimous offer, but his Lordship was cordially thanked for his proposal.

For the completion of the building in 1822-33 further funds were required, to provide which an Act was passed on 15th July 1822<sup>1</sup> to allow the surplus of fees exigible from the office of Lord Clerk Register and Keeper of the Signet to accumulate in the hands of the Trustees to the sum of £30,000, and then to be applied by them for the above purpose. On 23rd June 1827 another Act was passed,<sup>2</sup> sanctioning the application of a further sum of £20,000 arising from the balance of fees, in order to defray the expenses of the building as now enlarged. The Trustees had of course to borrow from the Bank of Scotland on this security.

In June 1833 Robert Reid, architect, presented his account of the sums expended on the work, which amounted in all to £39,268, 14s. 10d. The cost up to 1789 was about £41,000; and thus the total cost of erection of the building now known as the Old Register House was something like £80,000.

By Statute 18 & 19 Vict. cap. 80 (30th July 1855), the Parliamentary Trustees, who had originally acquired the ground on which the Register House was built, and in whose persons the feudal title had been constituted, were super-

<sup>1</sup> 3 Geo. IV., cap. 62.

<sup>2</sup> 7 & 8 Geo. IV., cap. 46.

seded, and the buildings were vested in the Board of Works, subject to their being used only for the purposes specified in the Royal Warrants and Acts of Parliament dating from 1765.

V

By the year 1856 the existing accommodation had again become insufficient, on account of the influx of Commissary Court records, transmissions of Valuation Rolls, the establishment of the office of Accountant of the Court of Session, and the establishment of the General Registry of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.<sup>1</sup> New premises were urgently required; and a site for these was found in the following manner. When St. Andrew Square was formed, the brothers Adam built on its eastern side a house for Andrew Crosbie, advocate; and a little distance to the south of this another house of similar style. Between them lies an open space,<sup>2</sup> in front of what is now the Royal Bank, but which was originally built by Sir William Chambers, architect, as a residence for Sir Laurence Dundas, Bart., of Kerse. Dundas's house was in 1788 purchased for the use of the Board of Excise, and in 1826 was sold by that Department to the Royal Bank, which had previously occupied Crosbie's house. Meantime in December 1824 a certain area of ground to the south of the Excise Office garden was disposed by the Board to the Register House Trustees; and in 1854 a large block of houses to the west of the Old Register House, and abutting on the narrow lane named Gabriel's Road, came into the market, and the Commissioners of Treasury authorised the Trustees to acquire it. Upon this site the New Register House was erected

<sup>1</sup> A ludicrous design for providing extra space for records, by enlargement of the Dome, was set forth by W. G. Evans, an Edinburgh architect, in a series of plates issued in April 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Craig's Plan of January 1768 shows that a church was intended to be placed here, to balance the church at the other end of George Street.

between the years 1859 and 1863, at a cost of about £36,400, from designs by Robert Matheson.<sup>1</sup> A 'large and most objectionable' building, occupied as a plumber's shop, was also acquired and removed; and thereby a space was opened up between the New Register House and the National, British Linen Company, and Royal Banks, who jointly with Government provided the necessary funds.

The passing of the 'Land Registers Act' in 1868 again necessitated increased accommodation for the staff of the Sasine Office, and twenty-eight apartments on the east side of the old building were assigned to them; and to provide house-room for the accumulating mass of records, a circular building was erected in 1871 on the ground at the rear or north side of the Old Register House, and connected with the public search room by a covered passage. It is lighted from the roof, and repeats the external features of the Adam design.

The latest addition to the General Register House took place in 1902-4, when a wing was constructed on the west side of East Register Street, to connect with a tenement of dwelling-houses in St. James's Square, which were converted for the use of the Sasine Office. The estimated cost was £43,100; and an Act, passed on 7th August 1896,<sup>2</sup> granted the necessary powers.

Views of the General Register House, as it appeared during the various stages of its career, can be seen in the following works:—Arnot's *History of Edinburgh* (an imaginative view, probably sketched from Adam's elevation of south front); Stevenson's *Edinburgh in the Olden Time* (1880), giving crude views of Shakespeare Square and Register House in 1814 and 1816; Gibson's *Select Views in Edinburgh* (1818), showing the soil still *in situ* between screen-wall and building; Waugh and Innes, *Views of Principal Buildings in Edinburgh* (1824),

<sup>1</sup> Official Architect for Scotland, and designer of General Post Office.

<sup>2</sup> 59 & 60 Vict. cap. 24.

pl. 17; Shepherd's *Modern Athens* (1829); Ewbank's *Edinburgh Delineated* (1833), pl. 14; Storer's *Views in Edinburgh and Vicinity*, vol. 2; Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 365, showing screen-wall after first set-back, and before it was moved to present position.

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## APPENDIX

TWENTY-FIRST AND TWENTY-SECOND  
ANNUAL REPORTS, ETC.

# Old Edinburgh Club

1928

## *Honorary Patrons*

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## REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 30th January 1929, at 4 o'clock.

The Honourable Hew Hamilton Dalrymple, D.L., presided. There was a large attendance of members.

The Twenty-first 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 Twenty-first Annual Report.

During the year ended 31st December 1928 there were twenty-one vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain ten names on the list of applicants for admission.

The Council much regret to announce that the President has met with a serious accident which will incapacitate him for some time. He is progressing as well as can be expected.

The Council also have to report the death of Dr. Walter B. Blaikie, whose services to the Club are recorded in the following resolution, which was adopted at a meeting of Council on 10th October :—

The Council record their deep sense of the great loss which, along with many other societies, the Old Edinburgh Club has sustained in the death on 3rd May last of Dr. W. B. Blaikie. Dr. Blaikie became a member of the Club in the year of its foundation, 1908, and from the first he took a very deep interest in all its affairs. It was due to his fine taste and practical knowledge of all matters connected with book production, that our volumes from the first appeared in the handsome form which has been so much admired; and the article on Prince Charles in Edinburgh in 1745, which he contributed to our second volume, set a notable example of the type of article which it has been the aim of the Club to give to our members.

'Dr. Blaikie was President of the Club from 1909 to 1914, and in 1919 he was appointed one of the Honorary Vice-Presidents, holding that position until his death.

'During all these years the members of Council have had much experience of Dr. Blaikie's readiness to give all needed help and advice, while the charm of his personality is, to all of us, a lasting memory.'

A copy of the resolution was forwarded to the daughters of Dr. Blaikie, who made grateful acknowledgment.

Volume XVI. of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, comprising extracts relating to the city from certain publications of the Bannatyne Club, was issued to members in November. The work brings together multifarious information bearing upon social and municipal life from the earlier part of the sixteenth century to near the end of the seventeenth. The Council hope that the volume will be found entertaining reading as well as a storehouse of instruction. Preparations in connection with Volume XVII. have been begun, but it is too early to make definite announcement with regard to its contents.

An interesting programme of lectures and excursions was carried through, and the large attendances testified to the appreciation of this part of the Club's activities. The lectures, as usual, were delivered in the Goold Hall, Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, presiding on each occasion. On 26th January Dr. M. Tirol, of the Edinburgh Institution, discoursed pleasantly on the novel topic of 'French Teachers of Old Edinburgh.' He emphasised the early popularity of French in the city, remarking that in 1556, while Queen Mary was still in France, a school for the teaching of the language existed in our midst.

The next lecture was delivered on 23rd February by Mr. Hugh Hannah, who gave a very full account (much of it quite new) of the life and writings of Sir Daniel Wilson, whose *Memorials of Edinburgh* is an example of sound historical scholarship combined with literary skill. Wilson's *Memorials*, as the lecturer pointed out, is a classic of local history. 'No other writer on Old Edinburgh possessed the combination of qualities that marked this work.' In the closing lecture for the year, delivered on 21st November, Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., elaborately recounted the history of Chapel House, which stands in its own ground at the south end of Potterrow, and attracts attention mainly by the row of stone vases adorning its roof. Mr. Boog Watson also shed fresh light on adjacent properties connected with Sir James and Lady Nicolson, whose memory is pre-

served in Nicolson Street. The lecture was illustrated by maps and plans.

There were two excursions—one on the evening of 17th May, the other on Saturday afternoon, 7th July. On the former occasion the members, under the guidance of the President, visited places of antiquarian interest in the vicinity of Bristo Port. After viewing the hall of the ancient Corporation of Candlemakers, a visit was paid to Brown Square and the site of Society, where several historic houses were pointed out, and reference was made to distinguished personages who had lived in the locality. The company then proceeded to Bristo Port, where a portion of the Flodden Wall with massive buttresses was inspected. The itinerary ended with a visit to the George Inn, which figures in Scott's *Guy Mannering*, and of which an account was given by Mr. James H. Jamieson. The second excursion, which was under the leadership of Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., took the form of a tour of inspection of the Calton Hill. The monuments and other objects of historical interest were visited; and then, in the lecture-room of the City Observatory, Mr. Forbes Gray gave some account of the antiquities of Greenside and of the Burgh of Barony of Calton.

In conclusion, the Council would draw attention to the gratifying fact that the Club has now completed the twenty-first year of its existence.

Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Club, submitted the Report.

He referred to the mass of valuable information now contained in the Club's publications. There was still, however, much work to be done. In the City Chambers were stores of rich material awaiting the attention of the local historian.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, said:—

The Old Edinburgh Club has published sixteen volumes. Most interesting volumes they are, and we all look forward every year for the arrival of the next one. Edinburgh is a very large field, and there is still a great deal of research work to be done. I hope that the Club will carry on as successfully as in the past.

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

## 6 REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Mr. William K. Allan then moved the re-election of Lord Rosebery as Hon. President, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul, K.C.V.O., LL.D., and Mr. Thomas Ross, LL.D., as Hon. Vice-Presidents. The motion was cordially adopted.

On the motion of Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, Mr. William Cowan was unanimously re-elected President of the Club.

Mr. Robert T. Skinner, Mr. John Geddie, and Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson 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. Charles A. Malcolm, Ph.D., Mr. H. Macleod Paton, Mr. E. J. MacRae, A.R.I.B.A., and Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S., were elected members of Council.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Miss Marguerite Wood, M.A., Mr. Robert Paton, Mr. Hugh Hannah, and Mr. Andrew P. Melville, W.S., the retiring members of Council.

The proposal to transfer the Municipal Museum to Huntly House was the subject of some remarks by various speakers. Mr. John Russell said:—

As this year is the 600th anniversary of the City Charter from Robert the Bruce, it would be fitting to have some tangible memorial of so interesting an event. We might urge the Town Council to do something to restore Huntly House, at least in sections. We might also suggest that one of the rooms should be available for meetings of those interested in the history of Old Edinburgh.

The matter was remitted to the Council for consideration.

On the motion of the Earl of Cassillis, a vote of thanks was accorded the Chairman. The meeting then terminated.

## LECTURES

### I

#### FRENCH TEACHERS OF OLD EDINBURGH

'French Teachers of Old Edinburgh' was the subject of a lecture delivered on the evening of 26th January 1928 in the Gould Hall, by Dr. M. Tirol. Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, presided.

The lecturer remarked that French was spoken in Scotland as far back as the Middle Ages. When certain Scottish nobles rendered homage to Edward I. at Berwick in 1291, they did so in French. Later on, the Scottish Bishops usually went to France to complete their studies, and some were accomplished French scholars, notably Andrew Foreman, who, early in the sixteenth century, became Archbishop of Bourges. When Foreman returned to Scotland in 1515 he brought with him a Frenchman, to whom he granted a yearly sum of £50 Scots, as remuneration for teaching 'L'Art Poétique ou Oratoire' at St. Andrews University. In Edinburgh there was living in 1550 Jean Boutellier, a French student, who was paid twenty pounds by the town, though for what reason was unknown. Six years later there existed a French school, to which there were several references in the burgh records. Then it was symptomatic of the popularity of French north of the Tweed at this time that, on 26th August 1559, a book was entered at Stationers' Hall entitled 'Ane ABC for Scottismen to ried the French toungue with an exhortation to ye noblis of Scotland to favour their old friendis.' After referring to the progress of French teaching in the seventeenth century, Dr. Tirol made an interesting allusion to Burns. He remarked that the poet, during his stay in Edinburgh in the winter of 1786-87, received French lessons from one who played a great part in the educational and social life of the city—Louis Cauvin (c. 1754-1825). Cauvin, who had a farm at Jock's Lodge, was a member, along with William Nicol, the Latin master of the High School, of the Kilwinning Lodge of Freemasons, a circumstance which probably led to his acquaintance with Burns, who, in one of his letters, sent his respects 'to

the Guidman of Jock's Lodge.' At his death Cauvin bequeathed Louisfield, his mansion at Duddingston, together with his fortune, to found and endow a hospital for the maintenance and education of the sons of respectable but poor teachers or poor but honest farmers, whom failing, the sons of respectable master printers and booksellers or the sons of respectable agricultural servants. Cauvin's Hospital still existed, and was a worthy memorial to perhaps the most famous of the French teachers of Old Edinburgh.

On the motion of the President a vote of thanks was accorded the lecturer.

## II

## SIR DANIEL WILSON AND OLD EDINBURGH

'Sir Daniel Wilson: His Life Story and his Work for Old Edinburgh,' was the title of a lecture delivered on the evening of 23rd February 1928 in the Goold Hall, by Mr. Hugh Hannah. Mr. William Cowan, President of the Club, presided.

The substance of Mr. Hannah's lecture, recast in the form of an article, but with some fresh and interesting material added, will be found on pp. 1-16 of this volume. Mr. Hannah has devoted much time to original research with excellent results. His paper contains the most elaborate account of the earlier portion of Sir Daniel Wilson's career (embodying his work for Old Edinburgh) that has ever appeared, or is ever likely to appear. No adequate biography of the author of *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* exists, and little is known of his unreweaving efforts to preserve the historical remains of our city.

## III

## CHAPEL HOUSE, POTTERROW

On the evening of 21st November 1928, in the Goold Hall, Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., lectured on the Chapel House, Potterrow, and adjacent properties connected with Sir James and Lady Nicolson, whose memory is preserved by the thoroughfare known as Nicolson Street.

The Chapel House, now forming part of the typefoundry of Messrs. Miller & Richard, stands in its own ground at the foot of Potterrow, and attracts the attention of passers-by mainly by the row of stone vases or urns adorning its roof. It was built towards the beginning of the eighteenth century by Richard Frame, on land feued from Sir James Nicolson, the over superiors being the Governors of Heriot's Hospital. The mansion changed hands several times. Among its occupants were Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple of Bargeny and North Berwick; Sir Patrick Inglis, Bart., and his partners in the firm of Inglis, Horner & Co., linen manufacturers; and, later, the Horner family, a name worthily remembered in Edinburgh. In the earlier half of last century Andrew Melrose, founder of the firm of tea merchants, lived in Chapel House, together with thirty apprentices. In 1856 the building was acquired by a committee (which included Sir James Y. Simpson) for a maternity hospital, and, after serving that purpose for many years, was sold to John Miller Richard, typefounder, in whose family it still remains.

Mr. Boog Watson also dealt with a house at the west end of West Nicolson Street, on the south side. This structure, the western wall of which is covered by a luxuriant pear tree, is stated, probably erroneously, to have been the house to which Lady Nicolson retired after her husband's death. But, however that may be, the mansion had other illustrious inmates. Sir James Fergusson (1688-1759), who sat on the Bench of the Court of Session as Lord Kilkerran, not only acquired it and lived there, but took a 'tack' of the ground opposite, which now forms part of the burying-ground of Buccleuch Parish Church. Other eighteenth-century proprietors were the Earl of Glencairn, Alicia Johnston, widow of William Baird of Newbyth, and mother of the gallant Sir David Baird, the hero of Seringapatam; and Sir Alex. Stirling of Glorat. In 1818 the mansion became the property of John Watt, tobacconist, and a few years later it was bought by Andrew Usher.

Finally, Mr. Boog Watson gave some account of Nicolson House, which stood close to the site of the Empire Theatre; also of the column erected in the grounds of the mansion by Lady Nicolson in memory of her husband. Nicolson House, with its garden and column, disappeared when Nicolson Street, South College Street, and Drummond Street were formed.

## IV

## EXCAVATIONS AT CALTON HILL

Mr. E. J. MacRae, A.R.I.B.A., the City Architect, read 'Notes on the South Side of the Calton Hill and the Statue of Charles II. in Parliament Square' at a meeting held on the evening of 24th January 1929, in the Goold Hall. Mr. C. E. S. Chambers presided.

Dealing first with the south side of the Calton Hill, the lecturer described it as an interesting example of civic development from the days when M'Neil's Craigs stood unadorned by any monuments or public buildings, to the time when, following the rise of the New Town, a continuation eastwards of Princes Street by the Regent Bridge across the Hill opened up the thoroughway to the new London Road, and provided sites for a galaxy of classical structures—the Royal High School and the Burns Monument, the Observatory, and the Dugald Stewart Monument. As Lord Cockburn remarked, 'the effect was like drawing up the curtain of a theatre.' Mr. MacRae narrated an interesting discovery made last year as the result of a landslide on the slopes below the High School and above the Calton Brewery. On the removal of the surface soil and the exposure of the quarried face of the rock there was revealed two short tunnels leading into the hill. These were linked up with the tunnel made in 1843 in connection with the Edinburgh and Berwick Railway. The two small tunnels appeared to be (at least partly) of an earlier date, and various theories as to their origin had been propounded.

Mr. MacRae's notes referring to the history of the Statue of Charles II., and especially to the repairs carried out from time to time by the Town Council on this, the oldest of Edinburgh monuments, contained so much information worthy of permanent record, that it has been deemed advisable to print them as an article. The contribution, which in its new form has been supplemented at various points, will be found on pp. 82-90 of this volume.

Both portions of the lecture were illustrated with lantern views.

## V

## CHANGES IN THE CITY SINCE 1860

In a lecture delivered on the evening of 20th February 1929, in the Goold Hall, Mr. David A. Small described interesting changes in the

city since 1860, illustrating his remarks with lantern slides. The lecture was entitled 'Edinburgh: "Through Memory's Window."' Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, F.R.S.E., one of the Vice-Presidents, presided.

## VI

## ROMANCE OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

Mr. J. Wilson Paterson, M.V.O., M.B.E., A.R.I.B.A., of H.M. Office of Works, delivered a lecture on the evening of 18th December 1929, in the Gartshore Hall. His subject was: 'Preserving the Past for Posterity. The Romance of Ancient Monuments.' By means of lantern slides, Mr. Paterson demonstrated the excellent service which the Office of Works had accomplished with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments. Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, occupied the Chair.

## EXCURSIONS

## I

## BROWN SQUARE

On the evening of 17th May 1928, under the guidance of the President, Mr. William Cowan, a visit was paid to various places of antiquarian interest in the vicinity of Bristo Port. The itinerary began with the Convening Hall of the Candlemakers, the history of which is referred to at considerable length in the paper on the Incorporation printed in this volume.

Brown Square and the site of Society (a name derived from a society of brewers who owned the buildings there) were next visited. One or two historic houses were pointed out, and reference was made to distinguished personages who had lived in the locality—Lord Glenlee, a noted Judge; Henry Mackenzie, the author of *The Man of Feeling*; Jean Elliot of Minto, who wrote one of the versions of *The Flowers of the Forest*; Lord Craig, the relative of Burns's 'Clarinda,' and a contributor

to the *Lounger*; Dr. Hugh Blair, whose sermons were admired by Dr. Johnson; Henry Dundas, 'the uncrowned King of Scotland'; and others. Brown Square was built in the sixties of the eighteenth century, before a stone of the New Town had been laid. It took its name from James Brown, who built the square, as well as George Square. Scott, in his notes to *Redgauntlet*, alludes to 'the diminutive and obscure place called Brown Square,' being 'hailed about the time of its erection as an extremely elegant improvement upon the style of designing and erecting Edinburgh residences.' Indeed, Brown Square was in such high favour that a proposal was made to place an equestrian statue of George III. there.

The company afterwards proceeded to Bristo Port, where a portion of the Flodden Wall with massive buttresses was inspected. The tour concluded with a visit to the George Inn, an account of which was given by Mr. James H. Jamieson, the writer of the paper on 'Some Inns of the Eighteenth Century' in Vol. XIV.; where, at pp. 139-145, all the available facts concerning this famous hostelry are given.

## II

## CALTON AND GREENSIDE

The antiquities of Greenside, the story of the Calton district when it was a separate jurisdiction, and the association of Burns's 'Clarinda' with this part of Edinburgh, were recounted on the afternoon of Saturday, 7th July 1928, in the course of a tour of inspection of the Calton Hill, under the leadership of Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E.

As regards 'Clarinda,' Mr. Forbes Gray mentioned that he had been able to identify the house in which Mrs. M'Lehose lived for the last twenty-five years of her life, and in which she died on 22nd October 1841, at the age of eighty-two. Much uncertainty had prevailed as to where in Edinburgh 'Clarinda' spent her later years. Some authorities stated that she died in General's Entry, Potterrow, in the house where Burns met her; while others, with more approach to accuracy, asserted that her maturer years were passed in the neighbourhood of the Calton Hill, but without specifying a particular house. As a matter of fact, Mrs. M'Lehose lived from 1816-17 till her death in the lower flat of 14 Calton Hill. Mr. Forbes Gray quoted from two letters of Mrs. M'Lehose which he had unearthed, both written from 14 Calton Hill.

One was an invitation to 'Mr. John Aitken' to call at her house for the purpose of meeting the poet's son, Captain Burns, then (1825) home from India on furlough. The other was an epistle, written in 1837, addressed to 'Bob' Ainslie, Burns's early friend (then residing in Graham Street), condoling with him on the death of his wife. 'She was, indeed, a very superior woman, and one I highly esteemed and loved; and, I cannot doubt, is in Heaven, far happier than any of us. May this be your consolation. . . . That the Almighty may comfort and support you under it is, and ever will be, the sincere wish and Prayer of your old and affectionate friend, Agnes M'Lehose.'

After visiting the monuments and other objects of historical interest, the company proceeded to the lecture-room of the City Observatory, where Mr. Forbes Gray gave some account of the antiquities of Greenside and of the Burgh Barony of Calton.

The earliest known reference to Greenside was contained in a charter granted by James II. on 13th August 1456. To his 'beloved and faithful the Provost, Bailies, and Community of our Burgh of Edinburgh' King James gave 'all and whole the valley and low ground lying between the rock commonly called Cragingalt, on the east side, and the common way and road towards the town of Leith, on the west side (now known as Greenside), for tournaments, sports and proper warlike deeds to be done and accomplished there for the pleasure of us and our successors.' It was said that Greenside continued to be the scene of feats of arms until the reign of Mary, but it was doubtful if the terms of the charter were strictly observed even for so short a time. Anyhow, in less than seventy years the place had acquired associations of another character. On 5th December 1520 the Town Council, with the licence of the Bishop of St. Andrews, granted 'the ground and place of the Grenesyde to the Freris Carmelites' on which they built a friary or monastery. Of its form and size nothing was known, but it seemed to have been attached to another ecclesiastical building—the Chapel of the Rude. This much was made clear by an entry in the Burgh Records, under date 11th October 1525, which stated that, in presence of the Provost, Bailies and Council, Sir Thomas Kanny tendered his resignation as 'chaplane of the place and kirk of the Rude of the Grenesyde' and delivered up the keys of the same to the Provost, who handed them to his successor, Jhone Malcolmesoun of the Order of the Carmelite Friars.

Greenside was not only a home of the old religion, but it witnessed

an incident which heralded the new—the martyrdom, in August 1534, of Norman Gourlay and David Straton, 'boyth hanged and brunt according to the mercy of the Papisticall Kirk,' said Knox sarcastically.

In the middle of the sixteenth century Greenside acquired fresh celebrity as the place chosen for what was probably the first organised attempt in Scotland to foster the drama. Here, in 1554, a performance of Sir David Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was given in presence of Mary of Guise. This fact was established beyond dispute by Henry Charteris, who, in 1568, issued the first collected edition of Lyndsay's works, to which he prefixed a preface in which he said that he sat from 'nyne houris afore noon till six houris at evin' while Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was 'playit at Grenesyde before the Quene Regent.' Valuable light was shed on this event by numerous entries in the Burgh Records. There was, of course, no playhouse in the sense of a building with a roof. Lyndsay's *Satyre* was performed at what was called the Playfield of Greenside, where was erected a rude stage, on which the actors played their parts against a background of crudely painted scenery. The Queen Regent witnessed the performance from a small enclosed building—a box we would call it—but the rest of the audience sat or stood on the sloping bank. The Town Treasurer's Accounts showed that extensive preparations had been made. There were payments to the builders, to the carters who brought the material, to the painters of the stage scenery. The master of works was Sir William Makdougall, who, on 20th July, was paid a hundred merks 'to complete the playfeild now biggand in the Grenesid.' The sum of £4, 18s. 2d. Scots was also disbursed for a 'dennar maid to the players' on the day of the performance. The players had their faces painted, and the stage accessories included eight 'play hattis, ane kingis crowne, ane myter, ane fulis hude, ane septour, ane pair angell wyngis, twa angell hair, ane chaplet of trivmphe.' The imperfections of the actors appeared to have been pieced out by musical interludes, there being mention of twelve minstrels. The *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was the first of numerous plays performed at Greenside from 1554 until the Reformation was firmly established. Indeed, so late as 1581, Bailie Robert Ker disbursed, on behalf of the Town, forty-six shillings and eightpence 'in defence of the play' at Greenside. Further, in 1588, John Hill, tenant of the lands of Greenside, was forbidden to break up or put under cultivation any part of the Playfield.

Greenside was in 1563 the scene of an interesting experiment in social legislation. Past memory of man, the records told them, there had been constant strife between the Town Council and the Abbots of Holyrood, who seemed to have had some proprietary right in the district. In the year above-mentioned 'my lord abbot of Hallirudhous,' attempted to dispoine to one of his servants, residing in the Canongate, and therefore 'a strangear fra the commoun weil of this burgh,' the 'kirk place, kirkyard and croft of the Grenesyde with the peice grene liand besouth the same' for certain 'yearly profit and service to be done to him.' But Robert Norwell, a burgher of the town, 'forseing the same to be hurtfull' to the interests of the Council, by 'greit laubour' obtained a gift of the place. In a petition to the Town Norwell outlined a scheme whereby Greenside, which was but 'ane den of idolatrie and abominatioun,' would, under his enlightened supervision, become an earthly paradise. Norwell undertook to build 'fair houssis, yairdes, stankis' and to furnish the dwellers in Greenside 'at all tymes neidfull' with 'bedding, meit and drink.' He also requested the 'myre' on which he would erect 'fair buttes and prik merkis for serving of the nychtbouris in honest and necessar pastyme.' This looked rather an attractive programme, and it was not surprising that the Council should have found Norwell's petition 'maist ressonable.' They therefore granted to him, to his spouse, Agnes Simpson, and their heirs 'all and hale the kirk, kirkyaird, houssis, bigingis and croft of the Grenesyde . . . as the same was occupit be the freris.' For the land Norwell was to pay a feu-duty of six shillings and eightpence, and he was to build 'quhair the kirk and houssis now standis ane honest lugeing with hail chalmers, sellaris and houssis necessar for serving of the Quenys leges.' The occupants were to be of 'gude lyfe, of honest and godlie conversatioun,' and to be subject to the Provost and bailies, their laws and statutes 'as ony other nychtbour dwelland within the walls of the toun.' Greenside was to contain no drunkards nor pirates nor brigands. How Norwell's Utopia prospered (or failed) the records did not say, although there was mention of a committee of the Council visiting Greenside in connection with the scheme. Norwell was a citizen of some note. He married Agnes Simpson, the widow of Walter Chepman, the father of Scottish printing, and in March 1562-63 he and his wife were given £30 by the Town for the 'stanis and bigging' of the chapel in the nether kirkyard of St. Giles' founded by Chepman.

A new and sombre chapter in the history of Greenside opened in 1590, when it became the site of a leper hospital. Leprosy was distressingly prevalent in Edinburgh in the sixteenth century. Under date 30th September 1584, there was ominous allusion in the records to 'the auld fundatioun of the lipper hous besyde Dyngwall.' The accommodation there seems to have been insufficient, for the Council visited at this time Paul's Work, at the top of the Canongate, with a view of securing 'ane commodious place to be ane lipper hous.' Authority was ultimately given for the erection of a hospital there, but the work was not proceeded with. This step was probably dictated by the action of John Robertson, merchant, and others, who, in token of a vow, had expressed a desire to build a leper house and requested the Town to choose a site. On 10th October 1589 the Council resolved that 'the sam be biggitt at the chapell of the ruid of the Grenesyde.' The hospital, which could not have been a large building, was erected, says Maitland, on the site of the Carmelite monastery. It was opened on 17th July 1590, and placed under the direction of the Council. On 21st November 1591, in presence of Walter Balcanquhal, minister, Thomas Fisher and Archibald Johnstone, bailies, John Robertson, the founder, and others, stringent rules were drawn up, which were read in presence of five male lepers and the wives of two of them. Disobedience was to be visited with hanging, and to show that they were not to be trifled with, the Council set up a gibbet beside the hospital. Each inmate, who had to be either a native of Edinburgh or a resident of seven years' standing, received four shillings Scots in addition to the money collected at the door of the hospital. The Masters of the Hospital of Trinity College were appointed visitors and were required to make reports to the Kirk Session. Finally, that the spiritual needs of the unhappy inmates might be cared for, a person was appointed 'to reid the prayeris evrie Sabboth to the said Lipperis, and ane commodious Place appoyntit to the said reider for that effect.'

Alluding to the Burgh of Barony of Calton, Mr. Forbes Gray said it was difficult to imagine that a little more than seventy years ago the district of Calton constituted a jurisdiction apart from Edinburgh. Round the base of the Hill dwelt a small industrial community whose affairs were looked after by an organisation known as the Incorporated Trades of Calton. What special attraction the Calton had for the sons of St. Crispin was not apparent, but it was a fact that a large

proportion of the tradesmen were shoemakers. Not only did the benefactions of the Incorporation frequently take the form of a pair of shoes, but no shoemaker was admitted to membership until he had submitted examples of his craftsmanship to two essay masters.

The story of Calton began with the year 1631. At that time the lands formed a portion of Restalrig, and were owned by John, Lord Balmerino, who, in the year mentioned, granted a Deed of Gift under which the whole of the feuars and tenants of Wester Restalrig, as the district of Calton was then called, were erected into a society known as the Incorporated Trades of Calton. The deed did not convey property, but it conferred on the community the right of exclusive trading within the bounds. It also empowered the Incorporation to exact a money-payment from outsiders proposing to carry on trade in the Calton, the sums so derived being devoted to relief of the poor. A fresh step was taken in 1673 when Charles II. granted a charter in favour of John, Master of Balmerino, which created the Burghs of Barony of Easter and Wester Restalrigs, and committed 'to the indwellers of the said towns of Restalrig and Caldoun . . . free burgesses thereof to be admitted and received by John, Master of Balmirnoch . . . licence and liberty to buy and sell wine, wax, pitch, tow, cloth . . . and every other kind of merchandisc.' The Superior was also given power to admit 'Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Fishers and Fishsellers, Shoemakers, Blacksmiths and Wrights, Saddlers, Cutlers, Websters, and all other necessary artificers and mechanics, who shall have liberty to use and exercise their said crafts.' By the royal charter of 1673 a system of government almost feudal in character was set up. The Barony of Calton had its own Bailie, its own officials, its own jail, and its own burying ground. The Bailie presided in the Barons' Court, where causes, both civil and criminal, other than capital charges, were disposed of, and he not only administered laws but enacted them. The cases that came before the Court were few and trivial, as one would expect in an unsophisticated and peaceably disposed society. The total population when Maitland wrote his *History of Edinburgh* (i.e. in 1753) was a little over eight hundred persons, a figure which included the little communities of Abbeyhill and Upper Quarryholes. The Bailie exercised considerable control over the Incorporation.

Before the construction of Waterloo Place and Regent Road early in the nineteenth century, the Calton was completely isolated. Huge tenements occupied the west end of Waterloo Place, and behind them,

and extending across what is now the thoroughfare, was the Old Calton Burying Ground. All approach from the east, so far as Calton was concerned, was completely barred. The chief entrance to the Barony was by way of Leith Street and the steep thoroughfare known as the High Calton. The life of the community centred in an old building which stood on the site of the New Waverley Hotel in Waterloo Place and which answered the purposes of Court-house and meeting-place of the Incorporation.

The Barony, which comprehended the Calton Hill and the buildings along its base on the south, west, and north sides, formed part of the parish of South Leith, and in the church in the Kirkgate certain pews were set apart for the Incorporation and the inhabitants.

In 1724 the Town Council purchased the Barony from Lord Balmerino for £49,000 Scots, the price (which was to be paid out of the ale duty) including the lands of Hillside, the Yardheads of Leith, and Leith Mills. Following upon this transaction the Town procured a Crown Charter of Resignation disjoining the lands from those of Easter Restalrig and annexing them to the Common Good of the Burgh. From this period to the passing of the Edinburgh Municipal Extension Act of 1856, the Town Council acted as Barons of the Burgh of Calton, appointed bailies, held Courts, and exercised generally the rights of Superiors.

From 1727 the affairs of the Incorporation were managed by a Box Master (who acted as Treasurer), two Key Masters, and a number of Assistants. These officials, who were controlled by the Bailie, met four times a year to draw up a list of pensions to be given to the poor. No craftsman could be a freeman of Calton till his qualifications were approved by the Box Master and Assistants. Admission to the freedom cost £40 Scots, and there was an annual subscription of £16 Scots. An apprentice whose name was inscribed in the Court-book within forty days of his indenture paid £20 Scots. Failure to have his name inscribed meant forfeiture of every benefit. An apprentice was admitted a freeman only when he had served as a journeyman for at least two years after the expiry of his indenture. The Incorporation was jealous of its rights of exclusive trading, and frequently took action against those who infringed them. In 1727 the Baron Bailie prohibited the importation of beer, ale, or bread 'into any part of the said Barrony for sale or retail' on pain of forfeiting them to the poor. The ale and beer had to be brewed and the bread baked in Calton. At first, un-

freemen seem to have been strictly debarred from pursuing their trade within the Barony, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the law was relaxed. When, in 1764, Alexander Miller, glazier, complained that he was suffering as the result of his trade being invaded by outlanders, the Bailie passed an Act declaring that freemen of Calton ought only to be employed, provided they did the work as well and as cheap as the unfreemen—a most important qualification. So late as 1821 the Incorporation had recourse to law to vindicate their right of exclusive trading within the Barony; but this was the last occasion.

The Incorporation, however, had duties as well as rights and privileges. Along with the Bailie, it was responsible for the policing, lighting and cleansing of the Barony; it had likewise charge of the poor. The watching was originally attended to by a constable, who was appointed yearly by the Bailie, but in 1771 two members of the Incorporation were appointed to this honorary office. With the growth of the community the number was increased, and finally there emerged a body known as the High Constables of Calton, which was responsible for the watching till the year 1805, when the Barony was brought under the police system of Edinburgh. The cleansing of the streets was done by contract, while the primitive lighting system, consisting of oil lamps and tallow candles, was defrayed out of the money obtained by the sale of the refuse. The water supply was also of humble proportions. A new well was excavated in 1753, but the expense bore so heavily on the tradesmen that the Town Council came to their aid with a donation of £10. A few years later that body permitted the Incorporation to lay a pipe for conveying water from the Fountain Well.

It was creditable to the Incorporation that the care of the poor, the aged and infirm, and the young formed a central feature of its management. Besides a Trades House, in which small dwellings were let to needy inhabitants at nominal rents, there was a 'house kept for widows.' In the 'Widows' Garret,' as it was called, the poor sat not only rent free but were provided with a few articles of furniture. The inmates also received small weekly allowances and occasional supplies of coal. The case of Margaret Kidd shows how faithfully the Incorporation discharged its duties. In 1752 her husband had gone to London and left her with two children whom she could not support unaided. The Box Master therefore was authorised to give her four shillings

sterling. Later on, she received from the Incorporation other two shillings, a pair of shoes, and a spinning wheel.

On 29th March 1753 the Box Master was instructed 'to purchase the history of the metropolis of this kingdom, lately published by Mr. William Maitland, in the frugalist manner,' and on 18th April it was reported that Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* had been bought for one pound four shillings sterling. Doubtless those who read it were gratified to find that the historian had printed in full the Town's charter for the 'better government' of the inhabitants of Calton.

The most peculiar function discharged by the Incorporation was the inauguration and management of a burial ground. Various reasons had been assigned for this strange venture. One was the remoteness from the churchyard of South Leith, though the distance did not prevent the people of Calton walking every Sunday to the kirk there. In 1718 the Incorporation purchased from James, Master of Balmerino, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, 'M'Neill's Craigs, consisting of half an acre, as it is now enclosed with ane stone dyke, to be made use of for a burial place for the inhabitants of the said Burgh, and others whom they shall allow.' It was worthy of note that the Old Calton Burying Ground originally did not extend to the extreme edge of the rock. In a feu charter which the Town Council granted to the Incorporation in 1767 reference was made to 'all and hail that piece of ground on the south side of the present burial-yard on the Calton Hill . . . which . . . is hereby declared as an addition to the present burial place of Calton.' The New Calton Burial Ground was acquired by the Incorporation, partly in exchange for the portion of the old ground required for the formation of Waterloo Place and partly in consideration of £1500 paid to the City.

A turning-point in the history of the Incorporation was reached in 1834, when it was resolved to discontinue the exaction of money from unfreemen who desired to pursue their trade within the Barony. At that time the membership numbered about 150, and, with a solitary and special exception, the last entrant was admitted in 1841. In 1846 the exclusive trading privileges were abolished, and ten years later, the passing of the Edinburgh Municipal Extension Act severed the connection between the Incorporation and the Town Council. Thus the Calton jurisdiction, which extended back to the days of Charles II., came to an end. Thereafter the Incorporation became practically a benefit society, and the membership having dwindled

away, and all those depending on the funds having died, the whole remaining property was in 1887 transferred to the Town Council, who also undertook all the obligations, the chief of which was the maintenance of the two burial grounds.

## III

## CANONGATE TOLBOOTH AND CHURCH

On the afternoon of Saturday, 15th June 1929, a visit was paid to an interesting portion of the Canongate—the itinerary embracing Lady Foulis's House, the Tolbooth, and the Church. The party were conducted by Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., who called attention to the very comely design of the little house just to the west of the Tolbooth. Attention was drawn to its dormer lights, its wall fenestration, and the stair turret. This house has passed unnoticed, but search has revealed that for a brief period it was owned by Lady Foulis.

The company then entered the Tolbooth of the ancient ecclesiastical township of the Canongate, established in the reign of David I. by the Abbots of Holyrood. Probably, Mr. Kerr pointed out, there was on the site an earlier building which served as a Tolbooth. The present structure was built in 1591. The well-known square tower stands over the entry to Tolbooth Wynd, and on the walls are several inscriptions of more than passing interest. The ancient bell of date 1608 still hangs in the tower along with a later one of the eighteenth century. About 1879 there were alterations made on the exterior of the walls; the dormer windows were entirely rebuilt, and a projecting porch was removed from the ground floor. On the inner lintel of the entrance are the words 'Esto Fides,' conjuring the bailies to faithful judgment.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the excursion was to Canongate Church, the interior of which is its chief charm. After the Reformation the Abbey Church was used as the parish church of the Canongate. But in 1687 James VII., desiring to re-establish services for the Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Thistle, claimed the Abbey Church for this purpose. The congregation were turned out, and eventually, in 1688, entered into possession of the present building. The erection was greatly aided by funds from the Thomas Moodie Mortification. Of its period—midway between the dates of Old and New Greyfriars—the church is an excellent example. The plan has nave and side aisles,

transepts, a shallow choir, and an apse. The arcade between the nave and side aisles has Tuscan columns and well proportioned arches, while the transepts are effectively spanned with bold semi-circular arches. It is possible that the plain plaster ceiling was at one time decorated, or intended to be decorated with ribs or other ornament. The interior effect is much spoiled by galleries: these, which were not originally intended, being added not long after the church was erected.

## IV

## STENHOUSE AND GORGIE HOUSE

Two historic mansions in the western district of the city—Stenhouse and Gorgie—were visited on the afternoon of Saturday, 29th June 1929.

Stenhouse was first inspected. Messrs. John Geddie (one of the Vice-Presidents) and John Russell recounted its history, as well as described the architecture of the mansion, which, three centuries ago, was the comfortable home of a wealthy Edinburgh burgess, Patrick Ellis (or Eleis), who, like his neighbour, Mungo Russell, the builder of Roseburn, was Treasurer of the town. Built by Ellis in 1623, Stenhouse is a three-storey house, and, with its crow-stepped gables, steep roofs, dormer windows, and massive chimneys, is extremely quaint. On the lintel are the words, 'Blissit be God for al His giftis.' A portion of the ground floor is vaulted, and contains recesses, a concealed well, and other striking features. Further, in one of the apartments inspected by the company there is an elaborate plaster ceiling bearing the arms and initials of Charles II., the date 1661, and a motto. The same design, device, and date were afterwards pointed out on the ceiling of one of the rooms in Gorgie House. Patrick Ellis (or Eleis), who built Stenhouse, was a notable man. In 1601 he was engaged in disbursing the charges incurred in the 'hamebringing of the strangers' from Flanders, with their 'wyffis, bayrins, geir, and warklomes' for the 'makin of braid clayth and stuffs within the realm'—the introduction of a new industry into Scotland.

On the way to Gorgie House the party were shown a sculptured stone built into the east gable wall of the farmhouse of Saughton. Mr. Geddie explained that it bore the arms of the Bairds of Saughton Hall and the Gibsons of Pentland. The company then proceeded to Gorgie House, on the lawn of which Mr. John Smith gave a detailed

account of the many changes which the building has undergone during more than three hundred years. He also passed in review its numerous owners. His notes were based on a paper which he contributed to the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

## V

## LAURISTON CASTLE

On the afternoon of Saturday, 13th July 1929, a visit was paid to Lauriston Castle, the history of which has of late been frequently recounted.

# Old Edinburgh Club

## ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1928.

CHARGE		DISCHARGE
I. Funds at close of last Account :—		
In Bank on Deposit Receipts, . . . . .	£90 0 0	
Less Balance due to Honorary Treasurer, . . . . .	0 5 3	
	£89 14 9	
II. Subscriptions :—		
For year 1928—		
350 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	£183 15 0	
Less—Paid in advance during 1926, . . . . .	0 10 6	
	£183 4 6	
27 Libraries at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	14 3 6	
For year 1929—		
6 Members at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	3 3 0	
For year 1930—		
1 Member at 10s. 6d., . . . . .	0 10 6	
	201 1 6	
III. Volumes sold (13), . . . . .	6 16 6	
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts, . . . . .	5 1 2	
V. Balance at Close of this Account :—		
Balance due to Honorary Treasurer, . . . . .	20 11 3	
	£323 5 2	£323 5 2

THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

EDINBURGH, 3rd January 1929.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1928, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

W. MELVILL SYM, C.A., Hon. Auditor.

# Old Edinburgh Club

1929

### Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL  
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

### Honorary President

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY AND  
MIDLOTHIAN, K.G., K.T.

### Honorary Vice-Presidents

The Right Hon. THE LORD PROVOST.  
Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, K.C.V.O., LL.D.  
THOMAS ROSS, LL.D.

### President

WILLIAM COWAN, 47 Braid Avenue.

### Vice-Presidents

ROBERT T. SKINNER, Donaldson's Hospital.  
JOHN GEDDIE, The Hillock, Liberton Drive, Liberton.  
CHARLES B. BOOG WATSON, 24 Garscube Terrace.

### Honorary Secretary

LEWIS A. MACRITCHIE, 35 East Claremont Street.

### Honorary Treasurer

THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., 21 Rutland Street.

### Editor of Publications

W. FORBES GRAY, 8 Mansionhouse Road.

### Council

HENRY F. KERR, 12 East Claremont Street.  
JAMES H. JAMIESON, 14 Sciennes Gardens.  
J. TAYLOR GRANT, M.D., 9 Eglinton Crescent.  
W. GLASSFORD WALKER, C.A., 2 Coates Crescent.  
C. E. S. CHAMBERS, 339 High Street.  
J. WILSON M'LALEN, 'Dunvegan,' Moredun, Gilmerton.  
WILLIAM ANGUS, Record Office, H.M. Register House.  
THOMAS YULE, W.S., 16 East Claremont Street.  
JOHN RUSSELL, 2 Brunton Place.  
CHARLES A. MALCOLM, Ph.D., S.S.C. Library, Parliament Square.  
H. MACLEOD PATON, 13 Argyle Place.  
E. J. MACRAE, A.R.I.B.A., City Chambers.

### Honorary Auditor

W. MELVILL SYM, C.A., 49 Castle Street.

## REPORT OF THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 30th January 1930, at 4 o'clock. There was a large attendance of members.

Lord Provost T. B. Whitson presided at the opening of the meeting, and moved the appointment of Brigadier-General Sir Robert Gilmour of Liberton and Craigmillar, Bart., as Honorary President of the Club, in succession to the late Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian. Sir Robert Gilmour, having accepted this office, then took the chair.

The Twenty-second 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 Twenty-second Annual Report.

During the year ended 31st December 1929 there were sixteen vacancies in the membership. These have been filled up, and there still remain eighteen names on the list of applicants for admission.

The Council desire to record their sense of the great loss the Club has sustained in the deaths of the Honorary President, the Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian, K.G., K.T., and the President, Mr. William Cowan, both of whom died in May.

Lord Rosebery rendered splendid service at the inception of the Club, presiding over the first and third annual meetings, and delivering speeches that live in the memory of all privileged to hear them. On the first occasion, his Lordship declared that one of the chief objects of the Club would be 'to bear testimony on behalf of antiquity where

## REPORT OF THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING 27

it is threatened by an unnecessary development of utility.' In his second speech Lord Rosebery praised the Club's publications (they were 'the substantial base on which our Club must rest'), and humorously predicted that the day would come when 'any leading citizen' who went to bed without being a member of the Old Edinburgh Club would do so with 'a sense of strong compunction.' In May 1927, in response to a message of congratulation from the members on his eightieth birthday, Lord Rosebery sent 'cordial thanks,' and characterised the Club as 'a precious institution.'

### THE LATE PRESIDENT

The President, Mr. William Cowan, died after a long illness following upon an accident. Mr. Cowan became a member of the Club at its foundation in 1908, and at the first general meeting delivered a lecture entitled 'A Walk through Old Edinburgh.' He was elected a member of Council in 1909, a Vice-President in 1913, and President in 1920, succeeding the late Dr. Moir Bryce. He retained the last-mentioned office till his death. For many years Mr. Cowan was (as the late Dr. W. B. Laikie once publicly remarked of him) the 'mainspring' of the Club. He superintended the compilation and publication of the first twelve volumes of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* as well as wrote a number of papers marked by thoroughness of research, critical power, and precise and orderly statement. His contributions were: 'The Buildings at the East End of Princes Street and Corner of North Bridge' (Vol. I.); 'The Site of the Black Friars' Monastery' (Vol. V.); 'The Maps of Edinburgh, 1544-1851' (Vol. XII.); 'Bearford's Parks' (Vol. XIII.); and 'A Note on Huntly House' (Vol. XIV.). All these papers are models of historical composition.

At a meeting of the Council held on 8th October, Mr. John Geddie (one of the Vice-Presidents), who presided, moved that Mr. Charles Edward Stuart Chambers be appointed the new President. Mr. Geddie mentioned that Mr. Chambers had special qualifications. He was the grandson of Dr. Robert Chambers, author of *Traditions of Edinburgh*; head of a publishing firm which had carried on business in High Street for a hundred years; and a member of Council who had long taken a very deep interest in Old Edinburgh. The motion was unanimously carried. Mr. Chambers thereupon returned thanks for his election, and afterwards presided.

## THE HONORARY TREASURER

The Council tender hearty congratulations to the Honorary Treasurer, who, in November, was elected Lord Provost of Edinburgh. By virtue of his high municipal office, Lord Provost Whitson is now an Honorary Patron of the Club. Throughout its whole history, however, he has been an active and valued member. When the Club was founded his Lordship was one of the first to join. In 1910 he was elected a member of Council, and, three years later, was appointed Honorary Treasurer, the duties of which office he has discharged ever since. Lord Provost Whitson has also contributed a paper on 'Lady Stair's House' to Volume III. of the Club's publications.

## LECTURES AND EXCURSIONS

The President's death, as well as the prolonged illness which preceded that event, led to a certain dislocation in the Club's activities. Two lectures, however, were delivered at the beginning of the year. On 24th January Mr. E. J. MacRae, A.R.I.B.A., read 'Notes on the South Side of the Calton Hill,' and furnished most interesting details of the construction of the Charles II. statue in Parliament Square, as revealed during repairs. Mr. David A. Small, on 20th February, recounted some of the changes that had taken place in the city since 1860. A third lecture entitled 'The Romance of Ancient Monuments,' was delivered on 18th December in the Gartshore Hall by Mr. J. Wilson Paterson, M.V.O., M.B.E., A.R.I.B.A., H.M. Office of Works. The lecturer gave a racy account of the ingenious methods employed in the preservation of historic buildings. Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, the President, occupied the Chair.

There were three excursions. On 15th June the members, under the leadership of Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., visited Lady Foulis's House and the Tolbooth and Church of Canongate. Two historic mansions in the western district of the city—Stenhouse and Gorgie—were inspected on 29th June. The history and architecture of Stenhouse were described by Messrs. John Geddie and John Russell. The company then proceeded to Gorgie House, where Mr. John Smith read notes dealing with the many changes through which the building has passed during more than three hundred years. The final excursion for the season took place on 13th July, when a visit was paid to Lauriston Castle.

## PUBLICATIONS

The Council have pleasure in announcing that the preparation of Volume XVII. is well advanced. The Editorial Committee have decided that it shall contain the following papers:—

- I. Sir Daniel Wilson: The Man and his Work. By Hugh Hannah.
- II. 'Cockpen House,' Castlehill. By H. A. Cockburn.
- III. Sculptured Stones of the 'Royal Mile': III. By John Geddie.
- IV. St. Paul's Work. By Marguerite Wood.
- V. Gabriel's and Other Old Roads.

*With Map compiled by Henry F. Kerr.*

- VI. Charles II. Statue, Parliament Square. By E. J. MacRae.
- VII. The Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh, 1517-1884. By W. Forbes Gray.
- VIII. The General Register House. By Henry M. Paton.

Most of the papers are in type, and it is hoped to publish, early in 1930 the volume, which will contain numerous illustrations.

The Council will be glad to know of any unpublished manuscripts relating to Edinburgh, which the owners might be willing to place at the disposal of the Club for publication.

## HUNTLY HOUSE

The Council are much gratified to learn that a proposal discussed at last annual meeting is being given effect to, namely, the reconstruction of the so-called Huntly House, Canongate, and the removal thereto of the Municipal Museum. It is well that relics of Old Edinburgh should be on view in a historic building situated on the 'Royal Mile,' and readily accessible to all interested. The plans for the reconstruction, which include not only Huntly House but the adjoining buildings in Bakehouse Close, have been prepared by Mr. F. C. Mears, in conjunction with Mr. E. J. MacRae, the City Architect, and the work has already begun. It is understood that when the scheme is completed there will be ample accommodation for the exhibits in Lady Stair's House as well as for those in the City Museum. Should the contents of the former building be removed to Huntly House, as is anticipated, the Council are hopeful that some arrangement may be possible whereby the Club would in future hold its meetings in Lady Stair's House. As a society primarily concerned with the history of

the city, there would be singular appropriateness in the Club having its headquarters in a famous mansion in the Old Town. If this idea materialises, another project, which has been under consideration, may be advanced—the founding of a collection of books, pamphlets, maps, drawings, and prints relating to Old Edinburgh.

Mr. C. E. S. Chambers, President of the Club, submitted the Report. At the outset he referred to the great loss which the Club had sustained through the death of Lord Rosebery and of Mr. William Cowan, the late President.

It is largely owing to Lord Rosebery's influence and personality, and the keen interest he took in our affairs, that the Club has been such a success. The value of Lord Rosebery's donations to the city, more especially with regard to the collection of books and pamphlets dealing with the history of Edinburgh which his Lordship presented some time ago, can hardly be measured. These collections, which can never be replaced, must have cost Lord Rosebery thousands of pounds. It is therefore satisfactory to know that these collections are safely housed in the strong rooms of the Scottish National Library. With regard to Mr. Cowan, his services and influence have been of the greatest value to the Club. He had a profound knowledge of the history of the city, and his wisdom, tact, and patience, together with his ability as a writer of historical narrative, made him an ideal President. It is regrettable that Mr. Cowan's public labours received no academic recognition, but the splendid work he did for Old Edinburgh is in itself an enduring monument.

Reviewing the changes that had taken place in Old Edinburgh during the past year, the President expressed regret that several historic houses in the Canongate, comprising Big and Little Jack's Closes, had been swept away under a scheme of demolition.

In Jack's Land David Hume wrote a portion of his *History*. The demolished property also has associations with Susannah, Countess of Eglinton, to whom Allan Ramsay dedicated his *Gentle Shepherd*. In St. John Street, again, there have disappeared the mansions of the Countess of Hyndford and Lord Eskgrove. These are almost the last houses of note in that famous eighteenth-century suburb. The remaining portion of Horse Wynd has also been demolished during the

past year. The residence of the Countess of Galloway with its rather elegant façade is no more. In this ancient thoroughfare, which led behind the College to the Cowgate Port, Andrew Symson, a celebrated Episcopal clergyman who turned printer, had his premises, the quaint frontage of which is reproduced in Sir Daniel Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*. In Horse Wynd, too, were the premises of Hugh Paton, who published John Kay's *Original Portraits*. We have also to deplore the demolition of some picturesque houses at the east end of the Cowgate. The hand of the despoiler has been busy in Leith as well. Indeed the demolition of old houses there during the past year has been greater than anything that has taken place since 1883. On the Shore and in the old wynds leading therefrom, property which must have been in existence since the burning of Leith in 1544 has entirely disappeared. But while many interesting houses in the older parts of the city have been pulled down during the past twelve months, it is gratifying to be able to record at least one attempt at restoration of an old building—and an admirable restoration it is. I refer to the Candlemakers' Hall at the top of Candlemaker Row. Now that restoration work has been undertaken in this locality, I hope it will extend to the Harrow Inn further down the street. This hostelry was a well-known establishment in the later part of the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth. It was much frequented by Border carriers, and, at a later date, acquired literary interest, inasmuch as one of the most moving incidents recounted by Dr. John Brown in *Rab and his Friends* happened in front of the Harrow Inn. Another source of gratification is the fact that the so-called Huntly House in the Canongate is to be renovated in order to house the valuable collection of relics of Old Edinburgh contained in the Municipal Museum. I do not think that a more suitable place could have been selected.

Alluding to the Publications of the Club, the President said :—

I am glad to be able to announce that Vol. XVII. is nearing completion, and will, we hope, be issued to members early in April. It is going to be a volume of exceptional interest, and we are anxious that the high standard of our Publications should be maintained. Lord Rosebery, in one of his speeches, refers to the necessity for clubs, like ours, cultivating what he calls the *domestic* side of history. In other words, the human element ought to be foremost in all our work. I

think there is much to be said for this point of view. We do not wish our volumes to be dull and ponderous. On the contrary, they ought always to be readable. The treatment of the subject should be semi-popular. At the same time, we have no desire to print anything of the nature of magazine articles, the information for which has been derived from sources that are well known and readily accessible. Original and painstaking research, and careful, scientific treatment of the material collected, are of the very essence of our work. Further, contributors should aim at embodying the material collected in a clear, concise, well-arranged, and scrupulously accurate narrative. Only in this way can we hope to maintain the high reputation of our Publications.

In conclusion, the President spoke of the flourishing condition of the Club, remarking that a great many people were waiting admission.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, said :—

I desire to thank the members for the honour they have done me in electing me Honorary President of the Club. The connection of my family with Edinburgh is by no means a recent one. Many of my forebears were benefactors of the city, and took a great interest in its welfare. I have been a member of the Club since its inception, and have always been much interested in its activities. I may say that there are very few volumes published to which I look forward with more relish than those issued by the Club. I could almost envy a man shut up for life provided the volumes of the Old Edinburgh Club were shut up with him. No one can feel a stranger to Edinburgh who has read those books. Two papers which have specially appealed to me are those on the Magdalen Chapel and the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate. Like the President, I deplore the recent destruction of so many old houses. There is nothing that gives more interest to Edinburgh than its old houses.

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The Earl of Cassillis then moved the election of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Balfour Paul, K.C.V.O., LL.D., and Mr. Thomas Ross, LL.D. as Hon. Vice-Presidents. The motion was warmly adopted.

On the motion of Mr. John Geddie, Mr. C. E. S. Chambers was unanimously re-elected President of the Club.

Mr. Robert T. Skinner, Mr. John Geddie, and Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson 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. Francis J. Grant, W.S., Lyon King of Arms; Dr. H. W. Meikle, Keeper of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland; Mr. Kenneth Sanderson, W.S.; Mr. David Robertson, S.S.C., Depute Town Clerk; and Mr. Frank C. Mears, were elected members of Council. Mr. Mears was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the elevation of Mr. Chambers to the Presidentship.

A cordial vote of thanks was, on the motion of Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S., awarded to Mr. Henry F. Kerr, Mr. James H. Jamieson, Dr. J. Taylor Grant, and Mr. W. Glassford Walker, C.A., the retiring members of Council.

On the motion of Bailie Wilson M'Laren, a vote of thanks was accorded to Sir Robert Gilmour for presiding. The meeting then terminated.



## Old Edinburgh Club

### LIST OF MEMBERS

ALLAN, F. H., 33 Inverleith Gardens.  
Allan, William K., 2 Wester Coates Avenue.  
Allan, William, Limefield House, Gilmerton.  
Allan, Mrs., Limefield House, Gilmerton.  
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Donaldson's Hospital.  
Anderson, Mrs. Arthur, 31 Bellevue Place.  
Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 'St. Vincent,' Corstorphine Road.  
Anderson, Martin, Castle Cynicus, Leuchars, Fifeshire.  
Anderson, William, 2 Dalkeith Street, Joppa.  
Anderson, W. Kinloch, 14 George Street.  
Angus, William, M.A., Record Office, H.M. Register House.  
Armstrong, John Johnston, Hollycot, Lasswade.  
Atkinson, John J., 26 St. Ronan's Terrace.  
Auchmuty, Mrs., Arnshean, Ravelston Dykes.

BALFOUR-MELVILLE, EVAN W. M., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.  
Barclay, Oswald, D.L., J.P., 6 Merchiston Park.  
Barker, John S., 54 Henderson Row.  
Barnett, David, Corporation Museum.  
Barnett, Rev. T. Ratcliffe, Ph.D., 7 Corrennie Gardens.  
Barrie, John A., 15 Abbey Road, Eskbank.  
Bartholomew, Ian, M.C., M.A., Nairne Lodge, Duddingston.  
Baxendine, Andrew, 10 M'Laren Road.  
Bell, Mackenzie, 8 Orme Square, London, W. 2.  
Bethune, John, Viewfield, Currie.  
Birnie, George R., 67 Trinity Road.  
Bonar, John J., Eldinbrae, Lasswade.  
Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.  
Bowers, John, 75 Morningside Road.  
Boyd, John S., Norland, Jedburgh.  
Boyes, John, 4 Glendevon Place.

## OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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Brown, Charles, 9 Bernard Terrace.  
Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, LL.D., The University, Edinburgh.  
Brown, James C., LL.B., Glenquoich, Liberton.  
Bruce, James, W.S., 16 Hill Street.  
Bruce, Miss, 19 Bright's Crescent.  
Bryce, Herbert D., 37 Barnscourt Terrace.  
Bryce, P. Ross, 33 Craigmillar Park.  
Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.  
Burnside, Rev. John W., Tulloch Manse, Livingstone, Mid-Calder.

CAMERON, Daniel, 2 Cameron Park.  
Campbell, Archibald B., W.S., 36 Castle Street.  
Campbell, Buchanan, W.S., 'Moidart,' Currie.  
Campbell, J. D. B., 25 Ainslie Place.  
Carmichael, Mrs., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.  
Cassillis, Right Hon. The Earl of, Newhailes, Musselburgh.  
Chambers, C. E. S., 339 High Street. (*President*.)  
Christie, Miss Margaret, c/o Mrs. Good, Braefoot, Liberton.  
Chrystal, F. M., M.B., 187 Gilmore Place.  
Clapperton, D. A., C.A., 8 Magdala Crescent.  
Clark, Alexander, Roselea, Corstorphine.  
Clarke, Miss Hilda M., 18 Canaan Lane.  
Clarkson, James Copland, 20 Forth Street.  
Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.  
Considine, W. D., 2 Alvanley Terrace.  
Cook, E. R., Law Society, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.  
Cormack, Donald S., 10 Piersfield Place.  
Couper, Rev. W. J., D.D., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow, E.  
Craig, Sterling, M.A., 130 Princes Street.  
Crawshaw, Dr. Charles, Barwood Mount, Ramsbottom, Lancashire.  
Crichton, A. D., City Chambers, Edinburgh.  
Crichton, George, 6 Duncan Street.  
Croal, Miss Caroline H., 14 Eyre Crescent.  
Crombie, David, 24 Kingsburgh Road.  
Cruikshank, John, 55 Castle Street.  
Cullen, William J., 7 Howard Street.  
Cumming, Charles M., 4 Laverockbank Terrace.  
Cunningham, Mrs. Jean C., 38 Buckingham Terrace.

DALRYMPLE, Hon. HEW, 24 Regent Terrace.  
 Darling, Alexander, LL.D., 23 South Oswald Road.  
 Dawson, A. B., C.A., Misbourne, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.  
 Dick, Andrew W., M.A., 9 West Claremont Street.  
 Dobbie, Sir Joseph, S.S.C., 10 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Dobbie, Lady, 10 Learmonth Terrace.  
 Donald, Alexander Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 18 Carlton Terrace.  
 Donaldson, Prof. Robert, M.B., Ch.B., F.R.C.S., Bridford, Woodside Avenue, London, N. 10.  
 Dott, Miss Margaret F., c/o Grahamslaw, 8 East Mayfield.  
 Douglas, Miss C. P., 97 Inchview Terrace.  
 Douglas, John, 6 St. Mary's Grove, Barnes Common, London, S.W.  
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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.

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