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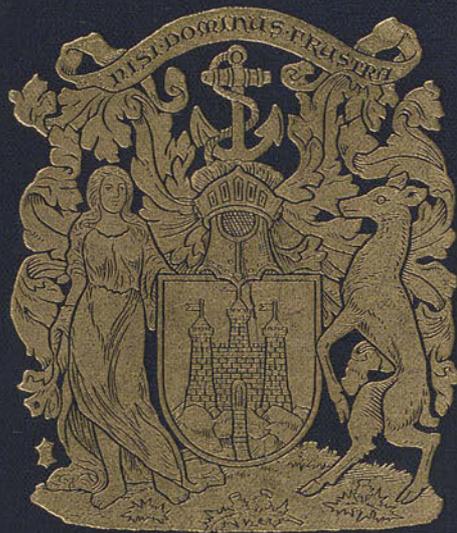
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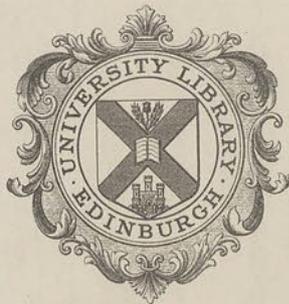
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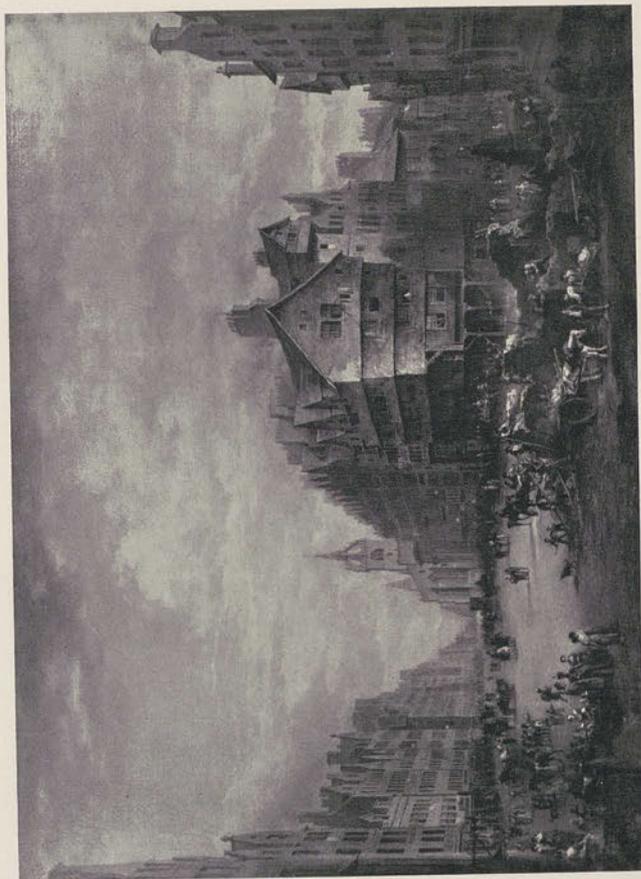
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THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

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THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB





LAWNMARKET AND HEAD OF WEST BOW
From a painting by Alexander Nasmyth, R.S.A., in the City Chambers, Edinburgh

[736]

THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

TWENTY-SEVENTH VOLUME



EDINBURGH

PRINTED BY T. AND A. CONSTABLE LTD.
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1949



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EARLY 19TH-CENTURY EDINBURGH

A Selection of Views from the Skene Drawings

In an article contributed in 1946 to Volume XXV of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* there were given details of the Skene collection of water-colours in the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library. These drawings were prepared by James Skene with a view to the issue, in collaboration with Sir Walter Scott, of a work entitled *Antiquitates Reekianae*. The article was illustrated with four views from the collection. In this volume other eight drawings are reproduced and distributed throughout the text. The following notes will be of interest in connection with them:—

1. GRASSMARKET, 1822.—A view of the south side of the Grassmarket. The proprietors of the shops illustrated are clearly given on the drawing. To the rear lie the lands of the High Riggs.

2. MEALMARKET, COWGATE, 1824.—The building stood on the north side of the Cowgate and the view shows one of the turrets of Parliament House and Sir William Forbes & Co.'s bank.

3. TRON CHURCH, 1818.—The view shows the Church as it was before the construction of the South Bridge. To provide the necessary width for the Bridge the eastmost bay of the Church was cut away, and for the sake of symmetry the westmost bay shared its fate. The view shows Marlin's (or Marlyeouns) Wynd, a stance for sedan chairs, accommodating six of these vehicles, with attendant chairmen, and farther up the street the Black Turnpike or Robertson's Inn, containing the Magdalen Land.

As the South Bridge was opened in 1788 it is possible that this drawing may have been taken from Arnot's print after the drawing by the Hon. John Elphinstone.

4. THE MINT, COWGATE, 1824.—A view of the court. The Mint was built in 1574, after the siege of the Castle, in which the former Mint was destroyed. The building was demolished in 1877.

5. ST. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH, LEITH, 1819.—A view of the Kirk of St. Mary, the Parish Kirk of South Leith, erected some time prior to 1490. When the Church was restored in 1848, the tracery of the north window was salvaged by Dr. D. H. Robertson, author of *The Sculptured Stones of*

Leith, and set up in his garden. It now ornaments St. Conan's Church on the banks of Loch Awe.

6. **TOLBOOTH OF LEITH, 1818.**—The building was erected in 1565, largely at the instance of Queen Mary. It was demolished in 1824 despite the protests of Sir Walter Scott, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and others. A small pencil sketch gives details of a tablet high above the entrance on which appear the Scottish Arms, two unicorns as supporters, and 'M.R. In Defence 1565.'

7. **TRINITY HOSPITAL, 1817.**—To the left of the drawing there appears the eastern part of Trinity College Church. The Hospital is shown against the background of the Calton Hill, the house of the Governor, the Bride-well, and the Nelson Monument. The garden in the foreground is the old Physic Garden, the forerunner of the Botanic Garden. Beyond the Hospital is the foot of Leith Wynd.

8. **DEAN HOUSE, 1826.**—The mansion house of the Nisbet family. It was demolished in 1845 to make way for a public cemetery. Many of the carved stones are preserved in the burial ground. The Water of Leith Village lies on the south side of the river; the Dean Village lay on the north bank.

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EDINBURGH IN LORD PROVOST DRUMMOND'S TIME

IT may be doubted if ever there was a period in the history of Edinburgh more notable for varied life and orderly progress, more alive with civic incident of first-rate importance, than that covered by the career of the great Lord Provost Drummond. Roughly it embraces from the Revolution of 1688 to the accession of George III in 1760. Momentous changes were then wrought not merely in the outward appearance of the city but in administration, in social conditions, in humanitarian effort. Above all, there was a broader mental outlook. Growth and consolidation, expansion and improvement, were signs of the times.

When the curtain rises the internecine strife of centuries still continues, and we have 'bonnie Dundee' clambering up the Castle Rock, and, after interviewing the Duke of Gordon, riding off to raise the clans for James VII, and eventually meeting a hero's death at Killiecrankie. At the close of the period the Edinburgh that we know is almost in sight. The North Loch is about to be drained and the North Bridge built—public works that were the prelude to the uprising of the New Town.

Throughout this resplendent era when Edinburgh outgrew the status of a provincial town and became a modern city, the inceptive, organising, and controlling power lay pre-eminently with George Drummond, whose uncommon merits were acclaimed by his being six times elected to the office of Chief Magistrate. As our subject is concerned with Edinburgh in Drummond's time rather than with Drummond himself, it is perhaps unnecessary to enlarge upon his dynamic personality, his remarkable gifts of character and intellect, his

intense public spirit, and his great services to the city during fifty years.

Yet something must be said of him, for he was more of an influence than his contemporaries knew. It has been truly remarked that the astonishing thing about great men is that they are so modern. Drummond is a striking example. In him there was more of the spirit of the future than of the present. With all his practicality he had the power of vision, and if one test of greatness be the magnitude and variety of a man's enterprises to benefit those among whom he lives, then Drummond was indeed great. When this famous Lord Provost died in 1766, Dr. William Cullen dismissed his medical class before the conclusion of the hour with the explanation that he was to attend the funeral of 'the greatest character Edinburgh ever saw.' It was the 'still small voice' of gratitude, and surely it will never cease to be heard when Drummond's public labours are recalled. If St. Paul's Cathedral be Wren's monument, Drummond's is modern Edinburgh. Of surpassing importance are his labours. The corporate life of this city is still being reared on the foundations he laid.

'The dignity of Drummond's person in advanced age, when I knew him,' writes Dr. Thomas Somerville in his *Life and Times*, 'commanded at first sight respect and reverence, insomuch that if a stranger had been introduced to any meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh for the consideration of business of the most important nature, his eye would have immediately selected Drummond as the fittest person to take the lead in council. Every prepossession in his favour was confirmed upon further acquaintance, by the politeness of his manners and the affability of his conversation' (pp. 45-6).

I

Born in 1687, Drummond entered the Town Council for the first time in 1715. He was then twenty-eight, but already

had had experience of public work, having been appointed Accountant-General of Excise when hardly out of his teens. It was not a large municipality that Drummond was called to assist in governing. Edinburgh was still for the most part confined within the Flodden Wall. There were but two streets, the main one stretching from Holyrood to the Castle. Defoe, who was then living in Edinburgh, describes it (a trifle extravagantly) as the 'largest, longest and finest Street for Buildings and Numbers of Inhabitants, not in *Bretain* only, but in the World.'¹ The subsidiary thoroughfare was the Cowgate, stretching from the port at the foot of St. Mary's Wynd to the Grassmarket. In the vicinity of the Flodden Wall lay the suburbs of Pleasance and Easter and Wester Portsburgh — small self-contained communities. On the north the town was hemmed in by a sheet of water extending from the West Kirk to Trinity College, known as the Nor' (or North) Loch. Beyond it were fields sloping away to the sea.

Within this circumscribed area dwelt 40,000 people. The houses were piled 'close and massy, deep and high,' and Defoe probably had some justification for remarking that 'in no city in the World [do] so many people live in so little Room as at Edinburgh.'² The congestion had, of course, serious disadvantages which the author of *Robinson Crusoe* is not slow to point out. He admits, however, that the 'scandalous Inconveniences,' as he calls them, were the inevitable result of the conditions of living, and that the unsavoury reputation of Edinburgh would apply as forcibly to any other city similarly placed. 'Were any other People,' he writes, 'to live under the same Unhappiness, I mean as well of a rocky and mountainous Situation, throng'd Buildings, from seven to ten or twelve story high, a Scarcity of Water, and that little . . . difficult to be had, and to the uppermost Lodgings,

¹ *Tour Through Great Britain*, vol. iii. p. 29 seq.

² *Ibid.*

far to fetch, we should find a *London*, or a *Bristol*, as dirty as *Edinburgh*, and, perhaps, less able to make their Dwellings tolerable, at least in so narrow a Compass.¹

But if civic administration at this time was relatively light, it lay in the hands of an unreformed Town Council—corrupt, inefficient, irresponsible—a body in which jobbery and nepotism were but feebly restrained. To a man of such lofty idealism as Drummond, this state of affairs went sorely against the grain, and at a later date, he wrote in his private diary: 'The conduct of our Magistrates for some years past has been very grieving to all good men. . . . The morals of the city have been criminally neglected by them. . . . They have endeavoured to bear down serious religion . . . by a bad choice of Ministers, Councillors, Constables, etc. . . . A new constitution to the Town is the only method to make it prosper.'² What Drummond did towards this end will be disclosed in due course. Meanwhile it may be stated that two years after entering the Town Council, Drummond was made Treasurer, and no doubt was partly instrumental in obtaining a measure whereby the Lord Provost was allowed an honorarium of £300 a year.

II

In the year in which Drummond entered the Town Council the city was confronted with the Jacobite menace. As an ardent Hanoverian, he took a leading part in thwarting it, his main service being the raising of a company of volunteers. On the night of October 12, 1715, Highland forces under Mackintosh of Borlum were conveyed across the Forth from Fife in open boats and landed between North Berwick and Gullane. Mackintosh had intended to link up with the army on the Border, but complying with the request of the Edinburgh Jacobites, he resolved to attempt the capture of the

¹ *Tour Through Great Britain*, vol. iii. p. 29 seq.

² *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. iv. pp. 27-8.

city. Apprised of his plans, the inhabitants took defensive measures. The Trained Bands, Town Guard and Associate Volunteers were posted at the various ports, while a messenger was dispatched to Argyle at Stirling, who with five hundred men rode with all speed to Edinburgh. This Hanoverian force entered the city by the West Port, just as the Highland army reached Jock's Lodge. Here Mackintosh expected to meet the Jacobites from the city, but their non-appearance and the news of Argyle's arrival altered his plans. He now marched to Leith, where he took possession of the Citadel and a quantity of powder and cannon stored at the harbour. Next morning (October 15) Argyle, with eleven hundred men, appeared before the Citadel and summoned Mackintosh to surrender. The Jacobite garrison was defiant, and Argyle having no guns with which to enforce his demand, returned to Edinburgh with the intention of procuring munitions for an attack on the following day. Conscious of his peril, Mackintosh, however, evacuated the Citadel under cover of darkness, and taking advantage of the ebb-tide, crossed the sands of Leith and bore away eastwards. Before sunrise the Highland army reached Seton Palace, where it remained till October 20 when it marched to the Borders.

The long halt of Mackintosh's forces at so short a distance from the city rather favoured the idea that the rebels would again attempt to capture Edinburgh. The Town Council therefore took precautionary measures. The entrance out-with the New Port was to be built up, the sluice of the Nor' Loch 'stopped,' the gate leading to the College Kirk barricaded. Then the town wall was to be heightened, and the portion in Leith Wynd defended by four entrenchments, the breastwork of which was to consist of 'wood and earth with cannons.' The committee in charge of the defensive arrangements recommended that the Netherbow Port be secured with two cross-bars, and that to prevent the city being set on fire, the wooden lodges adjoining the Port should be

demolished. The door of the Cowgate Port was also secured, and the Potterrow and Society Ports received similar attention. Other measures included the making of ditches to the north, the closing up of doors and windows in Leith Wynd, and the strengthening of the watch on the town wall. Finally, John Porteous, tailor, Canongatehead, was elected adjutant to the Trained Bands, and granted £25 for his services for one year, consideration to be given for 'special trouble.' Happily all these precautions proved unnecessary. Early in 1716 the rebellion ended, and the citizens could again breathe freely.

III

Drummond was a man of large ideas, a contriver of boldly conceived schemes, many of which came to fruition and moulded the destinies of Scotland's capital. He has been called 'the father of the Infirmary.' Certainly the founding of a hospital for the sick poor lay near his heart, and during his first Provostship he took action. The College of Physicians and Surgeons warmly supported the scheme, and raised a substantial sum on its behalf. Drummond also induced the proprietors of a fishing company, which was being dissolved, to assign their shares for the proposed hospital, while philanthropic persons were asked to sign bonds obliging them to pay the sums set against their names. The result of this combined effort was that a small hospital was opened in Robertson's Close on 6th August 1729, the Town Council consenting to a nineteen years' lease of the property. The experiment was amply justified, and Drummond set about collecting funds for a much larger institution, which ultimately was erected in the street bearing his name, and which was in constant use till the erection of the present buildings in Lauriston. There is a bust of Drummond by Nollekens, and on it an inscription penned by William Robertson, the historian, which says, that to Drummond 'this country

(i.e. Scotland) is indebted for all the benefits which it derives from the Royal Infirmary.' These words have gained a hundredfold in significance since they were written.

The Infirmary scheme was conjoined with another for the establishment of a thoroughly efficient Medical Faculty in connexion with the Town's College, as the University was then called. That institution was under the absolute control of the Town Council, and Drummond, as the civic head, left no stone unturned to bring about a higher teaching standard all round. Bower, an early historian of the University, claims Drummond as its greatest benefactor, and Principal Sir Alexander Grant, who supplemented the labours of Bower, characterises him as 'the wisest and best disposed of all the long list of Town Councillors and Provosts who during two hundred and seventy-five years acted as patrons of the College.'¹

During half a century Drummond practically appointed the Professors, the majority of whom had European reputations. For Alexander Monro, the first of three brilliant anatomists of that name who taught the students in Edinburgh, he had a great admiration. Monro had been the valued colleague of Drummond in founding the Infirmary, and it was his fame and success which, Somerville tells us in his *Life and Times*, suggested to Drummond that the welfare of the city and University might be greatly promoted by due care being taken in the appointments to the Medical Chairs, which, he proposed, should henceforth be invariably filled by the fittest men, irrespective of personal influence. 'His liberal plan of exercising patronage was adopted; the various branches of medical education were successively supplied with teachers the most approved and celebrated . . . the number of students multiplied rapidly, and the University has now become the most illustrious school in Europe for medical instruction' (pp. 22-3).

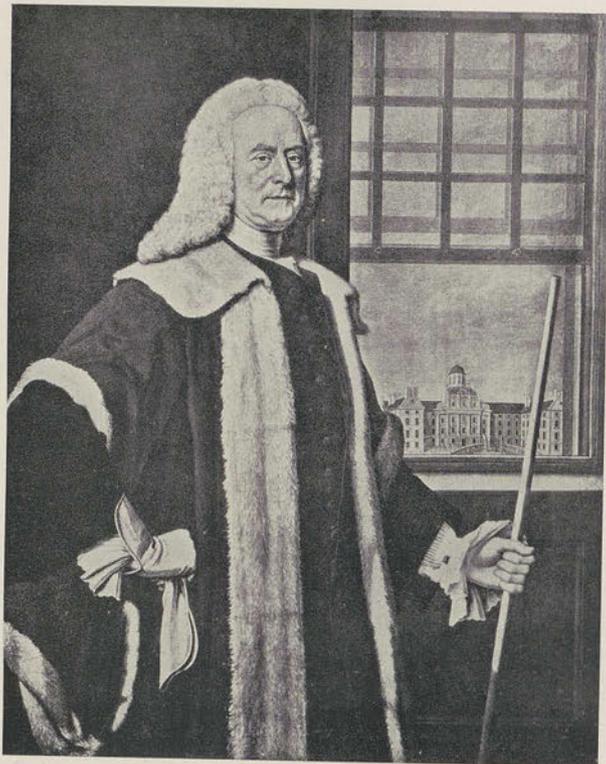
¹ *Story of Edinburgh University*, vol. i. p. 304.

IV

In 1725 Glasgow had, in the 'most outrageous Manner, obstructed the levying of the Malt Tax,' but Edinburgh, not following its example, received royal commendation for 'good Behaviour and seasonable Firmness to His Majesty's Government,' together with a promise that the King would be ready 'on all proper Occasions to give them Marks of his Royal Favour and Protection.' Drummond, as Chief Magistrate, replied to the Royal message. While it was the wish of those for whom he spoke 'to express their Zeal to the best of Kings by a dutiful Behaviour,' the poverty of Scotland was such that he and his fellow Magistrates could not be 'absolutely sure' that Glasgow would be 'singular in a criminal Obstruction of the Laws.' So Drummond ventured to suggest alterations in the mode of levying the Malt Tax which 'may render it easier to the Subject,' and yet secure the revenue. But whether these be given effect to or not, the Magistrates of Edinburgh 'will readily concur to exert ourselves to the utmost to preserve the publick Quiet, and so to behave ourselves, as not to forfeit the Grace and Goodness with which His Majesty has been pleased to accept of our past Conduct.'¹

When George II came to the throne in 1727 Drummond had another opportunity of punctiliously recording his Hanoverian loyalty and zeal for the Protestant religion. As Lord Provost, he addressed a message to the new King, expressing 'the great Happiness which your Majesty's being on the Throne of your Ancestors is to us,' the citizens of Edinburgh, and praying that the defeat of the 'abjured Popish Pretender, and every other Enemy be such as may obscure the Lustre of the most eminent of your Predecessors. . . . These are the warm and ardent Wishes of your Majesty's good Town of Edinburgh, whose Glory it is to have been

¹ Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 122.



GEORGE DRUMMOND, LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH

After portrait by J. Alexander (1752) in Edinburgh Royal Infirmary

firm to the Interest of your Royal Family and Government in all Times.'¹

Edinburgh may have been outwardly passive concerning the Malt Tax, but in 1736 it was the scene of one of the most remarkable exhibitions of popular violence ever witnessed in Scotland. The affair of Captain John Porteous has been rendered immortal by Scott in his *Heart of Midlothian*. Drummond was not then Lord Provost, but gave evidence for the prosecution in the trial of Porteous. He witnessed the execution of Andrew Wilson from a window in the house of Bailie Halyburton 'on the north side of the corner of the Strait Bow, the third story,' and afterwards saw Porteous and other members of the Town Guard fire upon the mob.

The sequel of the Porteous Riot bore heavily on the city. In February 1737 Lord Provost Wilson and four bailies were ordered to attend the House of Lords, and after a Parliamentary inquiry the Lord Provost was taken into the custody of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. Then a Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought in. It was proposed to imprison the Lord Provost, to abolish the Town Guard, and to remove the Netherbow Port, but such reprisals were not allowed to prevail. They were dropped, the punishment eventually taking the form of a fine of £2000 imposed on the city, the money to 'be applied to and for the use and benefit' of Porteous's widow. Lord Provost Wilson, however, did not wholly escape, being incapacitated 'from taking, holding or enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the City of Edinburgh or elsewhere in Great Britain.'

V

In 1745 Edinburgh again was in a state of consternation consequent upon the government of the city being transferred to the Highlanders under Prince Charles Edward, but the

¹ Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 123.

B



HOUSES IN GRASSMARKET, 1822

After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw

incidents of that thrilling time are too well known to need recapitulation. Suffice it to say that when it was known that the Jacobite army was marching on Edinburgh, defensive measures (not of a very effective character, however) were speedily adopted. The old and ruinous Town Wall was repaired and cannon mounted upon it. This work was mainly carried out by Colin Maclaurin, the illustrious occupant of the Chair of Mathematics in Edinburgh University, who was assisted by Drummond. As in the 'Fifteen, Drummond also raised a company of volunteers. He desired to engage the rebels before they reached the city, but receiving little or no support from the Town Council, and the zeal of his volunteers oozing away, he was obliged to disband. After the surrender of Edinburgh Drummond joined Cope's army, and witnessed its defeat at Prestonpans.

'Edinburgh having been in a State of Anarchy since the Feast of Michaelmas, anno 1745,' says Maitland, the King granted a petition for 'restoring the Peace and good Government' of the city. Accordingly, on 24th November 1746 a poll election took place, and Drummond was elected Lord Provost for the second time. His first duty was to write to the King and thank his Majesty for restoring to the citizens 'the Exercise of their antient Rights and Privileges, which the late infamous Rebellion had interrupted and destroyed.'¹

Drummond also saw to it that the services of the victor of Culloden were acknowledged by the city. It will be remembered that after the battle the Duke of Cumberland signalled his visit to Edinburgh by burning at the Cross fourteen of the standards taken from the Jacobites. Yet Cumberland, whose military reputation was by no means unblemished, was on 1st April 1747 'invested with the freedom of this City, as a Testimony of their grateful Sense of the glorious Services done by his Royal Highness.' The Duke was not present at the function, but the charter was forwarded

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, pp. 132-3.

in 'a Golden Box of curious Workmanship' on which were embossed the City Arms, the Duke's Arms, and a high-sounding Latin inscription. Accompanying the casket was a letter in Drummond's handwriting. 'I look upon it as the greatest Happiness of my Life,' the Lord Provost wrote, 'to be in an Office which intitles me in Name, and by Order of the Magistrates and Town Council of this City, to transmit this publick and sincere Declaration of their Duty to your Royal Highness, and your gracious Acceptance thereof will do the City the greatest Honour.'¹

Drummond's second Provostship lasted from 1746 to 1748. He was succeeded by Archibald Macaulay, who, curiously enough, also succeeded him at the close of his first term of office. It is noteworthy, too, that Macaulay became Lord Provost when Alexander Wilson was relieved of the office as the result of the Porteous Riot. Little is known about Macaulay, but it seems a safe deduction to say that he was, like Drummond, a man of ability, a magistrate who might be expected to do what needed to be done at crucial moments in our civic history. When, in 1750, he had completed his term of office, he was succeeded by Drummond, who thus became Lord Provost for the third time.

VI

Drummond, I repeat, was a man of wide outlook, one in whom there was more of the spirit of times to come than of his own. And with prevision there was combined a strong sense of practicality, which resulted in spacious schemes for the welfare of Edinburgh. During his first Provostship he was the driving force behind the project for the Infirmary. In his third Provostship, to which we have come, he was visualising a new and more wholesome and prosperous Edinburgh on the far side of the valley which held the waters of

¹ *History of Edinburgh*, p. 134.

the Nor' Loch. Dr. Somerville tells us that Drummond and he were standing one day at a back window in the uppermost storey of the Royal Exchange, surveying the fields to the north, then known as Bearford's Parks. 'Look at these fields,' said Drummond, 'you, Mr. Somerville, are a young man, and may probably live, though I will not, to see all these fields covered with houses, forming a splendid and magnificent city. To the accomplishment of this, nothing more is necessary than draining the North Loch, and providing a proper access from the Old Town. I have never lost sight of this object since the year 1725, when I was first elected Provost. I have met with much opposition and encountered many difficulties which have retarded success, but I believe that they are at last surmounted, and that this great work will be soon carried into effect.'¹

The project for an extension of the city to the north was as old as the days of Charles II. Lord Mar of the 'Fifteen, in the enforced retirement of his later years, wrote a pamphlet in which he propounded a scheme the leading features of which were the construction of bridges to the north and to the south, and the rearing of houses on the line of what is now Princes Street. Drummond's enviable distinction was to project the matter beyond the theoretical stage; to give it actuality. The erection of an Exchange, the provision of accommodation for the public records and the Advocates' Library, and the opening up of approaches from the north, south, and west—these improvements all came within his purview. In 1752 he wrote a letter, which was printed, commending proposals by Sir Gilbert Elliot, the statesman, philosopher and poet, for promoting certain public works in the city, including the extension of the 'royalty' northwards. 'It is the Duty,' Drummond wrote, 'of every Well-wisher of his Country, to contribute, in proportion to the Property he has in it, for helping forward a Work that is so much for

¹ Somerville, *Life and Times*, pp. 47-8.

the Public Utility, and the Benefit and Ornament of the Metropolis.'

Part of these proposals obtained Parliamentary sanction in 1753, and in the same year the works were begun, Drummond laying the foundation stone of the Royal Exchange. The scheme for extension was opposed by landowners, but Drummond persevered, and during his sixth and last Provostship (1762-64) the Nor' Loch was drained, and he himself laid the foundation stone of the first North Bridge, which, to conciliate the opposition, was declared to be 'the Bridge leading towards Leith, the seaport of the City of Edinburgh.' These are the words of the inscription on the foundation stone. Nothing was said about the New Town, but in the year following Drummond's death in 1766, an Act was passed extending the 'royalty' now covered by the New Town, and the building of Princes Street was begun. 'You have no notion of our city now; it has expanded prodigiously,' wrote Mrs. Alison Cockburn to Hume in 1765.

VII

Contemporaneously with extensions both to the north and to the south, there was wholesale demolition of historic structures in the Old Town itself. In 1753 the beautiful Gothic Porch at the entrance to the courtyard of Holyroodhouse was pulled down, and just after Drummond had completed his fourth Provostship, civic tradition received a shattering blow by the taking down of the Market Cross, which for centuries had been the centre not only of municipal affairs, but of the public life of Scotland. The Cross was an obstruction, and so it had also to go. Then, in 1764, the Netherbow Port, a magnificent specimen of Scots architecture, was also handed over to the housebreaker. Arnot, without a tinge of remorse, gives the reason. 'Upon the increase of wheel carriages, the width of the passage was found unequal

to the concourse of people who had occasion to pass that way, and as the building was so crazy that the gate could not admit of an enlargement, there was found to be a necessity for removing the whole.' In this matter, so respected and cultured a citizen as Sir Alexander Dick, President of the Royal College of Physicians, played, it is regrettable to acknowledge, the vandal to perfection. Writing from his house at Prestonfield on 27th July 1764, he gaily tells Hume that he has 'been employed by the gentlemen of the county and many of the city' to beg the Lord Privy Seal's 'interest and influence to have the Nether Bow port taken down, and the walls of the city made flat with the ground, as they were both extreme great nuisances.' And he adds: 'I had the good fortune to have the Lord Privy Seal and his numerous levee, all on my side.' Apparently Sir Alexander worked strenuously for the demolition of the Netherbow Port, and was proud of his achievement.

The Netherbow Port was one of the objects selected by Queen Caroline for destruction, to gratify her hostility towards Edinburgh, but though then spared, thanks to the intervention of certain Scottish members of Parliament, it fell at last before reforming zeal that was sadly misplaced. Such vandalism came in for merited castigation in the poems of James Wilson, who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Claudero.' Drummond, however, was not one of the victims of the poet's satire; on the contrary, he eulogises him. 'The Chief Magistrate is devoted to the service of the city, and its glory is his greatest aim. Disinterested are his views: his noble plans proclaim his merit, and his memory shall be dear to posterity.'

Still Drummond, as we have seen, was not without his adversaries. In 1763 he was nominated for the usual second year of office, but his election, along with that of two other councillors proposed as bailies, was strongly opposed by the Trades. 'We protest,' ran the document, 'against the

election of George Drummond Esq., one of the Commissioners of Excise, David Flint, one of the Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures, and John Nisbet, General Supervisor of the Salt dues . . . in respect none of them are at present, nor have been for many years past, of the estate or calling of Merchants within this city, as required by the established Sett of this Burgh, and particularly the said George Drummond.'¹ But the Trades were powerless to keep out of office a public servant so able and far-seeing.

VIII

In 1760 Edinburgh was threatened with a water famine. The shortage had long been foreseen, and in 1757 the Town Council were empowered by Parliament to obtain a fresh supply from springs on the Mortonhall estate. Unfortunately, opposition was raised by the proprietor, and considerable litigation followed. Eventually the scarcity of water became so serious that the Council were compelled to proceed with the scheme, the cost of which was to be defrayed by a levy on the citizens. In order to do this, the sanction of Parliament was necessary, and a petition was duly presented. At this stage, Drummond, deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation, wrote a long letter to James Oswald of Dunnikier, M.P. for the Kirkcaldy Burghs (an influential legislator and a friend of all Scots causes), earnestly begging him to support the petition. The letter is dated Drummond Lodge, 7th February 1760, and is as follows:—

'You have, I dare say, somehow or other, heard how much this city were (*sic*) distressed for want of water for these last five months: our pit-wells were, a good many of them, quite dry, so that our brewers were, many of them, forced to bring their water at some distance out of town. Our springs at Comiston, three miles south of the town, from

¹ *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. iv. pp. 48-9.

whence our fountains on the street are supplied, gave so little water, that almost one half of the inhabitants were obliged to buy water from off the farmers' carts, who brought it from distant places to the streets. What a terrible situation this was to be in, I need not describe. Had a fire happened in a stormy night, this populous place might have been reduced to ashes. Three years ago, we got an act of Parliament to supply the town with water from a place above a mile south of our present reservoir. The ground belongs to Trotter of Mortonhall, whose madness, etc., nobody in this country is a stranger to. He is living in a garret in Petersburgh (?) at present, but has given orders to his doer here to oppose our getting this water every possible way he can. We commenced a suit against him two years ago before the Deputy-Sheriff, as the law directed, in which we have met with all the delays the lawyers could practise. The Sheriff, after taking immense pains on the cause, to prevent Mortonhall's having any one thing to say when he brings it before the House of Lords, where we are assured he will carry it, has pronounced his interlocutor, and Trotter has brought it, by advocacy, before the Lords of Session. Our answers are in their boxes this night, and I dare say the Lords will reject this petition tomorrow.

'Our revenue is altogether unable to defray the charge of bringing in this water; and, if we ha'n't power, from an act of Parliament, to levy the necessary sum from off the inhabitants prudently, we, the Council, can't meddle in it. They are carrying on a subscription to an application to us to apply to Parliament to get such a power; but I am afraid we are distanced by a resolution of the House to receive no petition for private bills after the 6th of January. Will the House, on the case being justly represented to them, on which no less than the lives and properties of the whole of the inhabitants may, in certain events, depend, be prevailed on to allow our petition to be brought in? For God's sake, sir, consider of this matter, and save this city from ruin, if it's possible.'¹

A few months later, 17th July 1760, Drummond is again corresponding with Oswald. This time, he writes as Preses of the Convention of Royal Burghs, to express the thanks of that body 'for the distinguished appearance you made in Parliament last Session, for obtaining the establishment of a

¹ *Memorials of James Oswald of Dunnikier, 1825, pp. 136-9.*



THE MEALMARKET, COWGATE, 1824

After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw



TRON CHURCH. 1818

After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw

militia in Scotland, which we consider as essential to our security.' The Convention had had many proofs of Oswald's 'affection for our most gracious Sovereign, and zeal for our happy constitution,' and the members hoped that in the future he would 'exert the enlarged capacity which Heaven has blessed you with, in the service of both.'¹

Oswald championed Sir Gilbert Elliot's Militia Bill, but the measure was rejected by the Newcastle Administration on the ground that it was bad policy to arm a people among whom two Jacobite rebellions occurred. Not until 1793 were the Militia Acts extended to Scotland, so that measures which Drummond and his colleagues deemed vital to the national existence were but tardily brought about.

In Drummond's final year of the Provostship a scarcity of food threatened the peace of the city, as a water famine had done earlier. Bread riots were no new thing. In 1740, owing to failure of the crops and the consequent high price of food, the populace had raided the mills, certain granaries in Leith, and sundry meal shops. When the mob tried to rescue the captured ringleaders, the military were summoned and compelled to fire. Three persons were wounded, one of them mortally. A similar situation confronted Drummond in November 1763. The mob attacked the Meal Market in the Cowgate, and, as in 1740, the garrison of the Castle was called out to quell the disturbance. But it broke out afresh, and was only dispersed by the arrival of the Magistrates, supported by the Trained Bands, the Town Guard, and a detachment of the military. Ultimately Drummond succeeded in having supplies sent to the Meal Market.

This was the last outstanding episode in his municipal career. In November 1764 he retired from the Council which he had served so well and faithfully for almost half a century. Two years later he died at Drummond Lodge, in his eightieth year.

¹ *Memorials of James Oswald of Dunnikier*, 1825, pp. 134-5.

IX

Having outlined prominent events that happened in Edinburgh in Lord Provost Drummond's time, I pass on to notice certain spheres of activity in which were displayed an energy and initiative that imparted a specific character to this period of local history. Both the social and literary life of the city may be left out of our survey. These are fairly well known, particularly through the volumes of Henry Grey Graham whose descriptions for fullness and intimacy could hardly be bettered.

So far as Edinburgh is concerned, the era of Drummond was one of growing material prosperity. Besides the construction of public works on an unexampled scale, there was marked industrial expansion. The mediaeval conception of trade with its privileges and restrictions was crumbling, and though the Merchant Company bitterly protested against the number of 'young women' who were allowed to keep shops, as an infringement of its patent (in which action they were supported by the Town Council), it was becoming increasingly difficult to enforce the law against contraband goods.

In trade development Edinburgh played a leading part. While the tobacco lords of Glasgow were amassing fortunes, all sorts of commodities were being manufactured in the Scottish capital according to improved methods. It is true that some of these concerns languished owing to English competition, but others absorbed much labour and became flourishing concerns. Various industries, more or less new, were established in the city. We hear of a glass-bottle work, of linen manufacture at Paul's Work and the Citadel of Leith, of a playing-card factory at Restalrig, of brass-founding in the Canongate, of a joint-stock company producing 'good

white paper' and only needing encouragement to be 'an advantage to the whole kingdom.'

Between 1746 and 1770 leather manufacture was the staple city industry, there being numerous tanneries in which the material was skilfully wrought. Large quantities of boots from Edinburgh were placed on the home and the West Indian market, while huge Government contracts were dealt with. One, Gavin Wilson, patented a preparation of leather that gave it the appearance of tortoise-shell, and did a roaring trade in snuff-boxes and writing-cases. Coach-building was another thriving industry, vehicles being exported from Edinburgh to France, Holland, Russia, and the West Indies.

The printing trade was only second to that of leather. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Edinburgh printing had, owing to various causes, declined. Arnot, in his *History of Edinburgh*, says that there were only four printing houses about the year 1750, and that their output consisted of Bibles, newspapers, school-books, law-papers, and the 'fanatic effusions of Presbyterian clergymen.' But after that date the industry quickly expanded and improved.

In Drummond's time lived William Ged, who carried out in Edinburgh the first experiments in connexion with an invention which, economically considered, is only second in importance to the art of printing itself. A native of the city, and a goldsmith there, Ged produced during Drummond's earliest Provostship the first stereotype plate, which went a long way towards solving the problem how best to secure, in the productions of the Press, correctness and perfection of workmanship with cheapness. Ged's invention, in short, made possible the manufacture of printing plates, which can be stored at little expense, and which are always available for fresh editions of a work without the trouble or cost of setting a single letter.

The newspaper industry was also making headway. In 1718 was started the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, the first of

its kind to get a firm hold. It was the venture of James M'Euen,¹ and appeared by authority of the Magistrates and Council, to whom M'Euen was to be answerable for what he printed and published. And this rule was not allowed to become a dead letter, for M'Euen was obliged 'before publication' to give 'ane coppie of his print to (the) magistrates.' The *Courant* espoused the cause of the Whigs, and, as M'Euen told Wodrow, the Church historian, was 'very well liked by all except the violent Jacobites,' who took their revenge by launching, in 1720, the *Caledonian Mercury*, which, in the hands of Ruddiman, was the organ of Prince Charles Edward.²

The *Scots Magazine* was begun in Edinburgh in 1739 and survived for eighty-seven years. It was the first attempt in Scotland to promote a literary journal. Under the primitive conditions of eighteenth-century journalism, it reflected the atmosphere of the time, but when these conditions passed away and a progressive policy was demanded, it proved unequal to the task. So we have Cockburn referring to the 'dotard *Scots Magazine*, which now lived, or rather tried to live, upon its antiquity alone.' The periodical professed to furnish 'a general view of the Religion, Politicks, Entertainment, etc., in Great Britain, and a succinet account of Publick Affairs, foreign and domestick,'—everything, in fact, save the news in which Edinburgh readers were most interested. As regards literary matter its mainstay were the essays of Johnson and Goldsmith which, when the Copyright Act had no terrors, were purloined with unfailing regularity. Hugo

¹ 'Mr. James M'Euen, a bookseller of considerable note, who had also an establishment in London.' William Strahan and Andrew Millar (both of whom early settled in London, the latter being the publisher of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*) were his apprentices. See Creech's *Fugitive Pieces*, p. xvi n.

² 'The first forty-five numbers were embellished with a cut of the Scottish arms, which in No. 46 and onwards gave place to a crude flowered initial letter—a somewhat peculiar allegorical design with two figures, one Mercury and the other probably Scotia. Thistles sprouted in numbers around, and a shield with the Scottish lion occupied one of the corners.'—W. J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press*, vol. ii. p. 41.

Arnot, the historian of Edinburgh, writing in 1779, says: 'This miscellany has now subsisted these forty years; and although, in that period, it must no doubt have undergone changes in point of merit, character, and circulation, yet it has always been esteemed an accurate, judicious and impartial publication.'

X

But while encouraging this many-sided industrial development, to which Drummond, as head of the municipality and a trustee of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, gave a decided impetus, Edinburgh remained true to its character as an educational and professional city. Numerous societies sprang up with the object of making those who joined them more proficient in particular branches of knowledge. In the earlier part of Drummond's career the Rankenian Club was specially vigorous. Social and convivial at first, it is believed to have had a lineal descendant in the Philosophical Society, founded in Edinburgh in 1731 for the improvement of medical knowledge. Six years later, on the suggestion of Professor Colin Maclaurin, its scope was enlarged so as to include science and literature. Maclaurin was for long the secretary of the Philosophical Society, an office in which he was succeeded by David Hume. How far-reaching the influence of the Philosophical Society was may be judged by the fact that the fame of the Edinburgh School of Medicine dates from the publication of a volume issued under the Society's auspices entitled *Medical Essays*.

But the chief cultural organisation was the Select Society, of which all the literary men in Edinburgh were members. The Minutes, now in the custody of the National Library of Scotland, make clear that it was the most famous of the societies which brought Edinburgh literary distinction in the eighteenth century. The founder was the 'ingenious Allan

Ramsay' (son of the poet) who, along with 'two or three of his friends,' called together fifteen persons in May 1754. This formed the nucleus of the Society 'into which the members were ever after elected by ballot.' Among the original members, besides 'Mr. Allan Ramsay, Painter,' were 'Mr. Adam Smith, Professor at Glasgow'; David Hume; Principal William Robertson; John Home, author of *Douglas*; 'Jupiter' Carlyle of Inveresk; James Boswell; Alexander Wedderburn, who mounted the Woolsack as Lord Loughborough; Lords Monboddo and Hailes; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, statesman, essayist, and poet. One of the objects of the Select Society (which met in the Advocates' Library), it is amusing to recall, was the promotion of 'the Reading and Speaking of the English Language in Scotland.'

Another useful society was that 'for promoting Natural Knowledge.' In 1743 it invited 'noblemen, gentlemen and others' who had discovered rare stones or minerals to send samples with an account of the place where and the manner in which they were found, to Dr. Andrew Plummer, one of the secretaries of the Philosophical Society. Equally influential was the Society for Improving the Knowledge of Agriculture—the Society of Improvers, as it was usually called. Three hundred landowners were members of this organisation, which was founded in 1723. It held its meetings in Edinburgh, and did good work. When Michael Menzies, a member of the Scottish Bar, invented a threshing-machine, the Society sent a deputation to Roseburn to see it working. The Whigs, again, started a society in 1724 for cultivating historical literature. It promoted a new edition of the works of George Buchanan; but the Society's political complexion hampered its progress.

The fine arts were also receiving attention, and were focussed in the activities of the School of St. Luke, an institution established in Edinburgh. Twenty-nine subscribed to the Founding Parchment, which begins: 'At Edinburgh,

the 18th day of October (St. Luke's Day) 1729. We Subscribers, Painters and Lovers of Painting, Fellows of the Edinburgh School of St. Luke, for the encouragement of these excellent arts of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and improvement of the Students, have agreed to erect a Publict (*sic*) Academy.' Then follow rules for the conduct of the classes, after which come the signatures of the two Allan Ramsays, William Adam, the architect of the old Infirmary, James Norie ('Old Norie'), and others. Allan Ramsay, junior, William Aikman, and Sir John Medina, a trio of distinguished portrait painters, were living in Edinburgh in Drummond's time, likewise the two Runcimans. John and Robert Norie, sons of 'Old Norie,' were decorative house-painters. They brought landscape panelling into vogue in Edinburgh, and were much employed in embellishing the interiors of mansions in the Old Town. Their work usually took the form of painting a landscape or classic theme in a panel above the mantelpiece, the whole being surrounded by carved and gilded woodwork. One or two specimens of the craftsmanship of the Nories may still be seen in a house in Chessel's Court.

Music was also being diligently cultivated. The Musical Society of Edinburgh, of which in Volume XIX of our Publications I have told the story from the records, rendered meritorious service in what George Thomson, the friend and correspondent of Burns, calls 'the Augustan age of music in Auld Reekie.' Drummond was admitted a member of the Musical Society in 1752, and for some years exercised a powerful influence in the direction of its affairs. In 1756 he was elected Deputy-Governor, and presided over the deliberations relating to the building of St. Cecilia's Hall.

In this survey of Edinburgh in Lord Provost Drummond's time only those features have been alluded to which, in the writer's judgment, have not received the attention they deserve. If this conspectus of the Scottish capital in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century has emphasised the fact

that the city was then awaking from the sleep of centuries, and was passing from the dirty, inconvenient, old-fashioned, but extremely picturesque town of fifty thousand inhabitants and assuming the status of a modern, prosperous, and enlightened city, the writer shall have accomplished what he set out to do. The dominating influence of this transitional period was George Drummond. His various Provostships marked a new era in the history of Edinburgh.

W. FORBES GRAY.

THE HERMITAGE OF BRAID

IN a recess of the secluded valley which dips from Braid Road to the Blackford Hill stands the Hermitage of Braid, a four-storeyed mansion¹ with a turret on each corner of its battlemented roof. The level lawn in front is bounded on the north by the Braid burn and on the south by the winding avenue which leads to the front door with its four steps. About thirty yards west of the house, the burn disappears into an underground culvert, to reappear almost south of the house. Beyond this it goes on to a narrow dell enclosed by perpendicular crags and lofty trees, which in summer form a bower, with the sunlight streaming to the narrow path and the rustic bridges. Here the burn churns against boulders until it emerges quietly in the hollow between the Braid and the Blackford Hill.

The Dell—picturesque and popular—formed no part of the Hermitage grounds until 1793. Till then, treeless and pathless, it belonged to the adjoining estate of Mortonhall. In 1772 Charles Gordon of Cluny bought Braid; three years later he married the daughter of the laird of Mortonhall, and then made preparations for building the present Hermitage (designed probably by the Adam brothers) which was completed in 1785. He levelled the lawn, had the avenue made and demolished the old corn mill which stood on the bank of the burn about 150 yards in front of the present house—the mill to which the farmers on Braid had taken their grain to be ground. Gordon must have regretted the demolition of that mill, for in 1788 he claimed compensation for water diverted from the burn by Edinburgh Town Council, alleging damage to his mill. Witnesses for the Town told how the

¹ Basement, two floors and attics.

mill had been removed ten years earlier! And thus after having appealed from the Court of Session to the House of Lords, Gordon had to accept the sum awarded by the Sheriff.

He did better by arranging with his father-in-law for those 'four acres of rocky ground' comprising the Dell, which he was to add to his policy and to plant 'with trees of various sorts' in exchange for part of the Braid Hill.

Charles Gordon was a late arrival as laird of Braid; he succeeded the last of the Browns of Braid, who had been established on the lands of Braid since 1676. Their mansion, which had been rebuilt a few years before 1743, was even then known as 'The Hermitage,' a fact which we learn from an advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 7th May 1743, in which notice is given that 'The New Mansion House of Braid, commonly called the Hermitage, . . . among inclosures and planting, on the banks of a burn in the n'hood of Edinburgh and Goat Whey, consisting of 6 rooms and 4 fire closets, with kitchen, cellars, stable, byre, chaise house, flower garden and park of about 4 acres, are to be let and entered immediately at yearly rent of £18 stg. or less.' But even the Browns may be classed among the modern lairds, for their predecessors there may be traced to the twelfth century, each in turn maintaining his castle (which stood on the summit of the crags above the present house) and his contingent of vassals who followed him to the wars. For those mediaeval Barons of Braid held their broad lands by knight service, part of which was to furnish the garrison of Edinburgh Castle with nine men. That duty was later commuted for a yearly money payment known as castle ward.

No particulars have been recorded of the size and appearance of Braid Castle—its development from the wooden structure of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to the square or round Border tower type; and finally to the fortress with tower and battlements.

No vestige remains, nor can one say who was responsible for its complete obliteration. Gordon may have had that castle in mind when introducing into his house in 1785 the mock battlements and mock corner turrets which crown and flank it. On the hillside west of the house stands a quaint dovecot, with two separate chambers, each measuring in diameter 18 feet on the ground and tapering to a few feet at the top. Their inner walls shelved in squares from base to ceiling look like huge honeycombs, each of the 1965 pigeon-holes being about 10 inches square. Unfortunately they were not built before the eighteenth century; the old dovecots of the Barons of Braid have disappeared.

Sir Henry de Brad, the knight of William the Lion (1165-1214), was probably the second of his family in Brad, his father (as one of the Flemish knights who came north with David I) having been given the lands of Brad, while other knights received respectively the lands of Pentland, Gilmerton, Liberton, Craiglockhart, Inverleith, and Restalrig, some holding by knight service, others by serjeantry.

Did the father of Sir Henry de Brad give his Flemish territorial name to Braid? It was not uncommon among mediaeval knights to transfer their native designation to later acquired lands. The Flemish Breda, which is still pronounced Braida, may be the origin of the modern name of Braid.¹

Sir Henry de Brad was a high officer of state. His office of Sheriff of Edinburgh connoted not only the duty of a judge in the courtroom in Edinburgh Castle and the duty of accounting for all the rents due to the Crown but the leading of the King's army to battle.

Of his family little is recorded. It is almost certain that Master Richard de Brad and Master Ralph de Brad, who lived about 1220, were his sons; each had the degree of

¹ Professor W. J. Watson has derived the name from Gaelic *braghaid*, dative of *braighe*, 'upper park,' while Dr. P. W. Joyce, in 'Irish Place Names,' interprets it as a 'narrow gorge.'

Master of Arts at a University abroad and both were Churchmen, Master Richard de Brad being a cleric in the diocese of Glasgow. It is not unusual to find a member of a knight's family forsaking the world of fighting for a career in the Church. About the same time as Master Richard de Brad was actively engaged on the staff of the Bishop of Glasgow another baron about Edinburgh—Sir Thomas de Restalrig—retired from his knight service to become a canon in Dunfermline Abbey.

What arrangements Masters Richard and Ralph may have made for continuing the affairs of Braid barony we do not know, but another baron of the family was installed before 1250. He was likewise named Henry, and the only action which has been recorded of him is the foundation of the Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine in the moor of Pentland and its endowment from the teinds of his lands of Bavelaw (Bavelaw) which he gifted to the Canons of Holyrood on condition that they provided the chaplain. That chapel (which may be the Chapel of St. Catherine now partly shown in the reservoir of Glencorse) was not always used as a place of worship. One June day in 1280, for example, twenty barons met there as a court of law to enquire into and decide whether Bavelaw really belonged to the Baron of Brad or to the King. Their decision survives in these terms: 'For 50 years bygone and more the King never had right within the bounds of Bavelaw which is the lord of Brad's; but the servants of the lords of Brad always took the animals of the King's farmers in the moor of Pentland and imparked them and took punlayn¹ whenever they found them in Bavelaw and thus all the lords of Brad have ever held their land of Bavelaw till the time of Sir William de St. Clair (the owner of Pentland) and this because Sir Thomas de Brad demanded eight pence of punlayn from the King's men

¹ Pound-lien: fee for release of an animal from the pound.

as the King's men have taken eight pence from his men.'¹

Sir Henry de Brade, who succeeded Sir Thomas, died during the English occupation of Scotland, leaving as his heir his son Henry, not quite fifteen years old. The lands of Brade with the pertinents—Bavelaw and Grothill—wide and fertile until the ravages of war had made them of little value, were coveted by the Chancellor in Scotland of Edward I, William de Bevercote, who applied to Edward for its wardship until Henry de Brade should reach lawful age. The King, before acceding to the request, directed that a jury should make inquisition upon the extent and value of the lands. The jury reported that in time of peace the lands of Brade and Grothill were valued at 40 merks, but in 1305 the value had fallen to 8 merks as the result of war, but if the mill and other buildings were rebuilt the value would be increased in 1306 to 12 merks, in 1307 to 13 merks, and to 18 merks in 1309.²

One does not learn anything of Henry, the fifteen-year-old heir of 1305, except that he married a daughter of William de St. Clair. It was probably he who in his latter days (1367) gifted to the monks of Newbattle the fountain in his meadow named Meadowspot, a garden known as Stodfield, and the privilege of digging and carrying off all the peat that could be found. That gift of Sir Henry de Brad was stated to have been made with the consent of his widowed daughter, Lady Elysabeth de Alburche.³ From that deed it is evident that the family of de Brade had then become extinct in the male line. Accordingly a new family—named Fairley—is found shortly after in possession of Brade. Whether they were justified in asserting descent from Robert II,⁴ they had

¹ Bain's *Calendar of Documents*, iv., No. 1762.

² *Faculty Collec. of Decisions* (1818), p. 518, and Thomas Thomson's *Memorial on Auld Extent*, p. 107.

³ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* 1306-1424, No. 276.

⁴ See Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii.

more meritorious claims to distinction. Several members of the family rendered signal service to the State and to the Town of Edinburgh through three centuries. The earliest recorded—William Fairley—made history one April day in 1341 when he and two comrades, having carters' smocks over their armour, led a cart alleged to be laden with wine to the portcullis of Edinburgh Castle. There they stopped, cut the harness, so that the great iron gate could not be entirely closed, slew the sentries and blew the whistle that summoned the Knight of Liddesdale and his Borderers who were in ambush near by. The fight that followed with the surprised garrison of English troops of Edward III was sharp and short: the Castle which had been in English hands for five years was recaptured. It is not unlikely that Fairley was rewarded by the King with the gift of Braid.

While descendants of William Fairley played their part in the affairs of Edinburgh there is no mention of the history of Braid until the years concerned with the fate of Mary Queen of Scots. While Mary was a prisoner the Castle and Town of Edinburgh were held by Kirkaldy of Grange, the officers of the Government being forced to reside in Leith. The laird of Braid, Sir Robert Fairley, was a supporter of the Government and as such was subject to sudden attacks by soldiers of Edinburgh Castle. In 1571 a band of these began abusing the miller of Braid and were looting his house when the noise brought Sir Robert to the rescue. He was universally regarded as a 'quiet man' and, agreeably to his reputation, he advised the soldiers to depart. That was naturally looked upon as a joke by the men, who went on collecting treasure. The laird left and shortly returned with a great two-handed sword, a relic of his forebears, with which he laid about him. One was killed, three submitted, and the rest, whose shots had gone wide of their mark, ran off. Later they were discovered near Merchiston, their number increased by others of the garrison, but on hearing from the laird of

Merchiston—father of the inventor of logarithms—that Fairley had a guard from Dalkeith, they retired.

Sir Robert Fairley appears to have been a public-spirited and humane gentleman. In 1585, when many Edinburgh folks attacked by the plague were placed in the Isolation Hospitals on the Burgh Muir, Fairley gave his three 'Brew Houses' which stood in 'Little Egypt'—*i.e.* the ground between the site of Cluny Drive and Jordan Lane—for the use of the patients 'for brewing therein of the drink to the folks in the muir,' as the magistrates expressed it.¹

The presence of all those sick people and the efforts of the magistrates to improve their health had some strange results. The White House—a mansion which stood on the site of St. Margaret's Convent—was unoccupied; it seemed suitable for convalescing patients and so, without apparently consulting the owner, the rooms were filled with various sick. Lady Eupham McCalzean, the proprietrix, naturally protested and raised an action for ejection. The Lords of Session decided against her, but her appeal to the Privy Council was sustained.

Poor Lady McCalzean! The daughter of Sir Thomas McCalzean, once Provost of Edinburgh and Lord of Session, and wife of an advocate, her fate was almost sealed. Five years later she was tried and condemned as a witch. Here again the laird of Braid is on the scene as a factor in her doom, for he was one of the jury which found her guilty.

All kinds of probabilities arise in one's mind: perhaps the lairds of Whitehouse and Braid had been friends—visitors to one another's homes. Fairley may have known Eupham since her girlhood days. At all events, the later household of Braid had much to tell of the unfortunate lady of White House. But the Fairleys' tenure of Braid came to an end before 1631. The estate then was small, for in 1610 a part—including Nether Plewlands and 14 acres on the west

¹ *Edinburgh Burgh Records*, 1573-89, p. 236.

side of the 'Mercat' road, the manor and the mains of Braid—were sold to Patrick Ellis, merchant in Edinburgh.¹ At the same time Sir Robert Fairley executed another deed gifting to his wife, Dame Margaret, Dalmahoy, the land of Over Braid, the two corn mills, Blackford and Easterhill of Braid, which lay between the Mains and Blackford.²

The next owner of Braid was the remarkable William Dick whose extraordinary career was spoken about long after his death. As late as the close of the eighteenth century the story of Dick was told in Edinburgh. It may be regarded as the equivalent of the London story of Whittington. Sir Walter Scott nevertheless was unduly stretching it by making Davie Deans, who lived in 1740, talk of the gold coins he had seen poured into carts from the windows of Dick's house in High Street.

Dick, who was the son of an Orkney merchant, had gained wealth from merchandise and still more from his land acquisitions. He owned St. Giles Grange (his name perpetuated in Dick Place); the King's Werk in Leith, etc. From 1638 to 1640 he was Provost of Edinburgh. From him Crown and Parliament borrowed largely, and for that Dick suffered when Cromwell arrived. For he was fined £64,943 for having lent money to carry on the war against Cromwell. The owner of Braid could hardly bear up under all these inroads on his capital. He had other debtors and still more, unhappily, some creditors. It was one of these pressing creditors who ruined him. Dick was in London and, being without the money necessary to pay his creditor, was taken to the Fleet prison for debtors, where he died in 1655.

Nevertheless, his descendants continued to reside in the heavily mortgaged estate of Braid until 1676, when one Andrew Brown bought it. Braid remained in the possession of the Browns until 1772 when it was sold to Charles Gordon,

¹ *Register of Great Seal*, vii., No. 293.

² *Ibid.*, No. 294.

Writer to the Signet, the earliest owner of the present house.

Charles Gordon, whose town residence was No. 63 Princes Street, and Cosmo his elder brother, advocate and later Baron of Exchequer, who dwelt to the end of his life at No. 4 St. Andrew Square, were sons of John Gordon, factor to the third Duke of Gordon and from 1740 a merchant in Edinburgh.

John Gordon, whose ancestry cannot be traced, was an Aberdonian who amassed much wealth and several estates, including the estate of Cluny, and designed himself 'of Cluny,' thus continuing the territorial title of that branch of the noble House of Huntly. John Gordon was avaricious, which unpleasant trait he seems to have transmitted to several of his descendants. Cosmo, his eldest son, was, so far as one can gather, the only member who was free and liberal. He was popular; a friend of the chief literary men and women of his day, of certain statesmen and judges; a member of the Poker Club and Rector of Marischal College from 1782-1787; he died in 1800.

Five years later Charles, inheritor of the estate of Cluny and other lands of his father and of much that belonged to his brother, had his house in Braid ready. There he probably spent the summer months. He was fortunate in being appointed in 1788 one of the six principal Clerks of the Court of Session. Gordon spent long periods in Cluny and his other estates in the north, leaving his wife and family in Braid. While he was there the home life must have been depressing, for Charles Gordon was a miser, keeping to his bed because only there he was sure of not spending money. His death in Braid House in 1814 was therefore not likely to have occasioned much lament.

Of his three sons and three daughters the youngest son Cosmo had died in Hermitage in 1795, while John, the eldest, and Alexander, the second, were educated at Harrow. The three daughters were Joanna ('Jacky'), Mary, and Charlotte.

The house of Hermitage and the grounds around were occasionally the scenes of clandestine love-making and of some strife. Sir James Dalziel of the Binns (1771-1841), the gossips said, was 'a constant attendant of Charlotte and they say he will be a match.' But the baronet died unmarried, while Charlotte married in 1805 Captain Johnstone of the Coldstream Guards, later Sir John Lowthe Johnstone, Bart.

It was Joanna or 'Jacky' who was to make tragedy for herself and for her lover, John Dalrymple, by her secret marriage to that nephew of the 6th Earl of Stair. She seems to have been at once high-spirited, avaricious, and vindictive. A young lady who tried to 'bilk' her hairdresser (*perruquier*) was hardly likely to become a reasonable wife. But Joanna Gordon lives in the Annals of the Law because of the result of that secret marriage. For John Dalrymple, who insisted on the secrecy, went off with his regiment and married another lady. Joanna raised her action for declarator of marriage and won her case. It is a pity we have no means of ascertaining popular opinion on the result. There is only the sarcastic comment of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. In a letter to a friend he wrote, 'Did you laugh when you saw in the newspapers Miss Laura Manners' degradation from the altar of Hymen? Unfortunate Laura! I fear she will now be reduced to divest herself, like her sister, the Duchess of St. Albans; but "Jacky" Gordon is certainly not a heroine—she carries everything with flame and fury. In fact a woman of her temper, after she has been debauched, swells forth like a demon. The spear of Ithuriel is applied and the toad starteth up a devil.'

To another correspondent Sharpe observed, 'Miss Gordon's a Venus well suited to such a Vulcan whom nothing but money and a title could have rendered tolerable to a kitchen wench.'

A few years later Dalrymple—then 7th Earl of Stair—obtained decree of divorce from 'Jacky.' That decree did

not damp the high spirits of 'Jacky,' who continued to style herself 'Dowager Countess of Stair' until her death in 1847.

Whether she continued to reside in the Hermitage during her later years we do not know, though it is highly probable, for her eldest brother John, who was then laird of Braid, was much in his northern estates. John was not a pleasant type. Avaricious like his forebears he was always on the outlook for acquiring more lands and getting as much money as possible out of them. He purchased Slains, Shiels, Benbecula, North and South Uist, Midmar and Barra and, finding the poor crofters there in his way, he had them—about 2000—shipped to Canada where they were landed homeless and penniless. Naturally his conduct evoked much public indignation, but did not result in any punishment. On the contrary, he was appointed a Deputy-Lieutenant for Inverness-shire. Gordon never married, but had two sons, John and Charles, and two daughters, Mary and Susan, by his housekeeper. To his children he was devoted. Reputed to be the richest commoner in Scotland he destined all his lands and money to them. Gordon's strong likes and dislikes were shown in his various Wills. After executing deeds of entail in favour of his sons he expressed the fear that they might be held inoperative and he therefore undertook that his eldest son, John, should be paid £750,000, his second son, Charles, £250,000, and his then surviving daughter Susan, £10,000.

On the other hand, his uncle, aunts and cousins of the family of Trotter of Mortonhall and his sister Charlotte and her heirs were expressly excluded from all right of succession to the estates. No member of the Trotters of Mortonhall 'possessing that estate shall be entitled to succeed to any part of my estates of Braid or Craighouse.'

Of the children only John the eldest son survived their father, who died in 1858 in his house at No. 4 St. Andrew Square, which had belonged to Uncle Cosmo.

John then became laird of Braid and of the other estates, but he was not allowed to enjoy his property without having to contest several claims by his relatives—and by one Donald Macgregor to whom Gordon had sold a small part of Braid. Macgregor refused to pay the purchase price of £300, alleging that Gordon was only heir of entail and unable to give him a good title. The Court of Session however decided otherwise, and Gordon's position as owner of the estates of his father was established.

John Gordon seems to have been superior to his father and the earlier Gordons of Braid, to judge by published references to him. He was twice married. His second wife, who two years after Gordon's death in 1878, married Sir Reginald Cathcart, had been left the estates in the Hebrides. As Lady Gordon Cathcart, her treatment of the crofters on these estates was at various times called in question.

But all that is remote from the Hermitage of Braid. Its name, which was hardly appropriate from 1785 to 1868, did really fit it thenceforth. For to it there came in that year as tenant, John—later Sir John—Skelton and his wife (*née* Annie Laurie). Skelton, an advocate of the Scots Bar, was entirely devoted to the study of Scottish History. His *Mailland of Lethington* and the *Scotland of Mary Stuart* constitute a brilliant defence of the ill-fated Queen of Scots, and he also published a series of Essays under the pen-name 'Shirley.'

It was only during the tenancy of the Skeltons that the Hermitage became really alive. They had frequently guests—among them James Anthony Froude, Huxley, Principal Tulloch, Professor W. Y. Sellar and his wife. Then for the first time we learn something of the Hermitage, and that from some of Skelton's guests. There were splendid parties in the house, and as guests were told 'not to dress,' Huxley proposed to wear a kilt 'to be as little dressed as possible.' As to the estate, Mrs. Sellar described it as 'a lovely, romantic spot in a

narrow valley in the Braid Hills, only a mile from Morningside, and yet so far removed from every appearance of neighbourhood that it might have been a lodge in a vast wilderness . . . lovely in Spring and Summer.'¹ That lady had much to say of the host: 'For years after we came to Edinburgh how many hours we have spent at The Hermitage with the cultivated host and his delightful wife, and the charming circle they gathered round them! Principal Tulloch was their frequent guest, full of life and good stories, and with that explosive laughter that never failed to provoke ready chorus in his audience. Sir Noel Paton was sometimes, but too infrequently, a guest. It was difficult to lure him from his home. At The Hermitage too we met Mr. Froude, perhaps the most loved of all Mr. Skelton's intimate friends—an unforgettable man, of singular and romantic appearance, with glowing eyes. . . . His talk was always interesting, often eloquent. . . . It was remarkable, the singular and graceful art with which Mr. Skelton set his guests talking. In the drawing-room, with its furniture which was and is simply furniture and not bric-à-brac, and its background of water-colours, his wife would sit at the piano while in turns we begged for the songs that were peculiarly hers—"The Bells of Shandon"; "Wearin' o' the Green"; and especially Norman Macleod's "Dost thou remember, Soldier, old and hoary?" It was at one of these parties that Mr. Froude first told me that Carlyle had given him his "Reminiscences" to read. . . . Some time after, when I met him again at The Hermitage, he was equally full of the "Letters" (about to be published) of Jane Carlyle which, he said, were the most brilliant and vivid he had ever read. . . .'

Froude was evidently much attached to The Hermitage. In 1884, on the eve of receiving from the University of Edinburgh the degree of LL.D., he wrote to Skelton: 'A great part of the personal attraction in the matter lies in your offer

¹ *Recollections and Impressions.*

of hospitality. I shall be delighted to see the old Hermitage again and you and Mrs. Skelton and your little ones, now grown into big ones. Your house, I am afraid, like every other, will be crammed and we shall have no pleasant saunters in the woods.' Skelton added the following footnote to that: 'Many of Mr. Froude's favourite walks are no longer recognisable—the neighbourhood of the poor Hermitage having been badly disfigured of late (c. 1890) by the speculative builder. Ought not outrages on the landscape to be punishable by Act of Parliament?'

That ungenerous, petulant outburst is hard to understand. The houses of which he complained were those in Cluny—named after Gordon's first acquisition. Midmar, the estate bought by Col. Gordon, gave the names to Midmar Gardens, Avenue, and Drive. Even to-day, when many more houses are in Braid, The Hermitage retains its isolation. Nor can the houses in Braid district be justly regarded as 'outrages on the landscape.'

One of 'Shirley's' essays, entitled 'Mainly about our Poor Relations,' concerns the Dell of the Hermitage. 'There is only a single field between us and a great city; but our ivy-clad glen is still populous with the shy tenantry of the woods, and as I stroll up the avenue on my way to the day's work I hear the wild-fowl splashing in the burn, and bright eyes look at me through the leaves. I do not allude merely to winter days, when the frost is so hard that woodcock and mallard are driven from inland copses and marshes to the open springs beside the sea. Woodcock and mallard are our rare occasional visitors; but we have lots of poor relations who never leave us. When I came down this morning I found the water-hens waiting below the dining-room window for their crusts. Robins and tom-tits, and blackbirds and thrushes, gathered round them while they ate. On the bridge below the dam a pair of keenly alert water-ousels (their clean white bibs tucked under their chins) were bowing and bobbing

as we passed. A little further on a majestic heron rose stealthily from the margin of the stream; and close to the lodge a couple of squirrels at work among the acorns seemed loath to be disturbed at their morning meal. . . . This green hollow between the hills is "The Paradise of Birds." *Our* wood indeed is hardly so thick and tangled as that which enclosed the Sleeping Beauty. . . .'

After almost thirty years' residence in The Hermitage Sir John Skelton died in 1897; his widow continued there until 1922, when she left to dwell with her son in No. 21 Northumberland Street. The next tenant was C. G. Barkla, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Professor Barkla resided in The Hermitage until 1937.

During all those years—from the departure of the last of the Gordons of Cluny—until 1937 Braid estate belonged to the Gordon Trustees. Then the late John McDougal, residing in Cluny Drive, purchased from the Trustees (for £11,000) the 45·428 acres of Braid and the Policies and Lodge connected therewith in order that they might be given to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, the dell and valley to be used as 'a Public Park or Recreation Ground for the benefit of the citizens.' And now, thanks to Mr. McDougal, in these old haunts of mediaeval knights and churchmen, of seventeenth-century Covenanters, of eighteenth-century horsemen and clandestine lovers, and of such visitors as Froude and Principal Tulloch, the citizens are free to roam by the tall trees which fringe the gurgling brook or burn in the dell that forms part of the Hermitage of Braid.

C. A. MALCOLM.

FURTHER NOTES ON EARLY PAPER MAKING
NEAR EDINBURGH

'I prayse the man that first did Paper make,
the onely thing that sets all virtues forth.

Then he that made for us a Paper mill
is worthy well of love and worldes goodwill.'

(From a poem by THOMAS CHURCHYARD, 1588.)

IN a previous article¹ it was proved that paper making in Scotland was in operation as early as c. 1591, a date more remote than that hitherto accepted, and that the first Scots makers, as far as could be traced, were Mungo Russell and his son Gideon. Assisted by two skilled German craftsmen, brought over from the Continent by James VI on his visit to Denmark, they had converted their small meal mill at Dalry, on the Water of Leith, to the making of paper.

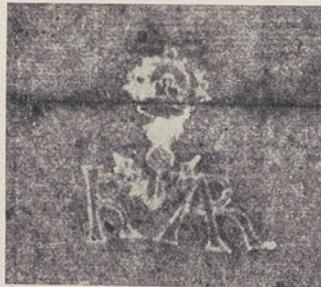
In 1595 this paper mill was leased by the Russells to these Germans ('almanis'), but nothing further has been discovered as to what came of the venture. Mention, however, was made of a curious entry in the inventory of the effects of Mungo, who was the City Treasurer, under the heading, 'Dettis awand to the deid,' namely of a debt owing by Robert Waldegrave to Russell for paper.² This rather suggests that Waldegrave may have used paper made by the first Scots paper maker. This is of interest because Waldegrave was printer to King James, and a good printer too. The King, as poet and scholar, entrusted him with the printing of his principal works, including his 'Poetical Exercises,' 'Daemonologie,' and 'Basillikon Doron.' Was it possible that for these books the

¹ *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxv. p. 56.

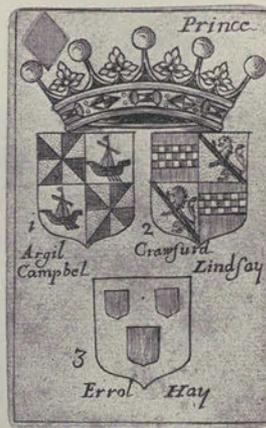
² *Ibid.*, p. 59.



(JACOBUS REX SEXTUS)
Watermark on a Privy Council Paper
dated 15th Dec. 1589



(JACOBUS REX) (ANNA REGINA)
Watermark on a Privy Council Paper
dated 25th Jan. 1592-3



PLAYING CARDS OF 1691

On cardboard made at Restalrig by James Hamilton of Little Earnock

[See page 43]

EARLY PAPER MAKING NEAR EDINBURGH 41

printer could have used this paper? It was hoped that from an examination some clue might have been found as to source of manufacture, possibly linking up with Dalry mill, but unfortunately no distinguishing watermark could be observed.

This was particularly disappointing because undoubtedly for his private State papers the King used a writing paper showing his own watermark, obviously designed for his special use, and, as he had sponsored these Germans, there is just the possibility that such paper may have been made at the first Dalry Mill.

Jacobean Watermarks.

Two such marks, small and primitive, are shown as illustrated. The one with a crown over initials and the numeral six—J. R. 6—was evidently made before his marriage, and a later one with a thistle under the crown, the initials below reading, JR. AR., evidently standing for 'Jacobus Rex. Anna Regina,' made after his marriage to Anne of Denmark.

They are interesting period pieces and it is not impossible that the latter one, seeing that his marriage took place in 1589, may have been made at Dalry.

Like Pepys, James was of an enquiring mind. Just as witches or a coal-mine under the sea or perhaps the mysterious Gowrie pot of gold exercised their fascination, so paper making, as a strange new industry, aroused his curiosity as it received his encouragement, not only in this early Scottish venture at Dalry, but also when as James I of England he knighted John Spilman the paper maker on a visit to Spilman's famous mill at Dartford, in Kent, in 1605.

The Dalry Elephant.

Dalry as a paper mill is mentioned in a deed of 1605, but not again, so far as can be traced, until 1675, when French workers were introduced. When it was burned out in 1679

the unfortunate miller, Alexander Daes, to earn his livelihood, was reduced to become the showman of an elephant, the owner of which had to sue him for the hire of same.

The following extract from *Fountainhall's Decisions*, vol. i. pp. 119-20, 1st December 1680, reads as follows :

The owners of the elephant which was brought hither from England to be shewn, having charged A. Deas (Daes) and others on their contract to pay 400 pound sterling for the use of it for several months, they presented a bill of suspension on sundry breaches and contraventions of said contract, such as they did not show it at precise hours and took advantage of showing it privately for which they have not accounted and did not show all it might do, viz. :—it's drinking but it could not drink every time it was shown.

No sequel has been found as to the result of this lawsuit, although an exhaustive hunt for this elephant was made throughout the archives of the Register House.

The issue appears confused and the animal apparently does not seem to have been very accommodating—a dis-obliging sort of beast; but no doubt the idea may prove comforting to the modern paper maker as suggestive that should the worst come to the worst, he may still be able to earn an honest penny by bearing in mind Daes' example.

In 1682 Daes, happily once more a paper maker, complained that one James Lithgow, paper maker at Upper Spylaw, Colinton, had clandestinely obtained a licence for a playing-card factory and enticed away a workman and abstracted hair cloths (couching felts).

Upper Spylaw Mill.

This old place still stands on the north bank of the Water of Leith about a mile above Colinton. For many years it was a snuff mill owned by James Gillespie, later a dairy, and at present a riding establishment.

For a time the upper portion was used as an inn of dubious reputation, when in 1776 customs officers seized sixteen chests

and twenty bags—about 2500 lb. of tea, also 3 ankers of brandy.¹

It is a curious old place and well worth a visit. Slightly sinister looking, it still seems to hold an aroma of snuff, and is no doubt haunted by the shades of ancient paper makers and smugglers. It is now the property of the Merchant Company who acquired it in 1799 after the death of Gillespie. An interesting sequel to its smuggling days is the fact that about fifty years ago the present tenants found secreted under the flooring, between the joists, several sacks of tea and some old newspapers, all of which were thrown into the river, a most unfortunate action.

The mill wheel, probably of elm, was removed some years ago and is stated to have been made into office furniture for the Merchant Company.

That playing cards should have been made there is of interest, because many of the earliest records of paper making mention monopolies granted from time to time to the makers of such; but how James Lithgow of Upper Spylaw obtained his licence in 1682 is rather a puzzle, because evidently Peter Breusch held this monopoly at the same time.²

Restalrig Mill.

This monopoly was later carried on at Restalrig by James Hamilton of Little Earnock, who apparently made the boards at the mill and printed them complete.

Two of his sets are to be seen at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, having been lent by the 5th Earl of Rosebery, the advertisement stating :

'These cards are printed, made, and to be sold by James Hamilton at his house on the South side of the head of the Canongate a little above St. John's Cross, 1691.'

¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 30th April 1776.

² *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxv. p. 70.

They are quaint old packs. The illustration shows four examples, the set being described as 'Cards armorial containing the Coats of Arms of the four Kingdoms and of the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts and Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland.'

The tiny stream that operated Hamilton's Mill at Restalrig rejoiced in the rather impressive name of 'The River of Tumble.' It is shown on Laurie's Map of 1763 and appears to have risen at Cowgatehead. Flowing down the Cowgate and thence by Holyrood Road¹ east to the neighbourhood of Clockmill Lane it was joined by a small tributary which, fed by the springs at Hunter's Bog, trickled down by St. Anthony's Well and thence towards Musher's Cairn (see map), the main stream reaching the sea midway between the Water of Leith and the Figgate Burn.

Could the Restalrig Mill have been a clock mill, *i.e.* with a horizontal waterwheel? This is rather suggested by the name 'Clockmill Lane' leading to Restalrig.

The Scots White Paper Manufactory of 1695.

An unexpected sequel to the history of this Company has been discovered since the last article was published. Then, as stated, this early joint-stock venture had established two mills, one near the present Hermitage of Braid 'whair the aire and water shall be found most agreeable for the making of good paper,' and the other at Yester in East Lothian. Illustrations of the watermarks of these mills were shown, and it was explained that the affairs of the Company had become so involved that the view was taken that the mills had ceased to operate and concern was expressed as to the fate of the workers, especially as the Company had specifically undertaken 'to maintain and educatt the Company's prentices.' It was suggested that they had probably drifted to other parts.

¹ *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xiv. p. 4.

This anxiety, however, has proved to have been needless, because it has since been found that although the old Company had petered out, new owners had operated both mills for quite a considerable period afterwards. This has been disclosed from the 18th-century Minutes of certain of our Scottish Banks, wherein are fully described the arrangements for the visits of the Bank officials for overseeing the making of the paper for the banknotes, and elaborate arrangements they certainly were. Not only were the notes each to be examined and passed, counted and paid for, but the moulds or frames on which the paper was made, bearing the distinctive watermark of the Bank, the principal safeguard against forgery, had to be duly checked. Last but not least, the creature comforts of the Bank officials had to have weighty consideration.

These Minutes, quaint and amusing, give intimate details of visits both to Yester and Braid with a complete note of expenses incurred, and recapture in full the flavour of 18th-century business transactions. They may sound a trifle fussy, but like many of the ways of our forebears, which to us seem rather absurd, good reasons to account for same are generally found. Such extreme precautions can be understood from the following grim facts:

In 1710 'One Robert Fleming, schoolmaster at Stenhouse, was convicted of forging 20 notes of £12 Scots each. He had lead frames and stamps for making the impress on the notes. He arrived at such perfection that he was able to write the whole body of the note and put the Treasurer's and Accountant's subscriptions thereto.'¹ In 1773 an Act was passed making death the penalty for copying watermarks. In 1778 John Mathieson, a native of Scotland, forged notes of the Darlington Bank. He devised imitation watermarks which even paper makers took to be genuine. After his apprehension,

¹ *Fountainhall's Decisions*, vol. ii. p. 605.

he offered to explain the secret of his discovery if his life were spared, but his proposal was rejected and his secret died with him.¹

In 1780 one Charles Price, or 'Old Patch' as he was called, on account of a black cloth over one eye which he wore as a disguise, carried on his unlawful work in Titchfield Street, London. There he had actually set up a small paper mill where he prepared sheets of bank notepaper with forged watermarks. When awaiting his fate at Bridewell Prison, he was found hanging in his cell, the necessary implements for carrying this out having been provided by his son.²

Between 1797 and 1817, 300 persons were executed in Britain for forgery.

It can therefore be well understood how necessary these precautions were. Apparently the officials and probably also the workers were all confined to the mill or precincts of same, during the whole period of manufacture. There they were fed and housed, the moulds or frames, the property of the banks, being under constant supervision.

In March 1700 the Bank of Scotland sent the treasurer and two directors to Yester to oversee the manufacture,³ and again in 1721, 1723 and 1729, when during the process they occupied a house long known as 'the bank officials house.' In 1723, Richard Watkins, paper maker to the Government, was paid £50, 14s. 10d., the expenses of the Bank officials on that occasion amounting to £37, 11s. 11d.

Braidsmill received the contract in 1702 when the tacksman had to provide rooms for four, the making occupying about ten days. On 2nd April 1713 the Braids was again favoured, the bill for paper amounting to £263, 9s. 5d., when it was noted that 'regard was paid to the 17,937 good sheets and 889 sheets not clear.'

¹ Acres' *The Bank of England from Within*, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

³ *The Bank of Scotland, 1695 to 1945*, by Dr. Charles A. Malcolm.

All these visits were made in the spring of the year, probably the best time for drying the paper in the lofts when 'the aire was most agreable.'

From this it is obvious that although the Scots White Paper Company had ceased to exist, the mills that it had constructed had operated well into the 18th century.

The Watkins Family.

The Watkins were a family of Edinburgh printers and paper makers. Philip in 1721 and Richard in 1723 worked at Yester where they also made paper for the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1727.¹

The illustration shows one of the earliest Bank of Scotland notes, dated 1723. To show up the watermark this was photographed by exposure to a strong translucent light.

It is interesting to note that the first watermark used on Bank of England notes did not appear until 27th November 1724, which was the date when Henry Portal of Beremill secured the contract by offering to introduce a watermark as a novelty and as an extra protection,² but our illustration provides evidence that Scotland had forestalled the sister kingdom with this earlier note made at Yester by Watkins; indeed, for all we know, even his earlier notes may also have borne the Bank's watermark.

The Watkins may have come from England. The name is certainly not Scottish, and no antecedents or descendants can be traced in the Edinburgh neighbourhood, but it is significant that the paper for the Bank of England notes, prior to their manufacture by Mr. Portal, was made by one Rice Watkins at Sutton Mill, near Abington, Berks. It is therefore very probable that the Yester Watkins were of the same family, with all the experience and skill necessary to carry out this craft to the satisfaction of the Scottish Banks.

¹ *History of the Royal Bank of Scotland*, by Neil Monro.

² Acres' *The Bank of England from Within*, p. 124.

Assuming that they were the same family, the puzzling thing is how they forestalled the Bank of England with watermarks on our Scottish notes and yet lost the English contract to Portal owing apparently to failure to offer a watermark.

Later we find Richard with a mill at Penicuik, also acting as one of His Majesty's Printers for Scotland. He printed several editions of the Bible in 1743, and died in 1747.

Adrian Watkins, his nephew, made a Burgess of Edinburgh in 1747, was also a paper maker and exercised the office of King's Printer. He printed a Bible in 1748 and 1752, and a book of Common Prayer in 1756. Whilst walking out on the Sunday morning to view the progress of the building of Sir James Clerk's new house at Penicuik instead of being at the kirk, he was killed by lightning, which was looked upon at the time as a judgment for breaking the Sabbath.¹ His mill, after passing through several hands, was advertised for lease in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 19th November 1776, as follows :

Papermill to let. There is to be let and entered to at Whitsunday next for such a number of years as shall be agreed upon, the Papermill at Pennycuik etc. with the whole machinery, houses and others pertaining thereto lately belonging to Mr. Watkins and presently possessed by Mr. Spottiswood—The subjects and machinery are all of the best kind and in good order. There are 2 vats in the mill which is plentifully supplied with the very finest spring water conducted in lead pipes.

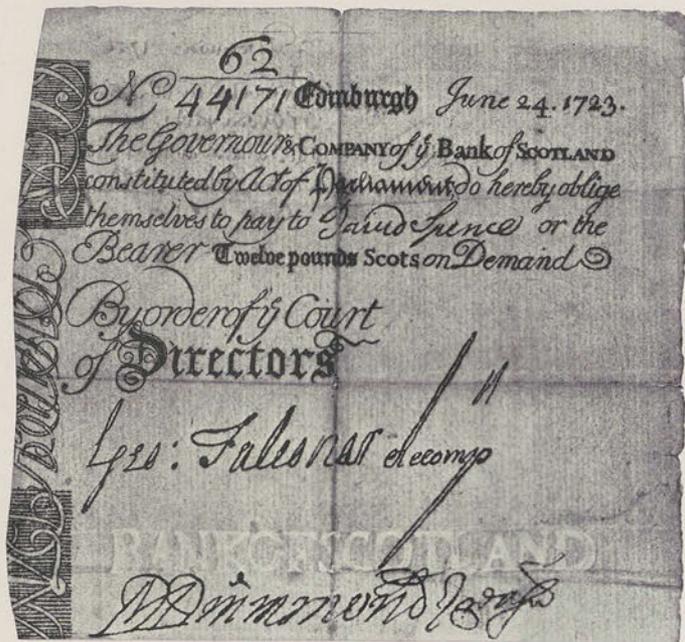
This mill, after various ownerships, was finally purchased by Charles Cowan in 1779.

Jinkabout Mill.

At one time there existed a little mill bearing this curious name. It was situated on the north bank of the Water of Leith, between Bogsmill and Slateford. No trace of it survives.

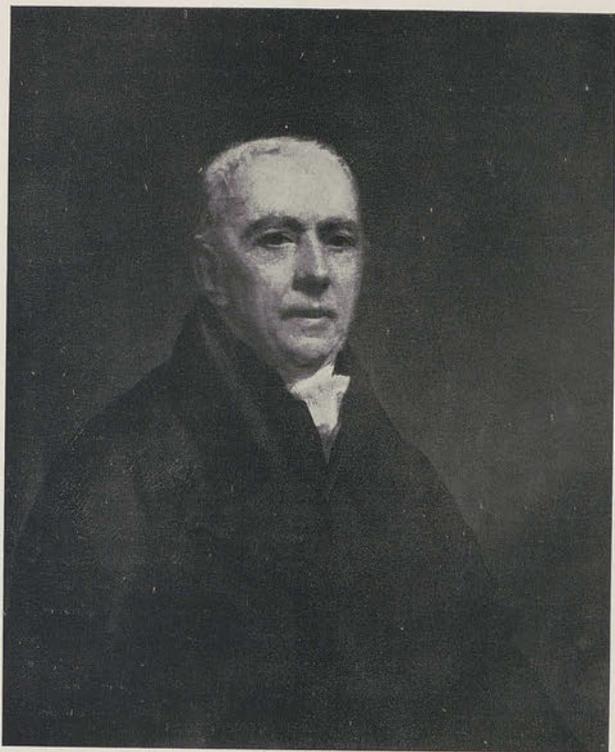
It was leased by John Reid, Printer, Edinburgh, who in

¹ *Scots Magazine* of 13th July 1766.



BANK OF SCOTLAND NOTE, 1723

[See page 47]



JOHN PITCAIRN OF PITCAIRNS
1744-1824

From a portrait by Raeburn

[See page 59]

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1714 had ventured forth from Bell's Wynd, where he had his printing house, to set up his mill, no doubt to ensure supplies of paper to feed the press of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, which he had acquired in 1699.

In his earlier printing days he had fallen foul of Mrs. Campbell, the King's Printer, by infringing her monopoly, for which he was confined to the old Tolbooth in 1680.¹ The good lady, however, did not always have her own way. On more than one occasion the Privy Council came to his rescue by defining more narrowly her privilege and permitting Reid more scope to his activities than what his opponent can have quite relished; anyhow, she managed to get her own back by having him once more imprisoned in 1683 on a charge of having stolen many types and sets of letters out of her printing shop.²

His venture into paper making must have been no small undertaking. To leave the teeming old walled city for the leafy rural banks of the Water of Leith was, however, characteristic of those days when, owing to the enterprise of such printers, the foundations were laid of many a large modern concern.

At that time the link between the printer and the paper maker was a close one, as instanced by the Ruddimans of the *Caledonian Mercury*, Robert Fleming of the *Edinburgh Courant*, the two Watkins also King's Printers, the Balfours of the old printing firm of Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, and last but not least, the notorious or famous Mrs. Agnes (Campbell, Telfer, or) Anderson.

Mrs. Agnes Campbell or Anderson, 1709.

Much has been written about this lady and of the monopolistic spirit in which she defended her privilege as King's Printer in succession to her husband Andrew Anderson.

¹ *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. vi. p. 150.

² *Fountainhall's Historical Notices*, vol. ii. p. 464.

Some hold that her printing was no worse than that of her contemporaries and quite up to the standard of her day, and that her detractors were the Edinburgh printers who were her victims and whose work was really just about as execrable as hers, the state of printing in Scotland being at that time at a very low ebb. Be that as it may, few people realise that this vigorous old 'relict,' a few years before her death, amongst her other activities, built and ran a paper mill.

In November 1708 she acquired land from Sir John Clerk of Penicuik with liberty to erect a paper mill thereon, for the use of which she was allowed to take water from St. Mungo's Well. In 1716 she sold the mill to her grandson, William Hamilton of Little Earnock. She died the same year at the age of seventy-nine.

This was the mill that was later worked by the Watkins family and finally by the Cowans, being on the site of the now famous Valleyfield Mills.

Bogsmill.

This little mill, picturesquely situated on the Water of Leith a mile below Colinton, still stands complete with dam, lade, wheel and tail race, and is well worth a visit. It has had a chequered career. Its paper-making days are long since past, but in the 18th century it was an important centre of the industry when worked by the Hamiltons and Balfours. It still preserves its old-world rural appearance although well within the city bounds, and is now city property.

In 1717 it was leased by Nicol Lithgow when he converted the then existing corn mill into a paper mill. In 1735 the notes for the Bank of Scotland were made there, when it is recorded that for the convenience of the Bank officials in residence elaborate arrangements were made. A barber came twice from Edinburgh and received 3 shillings for his services. The Bank appears to have kept all the employees in food during the period of manufacture. A man was engaged

twelve days at this mill in dressing meat of which were cut up 200 pounds, meat and mutton costing 2½d. per lb. A hen 8d., a duck 9d., a 'Sollon gouss' 1s. 8d. A dozen eggs 3d., six chickens 1s. 4d.

In 1756 the lease was acquired by Gavin Hamilton, the eminent publisher and bookseller and son of the Principal of Edinburgh University. There he carried on what for those days was quite an important manufacture of paper. He resided at Millbank, a house which still stands high up on the north bank. Along with his brother-in-law, John Balfour, son of James the laird of Pilrig, the mill was carried on until the partnership was dissolved in 1762, after which the business was conducted as John Balfour and Sons.

All were connected with the printing house of Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, the last named being the famous Dr. Patrick Neill, founder of the present well-known firm of Neill and Co. Ltd.

A description is given of the mill in Kincaid's *History of Edinburgh* (1787) in the short gazetteer at the end of the book, which reads :

Bogsmill, 3½ m. S.S.W. of Edinburgh and ¼ m. N.E. of Colonton. Here is a very extensive paper manufactory carried on by Messrs. John Balfour and Sons. The situation is delightful and romantic.

In 1777 a dispute arose between Balfour and the proprietor, Inglis of Redhall, about a proposed enlargement of Millbank House required for the accommodation of the Bank officials, which resulted in an action raised in the Court of Session.

Balfour's plea was :

'From the increase of banking companies in this country, the manufacture of paper for banknotes with proper water-checks hath become a considerable article; the carrying on that to advantage hath required an increase of accommodation; for it is usual for these banking companies to get their own frames for making the paper prepared, and to send some of their directors or other persons particu-



larly trusted by them with the frames to the milns, who never part with the frames out of their sight.'¹

In 1783, after this dispute, the Balfours 'for the better accommodation of their paper manufactory' rebuilt an old mill farther up the stream which they called 'Kate's Mill,' named after Katherine Cant, wife of John Balfour.² Lease of this mill was granted by Sir James Foulis for a rent of £13 and one ream of finest writing paper.

When the new mill was erected, it included a dwelling-house, and to make quite sure this time as to the comfort of the Bank officials, it contained very fine cellars to accommodate the wine used for entertaining these gentlemen.

In 1797, 92 persons were employed. It was worked by the Balfours until 1859, and afterwards by John and James Cowan, and then finally acquired by David Chalmers in 1868 when it was greatly enlarged. In 1890 it was completely destroyed by fire. Now hardly a vestige remains of what was a large modern-type mill—all is covered up by trees and undergrowth. The tall chimney stalk stood for some years and was finally demolished at the beginning of the present century.

R. L. S. describes his childish impressions of the Colinton manse garden of his grandfather, the Rev. Lewis Balfour, thus: 'The smell of water rising from all round, with an added tang of paper mills; the sound of water everywhere, and the sound of mills—the wheel and the dam singing their alternate stories.' This is not to be wondered at, for certainly Colinton in those days was surrounded by mills; if the 'tang' was not wafted down the stream by the west wind from Colinton West Mill, the snell east wind would carry it up from Kate's Mill, worked for so many years by his relatives the Balfours.

It was indeed a hard-worked little river. In the 18th

¹ *The Family of Auchindinny and Redhall*, p. 104.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.



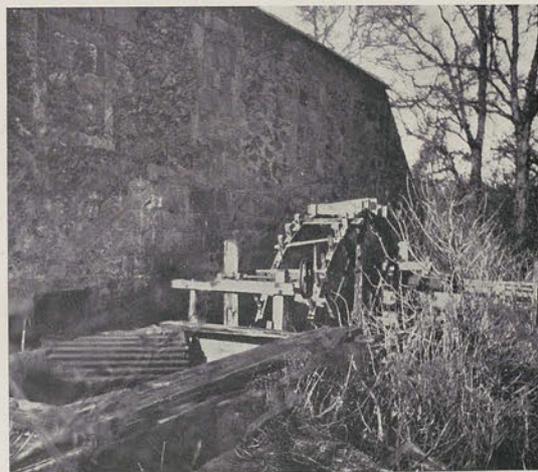
UPPER SPYLAW
ON WATER OF LEITH
ABOVE COLINTON.
A paper mill
c. 1681



PEGGY'S MILL
CRAMOND
ON THE ALMOND
Established as a paper mill
by the Cadell family
in 1781



BOGSMILL
ON WATER OF LEITH
BETWEEN COLINTON
AND SLATEFORD
A paper mill
in 1717.



REMAINS OF OLD
WATERWHEEL
AT
BOGSMILL

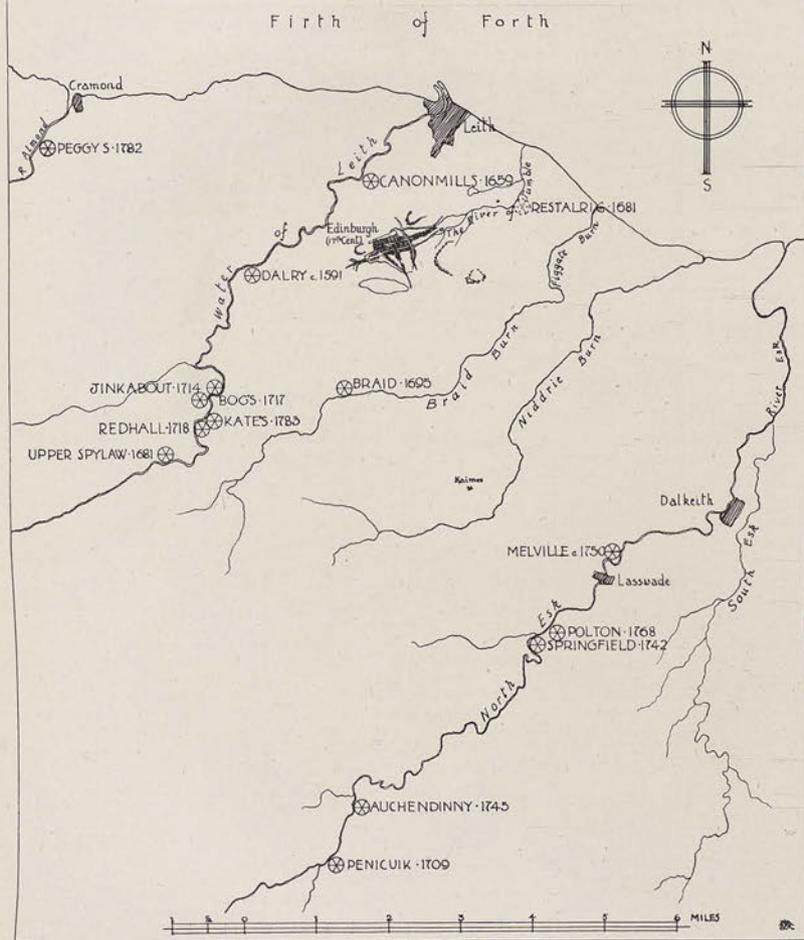


CATHERINE CANT
(KATE OF KATE'S MILL)
WIFE OF JOHN BALFOUR
From a portrait by Raeburn

[See page 52]

SITES AND DATES OF EARLY WATER-DRIVEN PAPER MILLS NEAR EDINBURGH

PAPER MILLS INDICATED THUS
CONJECTURAL SITE



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century the water teemed with mills of every description ; it was estimated that within a reach of ten of its sixteen miles, it drove seventy-one ! It was remarked : ' This small river does more work than perhaps any other, even of the largest size in Scotland.'¹ So much for the Water of Leith.

Of the North Esk we have touched on the early Penicuik Mills, farther down that river are the busy centres of Auchendinny, Polton, and Lasswade, each of which can boast of early origins.

Both rivers were linked by trade interests. There is a tradition that in early days the vatmen, couchers, and beatermen from the two valleys used to forgather at a midway tryst at the crossroads of Kaimes beyond Liberton, there to discuss affairs of State, not to mention the conditions of their trade and employment. Similarly, when occasion arose, the masters could act together to defend their mutual interests. As an instance of this, also showing that the makers in Midlothian were well abreast of their times, the record of a lawsuit which arose in 1796 throws much light. It was a petition by most of the local mill owners to the Lords of Session, craving that the patent for a bleaching process by one ' designing himself as a chymist ' in Edinburgh, should be cancelled. It ' humbly sheweth ' that the discoveries of Sheel, the celebrated Swedish chemist, and of Berthollet of France, on the production and bleaching properties of chlorine gas, were common property and of common knowledge to them all and that the ' chymist's ' discovery was a ' pretended one.'

John Clerk, afterwards Lord Eldin, acted for the paper makers, and the petition² comprised eight pages of a closely argued and convincing case, giving interesting evidence on all the various early attempts of the process of chlorine bleaching during its infancy, and from which it is quite evident that these local makers were well in touch with the most

¹ *O.S.A.*, vol. xix. p. 590.

² *Old Session Papers*, vol. 207 : 3 (Signet Library).

recent scientific discoveries of the age as applied to their own industry.

They were obviously keenly receptive of new ideas, a tradition well maintained by their successors in the steam and machine age just about to follow, in which there gradually evolved the important large-scale industry as we now know it.

Auchendinny Mill on the Esk.

The *Scots Magazine* of January 1757 gives the awards of the Edinburgh Society for the encouragement of arts, sciences, and manufactures, one of which is: 'For the greatest quantity of best post paper not under six reams—a silver medal to William Annandale of Auchendinny.'

As an echo of the happenings in the great world of that time, it is of interest that the same issue gives an account of the trial and death sentence on Admiral Byng for 'not having done his utmost to take, seize and destroy the ships of the French King,' together with letters from Voltaire and Richelieu in his defence.

This mill is frequently mentioned in *The Family of Inglis of Auchindinny and Redhall*, by J. A. Inglis. It dates from about 1716 and in 1745 was operated by William Annandale. It was the property of the Inglis family and was part of the inheritance of Katherine Inglis, second daughter and co-heiress of Archibald Inglis. Her husband was William Cadell, one of the founders of the Carron Iron Works and of the famous family of early industrialists. In 1782 the Cadells took over the mill, the paper making being supervised by William, son of the first William Annandale.

The Cadells lived in Greenlaw House, now at Glencorse barracks, and Mrs. Cadell, in the frequent absence of her husband at the Carron Works, kept him informed of happenings at the mill, in which she took a great interest. On April 1784 she writes: 'William Annandale is just come in and tells me that the wheel is in and that this week it will

be fit for work.' Probably a new waterwheel. Again, in June 1785: 'To-day our dinner is a very fine dish of trout brought last night by your paper maker H. Smith and caught just with his hands, a method it seems practised with success both by men and boys. At the mill they are throng (busy) making bank paper.'

The 'fine dish of trout' will no doubt be a surprise to such of our readers as know the present condition of this river, now completely ruined by pollution.

Springfield Mills, Polton.

Situated below a sharp double bend of the river down from Hawthornden, this concern, the property of Messrs. Wm. Tod, Junr. & Co. Ltd., the well-known makers of fine esparto papers, dates well back into the 18th century and owes its origin to the enterprise of the Edinburgh printers, Walter Ruddiman of the *Caledonian Mercury* and Robert Fleming of the *Edinburgh Courant*, joined by John Aiken, Bookseller.

There in 1742 they started making paper and carried on the business for fourteen years. In 1756 it was transferred to Robert Fleming, Junr., and John Hutton, merchant, Edinburgh.

The business, however, failed in 1776, when the mill was sold on behalf of the creditors. After a varied career it was finally acquired in 1866 by the Tod family of Lasswade, the well-known mill owners long established in the Esk Valley.

Of interest is the link with the Ruddimans. Walter was the brother and partner (as printer) of the famous Thomas, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, Printer to the University, and owner of the old Jacobite paper, the *Caledonian Mercury*. Walter died at Melville paper mill in 1770 in his eighty-third year, when, as the oldest Master Printer in Scotland, he was eulogised by a former employee as having been

'Of unaffected manners, social, kind,
The gentlest master, husband, father, friend.'

He managed Melville Mill (see page 58) and was also associated with Redhall Mill, Colinton, where, as one of his partners, he had William Annandale of Auchendinny.

Eminent Edinburgh Bankers' Unfortunate Venture.

The following extract from *Memoirs of a Banking-House*, by Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart., is of some interest and points a moral:

About this time the partners engaged in two speculations, both of which turned out unfortunately, which, however, I am glad to record, because they strongly illustrate a principle which I hold to be of the first importance, that a person who is in possession of a natural and valuable branch of business should never allow his time or his attention to be diverted to the prosecution of objects which he does not understand, and which are foreign from his proper line, for such speculations rarely come to any good.

I do not exactly recollect how the first of the adventures took place, because I was residing in London at the time when the project was undertaken; but either Mr. Hunter or Mr. Guthrie, the partner of Mr. Arbuthnot—with both of whom Mr. Hunter and I lived in the most intimate habits of friendship and society—had become acquainted with a Mr. Fraser who had been manager of a small paper-mill belonging to Mr. Adrian Watkins, who held the patents of King's Printer and Stationer. On Mr. Watkins's death, and the patents passing into other hands, Mr. Fraser had represented so strongly to Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Hunter the advantageous nature of the trade of making paper, that he persuaded them to embark in a scheme of building a paper-mill and establishing a manufacture of that article. He argued that Scotland never supplied itself with paper, either for writing or printing, but every year imported to a very considerable amount, all of which would be saved to the country, and at the same time a considerable profit accrue to the undertakers, as labour was much cheaper in Scotland than in England. Over-persuaded by Mr. Fraser's arguments, they accordingly feued some acres of ground from the proprietor of Polton, on the River Esk, near Lasswade, seven miles from Edinburgh, on which they erected a very extensive paper-mill, consisting of five vats and everything to correspond, all on the most enlarged scale, at a great expense—indeed, much beyond the original idea

formed by the partners, who were misled by Mr. Fraser; and he perhaps erred from ignorance merely, for, having been employed in a small work only in Mr. Watkins's time, he had no conception of the expense of one formed on such an enlarged scale as that at Polton. When the buildings were completed, an overseer was engaged in England to conduct the manufacture, and, he dying, a second was brought from England, who also died. Mr. Fraser then stated that he considered himself to be so perfectly master of business as to be able to conduct the manufacture alone, and to him was accordingly committed the sole charge of the business, of which the partners themselves were totally ignorant; nor had they either time or skill sufficiently to control his management. The consequence was, that the manufacture was conducted probably at too much expense, and the paper made proved to be of an inferior quality. At first it had been agreed that the mill should be erected by Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Hunter at their own expense, and that our house and Arbuthnot and Guthrie as a copartnership should jointly carry on the manufacture of paper. But afterwards, the whole expense of buildings and manufacture were taken on themselves by the two companies. The business was carried on for about three years without doing any good, till at length the bankruptcy of Arbuthnot and Guthrie in the famous year 1772 put an end to the concern, and left the whole loss on our shoulders. Mr. Hunter had by that time also become fully sensible of the folly of the speculation, and we gladly availed ourselves of the above event as a reason for bringing it to a close. There was a large stock of paper on hand, which it became necessary to dispose of, and with this view a variety of methods was resorted to. Mr. Fraser's incapacity for such a situation being but too fully proved, he was discharged, and his clerk, named Duffus, was employed to dispose of the stock on hand. Duffus entered into a traffic with booksellers, giving them paper for the purpose of printing books, of which he took a quantity in payment for the paper, and selling or exchanging these books with the trade as he best could. Part of the paper, which lay on hand till the American war, was consigned to New York, whence I recollect we received account-sales, accompanied with an expression sufficiently descriptive of the quality of paper—'that the printers of the newspapers had bought some of it because they could not find any of a better quality, and the apothecaries had bought the rest, because they could not find any that was worse.'

Tired at length of such a traffic, we made an agreement with Mr.

John Hutton, the lessee of the Melville paper-mill, to take over the remaining paper, printed books, and outstanding debts, for a stipulated sum, which enabled us to close the account, and ascertain the loss. The buildings and machinery had been sold some time previously for less than a third of their original cost. Thus ended the concern of the Polton paper-mill company.

The feu-charter and water-rights were granted by the Calderwoods of Polton in 1768. The mill was roused in 1774 when it contained four vats and three beaters. In 1798 it passed into the hands of the famous old paper-making family of Annandale. It is situated just below Springfield Mill and is close to Polton railway station.

Melville Mill, Lasswade.

One of the largest of the Scottish mills at the end of the 18th century was situated on the north bank of the River Esk, about half a mile below Lasswade in the Melville Castle estate. When acquired by Alexander Cowan in 1814 from John Pitcairn of Pitcairns, it contained six vats. When it is considered that Sir Wm. Forbes' venture at Polton, in which he described that concern as a very extensive mill erected 'all on the most enlarged scale,' consisted of five vats, a six-vat concern must certainly have been of exceptional size. Most of the old hand-made mills seldom boasted of more than two vats.

Charles Cowan in his *Reminiscences* notes: 'At that time, 1818, we lived at Melville Mill near Lasswade, and my mother took means to establish a school for the younger children of the working people. She was waited upon by the wife of a Cabinet Minister, a peeress, who remarked to my mother, "It was very wise and proper to teach children to read but on no account to write." Upon my mother asking her the reason why, her ladyship replied, "If they were taught to write they will be sure to forge!"' Educational authorities please note!

The Pitcairn mentioned was a man of some eminence in the business circles of Edinburgh. He was the first Chairman of Directors of the Commercial Bank of Scotland on its foundation in 1810. He was also Chairman of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce in 1820.

Melville Mill, once a thriving centre of industrial activity, has entirely vanished, not a vestige can be traced, not a single stone remains to mark its site—*sic transit!*

Such were the early mills near Edinburgh and such the men who worked them, a race that served its day and generation and to whom the present industry owes its beginnings.

This short sketch of their activities may help to prevent their names from becoming entirely forgotten. It will be noted how wide their interests were, several of them being partners in more than one mill, not to speak of certain of them conducting their printing houses and periodicals in the city. It will also be observed how this industry ran in families. This has always been so both with masters and men, particularly so in its early days, no doubt partly due to rural isolation. With the advent of public limited companies and big business, this may not now be so pronounced, and the urbanisation of what were once completely country districts close to Edinburgh may also have had some effect. Such changes were of course inevitable, yet this tradition still holds good and famous paper-making families of last century are well represented in the present.

This article merely attempts to deal briefly with the early stages up to the end of the 18th century. The 19th century awaits its own historian.

ROBERT WATERSTON.

EDINBURGH HOUSE NUMBERS

IN April 1811, the following advertisement appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Edinburgh Advertiser*:

'In consequence of the new regulations for numbering the houses, his shop, late No. 20, is now No. 6 St. Andrew Street, two doors from Princes Street.'

The advertiser, Mr. G. R. Clarke, was the proprietor of a Circulating Library which was said to contain 7000 volumes in English, French, Italian, etc. He also sold lottery tickets, and was wont to advertise the fact when he had been the seller of a successful ticket.

The advertisement itself is one of the few remaining records of an important and wholesale change in the system of numbering the houses in Edinburgh. The change was one of principle, from a system which had been in operation, in a rather haphazard fashion, for the previous thirty years, to a logical and orderly system into which future development could be fitted. In a word, the change was from a system of consecutive numbering to the system of odd and even numbers which obtains at present, and which is now the standard system in most British towns.

In view of the sweeping nature of the change, it is a little curious that there is no reference to it in the city archives, or in the Edinburgh newspapers of the time, or even in the Edinburgh Directory for 1811-12, in which the new numbers first appeared. We can therefore only surmise the reason for the change and judge of its extent by a comparison of the Edinburgh Directories for the years preceding and following the renumbering.

Most Scott students know that Sir Walter Scott's house

in Castle Street changed its number, but it is not generally realised that the great majority of Edinburgh residents also changed their house numbers at the same time. This fact has led many students of Old Edinburgh to assume that certain well-known personalities changed their place of residence in 1811, when in reality only the numbers on the doors were altered. For instance, of the fourteen Judges of the Court of Session, at least eight changed their house numbers. All the Principal Clerks of Session, of whom Scott was one, changed likewise.

The nature of and the reasons for the change can be best understood by a brief consideration of the position in 1811. The process of numbering at that time had not been completed. Streets like Crosscauseway, Pleasance, and Abbey Hill were still un-numbered, and a number of important streets were in that year being numbered for the first time. Among these were the Canongate, Grassmarket, Cowgate, West Bow, Queensferry Street, and Northumberland Street.

Numbering the houses was in any event a fairly recent innovation. When the first Edinburgh Directory was published in 1773, not a single house number appeared in its pages. The more picturesque, if less accurate, method of the day was to describe the location of a house, and we get such addresses as 'opposite the back stairs, Cowgate,' 'at the cross, south side,' 'head of Riddle's close, lawnmarket,' 'foot of fishmarket,' and so on. It was not until 1782-3 that house numbers first made their appearance in the Directory. In that year we find numbers allotted in Princes Street, St. Andrew Street and Square, St. David Street, Chapel Street, Thistle Court, and Nicolson Street and Square. As years passed, further streets were numbered, until by 1811 well over half the houses, including the whole of the New Town, were numbered.

Although the numbering was in all cases consecutive, 1, 2, 3, and so on, there were varying methods of application to

different streets. In Nicolson Street, for example, the numbers ran in one unbroken series from South Bridge to St. Patrick's Square along the eastern side, crossed the street, and returned to South Bridge along the western side. On the other hand, in George Street there were two separate series of numbers, one on the north and one on the south side, each commencing at No. 1. Each number was duplicated, and it was necessary to add to the address 'north side' or 'south side' as the case might be. In the case of one-sided streets and squares, there was a simple series of consecutive numbers, which, with minor adjustments, remains the same today.

In the ordinary two-sided street, both of the old methods which we have described above had disadvantages. In cases like Nicolson Street, where a single consecutive series ran up one side of the street and down the other side, the main objection was probably that, as development proceeded, and streets increased in length, it was not possible to extend the numbering. The second method, of two consecutive series of numbers in the same street, must obviously have caused confusion.

The time was therefore ripe in 1811 for the adoption of a better system of numbering, and there was a further factor which no doubt influenced the Corporation when they took the bold and sensible decision to introduce an entirely new scheme. It was this: in the thirty years which had elapsed since numbering was first introduced, there were numerous cases along the shopping streets where two or more shops now occupied the frontage of what was formerly one house, and extra numbers were needed to identify the shops. For instance, when Princes Street was renumbered, over forty extra numbers were added, and a similar number were added in Nicolson Street.

In addition to the adoption of the system of numbering in odds and evens, the direction of the numbering was also systematised, as follows. The city was divided roughly into

four quarters by the intersection of Lawnmarket, High Street and Canongate with St. Andrew Street and the Bridges. In the north-west quarter the direction was east to west and south to north; in the north-east quarter, from west to east and south to north; in the south-west quarter, from north to south and east to west; and in the south-east quarter, from north to south and west to east. It is clear that some importance was attached to this rule, for the direction of the numbering of Abercromby Place was reversed so as to run from east to west, although, being a one-sided street, it retained its consecutive numbering. It should perhaps be mentioned that the Canongate, High Street and the Lawnmarket are exceptions to the direction rule.

The general practice was that the odd numbers should be on the right-hand side, counting from the lower end; to this rule there were very few exceptions, the most noteworthy being Great King Street, where the evens are on the right and the odds on the left.

The extent of the change may be briefly illustrated by reference to the rectangle of streets bounded by Charlotte Street on the west, Queen Street on the north, St. Andrew Street on the east, and Princes Street on the south.

Princes Street in 1811 was, as now, practically a one-sided street, but there were a few houses and shops on the south side, where the North British Hotel now stands. These houses were formerly numbered one to five, 'south side,' and the numbers one to five were duplicated on the north side. At the renumbering in 1811 the five numbers on the south side were increased to nine (1-9), but the duplication on the north side was abolished, the numbers on the north side being arranged to run from No. 10 upwards in a consecutive series. We may add as a point of interest that in 1902, when the North British Hotel was built, the numbers one to nine on the south side disappeared, and that is why the numbering of Princes Street now commences at No. 10.

Rose Street was formerly numbered in three consecutive series, 'east,' 'mid,' and 'west.' In 1811 it was renumbered in one series of odds and evens.

George Street was formerly numbered in two consecutive series, one on the north side and one on the south. In 1811 it was renumbered in one series of odds and evens.

Thistle Street, Hill Street, and Young Street were numbered like the three portions of Rose Street, in three consecutive series. The three series were retained in 1811, but the streets were renumbered in odds and evens.

Of the six streets running north and south in the rectangle, viz., Charlotte, Castle, Frederick, Hanover, St. David and St. Andrew, five had originally been numbered each in two consecutive series, 'north' and 'south.' The exception was Hanover Street, which, for some reason which is not apparent, was originally numbered in one consecutive series, from Princes Street to Queen Street, and back to Princes Street. In the renumbering of 1811 the streets which are continuous, viz., Castle, Frederick and Hanover, were each numbered in one set of odds and evens. It is curious to note that the use of 'north' and 'south' to differentiate the two sections of Castle Street still survives, although the numbering is continuous from Princes Street to Queen Street.

The other three streets, which are each broken into two portions by Charlotte Square and St. Andrew Square, were renumbered on the new system, but they continued as two separate series, 'north' and 'south.' This was a sensible arrangement, for it avoided the confusion which sometimes arises in, for instance, Great Stuart Street, where Nos. 5 and 6 are separated from Nos. 7 and 8 by the whole width of Ainslie Place. North Charlotte Street, being one-sided, continued to be numbered consecutively, but as the numbers formerly ran from north to south, they were reversed to conform with the new direction rule. It will perhaps be of interest to the curious in such matters to know that when

Dr. John Brown, in his famous essay on Pet Marjorie, referred to her living at No. 1 North Charlotte Street, he was correct as to the house, but wrong as to the number, for in 1810 it was actually No. 6.

A few points of general interest may be noted in conclusion.

Heriot Row was formerly numbered in two series, 'east' and 'west,' but it was renumbered as one consecutive series.

One of the curious customs of Old Edinburgh was to give different names to the opposite sides of the same street, and such streets naturally had duplicate series of consecutive numbers. Thus, the north side of Shandwick Place was called Maitland Street, with its own consecutive numbering. Maitland Street disappeared in 1899, and Shandwick Place was then renumbered in one series of odds and evens, with the slight variation that the even numbers are on the right. But other instances persist, the most notable being in the length of street between Leith Street and Leith Walk. Here there is a series of short lengths of street with different names and separate series of numbers, each series running consecutively. On the west there are Union Place, Antigua Street, Gayfield Place, and Haddington Place, and on the east, Greenside Place, Baxter's Place, and Elm Row.

The double tier of shops at the top of Leith Street on the west side were, before 1811, known as High Terrace and Low Terrace. In the renumbering the lower tier was incorporated into Leith Street, and the upper tier was called simply 'Terrace,' or Leith Street Terrace.

When Nicolson Street was renumbered the North and South Bridges retained their old consecutive numbers. The numbering of North Bridge was brought into line with the new system in 1901, but South Bridge retained its old original numbering. It now remains as the only example of the original system of numbering the houses of Edinburgh. The numbers commence at the High Street, and run up the east

side consecutively to Drummond Street, returning by the west side to the Tron Church. Mr. W. M. Gilbert, in his book *Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century*, refers to the unique numbering of South Bridge, apparently not realising that it is just a survival, the only survival of what was before 1811 the universal system.

FRANK GENT.

THE EDINBURGH SCHOOL OF DESIGN

THE first School of Design in the three Kingdoms established and maintained at public expense was founded by the Board of Manufactures in the year 1760. Its institution was due to the influence of the Edinburgh School of St. Luke and of the Select Society of Edinburgh. The former, incorporated in 1729, directed attention to the value of design in industry. The latter, said to have been founded by Allan Ramsay, Junior, about the middle of the eighteenth century, attempted to raise the standard of designing by offering annual premiums for the best drawings of flowers, fruits, and foliage, as well as of patterns in which the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders were incorporated. But although competitors for the awards regularly submitted their designs, the standard of attainment was low, and this fact convinced the Society that a Master was urgently required to teach the art of design.¹ From the memorial presented to the Board of Manufactures by Sir George Clark, it was evident that a School of Design was necessary in view of the difficulties under which manufacturers of damask, printed linen, and carpets laboured for want of modern and elegant patterns.² The need for such a school was appreciated by the Trustees' Committee who on 24th January 1760 recommended an expenditure of £115 for 'teaching and promoting the Art of Drawing for use of' linen and woollen manufacturers. Royal Warrant for this expenditure was granted in July 1761.

¹ MS. Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 23rd January 1786. (All references are to these Minutes unless otherwise stated.) Rinder and Mackay, *The Royal Scottish Academy, 1826-1916* (James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1917), Part I, p. xxxii.

² MS. Minutes, 23rd January 1786.

Lord Kames, as a leader of the movement, was largely responsible for the establishment of the school. On him devolved the task of selecting the first students and of recommending a salary of £100 for the Master, William de la Cour, a native of France, who as early as 1st March 1760 had procured a 'Good School House with the necessary Desks, &c' and had enrolled several pupils. According to the Regulations governing the school, de la Cour taught three days in the week from 3 p.m. until 7 p.m. His students were charged one guinea per quarter, all except those nominated by the Trustees who were taught gratis. The course of study lasted for four years. At the end of each year, the Master of the school submitted his annual report showing the names of the students, their ages, designations, places of residence, and dates of admission and of leaving. De la Cour was an artist who imitated Watteau. His decorative work, in the grotesque style, was exemplified in the Drawing Room of Milton House in the Canongate.¹ Under his guidance the School of Design flourished. Within four years of its institution its influence had spread. We find that when the Drawing School at Aberdeen was established by support of Lord Deskford and others, William Mossman, the Master, applied to the Trustees for the use of patterns and drawings of foliage executed by de la Cour. The patterns were despatched to Aberdeen to be copied, and the Trustees granted de la Cour ten guineas for producing eighty-six drawings of foliage for use by the northern school.²

On the death of de la Cour in 1767, the Trustees relied on the assistance of Adam to procure 'a master skillful in design in general and the drawing of Patterns for the manufacturers &c in particular.' Before the middle of November 1768, Charles Pavillon, a native of France and Drawing Master

¹ *Scottish Art and National Encouragement* (William Blackwood & Sons, 1846), Appendix I, p. 2.

² MS. Minutes, 15th February 1764.

in London, was appointed. He was attentive to duty although suffering from illness during his four years of office, but he was a teacher of inferior ability. His school met in two rooms of the College granted by the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1768.

Pavillon died in 1772 and John Baptista Jackson, the painter, applied for the mastership of the school. Since 1765 he had enjoyed an annual grant from the Trustees—five pounds for the first year and fifty pounds thereafter—for drawing patterns for manufacturers and for training apprentices as designers. He was reputed as a designer of patterns for carpets 'in the Turkey way.' During his residence in England his chief occupation had been the designing of patterns for stamped linen and calico. He was also a skilled block cutter. His teaching, however, was so ineffective that in 1769 the Trustees threatened to withdraw their support. His application for the mastership of the School of Design was unsuccessful, the Trustees preferring Alexander Runciman, the well-known painter, who, born in Edinburgh, had served an apprenticeship as a coach painter, and for five years had studied in Italy. He had recently settled in his native city, and the Board considered that by his appointment the School of Design would maintain its standard. Under his guidance, however, the usefulness of the school declined. Students were admitted who made 'drawing only an amusement.' Others remained for protracted periods without showing progress. The Master was indolent and inattentive, and 'wholly averse from teaching.' During the last few years of his life the school was of little account. Indeed it was in such state that on Runciman's death in 1785, the Board seriously considered whether it should be discontinued and whether the interests of designing might not be better served by awarding premiums for the best patterns submitted in open competition. For several years the Trustees had offered awards of ten pounds for damask patterns, but the premiums had failed to attract the best artists, the competitors being

mostly weavers, such as James Thomson of Drumsheugh, a former pupil of the school, Thomas Mackenzie of the West Port, Adam Mitchell, foreman to John Drummond of Leith Wynd, Alexander Bonar of Dunfermline, Lockhart, 'back of the dam,' Andrew Drysdale, Dudgeon of Sciennes, and others. Had it not been for the advocacy of the Board's Secretary, the School of Design would probably have been closed. In his Report he averred that it was impossible to assess the worth of the Academy since it was unknown what became of the students. Many were probably engaged in producing patterns for the textile industries, *e.g.* Thomson of Drumsheugh who supplied most of the damask manufacturers with patterns, and John Bain whose designs were outstanding. Several were employed as engravers, and several, artists of repute, such as Jacomy Moir, Brown, Erskine, Nasmith, Caldwell, and other portrait painters, had been taught the rudiments of their art in the school. The decline of the Academy had been largely due to the indolence of Runciman and to the fact that students had been admitted to study art as an amusement or as a polite accomplishment. Of the twenty-four scholars in attendance at any time, a few only had been manufacturers or mechanics or artists.

'Elegance in drawing,' asserted the Secretary, would not be promoted by offering premiums to those who could already design. The number of designers would not increase. 'Natural genius without the advantage of a proper education will seldom or never enable an Artist to excell. He must be assisted with advice, and by good models being shown to him. Without knowing those mechanical rules of art which have as it were been established, and are now sanctioned by the General practice of all Artists, Genius may long labour to little purpose. Hence the use of a master whose mind is stored with the knowledge of the true principles of art, and who has taste to select and combine whatever is beautiful and pleasing in it.'

Robert Adam, London, John Stirling, Glasgow, who was largely concerned in the printing of linen and cotton, Robert Fulton of Paisley, one of the largest manufacturers of flowered silk and thread gauzes, Dr. Roebuck of Carron, were all of opinion that the Academy could serve a useful purpose to manufacturers and house furnishers. 'An elegant taste' yet remained 'to be introduced into the Country in many of the manufactures.'

Influenced by such opinions, the Board resolved to continue the school, but before proceeding to appoint a Master, they instructed the Secretary to prepare such draft regulations for the conduct of the Academy as would 'render it of real utility to the ornamental manufacturers,' and prevent the abuses which hitherto prevailed.¹

On 6th February 1786, the following regulations were agreed upon :

1. That the Academy should be open on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday of each week from 4 p.m. till 6 p.m. during the year except from 12th August till 12th November, and during the Christmas Vacation.
2. That students presented by the Trustees—not exceeding twenty in number—should be taught gratis and permitted to remain under instruction for two years.
3. That since the object of the School was to promote and diffuse 'an elegant taste' among manufacturers, the Master should direct the practice of the students to ornamental drawing in particular, after he had given proper instruction in the general principles of art, and that he should strive to present the best models in the various styles of ornamental design and direct attention to what was incongruous and of a depraved taste.
4. That annually, at the Christmas season, the Master should produce two patterns of his own composition, such patterns to be the property of the Trustees and to be lodged in the Board's office for the inspection and use of manufacturers.
5. That twice in the year, at the beginning of March and August, the Master should report on the progress of his students.

¹ MS. Minutes, 23rd January 1786.

6. That the Master should be appointed on three years' probation.

7. That students could only be admitted on the authority of the Trustees, and those only who could produce evidence that they followed or intended to follow the occupations of an ornamental manufacturer, of a house decorator, or a furniture manufacturer, or that they intended to become designers for such trades.

8. That students absent from the Academy for one month should forfeit the privilege of returning unless a satisfactory certificate was furnished to prove that absence was due to sickness or 'indispensible business.'

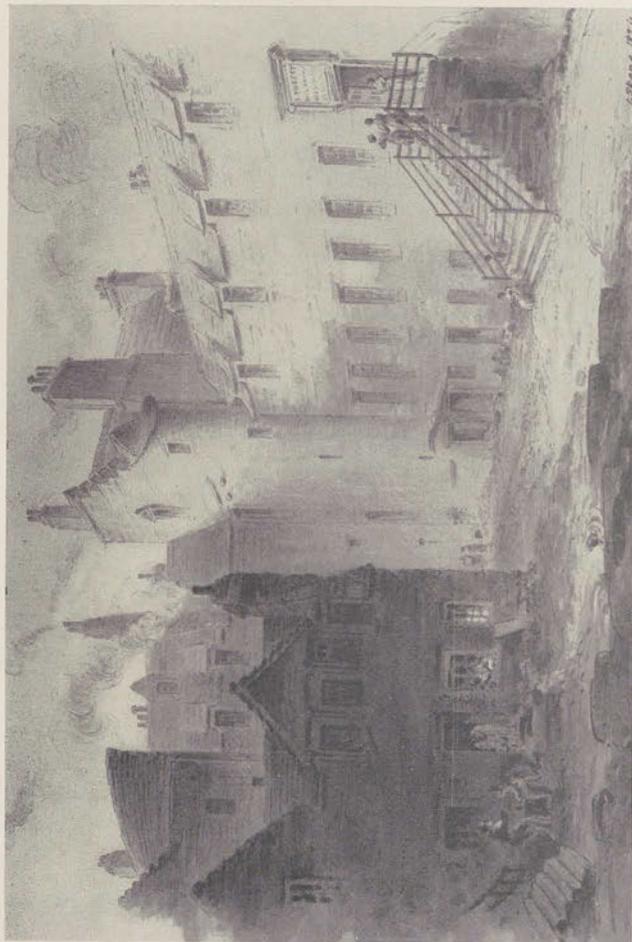
9. That the School should be periodically visited by a Committee of the Trustees.

10. That each year, at Christmas, a sum of £15 should be granted by the Board for the five best drawings produced by students.¹

There were seven applicants for the mastership of the School—John Brown, David Allan, David Erskine, John Donaldson, Alexander Nasmith, all painters, with George Walker, a drawing-master, and John Bain, the designer. On the recommendation of Robert Adam and Strange, the engraver, David Allan was appointed. Born in Alloa in 1744, he attended the Academy of Glasgow founded by Robert and Andrew Foulis, the printers. He was a painter of repute and a protégé of the Cathcarts. In 1764 he travelled to Italy, and while in Rome he impressed Sir William Hamilton who, in a letter dated 19th March 1768, referred to Lady Cathcart's little painter as one of the greatest geniuses he had ever met.² In 1773, while at Rome, he gained the prize medal awarded by the School of St. Luke for the best historical composition. He returned to London in 1777, and journeyed north to Scotland in 1780 where he was entertained during the winter months by Lord Hope at his house in Edinburgh. During the summer he was commissioned by the Duchess of Athole to paint the family group in a Highland setting. In 1788 he

¹ MS. Minutes, 6th February 1786.

² Cathcart MSS. I am indebted to the Rev. T. Crouther Gordon, B.D., Ph.D., Clackmannan, for perusal of his notes regarding Allan.



MINT CLOSE, 1824

After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw

[See page 73]

published an elegant edition of Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd' containing twelve prints in aqua tinta. Of this work the Board of Manufactures purchased twenty-two copies at one guinea each.¹

In the years succeeding Allan's appointment as Master of the Academy, candidates belonging to various trades and occupations were admitted as pupils of the school—engravers, seal-cutters, coach painters, house painters, damask weavers, japanners, wood carvers, etc. One, John Clark, was accepted, who proposed 'to institute a Veterinarian School in Scotland.' One, Archibald Elbeck, a seal-cutter, suspected of being a member of the Convention of Friends, was refused admission. By the end of 1786 the number of house painters attending the school exceeded that of any other occupation, and the Trustees, on Allan's suggestion, restricted the number of such students.

The character of the work produced by the pupils is revealed in the Reports regarding the annual competitions for premiums. In the Minute of 6th August 1788, we find reference to the drawing of a thistle, of a centre for a table-cloth, of a bunch of grapes, of a branch of a thistle, and of a pineapple. Allan's own designs, executed according to agreement, included patterns for carpets, for damask table-cloths, and for printed fabrics intended for house furnishing.

In November 1790 the Academy was compelled to remove from the College, as the building was to be demolished in order to make way for the new structure, now the University. Allan found accommodation for his classes in a room in Mint Close which the Trustees rented at ten pounds per annum. The accommodation was much larger than that at the old College building. The cost of heating and lighting was reckoned at from ten pounds to twelve pounds a year, an amount which the Trustees allowed, but Allan, probably

¹ Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (Geo. Bell & Sons, 1903).



surprised at the generosity of the Board, refused to accept more than eight pounds, a sum which he deemed ample for fire and candle.

David Allan died in 1796, and as the office of Master of the Academy was considered of great importance, 'requiring a man of great inventive genius & knowledge of the fine arts qualified to direct and improve the taste of the public & to influence artisans and manufacturers of all descriptions in the principles of Drawing and Design,' the Trustees' Committee seriously deliberated upon the method by which an appointment should be made. Letters were received from Alexander Keith of Ravelston and Raeburn, the portrait painter, suggesting a 'Comparative trial of Drawing & Design by the Candidates'; that each applicant should 'be shut in a room while Drawing, to prevent their receiving any private assistance.' A similar recommendation was proffered by John McGowan, who stated that it was the practice of 'all foreign Academies where Artists contend for a Prize, to preclude Drawing in private.' The Board, however, resolved that each candidate should submit specimens of designs 'from his own fancy,' each at the same time making oath that these were his own work. The Trustees' Secretary urged that candidates should produce suitable designs, not less than twenty-four inches in size, half of which should be drawn in chalk and half in water-colour; and since the human figure was essential to several types of fabric and was frequently introduced in patterns for ornamental furniture, candidates should incorporate the human figure in several of their designs. As, in the City of Edinburgh where there were so few artists, it would be difficult to find applicants with no local connections, it was proposed that the competitive drawings should be submitted for adjudication to artists of the Royal Academy of London. After consideration, the Trustees agreed that candidates should submit one design for each of the following: cotton furniture for hangings, a damask table-

cloth, an Axminster carpet, a group of figures for 'the centre tablet of a chimney piece with a frieze,' and 'Roof & frieze of a Room in the arabesque Stile of ornament, with a Figure for the Center of the Roof.'¹

Nine candidates submitted designs which were examined by the President of the Royal Academy, who was particularly arrested by two sets of drawings marked B and C, produced by John Wood, teacher of drawing, Edinburgh, and John Graham, history painter, London, respectively. The latter's work was specially recommended for 'pre-eminence in originality, composition, & Sense in the choice of materials with which the various groups were composed.' The other candidates for the mastership were: Walter Weir, portrait painter, Glasgow; Alexander Sime, painter and teacher of drawing, Edinburgh; Robert Morison, architect and draughtsman; John Barber, carver and drawing master; Eneas McPherson, portrait painter; Alexander Nasmith; and James Demaria, London.

In June 1797 the Secretary read to a Meeting of Trustees a declaration made by Robert Cummins, carver and gilder, and Edward Mitchell, engraver, both residing in the city, stating that two drawings of ornaments in red chalk executed by John Wood had been drawn almost entirely by Mitchell in Wood's house for a fee. Alexander Nasmith also represented that from this detection of the two drawings he was warranted in inferring that the five drawings submitted by Wood were not his own. He alleged it was well known that Wood was incapable of drawing figures 'in any degree passable.' If, said he, Wood can disprove this, he should be compelled to draw the figures included in his designs within the Board's office in presence of persons appointed to oversee his work. No other evidence would convince the public that he designed and executed the figures. Wood submitted certification from four well-known gentlemen who stated that

¹ MS. Minutes, 23rd November 1796.

they had seen the five drawings in every stage of their development. They had watched Wood at work and were confident that the competitive drawings were his own. With reference to the two drawings mentioned by Cummins and Mitchell, Wood confessed that 'he employed an assistant to perform the mere mechanical [work] of shading these under direction, and then finished them himself.' He expressed a desire to withdraw these and offered to execute one of them again, 'locked up in a room in this office, a certain number of hours per day,' as the Board's Secretary recorded. Nasmyth, still bent on proving Wood's dishonesty, further declared that one of the gentlemen who signed Wood's certificate had confessed that he had never seen Wood touch the 'Minerva.' By reason of these charges, the Trustees ordered a full investigation by a Committee of their number, and on 5th July 1797 report was given that although suspicion was justified regarding the two chalk drawings, there appeared no reason to doubt that the five competitive drawings were not the work of Wood. A test was therefore unnecessary. The Trustees, apparently satisfied, proceeded to make an appointment, and Wood was chosen as Master of the Academy for three years at a salary of £120. It is interesting to note that Wood was recommended by Professors Stuart and Playfair, and the Solicitor-General, and that the sponsors of Graham were the Chairman of the Society of Polite Arts, London, George Ramsay and J. F. Rigaud, portrait painters, London, and John McGowan of Edinburgh.

In November 1797 the Duke of Athole objected by letter to Wood's appointment and preferred the claims of Graham as a much superior draughtsman, but the Board held to their decision.

On 13th December 1797 the Trustees' Secretary proposed that females should be admitted to the Academy on two evenings in the week. He was supported by Sir William Forbes, who approved of the daughters of tradesmen and

manufacturers being afforded opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of drawing, a branch of education necessary for those engaged in the 'flowering of muslin, in Tambouring, Embroidering, and for governesses and teachers in private families.' Adoption of the suggestion would afford the Board opportunity of employing Graham to undertake the instruction of such women. He was convinced that if Graham were induced to settle in Edinburgh, his experience and work as a private teacher would be the means of forming a School of Art 'much beyond anything hitherto attempted in Scotland.' The Trustees decided to delay the matter, and Forbes, frustrated in his design to establish Graham, approached the situation by advocating that it would be beneficial to the mechanical arts and to the general public if a master were appointed to teach the higher branches of design. In February 1798 the Trustees' Secretary once more championed the cause of Graham, offering the opinion that 'taste for the elegant Arts' might be further developed if the Board extended patronage to the higher branches of design of which there was no professed teacher in the city. If a master were appointed to teach figure drawing and historical composition, the mechanical arts would benefit. 'It likewise happens fortunately,' he naïvely stated, 'that a Master of the higher Branches of Design can at present be found in Mr Graham.'

As a result of these representations Graham was appointed a 'Public teacher of Art,' with a salary of £120, for which he was bound to teach gratis a certain number of pupils not exceeding twenty, male or female, presented by the Board, either in a general class along with fee-paying pupils or in a class by themselves during two hours on each of the three days the school was in session.

Graham arrived from London in 1798 to open his Academy. As yet no accommodation had been obtained and no regulations had been drawn up for the conduct of the school. The Board's Secretary accompanied by Graham had enquired

diligently for a room of the necessary dimensions—'30 ft to 40 ft long, of proportional width & 12 ft to 15 ft high, in a decent situation.' The Board had sanctioned the payment of an annual rent of £20, but it was not until 26th June 1799 that the Secretary was able to report the acquisition of a room in St. James's Square, formerly occupied by the late David Martin as a studio. Meanwhile the Trustees had allowed a sum of £50 for the purchase of a collection of plaster figures and busts from the antique. This was in transit from London by the time accommodation for the school had been procured. The Board was now in a position to advertise the opening of the new Academy and to draw up regulations to prevent abuses, such as the enrolment of unsuitable students. The Secretary suggested that the school should be conducted on lines similar to those of the Royal Academy of London, and that students should be required to give proof of a certain degree of proficiency by producing a drawing of a 'Round Figure or a Statue,' or that they should submit a satisfactory recommendation before being admitted and be enrolled on trial for six weeks, drawing from the plaster figure. Drawings from nature and from antique statues, although well known and considered 'the only proper mode of obtaining correctness and truth in Drawing and the only approved method of forming an Artist,' had as yet been but little practised in Scotland. Most students pursuing art as an amusement or as a profession copied from other drawings or paintings, drawing masters accepting this method of teaching because it was easiest for the student and pleasing to people superficially acquainted with art. Most students could produce good copies but were scarcely able to draw from nature or from life. After due consideration the Board resolved that applicants should produce satisfactory recommendations before being admitted to the school, that they should remain for two years unless after six weeks' trial they showed no progress, and that females as well as males should be enrolled. The school was

to be open on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays from 12th November until 12th August each year, the first two days in each week being reserved for males—not exceeding twenty in number—and the third day for a similar number of females. An annual expenditure of £10 was allowed for premiums.¹

By 27th November 1799 applications for enrolment in the new Academy had been received from six coach painters, three engravers, and from David Thomson, David Wilkie, and William Wilson who intended to become artists. These comprised the first students of the school.

In February 1800, Peter Edwin Sime, drawing master in the city, declared that the five drawings presented by John Wood in March 1797 as specimens of his own work had been composed and executed by him privately, locked up in Wood's house. Investigation by the Sheriff Substitute proved the accusation and the Board dismissed Wood from his office, his students being directed to attend Graham's Academy. Graham's salary was increased by £30 and £10 was allowed for fire and candle, the condition being imposed that ten to twenty additional students should be taught.²

The nature of the teaching given in the Academy is revealed by the Report upon the awards suggested for drawings in March 1803. Four historical designs in oil, four drawings from the round figure, and four drawings of ornaments for furniture had been entered for competition, and it is interesting to observe that David Thomson gained the premier award of £6 for the best historical design and £2 for his drawing of the figure from the round, while David Wilkie, *proxime accessit*, was awarded £2 and 17s. for his submissions.

In July 1803 the Board, on the suggestion of Sir William Forbes, decided to purchase, at a cost of £1000, the attic

¹ MS. Minutes, 12th December 1798.

² *Ibid.*, 5th March 1800.

storey of the corner house in the tenement then in course of erection at Picardy Place.¹ To this house the Academy was transferred, and here the plaster figures and the casts from the best of the Elgin Marbles, purchased in 1816 at a cost of £120, were lodged. Here also the Associated Artists of Edinburgh, devoid of funds to erect a building of their own, met in the evenings to study the works of art in the Academy and to draw from life.

In 1817 John Graham died. Applications for the vacant post of Master were received from Nasmith, William Allan, John Watson, James Howe, Peter Gibson, Donald McLeod, all resident in the city, from Andrew Wilson and A. Carse, then in England, and from Robert Munro, Montrose. In January 1818 the Board agreed to appoint Andrew Wilson to the vacancy.

Three years later complaint was made in a Report to the Trustees concerning the situation of the Academy. The school rooms were located at the top of a common stair and over a baker's shop and a tavern, 'the smoke and dust from which "penetrated" into the Room' and injured the casts. The accommodation was so small that the statues were crowded together, thus preventing the students from studying them to advantage. A solution to the problem was presented in an unexpected manner by a letter received from the Assistant Secretary to the Institution for Encouraging the Fine Arts in Scotland, which bore that the Institution desired to coalesce with other Societies in building 'suitable Rooms on the earthen mound (on a plan of Mr Playfair's) such as would be ornamental to the City, and give dignity to the different Institutions.' It was suggested that each Society should appoint a small Committee to consider the matter and that the Board of Manufactures should build rooms for their Academy contiguous to those proposed by the Institu-

¹ See 'The Weavers of Picardy'—*The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxv. p. 33.

tion.¹ In their Scheme of Expenditure for the year 1822, the Trustees included a sum not exceeding £500 towards the expense of erecting a new Academy at the Mound.²

At a meeting of the Sub-committees of the Board, of the Royal Society, the Institute of Fine Arts, and the Society of Antiquaries, held on 2nd August 1822, it was suggested that the Trustees should erect a building which would accommodate the three Societies as well as the Academy, each Society becoming a tenant at a rental of five per cent. on the outlay for the rooms occupied. Playfair reported that the building would cost £14,000 if Craigleith stone were used and £13,000 if materials were obtained from Cullalo or Red Hill quarries. The accommodation required for the three Societies was estimated to be as follows: 89,100 cubic feet for the Royal Society including the Society of Antiquaries, 77,238 cubic feet for the Institution for Encouraging the Fine Arts, and 92,862 cubic feet for the Board's Academy and a Keeper's house, a total of 259,200 cubic feet. The City of Edinburgh had offered a site on the Mound at an annual feu-duty of £125.

On 6th August 1822 the Board of Manufactures adopted the proposal to erect the building, provided the Societies agreed to pay such rent as would constitute an adequate return for the expenditure incurred in erecting those parts of the building to be occupied by them and in keeping them in repair, each Society deciding upon a long lease, paying rent half-yearly, as well as a proportion of the feu-duty commensurate with the area occupied.³

As a result of negotiations it was agreed that the Institute of Fine Arts should pay an annual rent of £250, the Royal Society £250, and the Society of Antiquaries £100, on security, and that leases be granted to each Society for a period of

¹ MS. Minutes, 18th December 1821.

² *Ibid.*, 5th February 1822.

³ *Ibid.*, 6th August 1822.

twenty-five years.¹ The Institute of Fine Arts was bound to use their premises only for exhibitions and for the sale of pictures.

Playfair, who had prepared plans and specifications and had received estimates of the cost of building, was instructed to accept the offer of John Inglis, the lowest, amounting to £13,850. A superintendent or clerk of works was appointed for one year at a weekly wage of 30s., his daily duties commencing at six in the morning and ending at six o'clock in the evening.

In March 1824 minor alterations were made on the plans to suit the convenience of the Societies, and a sum of £1300 was allowed for the additional work.

While the building was in progress Inglis experienced great difficulty in procuring Cullalo stone and he submitted what the Board's Secretary described as an 'extraordinary Representation and protest,' stating that unless a remedy were found he would be forced to dismiss his builders, and threatening that if within eight days the Trustees did not decide to use stone from some other quarry equally convenient, he would hold them liable 'in all costs, skaith damage and expense' which he might sustain. Although the Board at first expressed their unconcern in the difficulty or the dispute between Inglis and the tacksman of Cullalo, they were forced eventually to consider the advisability of allowing the builder to use other stone to complete the structure.² Playfair, who had travelled to Fife to inspect the quarry, reported that the stone in Cullalo was gradually becoming inferior in quality. He suggested that supplies should be obtained from the Earl of Moray's quarry at Dalgety and elsewhere. The Board directed him to choose the most suitable stone for the purposes of the building, and after examining several quarries he decided to use Craigleith stone

¹ MS. Minutes, 17th January 1823.

² *Ibid.*, 2nd March 1824.

which, because of its hardness, increased the cost of building by £362, 7s. 9d.¹ On 6th July 1824 Playfair reported that application had been made to Craigleith quarry for the necessary stones for the north portico and the doric architecture of the whole structure, that supplies of stone were being received, and that the building was proceeding in a steady and satisfactory manner. The 'colonack' on the western side had 'already swallowed up all the full column stones obtained from Cullalo.' Thirty pieces were yet required to complete the shafts of these eight columns and thirty-four similar blocks were needed for the shafts of the three greater columns on the south side. The old quarries at Cullalo were nearly worked out and no new strata had been discovered. This lack of stone was hindering the builders as, he understood, it was deterring the builders at Lord Duncan's house and the High School. The best stone from Dalgety was being sent to the Earl of Moray's house in Moray Place. No supplies of quality could therefore be procured from that quarter. The only course lay in using Craigleith stone for most of the building, and this would entail a further payment to the builder of £491, 17s. To this the Trustees agreed. The whole work of construction was to be completed by 1st February 1825, but on 25th January only half of the work had been finished. To complete the structure eighty hewers and twenty builders were constantly at work.

It was not, however, until March 1826 that the rooms for the Drawing Academy were ready and about to 'receive the last coat of paint.' Arrangements were made for the removal of the casts from Picardy Place and from the cellar in the Exchange to the new accommodation at the Mound. In May the suite of rooms intended for the Societies was ready for occupation, the accommodation for the Institute of Fine Arts being already used for an Exhibition of pictures. As yet the railing for some of the stairs had not been erected and 'some

¹ MS. Minutes, 18th May 1824.

trifles also & cleaning away rubbish etc.' still remained to be done. In July 1826, Alexander Smith, 'the Board's Servant,' was appointed keeper of the building, to attend to the Board's quarters and the hall statues, to lock the doors of the whole building at night, and to attend to its safety. For such extra duties he was granted an addition of £20 to his salary of £50, with possession of the house. In November a further grant of £25 was allowed for a female servant to clean the rooms, as well as a sum of £8 for attending the master every evening during the hours of teaching, 'to trim the lamps, attend the fires, set the statues.'

Meanwhile the disposal of the house at Picardy Place had been under consideration. On 13th December 1825 the Board agreed to let the premises for one year to certain 'gentlemen associated with the purpose of establishing a Drawing Academy for the children of gentlemen,' but agreement on the matter was never reached.¹ In June 1830 the old Academy house was let to Edward Mitchell, but as his payments of rent were intermittent, the Board agreed to sell the premises which Inglis valued at £600. Mitchell offered to purchase at £400, an offer unacceptable to the Trustees who let the house to John Fisher for £35, the Board being liable for £22, 2s. 4d. for feu-duty and taxes. In November 1831 the premises were sold to David Pollock for £300.²

Before the new Academy was completed, Andrew Wilson resigned his office and the Board, considering the 'great and well-known talents' of William Allan, historical painter, 'which had gained him recently the high honour of being elected a member of the Royal Academy of London,' appointed him master of the school at a salary of £150.³ In March 1827 he was granted leave of absence to journey to London for the

¹ MS. Minutes, 13th December 1825.

² *Ibid.*, 8th June 1830 and 29th November 1831. Cf. 'The Weavers of Picardy'—*The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxv. p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, 21st February 1826.

hanging of his picture in the Exhibition, and while he was in the Capital he inspected the system of lighting by gas in the Royal Academy. On the strength of his report it was proposed to instal gas-lighting in the school at the Mound.¹

In May 1829 the Royal Institution for Encouraging Fine Arts, craving for a reduction of rent, expressed their willingness to allow the Academy students access to their library and to their class, lately established, for drawing from the living figure. The Board of Manufactures, considering that the desire of the Institution to improve painting, sculpture, and architecture deserved encouragement, advised the Directors to apply for a grant from the Treasury. In December 1829 Royal Warrant was received for the payment of £500 out of the Trustees' Funds to the Institution.²

In February 1831 Lord Meadowbank proposed that the Royal Institution building should be extended, and the Board, agreeing to the proposal, authorised an extension of 60 feet to the south at an estimated cost of £3827, 4s. 2d. After negotiations between a Committee of the Trustees and that of the Town Council regarding the ground to the south of the Institution, preliminary consent was obtained from the Town Council, the proprietors of Princes Street, and Thomas Tod's Trustees. A feu of 65 feet of land was granted by the Town Council for an annual payment of £75, with leave to purchase the feu-duty.³

In April 1832 Burn, the architect, submitted a letter—which he had printed—recommending that the present building should be taken down and erected with enlargement 'on a more elevated position at the south end of the Mound upon the ground belonging to Tod's Trustees.' The proposal was ignored, the Trustees preferring to proceed with their project, receiving estimates from builders for the extension, and accepting the offer of Wallace, the builder—£3356 for the

¹ MS. Minutes, 10th July 1827.

² *Ibid.*, 8th December 1829.

³ *Ibid.*, 22nd February 1831 and 28th February 1832.

north portion and £11,384 for the south.¹ By December 1833 Playfair was able to report that the foundations for the extension had been completed. By February 1834 the building was said to be 'advancing rapidly.' On 9th February 1836 the Board agreed to transfer its offices to the new building at Whitsunday. On 8th March 1836 the Trustees considered methods of heating their part of the building but delayed pending the results of 'the experiments then about to be made in the Court of Session of heating by means of hot water conveyed in pipes,' which experiment had been reported as successful.

On 14th June 1836 Playfair reported that he had accepted the estimate of John Steele 'to execute in Binny Stone, 8 Sphynxes, each 12 ft long & 6 ft high to be placed on top of the Royal Institution for £200.' On 22nd November it was agreed to seek the permission of the Queen to erect her statue. Permission was only granted after she had inspected a model despatched to London at her command.

It is interesting to note that during building operations at the extension of the Institution the Lord Provost of Edinburgh ordered the removal of the temporary enclosure belonging to the builders to make room for Wombwell's Menagerie. This so disturbed Lord Meadowbank, who feared the 'rabble who might chip the Columns,' that he directed the Board's Secretary to make complaint. It was eventually agreed to remove the enclosure further north and nearer the building.² At a later date, December 1838, the Trustees found reason to object to 'the Circus of horsemanship' held in a wooden building near the Institution. This had housed a Waxwork Show and now it was let to Batty, the circus owner. The Town Council, to whom the building belonged, had agreed to remove the circus within fourteen days, but they allowed the Zoological Society to keep 'wild animals they had collected' in the building until Whitsunday. It was

¹ MS. Minutes, 2nd April and 14th November 1832.

² *Ibid.*, 28th December 1835.

not until the Board had instituted proceedings against the Town that the structure was removed.¹

From the year 1835 the Trustees' Academy developed along new lines. Thomas Barker Holdway, encouraged by a grant from the Board, visited Paris in order to ascertain how the French School of Pattern Drawing was conducted. His Report was referred to a Sub-committee, the Chairman of which was Lord Meadowbank, who submitted a proposal to form a class of twenty young men from twelve to sixteen years of age who should be taught pattern drawing related to manufactures only. The class was to meet on the first four days of the week from 10 a.m. till 2 p.m. in winter and from 9 a.m. till 3 p.m. during the summer months under the instruction of Holdway, to whom, it was suggested, a salary of £100 should be paid for one year. In December the class was advertised and in January 1836 Holdway began his teaching.²

At the beginning of the year 1837 two artists, Dyce and Wilson, petitioned the Trustees to consider the propriety of extending the School of Design by establishing two new classes, one for 'colouring' and the other for ornamental and architectural drawing. The petition was upheld and Dyce and Wilson were appointed Masters, the former of the colour class, the latter of the architectural section, each at a salary of £150.³ Royal sanction for this development was obtained, and twenty of Allan's students were transferred to the class of architecture. The students entered the school by different doors 'to prevent confusion & disturbance.' In 1838 Dyce resigned and Thomas Duncan, the only applicant, was appointed to the vacant post.

The Minute of 28th November 1838 reveals that John Glass, animal painter, George Greig, painter, John Campbell, heraldic painter, John C. Winton, artist, and George Smith, medical student, were admitted to Allan's class 'for the

¹ MS. Minutes, 12th December 1838.

² *Ibid.*, 24th November 1835.

³ *Ibid.*, 8th January 1837.

Human Figure,' and that Robert Caunter, James R. Swinton, and Robert Tait, all of whom intended to become artists, were enrolled in Holdway's class. The number of students in this class had fallen to five or six owing to the fact, as Holdway stated, that manufacturers had left Edinburgh and that youths from the west could not afford to board in the city. In July 1839 Holdway reported that his class 'was thin' and he proposed that it be removed to Glasgow. In September the class was discontinued and Holdway was granted assistance to the amount of £50 to enable him to establish a class in Glasgow.¹

In the spring of 1842 Allan travelled to London to present addresses to the Queen and the Prince Consort on behalf of the Royal Scottish Academy. Charles Wilson, Master of the Ornamental Class, was appointed by H.M. Commissioners for the Fine Arts to visit Germany and Italy in order to study the state of the Fine Arts. While in Rome, he purchased on behalf of the Trustees specimens of arts and manufactures useful for his class, costing £50.²

In summer, 1843, Allan (now Sir William) was granted leave of absence for fifteen days to work on his picture of Waterloo. Charles Wilson, appointed Director of the Government School of Design, London, intimated his resignation. On 19th July 1843 Alexander Christie was appointed to succeed him. In November 1843 Allan resigned owing to ill-health, after seventeen years of service with the Board. In August 1844 Thomas Duncan was appointed Headmaster of the school, which had been re-constituted, the following classes being authorised:

1. An Antique Class, to be taught by Duncan with two assistants.
2. The School of Ornament and Architecture, to be taught by Christie with one assistant.³

¹ MS. Minutes, 10th July 1839.

² *Ibid.*, 9th March 1842.

³ *Ibid.*, 23rd November 1843, 6th August 1844, 20th October 1844.

In 1845 Christie was granted £50 for his services in teaching Geometry, Sciography (Light and Shade), and Perspective.

Duncan died on 24th April 1845 and Christie became Head of the school. In 1847 complaint was made to the Treasury regarding the conduct of the school, and John Shaw Lefevre was deputed to make enquiry into the constitution and management of the Board. It was alleged that certain differences had arisen between the Trustees and 'some artists' and these had 'been urged on the Lords of the Treasury.' In his Report¹ Lefevre stated that he appreciated the difficulties which had arisen between the Board and the Royal Academy over the matter of accommodation. On 11th October 1849 the Treasury intimated their opinion that 'Buildings containing galleries with suitable accommodation for Annual exhibitions of the Scottish Royal Academy, and for the extension of the Schools of Design, and for the institution of a Scottish National Gallery of Painting & Sculpture' should be erected on the Mound, 'between the old & new Town of Edinburgh.' The Board was instructed to prepare a plan and to receive estimates and to submit a statement of the probable cost of acquiring the ground. Parliament voted a sum of £40,000 towards the cost of erecting the building.²

In 1851 enquiry was instituted regarding the state of the School of Design. Opinions were expressed by Sir John Watson Gordon, R.A., Lord Wood, Mr. Maconochie, Professor Thomas Stewart Traill, and John Steele, R.S.A. As a result of this enquiry the school was re-modelled.³

In 1853, on the recommendation of the Privy Council on Education, teachers of the Free Church were permitted to study drawing at the school on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 6 p.m. till 7 p.m.

¹ MS. Minutes, 25th June 1847, 30th November 1847, 14th January 1848.

² *Ibid.*, 24th October 1849.

³ *Ibid.*, 30th January 1851, 5th January 1852.

The Report of the Committee charged with the management of the School of Design, 1855, proposed new arrangements for the conduct of the school founded on the recommendations of a deputation which visited the Department of Practical Art in London in 1854. These included the formation of Day Classes meeting from 10 a.m. till 12 noon from October till July. Fees were to be charged to all classes—morning and evening classes, seven shillings per term or £1, 1s. per session; schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, and pupil teachers, seven shillings for morning and evening classes; day classes, £3, 3s. per session. A course of instruction was to be given in 'moulding in plaster and elastic moulds & in taking casts from moulds.'¹

In December 1855 the Treasury urged the Trustees to extend their sphere of activities by establishing affiliated Schools of Design in the Provinces and to act with the assistance and advice of the Department of Science and Art under the Board of Trade, especially since the Industrial Museum in Edinburgh was now under the superintendence of the Department and formed an important feature of the plan of education then under consideration. This, declared the Treasury, would lead to uniformity of system in industrial education and to a higher standard of art. The time was favourable for increasing the existing facilities for attaining industrial education in Scotland, particularly with respect to Schools of Design. The Board of Manufactures raised objection to the proposed affiliation of the School of Design to the Science and Art Department, and Cole, Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, and Redgrave, Inspector of Art, were sent to confer with the Trustees. These representatives affirmed that the proposed affiliation would maintain the existing status of the school and would bestow the benefits of an annual examination by the Department's Inspector, who would award prizes. Prize works would be eligible for

¹ MS. Minutes, 19th November 1855.

the National Medallion provided they were based upon the examples selected by the Department. If the Trustees desired the aid of the Department in augmenting the salaries of masters, each master would require to be certificated, and each would receive from £10 to £50 according to the number of certificates gained. Five pounds would be paid for each student who passed in the five papers set, and thirty shillings would be awarded for every pupil teacher who was successful in any set test. Moreover, three shillings would be paid for every poor child who passed an examination in the first grade before an Inspector, provided the instruction had been given or had been superintended by a Master. In addition, the Department would allow £20 per annum to a pupil teacher for every two hundred poor children taught. Pupil teachers of the Edinburgh School would be eligible to enter the Normal Training School in London to complete their studies as masters, and while under instruction they would be supported by the Department. The study of the living model was to be conducted by the Royal Scottish Academy. This, it was stated, would supply the necessary Life School for the Schools of the Board in higher degree than hitherto.¹

While expressing appreciation of this proposal and of the importance of teaching elementary drawing in the schools of the middle and lower classes of the city, the Trustees were strongly opposed to affiliation in any larger sense. In August 1858, after consultation with the Board, Cole and Bowler, an Inspector of the Science and Art Department, furnished a Report in which it was stated that the Department would pay the salaries of the Director and the Masters of the school (now designated the School of Art) as well as the expenses, amounting to £500 for the year ending 31st March 1859. The upkeep of the school thereafter would be provided by fees which, it was hoped, would amount to £300 in the first

¹ MS. Minutes, 2nd June 1858.

year of affiliation.¹ The School of Art was to continue under the superintendence of the Trustees, who should be prepared to afford the means of instruction in art and elementary drawing to all classes of the community, the classes to meet in the Institution building. Provision was also to be made for teaching drawing in any public or other school in the city.

The object of the course held in the Institution was the education of artists, artisans, and others connected with manufactures; of pupil teachers, and of ladies and gentlemen desiring to study art. The Course was to consist of Freehand drawing, Architectural and Mechanical drawing, Practical Geometry, the Projection of Shadows, Perspective, the management and use of chalk in drawing, painting in 'Oils, Tempera, water Colours, and Fresco,' modelling in clay and wax, carving in wood, moulding and casting, the instruction comprehending 'every style from the simplest ornament, still Life, and Flowers, to the study of the Human Figure.' Lectures were to be given in Pictorial Anatomy.²

To such proposals the Board signified their agreement, and the School of Art, under affiliation, thus came under the direct influence of the Science and Art Department of London.

It is interesting to observe that 'outside' teaching was conducted by teachers of the school in the Rev. Dr. Thomson's Seminary in Queensferry Street, Morley, the teacher, instructing 60 pupils for two hours per day; in Dr. Bell's School in Niddry Street (270 boys and 146 girls for two hours a day); in the Orphan Hospital, Dean (45 pupils for one hour per day); in Holyrood Free Church School, Canon-gate (43 pupils for one hour a day); in the Deaf and Dumb Institute, Henderson Row (50 pupils for two hours per day); in Moray House (96 pupils for two hours a day).

Alexander Christie died on 7th May 1860, and Charles D.

¹ MS. Minutes, 13th December 1858.

² *Ibid.*, 13th September 1858.

Hodder from the School of Art at Hanley in the Potteries was appointed Head of the male section of the school.¹

By the year 1888 all schools under the management of the School Board, all Secondary Schools and Technical Schools, had conformed to the rules of the Science and Art Department as far as art education was concerned. This had the effect of reducing the number of students in attendance at the School of Art. There had been a decrease of 383 students, with a loss of fees equal to £246. In 1890 the Secretary for Scotland sanctioned the formation of a Life Class at the school, since that at the Royal Academy was no longer available for the Trustees' students.²

On 10th June 1898 the Scotch Education Department, in a letter to the Board, made reference to the fact that besides the School of Art there existed a School of Applied Art which received no grant from the Crown. This school had been established in October 1892 as a result of a representation made to the Board by artists and the art industries of Edinburgh, who objected to the system of advanced art education provided by the Trustees, and who requested the Board to establish a National School for higher education in design. The school was under the superintendence of a joint Committee of the Trustees and of certain subscribers. The object was to provide a means of education in art design suitable for industry, architecture, decorators, sculptors, wood carvers, metal workers, silversmiths, plasterers, bookbinders, printers, and glass painters. The class was held in the Institution building and enrolment was confined to males. Dr. Rowand Anderson was a Director of the School. The Town Council granted £1000 towards the support of the undertaking.³

¹ MS. Minutes, 17th September 1861.

² MS. Minutes in the hands of the Trustees for the Art Galleries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh, 7th June 1888, 4th December 1890.

³ MS. Letter Book, School of Applied Art, 5th September 1892, 21st January 1897. Report, 21st February 1893.

The Scotch Education Department suggested that the School of Applied Art should be merged with the School of Art under a system of general supervision. The body administering the school envisaged by the Department was to be representative of the most prominent sections of the community, including the Town Council. The Board of Manufactures was entrusted with the task of forming such a joint body of managers and they referred the matter to a Special Committee. On 13th April 1899 this Committee submitted a memorandum in which they expressed the view that the system of art education established by the Science and Art Department had not fulfilled the anticipations of the promoters. An opportunity was now offered to the Board to create an Art School on an improved system. It was imperative that a scheme with high aims should be promulgated. The Board, agreeing with the terms of the memorandum, approved the proposal to establish a new School of Art, for the support of which the Town Council granted a sum of £1000.¹ The school held in the Institution was to be transferred to a new building, and the rooms and galleries thus made vacant were to be used partly as accommodation for the exhibition of the statues and casts belonging to the Board and partly for the teaching of advanced students of art.

In 1903 the School of Applied Art was amalgamated with the School of Art. By January 1904 the increase in the number of students in the various classes taxed the accommodation to such extent that the Board was forced to consider the whole situation of the school. A meeting was held in the City Chambers on 11th March 1904 at which representatives of the Board conferred with a Committee of the Town Council. The Royal Scottish Academy and the Heriot Trust were consulted, and certain recommendations were made. The Board's Secretary travelled to London to consult the Scottish

¹ MS. Minutes, Art Galleries, 2nd November 1899.

Office and the Scotch Education Department as to the future development of the school. While there he was informed that further assistance, beyond the grant under the Continuation Code, could not be allowed, and that a grant could only be given when a Central School was established in Edinburgh similar to the schools in Glasgow and Aberdeen. In the following year the Scotch Education Department impressed upon the Town Council the urgent need for a Central School of Art. They asserted that the Council was aware that a Bill had been introduced to Parliament the previous session making provision for the discharge of the duties presently exercised by the Board of Manufactures, and they requested the Council to consider the project of establishing a Municipal School of Art under their control or under the direction of a Committee composed partly of members of Council and partly of members of the public interested in art.¹

In 1907 the Board received a communication from the Scottish Office, dated 28th January, stating that by Section 3 (1) of the National Galleries of Scotland Act a Board of Trustees was to be appointed, to take effect on 1st April 1907, on which day the Board of Manufactures would cease to operate. The management of the School of Art would pass directly to the Committee which would ultimately be its authority, and the school would remain in the Institute building until new premises for its accommodation were erected.²

Thus ended the activities of the Board of Manufactures. Whatever criticism may be levelled against their direction and management, it can scarcely be gainsaid that their experiments in the teaching of art hold a place in the history of Scottish art education. By striving to improve the art of design, by providing facilities for the instruction of artisans

¹ MS. Minutes, Art Galleries, 6th April 1905.

² *Ibid.*, 7th February 1907.

in the elements of pattern drawing and directing their activities to the creation of manufactures revealing artistic taste and elegance, the Board influenced the development of Scottish industry. By offering the means for the study of art they provided opportunities for men who in after years gained distinction as artists. The artisan and the painter alike owed much to an institution which, in spite of difficulties and disappointments, persisted throughout the long period of one hundred and forty-seven years, developing gradually with the growth of experience and knowledge of artistic expression, until with the trend of the times it became merged in the present School of Art.

JOHN MASON.

OLD SUNDIALS IN AND NEAR EDINBURGH

THE first sundial mentioned in history is said to be that of Ahaz who reigned over Judah in 742 B.C. He is reputed to have got it from Chaldea. The natives of Egypt are reported as forming a crude sundial by planting a palm tree in the soil and placing a circle of stones around it. Apparently in Biblical days, dials of some form were in use. Verse two in the seventh chapter of the Book of Job reads, 'As a servant earnestly desireth the shadow.' The Greeks and Romans made use of a curved and solid block of stone called a 'hemicycle,' invented by Berosus, three centuries before the time of Christ.

The earliest Saxon sundials, which are found on the outside walls of many old churches in England, were merely radii of a circle scratched on the stone, and they are called 'scratch dials.' There is a famous one of this type at Kirkdale Church, Yorkshire, which has an unusual feature in the carving on it of two swastika crosses. Scotland has, or had, five 'scratch dials.' I am unable to state whether those at St. Salvator's, St. Andrews, Melrose Abbey, and Mains, Forfarshire, are still existing. There is one to be seen on the south porch of St. Michael's Church, Linlithgow, represented by five inconspicuous radii, and there is one on the jamb stone of a church window at the Carmelite Episcopal Church, South Queensferry. It consists of twenty-four radii incised within a circle, radiating from a small round depression in the stone, in the centre of the circle.

Dialling or gnomonics was a subject taught in our schools in the 17th and 18th centuries, and university prizes were given for the solution of problems connected with dials.

Architects had to design sundials for the great Scottish mansions. For example, John Milne, the King's Master Mason, made one at Drummond Castle for the Earl of Perth, and in 1657 he was asked by the Town Council of Edinburgh to put up a great stone dial on the south side of St. Giles Church, and at the same time it was requested that a new 'pricke' (or gnomon) be put on a stone dial at Parliament Close, Edinburgh.

In 1658 the Town Council of Edinburgh ordered John Lorimer, indweller in the Canongate, to put up two sundials on the steeple of the Netherbow, for direction to keep the clock right! Apparently the City Fathers had rather more faith in the sundial, which went on telling the time without stop, as long as the sun was out, than in the clock which might stop. When clocks and watches became more reliable, however, the day of the sundial had passed, and many dials were 'dung down' or lost. As Baroness Nairne wrote in her poem 'The Auld House':

The auld dial, the auld dial,
It told how time did pass;
The wintry winds ha'e dung it doon,
Now hid 'mong weeds and grass.

Sundials have been divided into nine classes: Horizontal-faced, Perpendicular-faced, Sloping-faced, Curved-faced, Four-sided or Square-headed, Eight-sided, Polyhedron-headed or Facet-headed, Star-desk or Lectern, and Obelisk sundials.

1. *Horizontal Sundials*, in the Edinburgh area, are to be found at Currie, Riccarton, Niddrie Marischal, Whitehouse near Cramond, Craigiehall garden, Drummore House, Newton House, and Whitefoord House. The sundial at Currie stands in the old green churchyard, on a conspicuous site. It has a flat metal plate, set on a graceful stone baluster. It was made and engraved in 1836 by Robert Palmer, the schoolmaster of Currie, 'as a testimony of respect and gratitude to the Heritors, Elders, and Inhabitants of Currie.' Its plate is quite

a complicated one, neatly engraved with circles. The inner circle shows the graphic signs of the zodiac, the adjacent circle external to it indicates the equation of time, the one outer to that shows noon at forty-four different places on the globe, while the outermost circle indicates the time by the sun at Currie.

The sundial at Riccarton House stands on a glorious green lawn, tree-surrounded, and north of the venerable house, once the stately residence of the Craigs of Riccarton. It also was made by Robert Palmer. It has a flat octagonal metal plate, which is dated 1829. The maker has engraved the coat-of-arms of the Craigs on it, showing the supporters, which are a prancing horse and a knight in full armour. The motto of the Craigs is inscribed on it, 'Vive deo et vives,' also the name 'James Gibson Craig of Riccarton.' It shows noon time at thirty different places in the world, and reads the sun time at Riccarton, from 3 A.M. to 9 P.M. The dial plate rests on a very handsome and large octagonal stone column, which is beautifully carved in Renaissance style with scallops, volutes, and leaf patterns.

The dial at Niddrie Marischal stands in front of the old house, in the centre of a pleasant garden, which is bordered by a clear flowing brook. The metal dial plate has the arms of the Wauchopes cut on it, and the words 'Jacobus Clark, Dundee, fecit.' It records noon at many various places, and the plate is numbered for the twenty-four hours. The stone baluster is carved with Renaissance designs.

Whitehouse is a charming old house near Cramond, which possesses an interesting sundial on a stone pedestal in the garden. The gnomon is unusual, as it is cut in the form of the letters M. D. S., and the date 1752, while the horizontal plate is engraved, 'Mr. David Strachan,' with the date 1732.

The old garden at Craigiehall contains a beautiful sundial. The flat metal plate has the arms of Annandale and Fairholm cut on its surface, and the words 'made by England, Instru-

100 OLD SUNDIALS IN AND NEAR EDINBURGH

ment maker to Her Majesty, Charing Cross, London.' The octagonal stone support has a Renaissance style of bowl at the base. The date of this dial will be after 1682, when the second Earl of Annandale (afterwards Marquis) married Sophia Fairholm, who dwelt at Craighall mansion.

The sundial at Drummore House rests on a stone column in front of the old mansion, which is now a residence of the Passionist Fathers. The plate has the name 'West, London' on it, representing the maker. The original dial that was here was a much more decorative one, having a spiral column carved with the heads of cherubs. There was a Thomas West, a member of the London Clockmakers Company in 1695, who died in 1723.

The old-world gardens of Newton House contain an octagonal table dial with a metal dial plate, resting on a quadrilateral stone shaft, carved with designs of fruits.

In the centre of the sloping terraced garden of the Veterans' Home at Whiteford House, foot of the Canongate, we find an interesting sundial. The name of the maker is on the metal plate, and is almost illegible, but appears to be Thomas Grieg. The date, 1705, is quite clear. The motto is cut around the periphery of the plate, and reads 'Seize the present moment, the evening hour is nigh,' which is singularly appropriate. It stands on an octagonal modern column of concrete.

2. *Perpendicular or Vertical Sundials.* The west gable of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh, exhibits a sundial on a vertical stone tablet, which bears the date 1774, and the motto, 'vivite fugio.' The radii of this dial point from eleven in the morning till nine at night, and are cut in the form of rays from the sun.

The grand old house of Peffermill has single-faced dials on three of its walls. Each dial rests on a corbel of a cherub or angel's head with outstretched wings, and each dial is surmounted by nicely carved stone strap-work. They are regarded as possibly of the date 1636. I am much indebted



THE INCH
(MULTIFORM DIAL)



CRAIGIEHALL



SAUGHTON



INCH
(4-SIDED DIAL)



RICCARTON



WARDIE GARAGE

to Mr. Paton, who resides in the house, for giving me permission to see them.

Over the entrance to Inveresk Church are two sundials. The larger one bears the inscription, 'Archibald Handasyde Piscatorii fecit, MDCCXXXV,' with the motto, 'sic transit gloria mundi.' *Piscatorii* represents the maker's Latin for Fisherrow, where Handasyde dwelt. The smaller one is a plainer dial. Old Monkton House has a stone vertical dial on the west wall of the house. It is probably of 18th-century date, and reads the hours from noon to seven at night. The older part of Morton House has a plain stone dial, with 'solar rays' as radii, reading from 5 A.M. to 5 P.M., and the date MDCCXIII above the 'Sol.' In the garden of the farm-house of Easter Drylaw is a quaint stone block, forming a sundial. It is surmounted by a carved monogram, and reads from six in the morning to six at night, while on the pedestal beneath is what appears to be the date, 1653. It stands on a stone column, carved with a human face and palmate leaves.

Parliament House has two plain vertical dials of stone, facing south, on the front walls of two small turrets or cap houses. Both of these dials have large copper gnomons, and they are marked for the hours from six in the morning to six in the evening. In addition, the centre of the south parapet wall supports a flat table dial on which is carved 'May 1639.' The radii of this dial form a radiant sun pattern, and are numbered in ancient figuring from four in the morning to eight at night. There is also a plain vertical stone tablet dial on the east wall. I am much indebted to Dr. Malcolm for the privilege of inspecting these dials.

Pinkie House has a vertical stone tablet sundial on the south wall. It reads from six to six. Its gnomon has disappeared, and it dates from early 17th century. Newton Church possesses a stone tablet dial on the south wall. The date, 1742, is present on this dial. Much hidden by luxuriant ivy, the stone tablet dial on the south-west corner of Cramond



PARLIAMENT HOUSE

Parish Church bears the date 1704. At the south-west angle of Colinton Parish Church there is a sundial of the date 1630. The dial has a sun pattern, and radiating rays read from six to six. Along the upper border of this dial is carved the name 'Sir James Foulles,' and below the dial face is his coat-of-arms. It is marvellously well preserved.

Pilrig House has a vertical sundial on the south wall. This dial is dated 1718-1941. The words 'The path of the just is as a shining light' are carved around the edge. It rests on a carving of two angels holding up a shield on which is a coat-of-arms of the Balfours.

The following dials are double-faced vertical ones. On the wall, over a shop, on the north side of the main street of Fisherrow there is a sundial of the 'open book bent back' type which rests on a corbel of a cherub's head. John Knox's house in the High Street, Edinburgh, shows a quaint dial. It is at the south-west angle of the house. It is surmounted by a carved figure which is said to represent Moses, who points to a stone on which is carved 'Theos' in Greek letters, and also the words 'Deus' and 'God.' The dial rests on what is supposed to represent flames of fire, carved in the stone. The face to the south reads in half-hours from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M., and the western face reads from 1 P.M. to 9 P.M.

In front of Ravelston House there is a solid stone cube, surmounted by a cherub's face at the angle. It has been removed hither from somewhere else, as it now faces north, but one side once read the morning hours and the other side the evening hours.

The old ruined dovecot of Drylaw is unusual in possessing an angle dial, at the south-west angle of the walls. The south side reads from 4 A.M. to 6 P.M. and the west from noon to evening.

The old 17th-century mansion of Liberton House, at one time the home of Clement Little, originator of the Edinburgh University Library, has a very interesting dial. It is sur-

mounted by a saltire cross, with an escutcheon, the letters W. L. for William Little, and the date, 1683. Along the upper borders runs the motto, 'As the sun runs death comes.' The wife of this William Little suffered persecution for supporting the Covenanters, and was imprisoned, but her husband gallantly liberated her by entering the gaol in her place.

Heriot's Hospital has a galaxy of sundials, 'perhaps the finest attached dials in Scotland.' There are eight on the outside walls and three facing the inner courtyard. The outside ones rest on cherubs' heads with wings, sometimes described as Cupids' heads. Some have demons' heads, and one has an elephant's head. Certain of them are surrounded by elegant strap-work and human faces, and above some is the Heriot's Star. They date from 1631 and probably William Aytoune, who made them, also made the dials seen at Peffermill.

Close to the picturesque and romantic old Lennox Tower, near Balerno, there stands a 17th-century stone dial, on a modern pillar, in the centre of a beautiful undulating green lawn. It has two square faces; that to the east reads from four to two, and that facing west reads from ten to eight. Each face has an iron gnomon.

3. *Square-headed Dials* occur at Corstorphine Church, Pinkie House, Inch House, Inveresk House, Belmont House, Prestonfield House and Monkton Gardens, Inveresk.

The stone finial which rests on a buttress at the south-west angle of the south transept of Corstorphine Church forms a square-headed sundial. A triangular copper gnomon is present on each of the four sides. In 1890 there were seven sundials, one on each of the other similar finials of the church.

Inch House possesses interesting sundials. One stands beside the east end of the house. It has a ball-shaped finial and a square head resting on a quadrilateral column. Each side presents a stone shield. The shield which faces south

has a coat-of-arms; that which faces east has the date 1660 and the letters J G and G M; that to the west has three feathers or quills carved on it; while the shield to the north is weathered away. Each side of the shaft has a vertical scroll carved on it, in the sandstone. The scroll to the south has the motto, 'Umbra labitur et nos umbrae'; that on the west, 'Festina lente'; that on the east, 'Aspice Respice Prospice'; while the scroll on the north side is now illegible. This dial came from Craigmillar Castle. Another plain square stone dial, with copper gnomon, lies on the ground, broken. This may be the last record of it.

The elegant square column dial at Inveresk House, which stood on the top of the grass- and turf-covered mausoleum of the Colts, has fallen down. The Rev. Adam Colt was minister of Inveresk Parish Church near by, and he had courage enough to oppose James the Sixth at a General Assembly. The dial has on one side the date, 1727, and some letters which appear to be Med Doc, and also the initials O. C., which are regarded as commemorating Oliver Colt (*d.* 1679). Oliver Colt succeeded his father Adam Colt as minister at Inveresk, and was a well-known parson of his time.

Pinkie House has a square-headed dial which is perched on the top of the old garden wall. It is crowned by an obelisk which rests on four round stone balls at the angles, and is decorated with Renaissance fruits in a similar pattern to that on the gate-posts at the entrance to the policies. In the rose-garden, beside the stately house of Prestonfield, there stands, on an old and decorative stone pedestal, a cubical stone dial. It has four circular dial faces, and a table dial face which has twenty-four radii. The beautiful gardens of Belmont House contain two ancient square-headed sundials. Both rest on stone supports which are shaped like huge inverted wine-glasses on circular stone pedestals. All the lines and figures are completely weathered away from one. The other still shows the figures 5, 6, 7, and 8, and ten radii on one face,

and twelve radii with shorter lines for the half-hour on another face.

There is an interesting stone cubical dial at Monkton Gardens, near Inveresk. It has three dial faces, the south face reading from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. The gnomon remains in the east face. The cube rests on a stone corbel which has a grotesque human face carved on it. From each angle of the mouth comes a branch which spreads out in a pattern of oak leaves.

4. *Eight-sided Sundials.* There are two in the Edinburgh area, and both are compound dials, being a combination of a flat table dial and an octagonal dial in each case. One of them stands in a small strip of garden in front of Wardie garage. It has a flat dial table on the top, made of beautiful greenish-white marble that gleams like delicate porcelain. The hours from 3 A.M. to 9 P.M. are carved on it around the edge. Each hour is further subdivided by shorter lines into sections of five minutes, and the date, 1686, is carved in a shallow sunken recess on the south side of the flat table. Within this border the cardinal points of the compass are carved, with, in addition, seven compass readings between south and west and between south and east. A carving of a radiant sun allows of only five compass directions between west and north and east and north. The octagonal stone column has four delightful Cupids' heads standing out in bold relief, and joined on the four intervening sides by their outstretched wings. The octagonal dial projects from the column near its base. The octagon faces between the cardinal points are carved out as hollow bowl dials, in one of which a human profile face acts as the gnomon. Between each bowl there is a plane vertical dial. The copper gnomons are all absent, except for the one on the table which is of a floral design, and is fixed to the centre of a many-pointed star and radiant sun carved in the marble. I am very grateful to Mr. Farr, who owns it, for his permission to see this dial. He informed me that it came from Craiglockhart House.

The pretty gardens of Inch House contain a somewhat similar dial. It has a flat octagonal table dial which rests directly on an octagon of stone which has eight dial faces. Six of these are plane surface, and two are heart-shaped cavities. Below that are four cherubs, one to each cardinal point, while below that again is a square head with four plane dial faces supported on a bulb-shaped column, so that it is really a triplicate of horizontal dial, octagonal dial, and square-headed dial.

5. *Polyhedron-headed Dials.* In the sunny garden of Inveresk Gate we find a sundial having a massive polyhedron head. There are four bowl-shaped cavity dial faces, one to each cardinal point. Above these are four reclined triangular dial faces, and below, four proclined triangular dial faces. There is also a flat dial on top.

In front of the great orange-coloured house of Edmonstone there stands an elegant polyhedron dial. The polyhedron has a lozenge-shaped dial face to each cardinal point and four reclined and four proclined faces on the main part of the polyhedron. In addition, there are four cup-shaped cavity dial faces and four inclined triangular dial faces. This dial, therefore, has twenty faces, and it has also twenty gnomons. It bristles with gnomons. It stands on a hexagonal shaft and plinth, which are modern. It is made of sandstone. It has unfortunately lost its 'pineapple' finial.

Cramond House dial stands east of the mansion in a picturesque position, close to the shining waters of the Firth of Forth. It retains its twenty-six gnomons on twenty-six dial faces. Grotesque stone human faces, which were dial faces, are set between the main circular dial faces. The name, 'Sir Robert Dickson,' and the date, 1732, which were cut on it, are now almost illegible. I suppose the salt sea air has weathered them away. Sir Robert Dickson was chief baillie of Musselburgh in 1745, and his father had an estate at Inveresk. This connection with Musselburgh explains why

the words, 'Archibald Handasyde fecit,' came to be on this dial. As already mentioned, Handasyde lived at Fisherrow, and he was buried in Inveresk Churchyard.

Woodhall House, famous for its beggars' fountain set in the south wall of the mansion, has a pretty garden to the east of it, and by the great yew hedge stands a sundial. For many years this dial stood upside down, but that has been put right, and it has also been provided with fresh gnomons. The polyhedron head has twenty-four faces of octagons, hexagons, and squares, and a flat face on top. The octagonal copper dial plate that previously rested on the flat top of this dial now functions on another sundial in front of the house. The words on it, 'Made by John Justice and gifted to Woodhall, anno 1717,' are now almost illegible.

In the back garden of Huntly House, in the Canongate, is a magnificent polyhedron dial, placed on an ornate shaft carved with wreath designs. The motto on it reads, 'Tak tent o' time or time is tint.' It is possible it came from Grange House.

Holyroodhouse has a famous facet-headed sundial, set on modern stone steps, to the north of the palace, in the gardens. The main part of the dial has ten triangular sections and twenty dial faces which are heart-shaped and cup-shaped. A human face forms the sun shadow in one bowl, while in another it is formed by a thistle-shaped ornament. The Royal Arms of Scotland, and the initials of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, are cut on the under slope of the block. This dial was made by the famous John Milne and his two sons.

Cammo House has a polyhedron dial, but on a recent visit there I could only see the shaft, which is graceful and fluted. This shaft has the name, 'Charles Walton,' and the date, 1795, on it.

6. *Star-desk or Lectern-type Dials.* Edinburgh has two examples. The one at Lauriston Castle stands in front of the

castle entrance. It is dated 1684, and has bowl-shaped, heart-shaped, triangular, plane, and oblong dial faces. The top has a star desk or eight-pointed star as dial face. This star in these dials has been supposed to be the symbol of the Pole Star. The shaft is modern. This dial came originally from Cartsburn House, Lanarkshire.

In the lovely rose-garden of Saughtonhall House stands a splendid lectern dial, supported on a graceful stone baluster, set on two steps. It has twenty dial faces which are cup-shaped, bowl-shaped, and trowel-shaped. A grotesque human face acts as the gnomon on the east side and on the west side. The face in each case curves round one semicircle of a bowl cavity. The summit has a star desk with the usual semicylinder concave dial face. The names of the zodiac are carved on it.

7. *Obelisk Dials.* Craigiehall possesses one of the two dials still *in situ* in this area.¹ The obelisk dial is the supreme acme of the dial-maker's art. The column or shaft fan obelisk dial is invariably composed of five sections or blocks, one on the top of the other, but in this dial the bottom section has been replaced by an extraneous stone globe. The various sections excluding the globe contain heart-shaped and bowl-shaped cavity dial faces. The polyhedron has bowl and flat dial faces on its main sides, while the sloping sides of the polyhedron have above reclined faces and on the under side proclined dials. The summit is an obelisk which has been broken off at the apex. This dial stands in a grass field close to the mansion.

8. *Past Dials in the Edinburgh Area.* There was at one time a weathered dial on the south front of the Canongate Tolbooth. Another was present on one of the old mills at

¹ The other is at Bonnington, erected after the marriage of Sir Hugh Cunningham (afterwards Lord Provost of Edinburgh) to Anna Moncrieff in 1681.

One from Livingston, West Lothian, is now at Barnbogle Castle, dated probably 1706-7. (See 'Sundials of Six Scottish Counties,' by Prof. W. B. Stevenson, in *Transactions of Glasgow Archaeological Society*, vol. ix. p. 273.)

Canonmills. A square-headed dial stood on the apex of a gable of one of the buildings of the bakers' craft at the Dean village. Beneath was a carved representation of two bakers' peels, set saltirewise, with the date 1645, which is still to be seen, set in the wall of the bridge at the foot of Bell's Brae, but I do not know where the dial now is. An old house that stood in a lane behind St. Stephen's Church once had at its south-west corner an angle dial of two faces, set on a corbel. This dial finished above in an ogee moulding, near the skew stone. A similar skew stone on this house bore the date 1714.

The ancient house of Meggatland had within its grounds a splendid obelisk dial. The obelisk stood on a solid square panelled pedestal. One panel had a sun carved on it, another had a moon, the west panel had a star, while the north panel had the initials R. B. and D. B. H. It has been transported to Hutton Castle, Berwickshire.

Barnton House possessed two obelisk dials. One stood east of the house. It was over nine feet high and was dated 1692. The other stood west of the house. It stood on a square panelled base, which was placed on a pedestal of three steps, set anglewise. Each panel had a mask face on it and each face had a gaping mouth, suggestive of it having been a fountain. Above the pedestal were two square heads with eight dial faces, in two of which were cup dials. On one face of the lower square were carved the coat-of-arms of Lord Balmerino. John, the fourth Lord, sold Barnton in 1688, the year in which Arthur, the sixth Lord, was born. This sixth Lord was beheaded on Tower Hill for his share in the 1745 rebellion. This dial probably once stood beside the older Barnton House, built in 1623, near the present site of Davidson's Mains. Both these dials are said to be now at Sauchieburn, Stirlingshire.

At Warriston House, Edinburgh, there was a magnificent polyhedron dial. The polyhedron rested on the sharp lowest point of the polyhedron, fixed precariously on a convex cap,

which formed the summit of a moulded baluster. The square pedestal had panels enclosing oriental human faces with wings.

I am indebted for much of the information as to past dials to an interesting article, written by Dr. Thomas Ross, architect, on the Ancient Sundials of Scotland, in Volume XXIV of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. I am also much indebted to Mr. H. D. Wyllie for the excellent illustrations.

Below is a list of existing sundials, the dates of which are known :

Colinton Parish Church	1630	Morton House	1713
Heriot's School	1631	Woodhall House	1717
Holyrood	1633	Inveresk House	1727
Peffermill	1636	Whitehouse	1732
Parliament House	1639	Cramond House	1732
Inch House	1660	Inveresk Church	1735
Craigiehall Garden (after)	1682	Newton Church	1742
Liberton House	1683	St. Cuthbert's Church	1774
Lauriston Castle	1684	Cammo House	1795
Wardie	1686	Riccarton House	1829
Cramond Church	1704	Currie Church	1836
Whitefoord House	1705		

The only moon dial or nocturnal dial to be seen in Britain is on the south-west tower of the splendid Church of St. Margaret at King's Lynn. There are, indeed, few left in Europe.

Many books on the mottoes inscribed on sundials have been written. These mottoes are varied and interesting, but to read a whole book of them is somewhat melancholy reading. Sundials appear to have served the double purpose of giving people the time of day and presenting them with a warning or reminder of the fleetingness of time, and the need to use it well. In our day they are used more as a decorative feature of a garden or to give a garden an old-world charm.

A. NIVEN ROBERTSON.

AN EDINBURGH DIARY

1687-1688

THIS Diary is the most detailed and various record of a young man's life in Edinburgh that is known to have come down to us. The manuscript, which is in the National Library of Scotland (Adv. MS. 32.7.7), covers the period from 6 January 1687 to Monday, 31 December 1688, and consists of 96 leaves measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$. Pages 129 to 156, as numbered by the Diarist, have been torn out, and the first four pages and some at the end are missing.

The name of the writer, which was presumably on the opening page, does not occur, and can be traced only from internal evidence. Fortunately he mentions his married sisters, Mrs. Crawford and Mrs. Stewart, whose maiden names were Agnes and Mary Kincaid respectively.¹ He also refers to his brothers, James and Michael, and his sister Jean. 'Margaret' was probably another sister. These clues enabled the family history to be sufficiently traced in the parochial registers of Edinburgh and in various official documents in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.² By a process of elimination the Diarist was discovered to be Thomas Kincaid, the son of Thomas Kincaid, surgeon-apothecary in Edinburgh, and his wife, Mary Young, and to have been born in Edinburgh on 22 September 1661. He was thus over twenty-five years of age when the Diary begins.

The father, Thomas Kincaid, is always designated as 'of

¹ *Edinburgh Marriages, 1595-1700* (Scot. Record Soc., 1905).

² For help in tracing these documents I am indebted to Mr. James Kyd, C.B.E., F.F.A., Registrar-General for Scotland, and Mr. H. A. Scott, Secretary of the Department, and to Mr. C. T. McInnes, Curator of Historical Records, and Dr. G. Donaldson, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

Auchinreoch, a small estate in the parish of Campsie, Stirlingshire. According to Nisbet's *Heraldry*, he was descended from the Kincaids of that Ilk.¹ During the Civil War he is said to have accompanied the Scottish army into England as a surgeon's mate. He was admitted into the Incorporation of Surgeon-Barbers of Edinburgh (afterwards the Royal College of Surgeons) in 1646. He played an important part in its activities, serving as Treasurer from 1652-1655, and Deacon, as the President was then called, from 1655-1657.² During his term of office the Surgeon-Barbers acquired Curriehill House, on the site of which they built a hall in 1697. It may still be seen within the precincts of the Old Infirmary, now the Physics Department of the University. His wife died in 1679 and he himself on 13 February 1691, and was interred beside her in Greyfriars' Churchyard. The Latin inscription on the family tombstone (a handsome neo-classic monument with caryatides), now almost indecipherable, records that he exercised chirurgery and pharmacy in Edinburgh for forty-five years 'with equal success and skill,' and that he left seven children and had fifteen grandchildren.³

It was natural that the son should have considered following his father's profession, and it is as a student of medicine that he first engages our attention. Although professors of that subject in the University of Edinburgh had been appointed in 1685, they did not lecture; and the usual course for a medical student was to be apprenticed to a physician or surgeon and thereafter, if possible, to take a degree at a foreign

¹ Alex. Nisbet, *System of Heraldry*, 1722. 'An old broadsword' [with inscription], he writes, 'is in the custody of Mr. Thomas Kincaid [our Diarist]. The crest is a dexter hand holding a chirurgeon's instrument called a *bistéri*.'

² *List of Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1874.

³ Jas. Brown, *Epitaphs . . . in Greyfriars' Churchyard*, Edinburgh, 1867, pp. 184-5. There is a photographic illustration of the tombstone in *The Most Famous Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars' Churchyard*, Edinburgh, 1901.

university, usually Leyden. Difficulties had arisen, for example, about his father's entry into the Incorporation because he had not been apprenticed to a surgeon in Edinburgh¹—later, he had several apprentices himself.² But there is no official record or any suggestion in the Diary that the son was one of these apprentices, even if occasionally he discussed medical topics with his father. Our Diarist began the study of French and Dutch, probably with a view of going abroad. His brother James was already in Holland. His interest in foreign languages was, however, short-lived, and he prepared to qualify himself for his profession by studying books on medicine and allied sciences. The entries relating to his reading thus afford interesting evidence of what were then the authoritative works on these subjects. References to the numerous writings of Thomas Willis, M.D., F.R.S. (1621-1675), especially those dealing with fevers, occur almost daily in parts of the Diary. Other authors which he studied included Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689) 'whose method of studying diseases made an epoch in medical science,'³ Nicholas Culpeper⁴ (1616-1654), Lazarus Riverius (1559-1655), and Daniel Sennertus (1572-1637).

He studied intensively, making elaborate 'collections' of notes, and in order to impress them on his mind he made a constant practice of 'digesting them into verse,' to use his own favourite and not inappropriate phrase. Thus, on

¹ C. H. Creswell, *The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*, 1926, p. 34.

² 2 September 1677; 24 May and 24 September 1678; 30 March 1681 and 24 December 1690. One of them, James Crawford, married his master's daughter, Agnes. MS. Records of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. They are quoted by kind permission of the President and Council of the College. Dr. Douglas Guthrie, Hon. Librarian of the College, has freely put his knowledge at my disposal.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁴ 'Kipling draws a delightful picture of Culpeper in his *Rewards and Fairies*.' Dr. Douglas Guthrie, 'The Literature of Domestic Medicine,' in *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, vol. ii. (1938-1945), 1945, p. 446.

Saturday, 21 May 1687, he writes: 'I gott all my collections by heart all day and repeated them frequently and corrected some of them.' On Monday, 28 November, he 'repeated my collections *de febribus*'; and on Tuesday, 17 August 1688, he read Willis *de febrī quartana* 'and digested it into verse all day.' Such entries occur almost daily in the earlier part of the Diary. Later they are intermittent as Kincaid becomes absorbed in other interests.

The range of his non-professional reading was fairly wide. In addition to theological works, he mentions, among others, Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, that is, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica: Enquiries into . . . Vulgar . . . Errors*, first published in 1646, some of which he read at the beginning of January 1687, Wilkins's *World in the Moon*, Sir Thomas Hope's *Scotch Fencing Master*, printed in Edinburgh in 1684, Gilbert Burnet's *Travels*¹ (read to his father), the military essays entitled *Pallas Armata* of 1684, by Sir James Turner, one of the prototypes of Sir Walter Scott's Dugald Dalgetty, and Dryden's *Hind and the Panther* which had been reprinted by the Roman Catholic Holyrood Press in 1687. Lighter reading included *The Woman turned Bully*, *The Night Adventurer*, *The Tragedy of Charles VIII, or the Invasion of Naples*, and *The Banquett of the Gods in The Extravagant Shepheard*.

More surprisingly, in view of what may be inferred about his religious views and practice, we find him reading Ovid's *Ars Amandi*, his *Remedia Amoris*, the same author's

¹ This was a best-seller of the day. Originally appearing as *Some Letters . . .*, it was published as *Travels* in January or February 1687. 'Five editions are said to have appeared in Holland during the first month: there was a London edition in the same month.' T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *Life of Gilbert Burnet*, 1907, p. 532. Its popularity was partly due to the author's 'observations upon the corruptions and impostures of Popery,' a topical question in view of the royal policy. Cf. Burnet's *History of My Oum Time*, Oxford, 1823, vi. 346, n. u. On the publication of the *Letters*, the Privy Council was ordered by the King to indict Burnet for treason. Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, Bannatyne Club (1848), ii. 792, 799, 816. *Reg. Privy Council*, 3rd ser., vol. xiii. (1686-89), p. xvi.

Metamorphoses 'in English,' Boccaccio's 'Novells' and Scarron's 'Novells.' For, as might be expected from the times in which he lived, Kincaid was a religious man, even if he was not given to introspection into the state of his soul like some of the other diarists of the century. One would have welcomed, indeed, some expression of personal opinion on other matters. What, for example, did he think of the Covenanters or of the policy of the King, James VII and II, engaged at that very time in his attempt to re-establish Roman Catholicism in Scotland? But the Diary is almost wholly objective. Nevertheless, by noting what he omits to record, and from his religious practice and his theological reading, we can form a fairly accurate idea of his attitude to those questions which were then being hotly debated.

The fact that he does not mention the Covenanters may be significant. The 'Killing Time,' indeed, was almost over: the pages covering the period from 30 December 1687 to 20 July 1688, which have been torn out, may have contained some reference to James Renwick, 'the last of the martyrs' who was hanged in Edinburgh on 21 February 1688. Nevertheless, it is apparent from Wodrow¹ that there was still a sufficient number of sufferers from persecution to call for comment in the extant portion of the Diary for 1687 had Kincaid been interested. Possibly he shared the opinion of Lord Fountainhall that the Covenanters were 'praeicise phanaticks.' Like him, in any case, he conformed to the Episcopal settlement of the Restoration. When the Diary opens, he is a fairly regular attender of the Tron, the parish church. But from the month of July 1687 he becomes a faithful worshipper in Magdalene Chapel, at one time known as a meeting place for conventicles, and to the end of the Diary, hardly ever absents himself from the services both forenoon and afternoon. The explanation is simple though

¹ R. Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (1829 ed.), iv. chap. xi.

he does not give it. On 5 July the Privy Council ordered to be printed a proclamation embodying the final royal Indulgence which granted freedom of worship to all, excluding field conventicles, but including those Presbyterians who had refused to acknowledge Episcopacy.

So Kincaid, like many of his contemporaries, forsook the parish church and attended Presbyterian worship¹ in Magdalene Chapel, occasionally also in Anderson's Printing House, the Skinners' Hall and the Taylors' Hall.² The preachers, whose names and texts he carefully noted, included Mr. James Kirkton, the future historian of the Kirk, Mr. Hugh Kennedy and Mr. John Law, who were all soon to be active in the re-establishment of Presbyterianism at the impending Revolution. Mr. Kennedy, for example, was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1690, the first to be held since 1653. The fact that he has been described as 'a Protestor of the most obnoxious type'³ indicates the ultra-Presbyterian doctrine of Kincaid's ministers. He writes that on the afternoon of 24 July 1687 Mr. Park 'preached extraordinarily well,' and that on Friday, 28 September 1688, Mr. Kirkton explained 'the duty of keeping the Sabbath.' The services seem to have been well attended :

¹ As we know from the *Memoirs* of Sir George Mackenzie ('The bluidy Mackenzie') the services of the Church as established at the Restoration were almost identical with those of the Presbyterians. The main differences were the Episcopal organisation and the nature of the sermons.

² The Presbyterians had to notify the authorities of the places of meeting and the names of the preachers. In a letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, dated 11 November 1687, six ministers, all of whom Kincaid heard preach, gave notice, in accordance with the proclamation, that they were 'resolved to continow preaching in the meeting houses of Edinburgh and the Canongate for that enseting winter.'—*Reg. Privy Council*, 3rd ser., xiii. 194-5. On 12 November, the Council was ordered from Whitehall 'to countenance Presbyterians in possession of some public halls and chapels of incorporation in Edinburgh and suburbs.'—*Ibid.*, p. xix.

³ W. Law Mathieson, *Politics and Religion in Scotland*, 1902, ii. 363; Hew Scot, *Fasti* (new ed.), i. 127.

on 10 July 1687, after hearing Mr. Roger at 12 o'clock, and sleeping after dinner, Kincaid went to hear him again at four, but could 'gett no accesse for the throng.' These preachers, as yet outside the Establishment, had to be maintained by their congregations, and we find Kincaid, on one occasion, giving 'some money to the ministers.'

In view of the King's Romanising policy, it behoved all Protestants to be prepared to give reasons for their faith. Kincaid did not neglect this duty. On 20 February 1687 he read 'some of the *Confession of Faith* and thought that the best way of collecting all the opinions in divinity would be from it.' He also refers to his 'collections of divinity' containing extracts from his theological reading. On Sunday, 29 May 1687, before he began to frequent Magdalene Chapel, he 'stayd at home all day and read some of the *Whole Duty of Man*' to his father. This was a somewhat 'tame version of Calvinistic teaching,' two editions of which had been published in 1678, one in Edinburgh and one in Glasgow.¹ Some forty years later, David Hume, religious in his youth, 'made an extract from the catalogue of vices in this pious work, and would search his soul by that means—"leaving out murder and theft and such vices as he had no chance of committing, having no inclination to commit them."' ² But Kincaid's theology remained steadfast. On 30 January 1687 he 'thought upon the third head of divinity, to witt . . . the way of God's justice and mercie are much more manifested . . . in pardoning so many and so great sins of the elect and His love to them in choosing them and rejecting others.' Other theological works which Kincaid read included *A Discourse against Transubstantiation* and *Theses De Authoritate*

¹ H. G. Aldis, *List of Books printed in Scotland before 1700*, Edin. Bibliog. Soc., 1904, Nos. 2144-5.

² *Hume's Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, ed. N. Kemp Smith, 1935, p. 6; J. Y. T. Greig, *David Hume*, 1931, p. 62; *Boswell Papers*, xii. (1931), 225-32.

Ecclesiae ('digested into verse'). The book on which he spent a good deal of time during the months of March, April and May 1687, making extracts from it and turning some of its 'Questions' into verse, was George Sinclair's *Truth's Victory over Error*, printed in Edinburgh in 1684.¹ Its title-page, as was customary in the seventeenth century, disclosed its nature and purpose:

Truth's Victory over Error or An Abridgement of the Chief Controversies in Religion . . . wherein, by going through all the chapters of the *Confession of Faith*, one by one, and propounding out of them, by way of Question, all Controversial Assertions, and answering by *Yes* or *No*, there is a clear Confirmation of the *Truth*. . . . A Treatise most useful for all Persons who desire to be instructed in the true *Protestant Religion*, who would shun in these last Days and perillous Times the Infection of *Errors* and *Heresies*, and all dangerous *Tenets* and *Opinions*, contrary to the Word of God.

The book was thus one of the armouries in which Protestants like Kincaid found the weapons of their faith. As a further preparation for the discussion of those problems then exercising people's minds in Scotland, he expressed the view on Sunday, 24 April 1687, that 'it would be verie usefull and requisite for you to carie a pockett bible and a compend of the Councell of Trent always about with you that they may be readily produced in any dispute you happen in.' Towards the end of December 1688, after the anti-Popish riot at Holyrood, he read 'some of the Papists' book of common prayer.' As was not unusual in those days, it was issued unbound, in sheets, and he spent the day in folding them into pages. It was probably *A Manual of Devout Prayers and*

¹ An unacknowledged translation by Sinclair from the Latin of David Dickson, Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v. George Sinclair and David Dickson or Diek.

Devotions,¹ printed by the Holyrood Press, which the mob had destroyed a fortnight before. Its perusal gave rise to the 'thought' of 'drawing out some of the most absurd and fundamentall errors of the Papists and have brunt them with the effigies of the Pope.' Such was the effect of the royal policy on Kincaid and—as the attitude to Roman Catholicism in Scotland in the next century was to show—on the great majority of his contemporaries.

Kincaid also found time to read some of the official and political publications of the day—*The Act for the Constitution of a Court of High Commission*, *The Advice for Repealing the Penal Laws*, *Letters to the Dissenters*, and the Marquess of Halifax's famous *Character of a Trimmer*.

He was thus a serious young man. But assiduous as he was in attendance at chapel, he had many interests of a 'worldly' kind. Lighter reading tends to replace theological. He is fond of company. He is devoted to sport. Above all, he records his 'thoughts' on a bewildering variety of subjects. The Diary thus reflects the beginning of that 'Age of Secular Interests,' as the century subsequent to the Revolution has been characterised.

There is an almost daily entry, 'I thought upon.' For the month of January 1687, alone, these thoughts ranged over the principle of 'chymie,' medicine, fighting robbers, differences in 'humours,' the theory of any art, the only way of playing at golf, the best posture for throwing the stone, keeping an academy, voting in Parliament, and the heads of divinity. Similar lists could be compiled for succeeding months. Such a selection might include the way of shooting at the butts, enclosing ground and managing a country mailing, wings and how to fix them to the body, 'picket,' billiards and golf, building a meeting house, the best way of making a smith's vice, an engine for working

¹ W. Cowan, 'The Holyrood Press,' *Edin. Bibliog. Soc.*, vol. iv. (1901-4), p. 96.

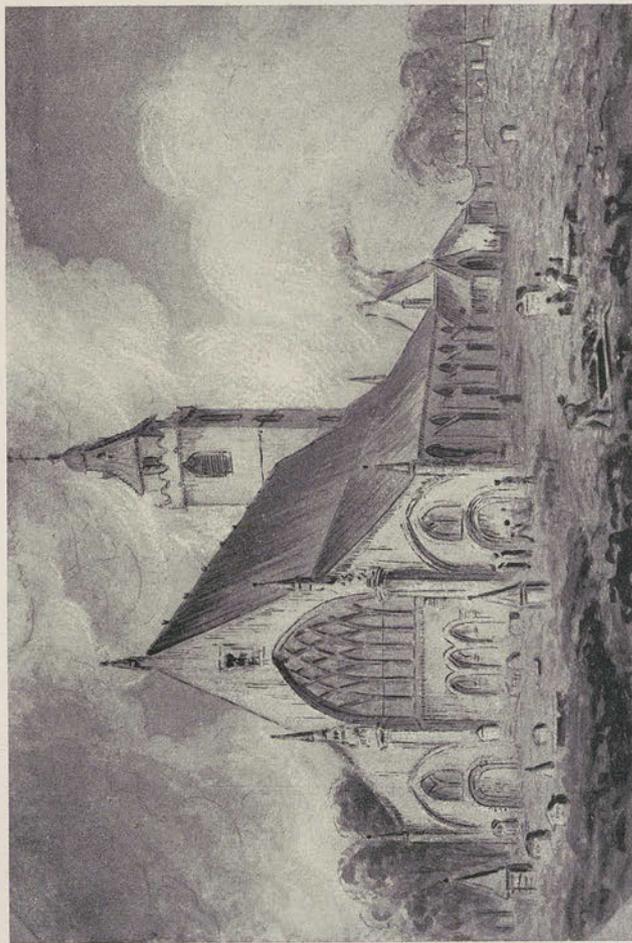
cloth, breeding horses to run swiftly, and 'particulars for fitting you for common discourse.' Some of these 'thoughts' are merely mentioned: others, as the running-titles at the top of the pages of the Diary indicate, are developed at length. And he returns frequently to favourite topics such as golf, a tree (*i.e.* wooden) leg, the tying of gravats, and various aspects of music.

He was fond of odd jobs and of trying experiments. Thus on 28 April 1687 he 'went down to Mr. Meinzie to helpe the knock [clock]. The paie [weight] fell down and brook the pendulum. I mended it till 5.' The treeleg occupies much of his time: as late as December 1688 he is still working at it.¹ In October 1687 he took a mould in plaster of Paris of his brother's face and in December of Henry Legatt's, his most constant companion, described in the records of the Royal Company of Archers as a 'writer,' that is, a lawyer. He tries to turn a stick on the 'loom' [lathe] on 6 November 1688, and on the 22nd he was unsuccessful, as might have been anticipated, in drilling a hole through the spring of his watch.

Many of his 'thoughts' or the odd job occur in connection with sport, especially the two to which he was devoted, golf and archery. In the case of the former he may go down to history—nowadays even international history—as the author of the first known directions how to play the game, which he began to enter in his Diary for 20 January 1687; and by 'digesting them into verse' he has the distinction of being its first poet.²

¹ It is possible that 'my tree leg' is to be taken literally, despite his activities in sport. 'I thought on the joynt for the treeleg,' runs the entry for 10 October 1688, 'wherby you may have liberty to screw in a pin when ye goe to the golfe.'

² The present writer published most of these directions in an article entitled 'Playing at the Golfe' in the *Scotsman* of 2 August 1938. They are re-published by kind permission of the Editor. The article was the subject of another, entitled 'A Pioneer' [by Mr. Bernard Darwin], in *The Times* of 13 August, wherein the rules are characterised as 'this historic treatise.'



ST. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH, LEITH, FROM EAST, 1819
After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw



TOLBOOTH OF LEITH, 1818
After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw

The game, his clubs and his balls keep him busy throughout the Diary. Thus on 25 January 1687 he writes: 'After dinner I took out the plains and made a litle skelpe [splinter] to putt on the club. I took of the peice that was joynd to the old shaft. I glewed too that skelpe.' He 'collured' a ball with white lead. They cost him four shillings [Scots]¹ each. The clubmaster was Captain Forster, from whom Henry Legatt bought a club. Kincaid records a payment of twelve shillings 'for the club,' presumably for mending it. When he and Legatt went down to Leith Links to play, they sometimes took a coach at a cost of ten shillings. Apparently they also played nearer home, probably on Bruntfield Links.² For on 28 October 1687 he went to golf with another companion, Rory Bane. 'We came into Bristoune [Bristo] and gott some milk.'

Archery, however, came to take the place of golf as Kincaid's favourite sport, and, as we shall see, it remained so to the end of his life. His Diary thus provides a variety of information about the Royal Company of Archers (founded in Edinburgh, as it now exists, in 1676) for the period during which its Minutes are wanting, and confirms some of the conjectures which Sir James Balfour Paul, its historian, had to make for lack of direct documentary evidence.³

The first entry relating to the sport is on Friday, 15 April 1687, when Kincaid and Legatt went to the butts after

¹ Unless otherwise stated, money is Scots throughout. A Scots pound was valued at one-twelfth of an English pound.

² Golf was played on the Links before 1695, *Book of the Old Edin. Club*, vol. x. p. 240. This contradicts the statement in 'Early Golf at Bruntfield and Leith,' *Book of the Old Edin. Club*, vol. xviii. pp. 2-3.

³ *The History of the Royal Company of Archers*, Edinburgh, 1875. The Minutes are lacking from 3 March 1679 to 17 May 1703. 'There is internal evidence in the later Minutes to show that the Company was in existence at some period at all events between 1679 and 1703. Beyond this, however, nothing is known of the position in which the Company stood during that time.'—P. 35. Kincaid's father and his brother Michael are included in a list of members between 1676 and 1703.—P. 357.

'halfe 5' and shot till seven; and archery occupied much of his time and thought until the middle of September. No mention is made of it during the remainder of the year. From July 1688, when the Diary is again available, until 6 October when he shot at Leith, there are frequent entries. Thereafter they cease. It may have been that the season had closed; but when Kincaid went to Leith in the following week, it was to see 'all the gentlemen rendezvous.' The heritors and militia had been called out in view of the political crisis.

Kincaid's equipment as an archer gave him congenial occupation. He notes on 21 April 1687, that he 'oyled' his bow, and he 'dighted' it on the 26th. He thought upon the way of 'trenching bows with virginall weire. It did verie well'—but, he added in the margin, 'I found at lenth that it cutts the string.' A pair of arrows cost him fourteen shillings. He made a 'brace' out of 'parchment and paseboard' on 10 June, and ten days later he got a glove from George Stirling and later 'mended and shewed' it. It would be this brace and glove which he lent to Lord Strathnaver at the butts on 1 August. Alas! on 19 July he 'brook the bow and was verie much troubled for it.' So he sent for Robert Monro, the official bowmaker (whom the Royal Company had had trained in London),¹ who 'told me I would gett ane arme of a bow from James Gabreth.' But the repair was unsatisfactory. On 6 September he saw Monro 'make the horn for the bow,' and on the following day he got from Thomas Cranston 'a peice green velvet to be the handle to the bow.' Next year, on 21 July, he 'bought Crighton's bow for 13 shillings sterling.'

He took part in many competitions, including the official contests at Leith, Craigentenny and Musselburgh. He once won a snuff-box, but his success could not be compared with

¹ Balfour Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

that of his friend, David Drummond,¹ who won the Musselburgh Silver Arrow in 1687, or of Henry Legatt who was successful in 1688. This was the chief competition held then annually on 2 August at 'Rovers,' a way of shooting on which the Diary throws no light.² These occasions were expensive. In 1687 Kincaid's bill at Musselburgh was five pounds.

During the month of September 1688, shooting with a gun was added to his sports. The gun was Legatt's, and on the 8th they shot at the Sciennes and on the 13th at the New Greyfriars', and on the 21st at the 'Chirurgians' Yeards.'

These diversions involved a good deal of tavern life. As Balfour Paul conjectured, the butts where archery was practised were often attached to taverns. 'We went to Clerk's butts . . . we went in to Clerk's till 8,' he records on 20 April 1687. Thus when the shooting was over the company would adjourn for refreshment. Kincaid was a constant frequenter on these and other occasions, sometimes after church. Clerk's, Captain Brown's (Leith), Wilson's, Anderson's, Penston's, Watson's, Wall's, Ross's, Finnick's, Hope's, Hunter's and his favourite, Cathrae's (in the Parliament Close) recur in the Diary. There were also various 'sellars' such as Graham's. 'The Coffee House' is mentioned twice. Ale, beer and wine, with sack for special celebrations, were the chief drinks. He usually notes his expenses, ranging from three to seven shillings, though often exceeding these sums.

¹ David and George Drummond, whose names occur frequently in the Diary, were active in the affairs of the Company. Balfour Paul, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Photographic illustrations of the various arrows and other trophies, with attached badges, still preserved in the Archers' Hall, Edinburgh, are given in the *History*.

² 'Shooting at Rovers may be done in two ways . . . either by choosing some natural mark, such as trees or stones, and shooting at them at various distances; or by having a target, and shooting at a long distance. It is this latter method of shooting which seems always to have been practised by the Royal Company; although, it is true, the expression used in a letter of the Captain-General . . . would seem to point to the former mode.'—Balfour Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

The money came from his father. 'I sought some money from my father but he would not give me any. I stayd at home,' is the laconic entry for 14 June 1687. But on two subsequent occasions at least he got some twenty pounds from him. Dr. Kincaid was apparently a wealthy man: we find him lending M. R. Blackwood 4000 merks and Lord Carmichael 500, and there are indications of other money transactions.

There were few public amusements. The theatre had virtually ceased after the departure of the Duke of York, the Lord High Commissioner, from Holyrood in 1682.¹ Once, on 7 March 1687, Kincaid went to Leith 'on my foot to see the race.' Each year, at the beginning of November, he attended Hallow Fair and the Horse Market. During the month of December 1687, he and Legatt patronised the lottery, where on Saturday, the 24th, the latter lost four dollars. Kincaid returned on Monday and stayed till 10. The next day he 'cut some carts for the lottory'—evidently by way of divination—'but they were not usfull.' He returned on the two following days, again staying till 10 o'clock. Whether he eventually had any luck the Diary cannot tell us as it is at this point that the twenty-eight pages have been torn out. There was another amusement in Edinburgh during August, September and October 1688. On 22 August Kincaid walked with Legatt to Laurieston and 'saw the man dance on the rope.' At the beginning of September he went to see 'a woman volt.' Such a show was a common device of quack doctors to attract customers.² It doubtless is connected

¹ See the present writer's David Murray Lecture: 'Some Aspects of Later Seventeenth Century Scotland.'—Glasgow University Publications, No. lxxiii. (1947), pp. 20-3.

² See R. Thin, 'Medical Quacks in Edinburgh in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxii. (1938), pp. 132-9. The 'Mountebank' was probably the notorious Dr. Read. See also Lord Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, Bannatyne Club (1848), ii. 773-4; and his *Historical Observes*, Bannatyne Club (1840), p. 248.

with the entry on 10 August: 'I bought the Mountebank's drugs. 7 shill.'

When not otherwise occupied, Kincaid went for walks with his companions. Sometimes he only 'stood on the street' with them. Their walks were confined to the City and its immediate neighbourhood. Once Kincaid went to Craigmillar on business for his father; at another time to see the windmill at Loch Stalrig [Restalrig]. Usually they went to the Pleasance, Lady Murray's Yards, that is, the gardens of Moray House in the Canongate, Heriot's Yards, where they could get plums, the Physic Gardens, now the Royal Botanic Garden, established about 1670 in the grounds of Trinity College, the Castle hill to see 'the meeting house and the foundling house,' Multrie's Hill for milk from the farm, now the site of H.M. Register House and St. James's Square, the bowling green, where they could also have a game at 'bull-years,' the Chirurgeon's Yards, Bruntsfield Links, and round the town wall. The walk by Salisbury Crags brought them to the Abbey, to see the tombs, the 'pictures' or the chapel. The pictures would include, then as now, the 'portraits' of Scottish kings which James de Wet had recently completed after two years' work (1684-6) at an annual salary of £120. The chapel would be of special interest as it had just been fitted up, by royal command, for Roman Catholic worship. On 3 August 1687, he and Legatt visited the glass-works at Leith. Sometimes they would look into the Parliament House if there was an interesting case before the judges; and on 11 July 1687, Kincaid 'putt off the whole day' at the College Laureation [Graduation]. From October 1688, one of his companions appears to have been a lady. So, at least, we may interpret the references to 'J.' On 30 November he 'was angrie at J.,' but he records later meetings with her. He found no comfort in tobacco. When he 'smoak a pipe' on 10 June 1687, he was 'seek with it all forenoon.' On 8 November 1688, however, he bought some snuff.

Amid all the occupations and diversions of a full life, Kincaid could amuse himself at home or with his family. We find him sitting with or reading to his father, writing to his brother James in Holland, visiting his married sisters, when he would send for ale, wine, chestnuts or pies. He bought a Bible for his niece, Elizabeth, at £3, 16s. 8d. He puts the study in order. Writing up his Diary took up a good deal of time. Fond of music, he would spend the forenoon or afternoon, or even a whole day, in playing on the viol, which succeeded the more primitive 'posh' as his favourite instrument.

As the year 1688 drew to its close, the political crisis is fitfully reflected in the Diary. As early as 23, 24 and 25 July 'there was a search through the town,' which would be for persons considered dangerous by the Privy Council. Two months later, on Friday, 28 September, after hearing Kirkton preach, he watched 'the militia companys march.' On the Sunday 'the news came that the Prince of Orange was at sea.' As an afterthought, he added to the entry for 6 November that 'the Prince of Orange landed the day and morn.' On 7 and 8 December he read the Prince's 'Declaration,' that is, his manifesto, issued at The Hague on 10 October, declaring his intention of restoring 'the laws and liberties of the ancient Kingdom of Scotland'; and on Monday, 10 December, he wrote a description of the anti-Popish riot at the Abbey which is known from other contemporary records. On Wednesday he is working again at his treeleg; and in the remaining extant portions of the Diary there is no suggestion that a revolution was in the making.

If, as seems likely, Thomas Kincaid continued his Diary, no further portions have come to light; and we are dependent on other sources for an account of his later life. Although he was the eldest son, he did not succeed to Auchinreoch. For on 15 September 1690, his father confirmed a deed of 10 April 1685, whereby, with the consent of his sons

Thomas and Michael, he disposed to his second son, James, the lands of Auchinreoch, being eight mark land of 'auld extent' in the parish of Campsie, Stirlingshire, together with the manor place, houses and other pertinents.¹ His father's will has not been traced, but other official documents in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, indicate that Thomas was duly provided for. Thus on 16 October 1696 he took sasine of the annual rent of £472 from the barony of Duns;² and there are records of various bonds which he held.³ At some time he acquired the lucrative office of 'Principal Usher to Her Majesty.' On 13 December 1706 he made it over to Mr. Robert Bell, who was to pay the fees to the vendor until they amounted to £18,645 with interest while they accrued.⁴

He was thus a wealthy man, and apparently unmarried, without family cares. He does not seem to have carried his medical studies to completion. It is true that on 16 September 1710 'Thomas Kincaid, as eldest lawfull sone to the deceased Thomas Kincaid, ane eminent Master of the Incorporatione, . . . and in regard of good deeds done by him,' was unanimously admitted by the Incorporation of Surgeon-Apothecaries 'to be a free Chirurgeon in and amongst them, and to enjoy all the freedom and priveledges belonging to a freeman . . . without payment of any upsett [entrance] money.' One of the 'good deeds' which thus secured his admission was the gift to the Incorporation, on 3 February of the previous year, of 230 volumes relating to 'Medicine, Chirurgerie, Anatomie, Pharmacie, Chemie and Botany.' The list of books, detailed in the Minutes of the Incorporation, include not a few of the authors—Sennertus, Morison, Johnston and Primrose—whom he had studied when a young man.⁵ But he does not seem

¹ Gen. Reg. of Sasines, vol. 61, f. 261. Cf. vol. 60, f. 119.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 71, f. 149.

³ Reg. of Deeds (Durie), vol. 106, p. 355; vol. 89, p. 321; vol. 91, p. 122; Test. dativ. 10 August 1726.

⁴ Reg. of Deeds (Durie), vol. 111, p. 50.

⁵ MS. Records of the Royal College of Surgeons.

is the subject of one of his poems and also of an ode by Scot of Thirlestane. Of Kincaid's two contributions one is in praise of Pitcairne's library, afterwards bought by the Czar of Russia.¹ That Kincaid should thus be found in the company of Jacobites and Episcopalians, and of a scoffer, as Pitcairne was reputed to be, shows how far he had travelled in religion and politics since the period of his Diary.² He died on 10 or 11 August 1726, and was buried in Greyfriars' Churchyard on the 13th, 'close to the south pillar of Kincaid's tomb.'³ His name is not on the family tombstone; but a flat stone, with the inscription 'Buchanan Kincaid of Carbeth and Auchinreoch, 1858,' covers the place where our Diarist was laid to rest.

HENRY W. MEIKLE.

THE DIARY ⁴

1687

JANUARY

[6] Thursd. I rose at 6. I ex.⁵ till 7. I read Pulverinus⁶ *de febribus* all forenoon. I thought on rousing the books in Francis Brown's house at the Cross, of getting Rob. Colvill to cry them and William Grahme to writt the prices.

I found that the cureing of diseases was much like the helping of watches, for as when a watch stops in its motion it can hardly be

¹ *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Archibald Pitcairne.

² Many of the *Selecta Poemata* 'display strong Jacobite predilections, are, in fact, being addressed, *Ad Jacobum* —.'—Balfour Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

³ MS. Records of Interments in Greyfriars' Burying Ground, Edinburgh, where his death is given as 11 August.—Registrar-General's Dept., H.M. Register House. In his testament dative the date is 10 August.

⁴ In present circumstances it has not been possible to print the Diary in full, except at the beginning, to show its normal form; but the intention was to omit nothing of importance. Where necessary, the figures in brackets indicate the length of the original entry. Punctuation and the use of capital letters are editorial.

⁵ This contraction occurs frequently throughout the Diary.

⁶ J. H. Pulverinus, Professor of Medicine at Naples at the beginning of the 16th century.

helped till it be taken down and dight, so when any thing disturbs a man's body it can hardly be cured till the whole body be purged and cleansed. . . . After dinner I wrott this till 4. . . . [MS. torn.] I went out at nine with my sister Mrs. Crawford to her own house and stayd till 11.

7 Freed. I rose at halfe 8. I read some of Sydenham. I took out Broun's *Vulgar Errours*, and Bacon's *Naturall History*¹ out of the press. I sought out Boyl's *Usefullness of Experimentall Philosophy*.² I read some of it all day.

8 Satt. I read some of Brown's *Vulgar Errors*. I digested some of Sydenham into verse and thought on severall things. Mr. James Young and Thom. Faglehome came in and sat till 7. I thought on Sydenham all night.

9 Sond. I went to the Tron Church where forenoon I heard the Chaplain of Hariot's Hospitall on Habbacuck, 2, 4: 'the just shall live by faith'; he preached on the life of faith. Afternoon I heard Strachan on Math. 2, 10. [MS. torn.]

[**11 Tuesd.**] I rose at 5. I thought upon the principles of Chymie till 7. I rose and read Sennertus *de principiis chymicæ* till 12. Afternoon I read his *Physiologia* and some of his *Pathologia Chymicorum* till 3. I shaved and wrott this till 5. I putt on my cloths and went to Hannas with Jean where we satt till 9. I went to Mr. Crawford's and came home at halfe 10.

12 Wed. I awaked at 4. I thought upon the necessity of studying Chymie. I discourst with my fater till 5. He told me that *pulsus undosus* did readily happen about the crisis when the sweat begins to break which may be considered if it proceed from the same influence of the moon that causeth full sea. I thought upon the method of physick to be observd in the systeme of medicine of montebanks till 8. I ex. till 9. I thought on the little pretty difficult questions to be proposed to mirry company, as (1), what colour was the Reed Sea through which the Israelits past. . . . I read some of Sennertus, some of the table of the differences of persons. I drew the draught of it till 9.

13.³ I thought on many things till 9. . . . I putt on my cloths and

¹ 1622.

² 2 vols., 1663 and 1671.

³ Hereinafter I have omitted the days of the week, indicating Sunday by 'S.'

went out at 4 to Hen. Legatt; then we came up the way and mett with Louton. We went in to Finnick's till 8. I payd for all 25 shill. I came home and satt with Rob. Park and Rob. Hunter till 9, then with Michael till 10.

14. I rose at 7. I thought upon fighting robbers and other vain thoughts till 9. I ex. Michael brought in the book entitled *The Compleat Chymist*. . . . I went out to Halbert Gladstone's his buriall. . . . I came home and read the French grammar till 7. I thought that it would be convenient to know the way of liveing in France and to gett a catallogue of all things whereof ye have dayly use, and the rates of them as they are in France. I satt with my father and Michael till 10.

15. . . . After dinner I went doun to Leith with James Young where I saw his brother Alex., and drank a muchken of wine with him. He gave me some rennates and pears. Spent 6 shill.

16 S. Tron Church forenoon.

17. . . . I wrott the distinction of the systeme of divinity into seven heads. . . . After dinner I wrott some of the *Synopsis Systematis Medici*. I went down stairs and satt with my father. . . .

18. . . . I thought also upon the differences of humors. . . . I wrott some *de humoribus*. . . . I made some vinager and salt. . . .

19. I rose at 4. I read *de humoribus*. . . . I went down to Mr. Meinzie's to dinner. . . . I read some of Riolane.¹

20. . . . The method to be observed in the delivering the theory of any art (pp. 12-13). . . . I read some of Berbett's² *Chirurgia* till 12. After dinner I went out to the golfe with Hen. Legatt. I found that the only way of playing at the golfe is—

1. To stand as you do at fenceing with the small sword, bending your legs a little, and holding the muscles of your legs and back and armes exceeding bent or fixt or stiffe, and not at all slackning them in the time you are bringing down the stroak (which you readily doe).

2. The ball most be straight before your breast, a little towards the left foot.

¹ Jean Riolan (1577-1657). A famous Paris doctor. His most important work was *Anatomia seu Anthropographia*.

² Paul Barbette, Dutch physician and surgeon. Flourished in the second half of the 17th century.

3. Your left foot most stand but a little before the right, or rather it most be even with it, and at a convenient distance from it.

4. Ye most lean most to the right foot.

5. But all the turning about of your body most be only upon your legs, holding them as stiff as ye can.

6. Then ye most incline your body a little foreward from the small of the back and upwards; for seeing all the strenth of the stroake is from the swing of the body in turning about, then certainly the further forward you incline your body or shoulders they most have the greater swing, and so consequently give the greater stroak; but you most not incline so fare forward as that it make you stand the more unstedfastly and waver a little in bringing down the stroak.

7. You most keep your body in this posture all the time both in bringing back the club and forward, that is, you most nither raise your body straighter in bringing back the club nor incline it further in bringing down the club; but ye most bring back the club by turning your selfe about to the right hand, and that as it were upon a center, without moveing your body out of the place of it, but only in chainging the position of it in thraving it about or turning it about upon that center, so then ye most cast the weight of your body off the on [that is, 'one'] leg on the other in the time you are bringing about the club: neither most you in the least turn down your left shoulder and up your right in bringing back the club, thinking therby to give the club a larger swinge and so incesse its force or to raise the ball: for it is a verie unsettled motion that throw of the body whereby you turn down the left shoulder and up the right, so that therby you will verie often misse the ball and allmost never hitt it exactly.

8. Your armes most move butt verie little; all the motion most be performed with the turning of your body about. The armes serve only to guid the club and to second and carie on that motion imprest upon it by turning of your body: therefore ye most never begin to bring about the club with the motion of the armes first, but their motion most be only towards the end of the stroak.

9. All the motion of the armes most be at the shoulder and all the motion of the legs most be at the upmost joynt at the loyns.

10. You most make no halt or rest, which is a slakning of the muscules of the back, between the bringing back of the club and the bringing it forward, but bring it about with that swiftness that the

naturall swing of the club requires, holding it pretty fast in your hands. In every motion the muscules that concurr to the performing at golve keep bent and stayd, which in all motions of your armes you will be helped to do by contracting your fingers, and so if there be anything in your hand you most grip verie fast.

11. You most aim directly to hit the ball it selfe and not aim to scum the ground or strick close to the ground, thinking that then you are sure to hitt it; for this is but ane indirect way of hitting the ball, neither is it sure when the ball lies inconveniently; neither 3dly is it exact, for you will butt seldome hitt the ball exactly and cleanly this way; and 4ly it is more difficult then the other way, whereas the other way is more easie. 2, sure, 3, better for hitting the ball exactly. The way to learn this is to tie your ball at first pretty high from the ground.

12. The shaft of your club most be of hazell. Your club most be almost straight, that is, the head most make a verie obtuse angle with the shaft, and it most bend as much at the handle as it doth at the wooping, being very supple and both long and great.

13. Your ball most be of a middle size nither to big nor too little, and then the heivier it is in respect of its bigness it is still the better. It most be of thick and hard leather not with pores or grains or that will lett a pin easily passe through it especially at the soft end.

I came in with Hen. and John Pringle. We mett with John Corss and went to a chainge house called Willson's. We stayed till 11 of the clock. Hen. payd 49 shill. I payd 13 shill. John Corss payd 7 shill.

21. I rose at 7. I thought upon this way of playing at golve. I ex. till 9. I wrott this till 8 of the clock at night. I thought upon the question whither it is better in giving advantadge in gameing to make the game æquall and the stakes unæquall, or to make the stakes æquall and give some advantadge in the game; as at the golve whither is it better to give a man two holes of three, laying æquall stakes, or to lay three stakes to his on [one] and play equal for so much every hole. For answer we most distinguish between the giving a man so great advantadge as to putt him within on [one] hazard of the game, and the putting him only within two or three hazards of the game. For the worst of gamesters may readily winne on hazard, but the[y] will hardly win two or three in on game. For solution then of the question we say that if the game depend upon on hazard it is all on whither

ye make the inæquality in the stakes or in the game. But if the game consist of more hazards then on, it is by farre securer for the giver of the advantadge to make the inæquality rather in the stakes then in the game: for when the game is equall and depends on many hazards, it is almost altogether improbable that a bad player will gain it on [*i.e.* once] in 20 times; whereas if he gett the advantadge in the game, he may be fair to win it every time, at least he will readily win it at some time. Therefore with these that are worse gamesters then yourselfe, make always the game depend upon moe [*i.e.* more] hazards then on, and the moe the better; but with these that are better gamesters make always the game to depend only upon on hazard.

I found that the first point to be studyed in playeing at the golve is to hitt the ball exactly; for if you hitt the ball exactly though the club have butt little strenth yett the ball will fly verie farre. The way to attain this perfection is to play with little strenth at first but yet acurately observeing all the rules of poustaur and motion before sett down, and then when ye have acquired ane habit of hitting the ball exactly ye most learn to inresse your strenth or force in the stroak by degrees, staying still so long upon every degree till you have acquired ane habit of it; neither will the knowledge of these degrees be altogether uselese afterward, for they will serve for halfe chops and quarter chops and for holling the ball. But then in going through all these degrees of strenth you most be verie attentive and carefull not to alter that postaur of your body or ['off' in MS.] way of moveing and bringing about the club which ye observed when ye playd with little strenth: for the only reason why men readily miss the ball when they strick with more strenth then ordinare is because their inressing their strenth in the stroak makes them alter their ordinare position of their body and ordinare way of bringing about the club; as also it makes them stand much more unsetledly and waver in bringing about the club, and so they readily miss the ball. I found that in all motion the greatest and the strongest motion most begin first. . . . [There follows 'the best postour for throwing the stone.'—pp. 19-23]. . . .

22. I awaked at 4. I discourst with my father upon *morbus pedicularis*. He told me that its cure is to rub all the persons shirt with *unguentum neapolitanum*, for it is dangerous to anoynt the body therewith, especially about the joynts, least it cause salivation. He told me the observation on James Gilchris's eybrows which were

miserably tormented with that disease for a year, which he cured in two or three days by anoynting the upper side of his eyebrows with a feather dipt in this *unguentum neapolitanum*, being made thin or liquid with oyl. He told me also that oyl and vinager incorporated together were exceeding good against the disease. I thought upon the reason of præcipation. . . . I thought upon the tone to be observed in reading the line in singing. . . . I thought upon these rules of motion and throwing of the stone, and wrott them from morning till night. . . . Michael . . . told me of . . . the monteban[k]s vomiting [?] pad. . . .

23 S. I rose at 7. I thought on many idle thoughts of the golve and keeping ane academy. I wrott some analysis of psalmes. I ex. I read my verses for directing my walke. . . . Jean took ane hysterick fitt the time of dinner. She was cured of it within halfe ane houer . . . always when she takes physick she is subject to these fitts. She is verie hard to purge. My father ordained for her ane ζ 1 ss. [$1\frac{1}{4}$ oz.] of manna dissolved in whey and ζ 1 [1 drachm] a drap of creme of tartar. I digested some of the seven head[s] of divinity into verse till 6. I thought upon the makeing all things voted in parliament to be proven by arguments in writt, every member giveing in reasons for his vote in writt. . . . The tone wherwith the line in singing psalmes should be read. . . . I went not to the church this day but stayd at home.

24. I rose at 4. . . . I wrott this and thought on severall things till 8, as of the way of standing at the Golve—that your feet most be both of ane æquall distance from the ball, at least the ball most ly upon a line that is perpendicular to that line that passeth between the on foot and the other. These places will be found by drawing a circle round about the ball which most be the center, and placeing your feet on that circle, that your feet most not stand parallel to the way you would have the ball to fly, but upon a line declineing towards the left hand as it were 10 or 15 degrees. . . . I wrott some *de signis temperamentorum* and digested them into verse. I wrott some *de partibus in genere* out of Berbett. . . .

25. . . . wrott the analysis of some psalmes. . . . I wrott all the remarks out of Glasar's *Compleat Chymist*.¹ . . . I glewed the club head. . . . I boyl'd the *unguentum album* with vinager. I read some of Berbett

¹ Christopher Glasar, apothecary to Louis IV. His *Traité de la Chymie* (Paris, 1663) went into numerous editions.

de fracturis et luxationibus. After dinner I took out the plains and made a litle skelpe to putt on the club. I took of the peice that was joynd to the old shaft. I glewed too that skelpe. . . . I read Berbett *de ambustione*, and some other places of him. . . . Pulverinus and some of Walleus his Institutions.¹

26. . . . I read *tribunall medicum de variolis morbillis.* . . . I thought on the playing at the golfe. I found (1) that ye most rest most upon the right legg for the most part, but yet not too much so as to be exactly perpendicular upon it, which ye will know by the ballanceing of your body.

2. I found that the club most always move in a circle making an angle of 45 degrees with the horizon.

3. That the whole turning of your body about most be by thrawing the joynts of your right legg, and then when [MS. torn] . . . you most throw the small of your back so that the left shoulder will turn a litle down wards, because the body is inclined a litle forward, but ye most beware of raising the on shoulder higher then the other as to their position in the body, for that motion is not convenient for this action.

4. I found that in bringing down the club ye most turn your body as farr about towards the left following the swinge of the club as it had been turned before towards the right hand.

5. I found that seeing the swinge of your body by the turning it upon your legg is the largest and strongest motion, therfor it most begin first and the turning at the small of the back most only second it, and then most follow the motion at the shoulders. The other motions most be but verie little and imperceptible, neither most these motions at the small of the back and shoulders begin till the club have hitt the ball, or, at least, be verie near it. . . . James Craig came in. . . .

27. . . . I pletted the belt for the knee of the breach, and drew it through and made belts for the buckles of my sleives . . . read some Johnston's *Idea Medicinæ Universalis*.² . . .

28. . . . the indications of bloodletting and whatt part of medicine I should apply my selfe to . . . wrott the analysis of the 39 psalme. . . .

¹ J. Walaëus (1604-49), a Dutch medical writer.

² Leyden, 1655. John Johnstone (or Jonston), 1603-75, was born in Scotland but spent most of his life on the Continent.—*Dict. Nat. Biog.*

I rubbed my selfe with the oyntment. I shewed some belts for my wast and knee . . . looked through the books of the wardrob till 12 and read the poems of the orators of Sarbonæ Plessiæ . . . looked through the theses of Mr. Wisheart dedicat to Lauderdale anno 1672. I looked through the new translation of the psalmes.¹ I found the way of fastening the buttons of my sleives [described]. . . . I thought upon the way of compendizing the whole *materia medica* . . . caried about in a box . . . call it the physicians portable box. . . .

29. . . . wrott the analysis of the 40, 41, 42, 43 psalmes . . . some of Berbett, *de partibus similaribus.* . . . Fuschius, *de venesectione.* I sleept. I was verie much troubled with the cough.

30 S. . . . I took a purgative of two ounces of manna and 16 grans of sall. tartari. . . . I thought upon the third head of divinity, to witt, that God had made the applying of Christ's merits and satisfaction not absolute to all men (pp. 29-30). . . . I thought upon what would be the best forme of a salve box. I found it would be best to make it round and broad like a tobaco box. . . .

31. . . . I took a potion of physick of the infusion of two drams of senna, and the correctives with ane ounce and a halfe of manna and some creme of tartar . . . read some of Johnston's *Idea* all day. Mr. Crawford satt from 6 to 7; then Will Hamilton from 8 to 10. . . .

FEBRUARY

1. I rose at 5. I took halfe a drame of pilulæ de extractis in 5 pills. . . . I read some of Culpeper's *Dispensatory* . . . some of Berbett . . . some of the refined jests.²

2. I rose at 7. . . . I wrott this till 9. I brakfasted . . . went out with Kinkaid and Salcoats to James Warden's where I spent 7 shill. . . .

3. . . . I gott a dollar from Jean and ane other from my father. . . . I sent for Hen. Legatt. We went down to Leith to see the ships lenched but it was done ere we came. We mett with Jean and Elizabeth Johnston and Margaret Kinkaid. We went down in coach and halted at Mrs. Burnett's where we gott 2 dozen of rennats, 24 shill., 10 limons, 16 shill., 6 oranges, 9 shill., 3 chopins of wine and a muchken of sack, 40 shill., 6 ounce of shougar, 6 shill., caits and bread, 5 shill., the coach

¹ *Psalms of David in Meeter. Newly translated.*—Glasgow (Sanders), 1687.

² ? H. C[rouch], *England's Jestes Refin'd and Improved*, 2nd ed., 1687.

hire down, 18 shill., up 30 shill. Sum. 7 lib. 10 shill. We came up to Watson's where we gott a pint of wine and some [?] . . .¹ 10 shill.

4. . . . Berbett's *de circulatione sanguinis*. I found that the makinge the club waver in bringing it back did make you add a great deal of more force to it in bringing it forward then otherways you can gett added to it. The way to make the club waver in bringing it up is by drawing in your armes and hands close to your breast, and the reason that this postour adds more strenth to the stroake is because the further out that you streatch your armes they are still the weaker, and the closer to your breast they are the stronger. I read some of the French gramar about pronunciation and digested the rules in the first and second lesson into verse. . . .

5. I rose at 7. I thought on the way of tying up gravates. . . .

6 S. . . . Tron church . . . afternoon I stayd at home. . . .

7. . . . the way of tying up gravates . . . some of Berbett and Mercatus *de indicatione medica*.

8. . . . Read in Riverius. Hen. Legatt came in and deseired me out to the golfe. I putt on my cloths and went to him. He bought a club in Captain Foster's. We went down to Leith in a coach, which was 10 shill. We playd till 5. I bought three balls, 14[?] shill. We went in to Captain Brown's where we satt till 6 waiting on the coach but could not gett it. We came up to John Watt's where we gott some collips. I spent 14 shill. I was exceeding seek.

9. I rose at 7. I thought upon the method of pathologie and on playing at the golfe. I found that in all motions of your armes ye most contract your fingers verie strait and grip fast any thing that is in them, for that doth command the motion exactly and keeps all the muscles of the arme verie bent. I digested the rules of playing at the golfe into verse thus :

Gripe fast, stand with your left leg first not farr ;
Incline your back and shoulders, but bewarre
You raise them not when back the club you bring ;
Make all the motion with your bodies swinge
And shoulders, holding still the muscles bent ;
Play slowly first till you the way have learnt.
At such lenth hold the club as fits your strenth,
The lighter head requires the longer lenth.

¹ MS. torn.

That circle wherein moves your club and hands
At forty five degrees from the horizon stands.
What at on stroak to effectuat you dispaire
Seek only 'gainst the nixt it to prepare.

I thought to digest the generall rules of motion into verse, which are these :—

All motions with the strongest joynts performe,
Lett the weaker second and perfeit the same.
The stronger joynt its motion first most end
Before the nixt to move in the least intend.
The muscles must with tonick motion move,
For which the gripping fast great helpe doth prove.

10. . . . some of Harvy ¹ *de conceptione* till 3. . . . I sat with my sister till 6. We went down together to the Lady Corbasket's.² . . .

11. . . . wrott some *de pathologia*. . . . Robert Hanna came in . . . then James Cranston. . . .

12. I thought upon the method for acquiring all Morison's *Herball* by heart.³ . . . Mr. Crawford's where I stayed till 10. I sent for some wine, 7 shill.

21. . . . thought upon the studying of physick and upon the way of tying my buttons. . . . Sennertus. . . . Went to the Abay with William Dunlap and his wife where we saw the chapell and the pictures. We came home and gott James Stark and went to Hamilton's seller where we satt till 9. Spent 13 shill. . . .

25. I read *The Woman turned Bully*⁴ all forenoon. . . . to the Lady Thornydyke's . . . read out the commedy. . . . With Hen. Legatt . . . [and] Andrew Kinnier to Hariot's Yeads. We came in to Hen. Chamber where John Corss came in and Will Logan. We satt till 8 and drank some bottled ale. . . .

¹ Wm. Harvey (1578-1657), discoverer of the circulation of the blood.

² Probably the wife of John Kincaid of Corsbasket, Advocate. 'Lady here is the feminine of 'laird.'

³ Robert Morison (1620-83), born at Aberdeen, professor of Botany at Oxford University. 'His works made an epoch in botanical literature.'—*Diet. Nat. Biog.*

⁴ Anon. 'An exceedingly dull comedy' in spite of the opinion of Gerard Langbaine (1609-58) that it was 'a very diverting comedy.' Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700*, 2nd ed., Camb., 1928, p. 204.

26. I thought upon the way of disputing by way of discourses as the advocats doe. . . . Some of Wallæus. . . . William Hamilton brought me the catalogue of drugs. . . . John Moor came in with the books I gave him to bind, to witt, Hippocrates and Berbett's *Practise of Physick*. I gave him 28 shill. I satt with my father.

MARCH

2. Was a fast day. . . . Tron Church forenoon. . . . Afternoon I went out to the Park with Androw Kinneir . . . met Rob. Hunter and Thom. Dunlap and walked round about the Craigs to the Abay where we went through the tombs. . . .

7. . . . with Mr. Meinziez . . . sought out the bank dollers . . . went down to Leith on my foot to see the race. I meet with Jean [and others]. We went to Capt. Brun's where we gott our dinner. I spent 58 shill. . . . read some of Willis.

17. . . . treeleg [small drawings of the bands of the joynt]. I gott halfe a pound of white powder for my periweige. . . .

18. . . . treeleg . . . collections on Anasarca and gott them by heart . . . the way of designing a wheel of a coach and a cheire.

19. 'The art of designing by reall or opticall proportion.' [The running-title of pp. 47-50.] I went out with Hen. Legatt to the Abay. We came in to Birstoune wher we gott milk. Then we came in to Watson's . . . spent 28 shill.

20 S. . . . Tron Church. . . . Afternoon I stayd at home and read some of Sinclar's *Truth's Victory*, and sat with Michael and my father.

21. . . . treeleg . . . then I thought upon the new fashon of guns with butt in the middle and the end lying over the shoulder and resting upon it, especially with reiffelled guns that are weighty. . . . I satt with James Stark from 4 to 5. I wrott this till 9. . . .

22. . . . way of holding the guns. . . . I satt with my father and the aleman. He had payd him 51-6-8 for 26 [?] barrrells of ale, being three gallons the barrrell. . . .

23. . . . the way of designing a wheel . . . and of playing the swift nots on the viollin . . . [reasons that] made them difficult to me. . . . I read some of Boyle's Essays¹ about the *pilule lunares*, &c.

¹ The Hon. Robert Boyle (1627-91), F.R.S.

24. I wrott some of the heads of divinity in the book. I thought upon the drawght table. Afternoon I went out to Androw Young's buriall. Then I went with John Laurie and John Corss to James Ingles his chamber where we stayd till 9 and playd at carts.

APRIL

3 S. . . . Tron Church where I heard the primar Monroo.¹ . . . Afternoon Sinclar's *Truth's Victory*.

10 S. I stayd at home all day and read some of *Truth's Victory* . . . the way of breakeing sea stons by the heat of a furnace so as they may be easily built in a dyke. I thought that seeing they turn moyst and draw the volatile salt of the air to them always when it is full sea, it might be profitable to spread them in small peices upon arable land, for it would be a constant guiding to it by moystning it continually with that moysture they attract from the air.

11. . . . thought upon race horses. . . . *Truth's Victory* . . . to Leith with Mr. James Anderson, &c. They went aboard on the men of warr. I would not goe with them. . . . Willis *de fonticulis*.

14. . . . The thesaurer [and others] came in and received 12,000 merks for the toun of Edinburgh. . . . I thought upon the ways of compting money . . . the method of spending the day²—1. before ye rise repeat all your verses, 2. then writt in this register, 3. pray, 4. writt *Truth's Victory*, 5. repeat all your verses again till 9, then digest some things into verse till 12, then read the Dutch gramar and Bible till 3, then digest more of your studyes into verse till 8, then gett all by heart till 10. . . .

15. . . . Willis. . . . I gott 35 shil. . . . Hen. Legatt . . . with him to the butts wher we shott till 7. I wanne two chopins of wine off him. We went in to Clerk's and gott several drinks. . . .

16. . . . walked in the parke. . . . Dutch gramar. . . . I went out to Mr. Duncan's where I saw Sir William Hop's *Scotch Fencing Master* and looked through it . . . gott a peice tape for my gravatt. I shewed it on till 10. . . .

¹ The Rev. Alexander Monro, D.D., Principal of the University, from which he was expelled at the Revolution. See W. K. Dickson, *Letters . . . of Monro, 1690-1698*, 'Miscellany,' vol. v., Scot. Hist. Soc., 1933.

² From the running-title.

17 S. I stayd at home all day and read and wrott Sinclar's *Truth's Victory* all day.

18. . . . *Truth's Victory*. I looked out the stokens, and read some papers as the Act for the constituteing of a Court of High Commission . . . some Dutch grammar. . . .

19. *Materia Medica* . . . *Truth's Victory*. . . . I satt with Agnes . . . some of Morellius. . . . to James Murray's wher I satt till 10.

20. . . . *Materia Medica* . . . *Truth's Victory* . . . saw Thomas who had taken a great swelling in the right side of his head and neck, supposed to have been occasioned with some cold. My father ordained to anoynt it with some cammomill oyl and apply blak wooll to it . . . some of *Schonborni Manuale*¹ . . . with my father to James Murray's buriall . . . to Hen. Legatt and stayd in the Excise Chamber till 6; then we went to Clerk's butts. William Robertsons came in to us. We went in to Clerk's till 8. I came home and supt till 10.

21. . . . *Materia Medica*. I gott some money from my father to compt. There was 347 lib. of it. . . . I satt with my sisters . . . my father came in to putt on hes boots to goe to the west. I putt on my cloths and went with him to hes horse. . . . I thought upon the way of shooting at the butts and found [1] that ye most stand with your left side exactly towards the mark, [2] hold your left arme out of straight and settled as you can, holding the bow not exactly perpendicular but inclining 30 degrees; 3. make all the motion in drawing the arrow at the showlder of your right arme; stand firme upon your right legg resting your knees on upon the other; 4. hold your head so farr back as when the arrow is fully drawn in the end of it may come just to your eye; hold the left eye close all the while you draw the arrow till you loose it. I oyled my bow. . . . I looked through the cabinett.

22. . . . *Truth's Victory* . . . some of Morellius his *Materia Medica*² . . . to Mr. Crawford's to dinner . . . with Will Hamiltone to the physick garden, then to the Moultrese Hill where we gott some milk. I spent

¹ S. Schonbornius, *Manuale medicinae practicae Galeno-chymicae*, Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1637.

² P. Morellus, *Methodus praescribendi formulas remediorum cum adjuncto materiae medicae systemate*, Amsterdam, 1659.

5 shill. . . . satt in Mr. Duncan's till 8 and saw the muck carts come up the way. . . .

23. . . . to Mr. Meinzie's to dinner . . . some of the *Materia Medica* . . . I perfected the cattalogue of the medicine books in the press and took out *Regii Medicina*¹ with the picture and read some of it till 9.

24 S. . . . *Truth's Victory* . . . some of the Discourse against Transubstantiation, and The Gentleman's Calling. I satt with my sister Marie. She stayd to supper. I found that it would be verie usefull and requisite for you to carie a pockett bible and a compend of the Councell of Trent always about with you, that they may be readily produced in any dispute you happen in. . . . I found that it would be easiest for the toun to ordain that non should have the liberty to carrie muck out of the toun but these that will keepe a close cart and leave it each night in the toun and take it away in the morning, or at least agree with some man to doe soe.

25. . . . some of Regius . . . *Truth's Victory* . . . repeated some of my verses and satt with Michael all night till 10.

26. . . . thought about building lodgings . . . digested some of the questiones in *Truth's Victory* into verse . . . some *Materia Medica* and digested the formes into verse. I dighted my bow and thought upon the best way of holding it in shooting [directions follow] . . . stood on the street with Andrew Kinnier . . . to Mr. Crawford's then to Marie's . . . then with Doctor Hay to the Castle hill where I satt till 8. . . .

27. . . . *Truth's Victory*. . . . I marked the gravatt. . . . Some of Morellius. . . . I made the table for compting and drew the drawghts of it by the folding ellwand till 4 . . . went down to the butts with Hen. Legatt where we shott till 8. I wan the book called *The Scots Fencing Master* from him. I payd 14 shill. We came up to Hunter's. I payd 7 shill.

28. . . . *Truth's Victory*. I considered the compting table, and found it would be better to divide it by two's like the ell wand. After dinner I looked out some sticks for the wings. I cutted some of them. I went down to Mr. Meinzie's to helpe the knock. The paie fell down and brook the pendulum. I mended it till 5. Andrew Kinnier came in. I went out with him to the butts wher were George Stirling and severall others. I shott with them and lost 3 games. I spent 4 shill. . . . to Carthres. . . .

¹ H. Duroy [Regius], a Dutch physician, 1598-1679. His works include *Fundamenta Medicinae*, Utrecht, 1647.

29. I rose at 4 . . . *Truth's Victory* . . . Hen. Legatt, we walked to the Abay where we satt a litle, then we came up the way and mett with James Moorhead. We went in to the butts wher we shott till 9 . . . went in to Callender's where we saw the screw plates . . . satt with my sisters. They stayd dinner. I wrott a letter to my father . . . satt with Michael till 7. I went down to the butts where I shott till 8 with a litle young lad. I came home and wrott this till 9.

30. . . the way of trenching bows with virginal weire. I gott a peice of it and trencht my bow with it. It did verie well, but I found at lenth that it cutts the string. . . *Truth's Victory* . . . some Morellius. . . I made the fouer spockes for the wing . . . went to the butts . . . I lost 5 games.

MAY

1 S. . . *Truth's Victory* . . . to Mr. Meinzie to supper . . . there was a fire at the foot of the Colledge Wind. . .

2. . . I ended *Truth's Victory* till 10. I thought upon the way of shooting at the butts [directions follow] . . . as in these lines :—

Draw in your arrow ere you take your aim,
Hold close your eye, and fixt your bow and arme.
In aiming alter not your hands but move
Your whole waist round ; slow shooting best doth prove.

. . . Crawford's to dinner where I stayd till 3 . . . to Captain Foster's till 6. I bought a string and gave the lad 2 shill. and some ale. 7 shill. . .

3. I #¹ . . . I shewed the glove and shott till 11. I thought of making an company of a regiment of archers to shoot bows and arrows. . . I wrott this till 12 . . . some verses out of Morellius *de apozemate* . . . went to the butts . . . till 8. I lost 4 games. We went in to Clerk's where I spent 11 shill. I came up to Watson's. . . I gott a letter from my brother James. . .

4. . . some of Morellius in verse. . . I shott. I looked to the secret place in the litle chamber. . . My father came to the toun from Auchinreogh. He was verie seek. . .

22 S. Tron Church . . . [forenoon] . . . afternoon . . . repeated some of my verses and read some of Sharpus his *Cursus Theologicus*² till 6.

¹ This sign occurs from time to time.

² John Sharp (1572?-1648 ?), Scottish theologian. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Mr. Park and his wife were at supper. He lectured on the 25 pse. I went up to Andrew Young's wife's lykewake till 10.

JUNE

10. . . way of shooting at the butts. I looked out the parchment to be a brace. I smoak a pipe of tobacco and was seek with it all forenoon ; afternoon I slept till 3. I shott some. I sought out the braces out of the amry. . . I glewd the parchment and paseboard and made a brace till 8. I satt with Michael and supt till 10.

11. . . the way of shooting at the butts. I mended the string of my bow. . . I went down to Leith to the Rovers with 7 others. We came up to Clerk's where we satt till 12. I payd 14 for my coach, 14 of lose, 20 shill. of reckoning, 4 shill. to Monroo -2-12-0.

18. I prepared myselfe for the butts. I shaved. I gott a glove from George Stirling. I shott for the prize. Mr. Ramsay wan it at the first three shoots. We shoot a game ; I wan it. We shoot for a snuff millne which Mr. Dundas presented. Mr. Ramsay wan it. We went up to Clerk's house where we supt. I gave 4 to Moonroo, 1 to John, 1 to blind Jock, 14 for the liberty to shoot at the prize, 14 for my supper. So all I spent was 34 shill. I came home at 11.

27. . . to have gone . . . to Leith to the rovers but it was a rainy day. . . I went up to the Lady Corsbaskett where I was invected to a buriall . . . came in to a choppe above Graha[m's] cellar. . .

30. . . to the butts but there was none shooting. I went down to the Physick Garden and satt there with a young man that playd on the flagellet . . . I went to the bowling green. . .

JULY

11. I went to the Coledege to see the Lauriation and so I putt off the whole day . . . read the theses till 10.

12. . . to the butts . . . to Clerk's . . . 4 shill. Then we came up to John Watt's where we satt till 10. . . I playd at the damms [*i.e.* draughts] with Mr. Yeman. I wan a pint and a chopin of wine of him but I would not have it.

17 S. I went to Anderson's Printing House wher in the forenoon I heard Mr. Edward Jamison. . . Afternoon I heard Mr. Rob. Roul. . .

18. . . . to Clerk's where we shott till 12. I lost 10 shill. . . . to the Councell House to hear the witnesses examined about Kirtoun's murther but the Councell was dismiss. . . . I sat in Cristian Lindsay's chope with the Lady Corsbaskett. . . . I stood with Hen. Legatt till 10 upon the street.

AUGUST

2. I went out to Musleburgh with the archers. Mr. David Drummond wan the arrow. I gave halfe a dollar¹ for my dinner; I lost 30 shill.; I gave the clerk 35 shill.; I gave Moonroo 7 shill., so that all I spent was 5 lib. I came home at 9.

20. I went to Craigentenny with the archers. I came home at 10. I spent 2 lib.

SEPTEMBER

2. . . . thought upon wings and upon the treeleg. I playd on the posh. . . . I gave Willy when he went west . . . 7 shill. to cause Androw Galloway turne me two treelegs. . . . I walked in Hariot's Yeards; then I went to Wood's bowling green and playd at bullyeards. . . .

8. . . . Sydenhame . . . went with John Fairly to Thomson's where we playd at shuffle board and bullyeards . . . some of Sydenhame.

22. . . . the keys in musick. I found that there were seven keys [described].

27. . . . the keys in musick . . . played on the violl.

28. . . . James Andersone . . . gott 28 shill. to releive our old master Mr. James Andersone out of prisone. . . . I satt with Michael and tryd to make molds of the plaster of paris all night.

29. . . . to the printing house where I heard Mr. Heugh Kennedy . . . some Riverius *de hysterica passione*. . . .

30. . . . helped Michael to prapare the paris plaster all day . . . keys in musick. . . .

OCTOBER

1. . . . helped Michael to prepare more plaister . . . to Mrs. Stewart's where I sent for some pys. 7 shill. . . .

2 S. . . . Magdalen's Chapell. . . .

¹ The rex dollar was equal to 56 shillings Scots. See *Journals of . . . Lord Fountainhall*, ed. D. Crawford, Scot. Hist. Soc., 1900, pp. xlv-xlvii.

3. . . . I putt on the plaster on Michael's face and it did verie well. . . .

4. I took a purge . . . keys in musick. . . . I wrott this since the 14 day of Sept. It hath been excessive rains and almost constant which makes true the common proverbe that Saturndays chainge and Sondays prime once in seven years is out of time. . . . I tooke the mould of Michael's face in paris plaster.

5. . . . keys of musick. I helped Michael to colour his face and take the shape of it in wax. . . .

6. . . . keys of musick. . . .

7. . . . keys of musick . . . the rule of motion in playing on the violl and flagellett [pp. 106-108].

8. I playd on the violl all day. . . .

14. I shaved. I went to see the show at the Cross. I went to M'Claine's ball till 8. . . .

NOVEMBER

1. . . . repeated some of my verses of physick. . . . I found that the best way of playing preludes was to play the division of the key into the thirds fift and eight, either ascending or descending, and then make running or discanting on these notes. I went out and saw the horse market and the fair. . . .

2. I went out to the fair . . . to Mrs. Stewart's . . . and Mrs. Crawford's.

3. . . . Magdalen Chapell. . . . Mr. Kennedy. . . . *Advise for takeing away the Penall Statutes*. . . .

4. I stayd at home all day. . . .

5. . . . the Lady Corsbaskett. . . .

6 S. I went to Magd. Chapell with Corsbaskett and his wife where I heard Mr. Arskan. . . . Afternoon to the printing house. . . . Mr. Kirtoun. . . .

7. I found that peices of thin balling or whale bone would do verie well to be putt in gravatt strings to hold them out stiffe. . . .

8. I ordered the study. I playd on the violl. . . . I looked out the book of the *Birth of Mankind* . . . the way of tying up gravats. . . .

9. I ordered the study. I prepared spunks and tinder to light my candle. . . . the best way of studying any language [pp. 117-18].

10. . . . to the printing house where I heard Mr. Hamilton. . . .
 11. . . . playd on the posh.
 12. . . . walked with Hen. Legatt thro Bruntsfield Links. . . . Mrs. Stewart's.
 14. . . . I read Grotius his Judgement of Several Points in Divinity¹ . . . some of the *Character of a Trimmer*.²
 27 S. . . . Magdalen's Chapell. . . . The communion was given in the kirks of this city this day.

DECEMBER

1. . . . to the Taylzors' Hall where I heard Mr. Johnston . . . playd on the violl. . . . I went down to Foster's and saw my club . . . the way of guiding your fingers and bow in playing on the violl. The way of reading distinctly [from running-titles, pp. 122-125].
 2. I playd on the violl. . . .
 3. . . . to Hen. Legatt's to take his face in wax. . . .
 15. I made a circle of parchment to encompassse the face. Hen. Legatt came in. We boyled some of the paris plaster. I sent for some chestnuts and wallnuts. 7 shill.
 16. I boyled the rest of the plaster. . . . I took Hen. Legatt's face. . . . I gott a paire of French gloves from H.
 20. I read the Banquett of the Gods in the *Extravagant Shipheard*.³ I wrott a letter for the Earle of Lothian. I slept. I read some of Willis.
 21. . . . some of Willis *de febribus intermitt.* I thought upon the best forme of a church and the way of building a meeting house. . . .
 22. I thought upon the contriveing the seats and lofts and roof. . . .
 23. I ran the neck to the mould of Hen. Legatt's face. I went out with him and saw the Lottory till 7.
 24. . . . I took the forme of Hen. Legatt's face in wax. . . . We went up to the Lottory where Hen. Legatt lost 4 dollars.

¹ Hugo Grotius, *Two Discourses* . . . An appendix containing his judgment in sundry points controverted . . . Lond., 1653. There were various editions and translations of his *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*.

² By George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, 1688.

³ Thomas Corneille, *The Extravagant Sheepherd: a Pastorall Comedie*. Englished by T. R., London, 1654.

- 25 S. . . . to the printing house where I heard Mr. Hamilton. . . .
 26. . . . to Leith . . . to the golfe. I gave 8 shill. for two balls . . . 10 shill. for my dinner . . . 5 shill. for a horse . . . 10 shill. for wine in Clerk's. I went up to the Lottory till 10.
 27. . . . I cut some carts for the lottory but they were not usfull. I went out to the lottory.
 28. . . . to the lottory till 10.
 29. . . . to the lottory till 10.

[Pp. 129-156 torn out.]

1688

[JULY]

28. I went down to Leith. The Marquess of Atholl and my lord Strathmore shott at the butts. I gave 14 for a prise, 14 for my coach, 20 shill. for my supper. I came home at 10.

AUGUST

25. I went to Leith with Mr. David Drummond and George Drummond in coach. We sett up my napkins for marks. We came up to Rosses on horses. We shott at the butts. I wan 14 shill.

SEPTEMBER

3. I read some of Scarron's *Novells* all day. . . .
 4. . . . I went out to see the woman volt upon the rope but it rained. . . .
 5. I went to see the woman volt. I came in to Cathree's with John Corse and Will Currie. . . .
 6. . . . to the butts. . . . I gott some oisters.
 24. . . . I went down to Antimony's and putt on a virrill on my staff . . . went in to Livingston's where we satt till 7. . . .
 25. I took down my treeleg and screwed the two hole of it and fastned it all day.
 26. . . . the best way of making a smith's fise . . . [small sketch].

27. . . . sat with Mrs. Stewart. . . . I got two books from her, viz. *Jacches Institut. Med. et Manuale Med. Pract.*¹

28. . . . to Mr. Kirtoun and heard him explain the duty of keeping the Sabbath. I saw the militia companys march till 12. I playd on the violl and went down to Leith. I came home at 5 and saw the lass volt on the high rope. . . .

29. I took down my treeleg and ordered it till 12. I playd on the violl . . . the way of makeing the fise. . . .

30 S. . . . Magdalen's Chapell all day. . . . Mr. Law. . . . The news came that the Prince of Orange was at sea.

OCTOBER

1. . . . 20 lib. from my fater . . . some of Jacchaeus hes *Institutions*. . . .

2. I read some of Boccacio's novells. . . . I thought upon the engine for workeing cloth, and of making a wheel that turns about with the wind. . . .

6. I went to Leith with Mr. David and George Drummonds at 11. We shott at butts and playd at golve all day. . . . to Rosses. . . . I spent 5 shill. for my dinner, 4 for a gove ball, 3 to the boy and 21 for my supper.

7 S. The communion was celebratt in Cannongate, Leith, West Port, &c. I went to Magdalen's Chapell. . . . Mr. Strang. . . . I went to Finnick's where I spent 5 shill.

11. . . . went in to the Parliament House and heard Gifford served heir to his brother. . . . I putt a virill on my staff and went down to Leith with Rory Bane and saw all the gentlemen rendevouse. . . .

12. I rose at 7. I collured a golve ball with white lead. . . . I gave away the goodlynsteek.²

13. I saw the man tune the virginalls till 12. I playd on the violl. . . .

14 S. . . . Magdaleen's Chapell . . . Mr. Law. . . .

15. . . . I went out and met with J. I gave halfe a ducatoon.³

16. . . . to Tho. Dunlop. We went to J. W. We satt till 9. I spent 7 shill.

¹ Leyden, 1653.

² The Dutch and Flemish guldenstuk or guilder-piece.

³ A ducatoon was equal to five or six shillings sterling.

17. I went down with the treeleg . . . to the Castlehill with J. D. Then I walked to the Abay and saw the Militia. . . .

18. I took out the pin out of the treeleg . . . mett with J.

19. I went down to the smith's till 7. . . .

20. I wrought at my treeleg all day.

21 S. I went to Magdalen's Chapell all day . . . Mr. Law. . . .

22. . . . I went in to a sellar in the Cougate where I spent 12 shill. . . . I payd Antymony for the treeleg. 14 shill.

23. I gott the treeleg and the smith's fise. I putt it up. I ordered my treeleg. . . . I walked with A. Boyd. . . .

24. . . . to Antimonys and payd him for the fise and treeleg 5 lib. 6 shill. . . .

25. I putt in the screwed nail through the treeleg . . . played on the violl and satt with my sisters till 10.

26. . . . I found that all the operations in mechanicks may be reduced to three (pp. 172-6).

27. . . . walked with J. to the Potterraw. Then we came to a sellar in the Cowgatte and satt till 8. . . .

NOVEMBER

1. . . . to the fair . . . I bought some pears and two spangtrees¹ for the turning loom . . . to my sister's. . . .

2. I stayd at home all day. . . .

3. . . . I sent over the dam broad to Mr. Park. . . .

4 S. . . . Magdalen's Chapell all day.

5. . . . met Garnkirk . . . to Cathrees. . . .

6. . . . I tried to turn a stick on the loom. The Prince of Orange landed the day and morn.

7. . . . wrought at the treeleg all day.

8. . . . went out and spook to J. . . . I bought snuff and ane chisile. 6 shill.

9. . . . playd on the violl. . . .

¹ 'String-pole of a centre lathe.'—O.E.D.

10. I wrott this and playd on the viol. . . .
- 11 S. . . . Magdalen's Chapell . . . Mr. Law . . . with Hen. Legatt and Math. Dicke in Carthrees till 5.
12. . . . some of Turner's *Pallas Armata* . . . playd on the viol. . . .
13. . . . the best ways of moveing wings and fixing them to my body . . . mett with J. . . . home at 7 and satt with Margarett till 9.
23. . . . I found that a dragon of paper should be tyed at thre places. . . . I thought on the way of breeding horse to run swiftly by tying their joynts that so they may move only such and such joynts 'and of the different kinds of pacing and trotting' [from running-title, pp. 180-92].
24. I thought upon this way of breeding horse and wrot some of it. I went out and walked till 7.
30. . . . mett with J. . . . I was angrie at J.

DECEMBER

- 9 S. . . . Magdalen's Chapell all day. I spok with J. This night there was a rumor that the toun should have been surprized by Papists and therfor they were in armes all night.
10. . . . I putt on a peice of leather on my treeleg. I marked the psalmes in my new bible. This night the young lads went down to the Abay and Captain Wallace caused his men fire twice a running fire amongst them, wherby five or six of them were killed and many of them deadly wounded. The noise of this comeing to the toun, the train bands were draw out and the Marquess of Athol gave orders for them to goe down with Grahme's guard and take Cap: Wallace, and sent down ane herald to him to command him to yeald the place, but he refused and fired upon them from the vault below the Lady Arroll's Ludgen, through which they enter to the outer closs of the Abay. Therfor Cap: Grahme and some of his men went out at the Water Gate and comeing about entered in upon their backs, and then they fled. Ther were 12 or 15 of them taken. The rabble pulled down all the Abay Church and Chapell and the printing house and library and school, and the Chancellor's house, and burnd all the books and timber they could gett. Then they went through all the Papists' houses in the toun and plundered them.

11. I went down to the Abay and saw them searching for Wallace. They gott some of his men but not himselfe. Afternoon I went down to Hen. Legat's. We went to Carthrees. There was a proclamation over the Cross that no persons should be on the streat after fouer in the clock this night.
12. . . . treeleg. . . . I mett with J. . . .
13. . . . I looked out *Natalis Comitiss Mythologiæ*¹ and read on it all night. . . .
14. I thought of the studys and particulars that are most proper to accomplish you for common discourse. . . . I stood on the street and saw C. Grahme march away to defend the house of Halltoun from some men that were comeing out of the west to burn it. . . .
15. . . . I found that the particulars for fitting you for common discourse are these: [9 heads, pp. 196-99] . . . the best way of book-keeping. . . .
- 16 S. I went to Magdalen's Chapell . . . Mr. David Williamson all day. . . .
17. . . . I got six dollers from my father, 5 rix and on [*i.e.* one] leg. 17 lib. 6 shill. I found that 4 rex dollers and three leg dollers² make just 20 lib. . . .
18. . . . the way of keeping a ledger of my inventions and thoughts upon all subjects. . . . Antymony told me that the best tinder was made of the funguses that grow out of the roots of trees . . . 1. of fastning of pigs³; 2. of stocking musketts; 3. of a pendul clock; [4.] the best way for ordering your workhouse [*i.e.* workshop]; [5.] the best way of cleanseing bottles; [6.] of markeing wood upon the turning loom [pp. 201-205].⁴

I fell down some steps of the stairs of the Kirkheugh. I went up to Mrs. Stewart's and saw Dixon's *Therapeutica Sacra* and some

¹ There were various editions of the *Mythologiæ of Natalis Comes* in the 17th century.

² 'leg dollers haveing the impression of a man in armes with one leg and a shield . . . covering the other leg . . . which does usually pass at the rate of 5s. Scots Money.'—Proc. of the Privy Council, 14 January 1670, cited in *Journals of . . . Lord Fountainhall*, ed. D. Crawford, Scot. Hist. Soc., 1900, p. xlivii.

³ Can for a chimney-top.

⁴ The numbered subjects of 'thoughts' are taken from the running-titles of the pages.

popish papers, and I gott the poem called 'The Hind and the Panther'¹ . . . read some of it.

20. . . . the way of placing the arrow in the bow . . . in what way an arrow doth fly [and other thoughts on archery, pp. 205-210]. . . . I went up to the meeting house in the Castlehill where I heard Mr. Kennedy. . . . I sent Michaell to the auction of books but he bought none. . . .

24. I wrott this. I found that in shooting at rovers ye should place the arrow exactly perpendicular to the string . . . [pp. 210-11]. . . . I read some of the Papists' book of common prayer and folded the sheets of it all day. I playd on the violl and sleopt till 8.

25. I rose at 5. I thought on the rules of motion (including 'the way and rules for playing on the violl'—pp. 211-15).

28. I rose at 6. . . . I wrott this. The art of painting [pp. 218-9], 'of cureing of glydness [i.e. squint] and stammering in speach' [p. 220].

31. . . . I thought upon discanting in musick . . . the best forme of wings would be to make a large square 6 ells each side . . . making a void in the middle about an ell square for your body to hang in, which most be sett in a frame like a chire which most hang in the middle of the square by two pins whereupon it may turn back or forwards at pleasure . . . [pp. 221-2].

¹ London, 1687. Reprinted by the Holyrood Press, 1687.

END OF MS.

SOME NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEAN ORPHAN HOSPITAL

AMONGST the city charities the Orphan Hospital is one of the oldest. In 1733 a movement was started to erect a hospital where poor orphans could be housed, maintained and educated. Certain charitably-minded persons having indicated their willingness to subscribe to this object, a sponsor for it was sought. The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which had been founded in 1709, was approached and it willingly consented to sponsor the project. Accordingly the Society met on 1st March 1733 in its Hall in Warriston Close, with the Lord President of Session in the Chair, when it was unanimously agreed that as the design of the Society was, by the Royal Letters Patent, the promoting of virtue as well as Christian Knowledge, 'and having the same much at heart the meeting did nominate diverse of their members to meet with some of the Trustees for Improvement and Encouragement of Manufacture, and being now informed that some charitable inclined persons have of late subscribed for certain sums of money towards the erecting of a School and Hospital for maintaining and educating of poor orphans in and about the city and for instructing them in the principles of Religion and Virtue, and that the Society for Improvement in Agriculture had agreed to encourage the same, recommended the members of their Society to meet with the subscribers to the foresaid School and Orphan Hospital and communicate to them the Society's experience in their undertaking and to concur in concerting Rules for management and to assist in carrying on the good design.' Thus began the Orphan Hospital, now known as the Dean Hospital. This Resolution appeared in the city newspapers, and on 7th March 1733 the

first meeting of subscribers and contributors was held in Warriston Close.

Thereafter, various meetings were held to constitute the Hospital and arrange for increased subscriptions and contributions. On 25th April 1733 Managers were appointed, and on 20th July 1733, being satisfied they had enough funds to warrant the opening of a Hospital, the Governors decided to remit to the Managers 'to provide a house, materials for work, and to look for a Master, Mistress and servants.' On 19th October the Managers reported they had found a lodging in Bailie Fyfe's Close to be let, belonging to Mr. Trotter of Mortonhall, with seven rooms, a kitchen, garret and several closets, near to the head of the Close. This they took at a rent of £12 per annum. The promoters found many who sympathised with their project, and while at first money subscriptions were scarce, much material help towards the furnishing of the house and the clothing of the children was forthcoming, as the following will show :

1733.

Oct.	From benefactors who concealed their names.	11 pair of blankets. 11 pair of sheets.
	Anne M'Ilvreath, midwife in Edinburgh. Mrs. Sheelds there.	2 pairs of blankets. 1 pair of sheets. 1 pair of blankets.
	From the above unknown benefactors.	9 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ of gray cloth applied for petty coats to the girls.
	Charles Crawford, coppersmith in Edinburgh.	2 pairs of brazen candlesticks.
	Mrs. Stewart, spouse to John Stewart, merchant there.	1 pair of harn sheets.
	Thomas Robertson, stockin weaver there.	1 pair of sheets and 1 pair of blankets.
	Mrs. Murdoch.	1 pair of sheets.
Nov. 7.	From the above private benefactors.	Six press beds with ambries above each.
	From ditto.	Six new feather beds with six bolsters each.

Thomas Trotter, merchant in Edinburgh.	A dozen of trenchers. A big platter, a basin, a porringer and a chamber pot.
From ditto.	A cristal salt foot, 6 pewter spoons, a big brass pan, 56 weight of barley and a big stand for holding meal.
William Braidwood, candlemaker there.	One stone of candles.
John Trotter of Mortonhall.	A striking clock.
John Louthian, writer in Edinburgh.	A big chest.
John Wishart, cordiner in Caltoun.	Thirty-three pair of shoes to the boys.
Alexander Lindsay, merchant in Edinburgh.	Nine stone of wool.
Walter Scott, brewer at Gardenhall.	A nine-gallon tree of ale.
Mr. Edgar, pewterer in Edinburgh.	Six pewter plates.
Thomas Anislic, smith in Caltoun.	A fine chimney.
Robert Beatson, baxter in Canongate.	25 dozen baps.

The Managers purchased beds, tables and forms, three dozen greenhorn spoons, three dozen timber trenchers, eight timber broad plates, six little timber cups and a big brass pan. George Brown and his wife were appointed Master and Mistress, and along with a servant, whom they had hired, took occupation of the house. It was agreed to open with 24 boys and 6 girls. The children were not restricted to city families, but came from all parts of the kingdom. Some generous donors of funds acquired a right of nomination. The ages of the children varied from eight to eleven. Surgeons were appointed to examine the children, and if any should not be found sound they would be replaced by others to be nominated.

With the Hospital started in a modest way, the Governors found they required more money to carry on and, on 18th January 1734, it was agreed to petition the Town Council to ask for voluntary contributions at the church doors and to ask the Judicatory, Incorporations and Societies in the city for contributions. The Faculty of Advocates and the Writers

to the Signet, by their members, had already generously contributed to the fund. The petition was granted, and on 19th April the Treasurer reported that he had received from churches in the city and suburbs £200, 17s. 11d., from the Meeting Houses £82, 17s. 11d., from country parishes £5, 7s. 4d. and from private persons £11, 14s.

The Governors soon realised the inadequacy of the house in Bailie Fyfe's Close for a hospital and the need for a proper building. They accordingly met on 13th June 1734 and decided to acquire a site, proceed with the erection of a building and collect funds. A search was made for ground, and as a result ground called the Dingwall,¹ belonging to the Trinity Hospital and lying to the north of the Physic Garden, was acquired. Old maps show the Hospital almost immediately north of Bailie Fyfe's Close, and to the west of Paul's Work. They then instructed Mr. William Adam, architect, father of the famous Adam brothers, to prepare plans and select a site for the building, the foundation stone of which was laid on 28th June 1734. The building was to consist of three blocks or wards as they were called: the West Ward, the Middle Ward and the East Ward. The West Ward was first erected, and it was ready for occupation in April 1735. The work was under the charge of Henry Wilson, mason. Much of the material for the work was donated and labour was given voluntarily. Journeymen masons served as volunteers and only got their meat. They were paid 5d. a day for their victuals. The Accounts show bread and drink for 15 men cost 1s. 3d. sterling. The Accounts also show that members of the Town Guard received refreshments: 'To 8 town guard soldiers by order for their morning drink 1s.' Presumably they also gave their help. The Deacon of the slaters and others of his trade bestowed slates, and he, with some of his trades, 'caused cover the roof, and a

¹ So called from John Dingwall, Provost of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity (*Book of the Club*, vol. xix. p. 94).

plumber did his part as to work, all gratis.' Some of the timber merchants very generously gave of their work. The wrights and glaziers also contributed.

The stone came from Tillichewens Quarry and was transported by boat to Queensferry and Leith, whence it was carted to the building. Sand was also brought from Leith: 42 loads of sand cost £5, 4d. Scots money or 8s. 4d. sterling. The total cost of the West Ward was £475, 14s.

In 1736 the Middle Ward was commenced and at the same time a new house for the brewing of ale was erected, it having been found cheaper to brew than to buy ale.

The Hospital being now a going concern, the Town Council, on 22nd January 1735, granted their Seal of Cause to the Governors for a school or hospital to be called 'The Orphan Hospital of Edinburgh.'

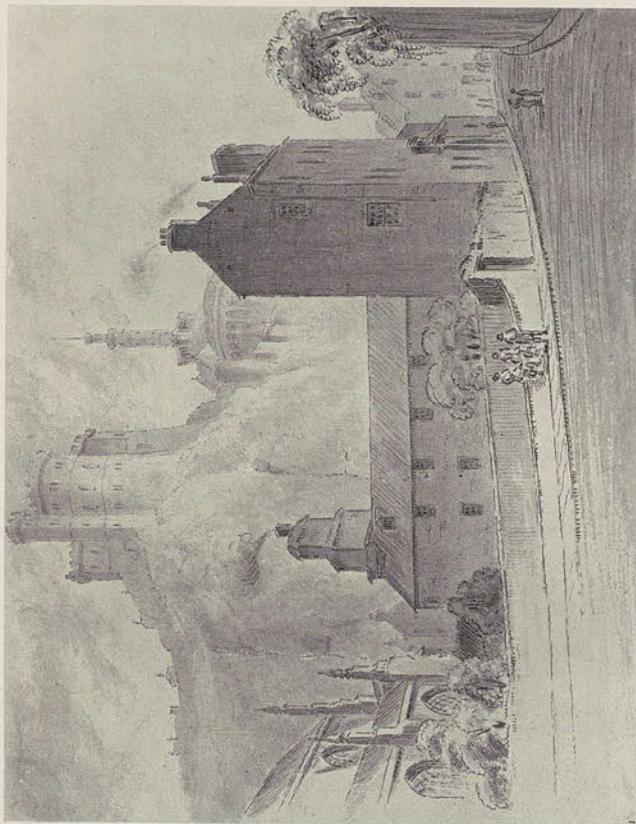
The dress of the boys was agreed by the Governors on 19th October 1733. 'The colour of the outer clothes a dark cinnamon, not exceeding 5 shillings sterling a yard, the lining not dyed but the natural colour of the wool and scoured in the mill and pressed. The buttons of yellow metal, and twist to make the holes of the same colour. Bonnets of the same cloth with the letter "O" in the left shoulder in red cloth. Each boy to have 3 shirts, 3 stocks, 2 pairs of breeches lined with twill not above 8d. per yard, 2 pairs of shoes and 2 pairs of stockings. The girls have each a nightgown and petticoat of mild serge of cloth colour not exceeding 14d. per yard, a waistcoat of the same serge lined with twill not exceeding 8d. per yard, 3 shirts, 2 pairs of shoes and a pair of stockings.' Later the cloth was woven by the boys.

On 7th November 1733 the Committee met at the Hospital House where 'the Treasurer reported that the clothes for the boys and girls being made and put on them, he desired they might be called, which being done and the children appearing before the Committee, the *preses* at the desire of the Managers exhorted them to be subject and obedient to

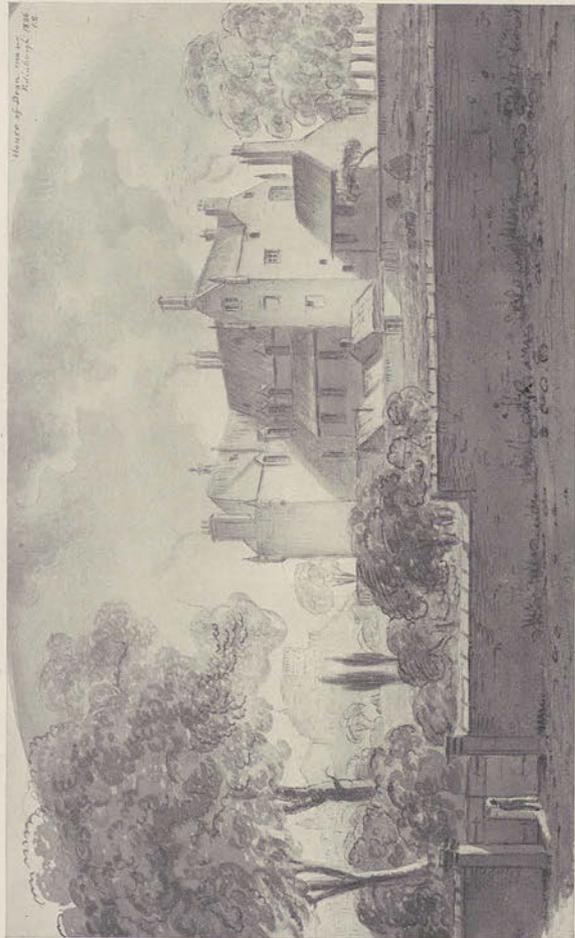
their Master and Mistress in all their lawful commands, and it was agreed that so many were to remain this night in the Hospital as there were bed and clothes provided for them, and to have their diet given them as should be ordered by the Treasurer from henceforth.'

The older boys were employed in spinning and weaving and the older girls spun flax, knitted and made garments. Both boys and girls alternated their work with lessons in school. They commenced work at 6 o'clock in the morning and continued until 8 at night. The smaller children rose about 7 and got their questions until 8, when they got breakfast. Immediately after family worship teaching began in the school and the older children came to the school in turns, two classes working and one teaching alternately throughout the day. The smaller children were kept in the school longer than the older children until they made some considerable progress and advancement in learning. They were taught reading, writing, English, arithmetic, church music and the knowledge of syllabifications. The Master catechised the children twice a week upon the grounds of the Christian as contained in the Shorter and Larger Catechism. All the children save five were at the date of the report (15th September 1736) reading the Bible, '42 are learning to write and several of the boys and also some of the girls had got a considerable part of the Assemblies' Larger Catechism by heart, some had the whole of it.'

The Hospital dined at 1 o'clock, the boys at a table by themselves and the girls at a table by themselves. The Master, Mistress and Doctor of the school (the school teacher went by the name of Doctor) sat at a separate table in the same hall where the children dined, to ask a blessing and return thanks and to inspect their manners at table. Immediately after dinner the children returned to school and work, as in the forenoon, and continued until 8 o'clock except for one hour which they got for recreation in the evening. From the



TRINITY HOSPITAL, 1817
After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw



HOUSE OF DEAN, 1826
After drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw

1st of November to the end of May the girls were employed in spinning flax for shirts, sheets, mitches and stocks, and thereafter to August they were employed in knitting stockings for themselves and the boys. From September to November they made mitches, stocks, shirts and sheets. Ten boys weaving, 4 boobining yarn, 6 winding pirns, 2 combing wool along with the comber, and the rest of the boys were employed, some spinning slab and some spinning and carding backings.

There were two servant women who dressed the children's heads, kept their clothes and stockings right, the house clean, and washed the Hospital clothes. Another woman servant dressed the victuals in the kitchen and brewed the ale. There was also a woman who taught the smaller boys to spin, and reeled their yarn. The Doctor attended close upon the school. The Mistress bought the furniture for table, oversaw the dressing of the victuals and the distribution of it among the children; she taught the girls to spin, weave stockings and sheets, gave proper directions to the women servants for keeping the children's clothes, beds, tables and furniture in the Hospital neat and clean.

The Master had the immediate inspection of the Hospital and workhouse under the Managers, conducted family worship morning and evening, directed and assisted in teaching in the school, gave proper directions to the servants, and went about the affairs of the Hospital without doors, kept the books of the charge and produce of the workhouse and the maintenance of the family, and was accountable to the Managers. In the first year George Brown was paid one hundred merks with his keep.

There was also a master of the manufactory who had charge of the utensils and staff in the workhouse and received the combed wool from the Master and gave it out to spin, received in the yarn and paid the spinners. He prepared the yarn and warped the webs, taught the boys to weave, and

delivered the cloth for sale to the Committee of Managers who inspected the manufactory. From a Minute of 19th October 1734 it was agreed to pay Patrick Crookshanks, Master of the Manufactory, £7 sterling yearly.

After the opening of the Hospital the Managers entered into an agreement with the tacksmen of Paul's Work, where wool was spun into yarn and cloth was woven, to receive 16 of the boys in the most profitable part of the manufactory of Paul's Work that they should be judged capable of performing, and to pay to the Managers 15d. per week for each boy or whatever the work should exceed that sum. The boys were to remain three years, and any boys who died or ran away were to be replaced by others. The Managers provided a servant to take and bring back the boys who remained and worked in the manufactory, he being paid the usual wages of a journeyman. Subsequently the Managers by agreement with the tacksmen annulled their contract and purchased a share of Paul's Work and tools and utensils therein. The children worked there and in the Hospital. On 18th April 1735 the Managers reported to the Governors that 12 boys were set apart for spinning to the broad loom, 12 boys for spinning slab yarn for the narrow looms, 1 to weave on the broad loom and 1 to wind pirns and labouring to ditto, 5 boys to weave on the narrow loom and 2 to wind pirns to ditto. The children worked all Saturday. It was not considered good that they should have a Saturday afternoon as they would expect it when they left and entered into an apprenticeship.

Between 1st November 1733 and 1st November 1736, 326 stones of wool were bought and gifted. The wool was then manufactured into :

439 yards broad cloth, whereof 229 yards made use of for clothing the boys and 210 yards for sale.
 1320 finest cast shalloons.
 1710 second cast do.
 156 third cast do.
 950 rock and wheel serges.

92 callimancoes for the girls in the Hospital.
 25 plaids for the use of outgoing girls.
 304 blankets.
 25 aprons to the girls.
 77 coarse cloth for bed-coverings.
 200 pairs of stockings to the boys and girls.

849 pound weight of undressed lint bought and gifted.
 Manufactured into :

310 shirting cloth finer and coarser for the boys and girls use.
 468 linen for shirting and sheeting.
 482 shirting nappiril and coarse linen.

Reference is made on several occasions to the diet of the Hospital, which more or less remained the same. On 18th April 1739 the House Committee minuted : ' Having made a strait enquiry into the charges of the diet and manner thereof they find that the Family is regulated after the following manner. Each morning oatmeal pottage with small ale brewed in the House for the whole Family. At evening the same, excepting for some of the children who are of a weakly constitution, who get bread and ale.'

The Dinners for the whole week are ordered as after-mentioned :

' Monday. Kail without flesh, and eggs when cheap, and in place thereof cheese and a mutchkin of ale to every servant, and half a mutchkin to the children, the bread as regulated by the statutes.
 Tuesday. Kail with flesh, and no ale.
 Wednesday. Kail without flesh and eggs when cheap.
 Thursday. Kail with flesh, no ale.
 Friday. The same as Thursday.
 Saturday. Kail without flesh, and butter or eggs when cheap, and ale.
 Sabbath. Bread and butter and ale as regulated.

The Committee caused weigh the meal for breakfast and supper. For breakfast it took 25 pounds weight, for supper 21 pounds, in all 46 pounds weight, which to serve 83 persons in the Family beside the gardener and tailor comes to only five

pennys Scots money for breakfast and supper to each person, when the price of meal is at six pence half-penny a peck, which in the Committee's opinion is as cheap as possibly can be. The Committee also caused weigh the barley and groats for the pot in the days the Family get flesh, and it took $7\frac{1}{2}$ pounds barley and groats, value 9 pence, and for flesh at the middle of this quarter being £10, 10s.' The report continues, 'which when computed takes 11 pennys Scots for each person at dinner for that Article beside their bread and upon making a comparison betwixt the days the Family get flesh and the other days find a considerable difference. Therefore refer it to the Managers if they think it proper to take off one of days in which they get flesh and give a cheaper diet instead thereof, the difference of the change in the dinner on the flesh days being near half a crown.'

Throughout the Minutes appear references to the purchase of meat in the autumn when it was salted and kept for consumption during the winter.

On 18th October 1737 the House Committee met, having under consideration the winter flesh, 'We have determined to buy to the value of £8 stg. of flesh with the old cow that is in the Hospital and three of the said kine to be bought on foot.' A cow was kept and pastured in a park adjoining the Hospital. On 8th October 1738, 'Ordered the master and mistress to buy four cows on foot to salt for the use of the Hospital. Two cows from Deacon Clerk if we get them may be sufficient for salting but if Deacon Clerk do not give them we leave it to the Treasurer and Master to provide either sheep or two cows.' On 24th October 1739 Mrs. Brown 'represented to the Committee she had bought from Mrs. Mathieson 10 sheep at 3s. 6d. each and two cows at 35 pounds Scots.'

It is not surprising that the children did not fare well on their diet. Unless in kail, there does not appear to have been much consumed in the way of vegetables. The result was apparent in a scrofulous condition from which many of the

children suffered. This condition was referred to in the Minutes sometimes as scrofula, sometimes as the Evil or the King's Evil. The children were sent to be cured at Kirkstorphine or Corstorphine Wells, where they were boarded out.

Attempts were made to keep the children clean. In a Minute of 19th December 1739, 'The Committee appoint the Master to cause the boys heads be combed duly every day and particularly every Saturday night the childrens heads be combed and powdered with flour as also that the master order the children's feet be washed at least each fourteen days upon Saturday. Also that due care be taken for cleaning the childrens shoes, mending the stockings each Saturday night and that they be in order upon Sabbath when attending Divine worship.'

The children had little or no leisure, and instructions were given to prevent loitering and leisure. On 4th July 1740 David Brown, the master weaver, was ordered 'to come up to Mrs. Brown of the slab school to take what boys under her care may be wanted at Paul's Work, and as soon as they have done their business David Brown or some discreet person shall bring the boys back to the slab school; this will prevent the boys from strolling, which they are very apt to do and neglect their work. The children are appointed to do and perform their usual tasks and no regard is to be had to Saturday afternoon. After their work is over, George or David Brown or Thomas Mushet are to take care that the children be kept within their bounds, the boys and girls are to be kept separate in their diversion and play.' At their meeting on 21st January 1737 the Governors accepted the report of the Managers that any of the weaving boys who shall work well and perform their task put upon them by the Committee of Paul's Work should be allowed some small thing at the coming out of their webs from the looms, for encouraging those who are diligent, which may be likewise a benefit to the manufactory, and that to encourage such of the

boys who work well and speedily a gratuity may be given them not exceeding 2 pence on a score of ells wrought, which gratuity is to be given to them at such times and in such manner as the Committee of Paul's Work thinks proper.

On the Lord's Day, after sermon, the public were admitted to the larger school-house to hear the Master catechise the children. At the same time they were asked to contribute to the funds of the Hospital. Between 20th June 1736 and 21st January 1737 £18 sterling was thus collected. As a result of receiving these collections the Governors were able to fit out an Infirmary for the children. On 11th August 1742 the Managers 'ordered that the Sabbath day in which the Magistrates are in the College Church at their annual visitation that the children of the Hospital, with their Master and Mistress, stand in the Church entry and salute the Magistrates as they come in, the boys by bowing and the girls give a curtsie, in the forenoon.'

As was naturally to be expected, one frequently finds that boys ran away. Sometimes they are brought back, at other times one hears nothing more beyond notification of what has happened. On one occasion an abduction caused some dismay. On 24th October 1739 'the Master reported that Donald Campbell, one of the boys upon Inveraray Mortification, who was sent to the country for the recovery of his health, had been taken away by a man who pretended he had orders from the people concerned in the Hospital to carry the boy to Inveraray, which was a manifest lie, and getting the boy upon a horse behind him carried him directly to his grandfather in the Highlands, as the Committee are informed. Upon which Mr. Brown has wrote to Mr. Campbell, Minister at Kilbranden, anent the boy.'

Life did not always go smoothly in the Hospital. On 28th January 1741, 'The Committee being informed that Janet Davidson who works in the kitchen is disobedient and unruly and has had a very unbecoming behaviour to Master and

Mistress of the Hospital, and she being called before the Committee has acknowledged that she did insult and struck Walter Mushet several times on the mouth with her hand and also that she beat him with a stick. The Committee are all of opinion she is by no means a proper servant and that it is absolutely necessary to dismiss her, and therefore appoint Mrs. Paterson to take the Inventory off her hand and pay her three months wages and dismiss her and get another in her room.'

9th March 1743. 'Mr. Johnston having reported to the Committee that several of the boys being caught by him in bickering and throwing stones at one another, for which he corrected them, the Committee considering the fatal consequences both to the Hospital and the boys if they continue in such an abominable practice they immediately convened the boys and certified them that if any of them were found guilty in time coming they should be severely corrected and sett out of the Hospital.' The Committee also certified that the boys who spin in the slab school were to have their task augmented.

When Robert Whyte, gardener, was engaged, one of his duties was 'That he assist the Master or Doctor in correcting the boys by taking them on his back.'

The children in the Hospital numbered about 50, and most left on attaining the age of twelve. The boys were indentured to various trades. A number, with their early training, became weavers. The girls usually went out on service, although occasionally one finds a girl indentured, as for instance to a stay maker or to a glover. When the girls went out on service they were each given a plaid. Occasionally boys were withdrawn for their betterment.

On 23rd September 1737, 'James Thom, the boy who has been at Kirkstorphin Wells this season has an Uncle that is at London a tailor and he wants to have the boy to him, he having no children of his own. We have appointed the Master

to write to the man to know how he will order the boy to go up and with whom.'

9th May 1739. 'John Clerk represented to the Committee that John Young, Merchant in Edinburgh, had a letter from John Young, Uncle to Richard Douglas, one of the boys in the Hospital desiring he may take out the boy and educate him at school and when learned to send him over to Cadiz to him and he will take care of him. The Committee remits to Mr. Thomson and the Treasurer to converse with the said John Young and report.' On 23rd May the Committee ordered the 'boy to be sent out, his uncle having promised to keep him at school until he got an opportunity to send him abroad to Cadiz.'

19th August 1741. 'Mr. Braidwood reported that he received a letter from Emelia Melvil, relict of George Smith, surgeon in Pittenweem, desiring him to acquaint the Manager that Captain James Melvil, Commander of an English merchant ship, has wrote from London to send up Robert Smith, my son, by the first pacquet bound for London and has undertaken to educate him in his business as a sailor and furnish him with all the necessaries in time coming, which, being read and considered by the Committee, they agree he should be delivered to the said Emelia Melvil the mother to be sent to London to his cousin.'

The only reference to the 'Rising' in 1745 appears in a Minute of the Governors on 11th November 1745: 'The Managers in regard of the confusion that has been in the City since the last General Meeting have not got the matters referred to them dispatched and therefore delayed making up the Report of their diligence till next meeting of the Corporation.'

The foregoing Notes have been taken from the early Minute Books of the Governors and Managers of the Orphan Hospital to which the subscriber has had the privilege of access.

JOHN RICHARDSON.

MISCELLANY

THIS feature was introduced with Volume XXIV, and is intended to be a receptacle for brief contributions of a miscellaneous nature relating to Old Edinburgh, and for *addenda* and *corrigenda* as to articles in previous volumes. For easy reference, the numbering will be continuous throughout the series.

14. DOVECOTES.

The following notes are furnished by Dr. A. Niven Robertson as supplementary to his article on 'Dovecotes in and around Edinburgh,' printed in Vol. XXV.

St. Catherine's Dovecote

This dovecote is joined on the west and east side to the outhouses connected with the mansion of St. Catherine's, in the garden of which is the famous Balm Well. It is situated to the south-east of the house and is ivy-covered. It is not readily recognisable as a dovecote, but the string course, sloping roof and crowstepped gables indicated its former functions. The walls are rubble, grey sandstone, and there is one flat string course on the north side. They are twenty-three inches thick. Each gable has eight crowsteps. The south wall is continuous on each side with the brick wall that encloses the gardens to the north, and it shows the outlines of three previous windows, now blocked up, which probably once acted as entrances for the pigeons. The entrance to the dovecote is in the north wall and is 6 feet 9½ inches high and 3 feet wide. Only 61 stone nest holes remain in the interior, and they are in five rows on the north wall only. They vary in dimensions and are about 17 inches deep, being rather roughly finished. The roof slopes to the south, towards the gardens, and is covered with red tiles. The external dimensions are 24 feet from east to west, and 12 feet north to south.

Greenend Dovecote

This rather derelict dovecote still stands, in a garden, behind some houses in Stenhouse village. It is a rectangular, two-chambered dovecote with a ridge roof. The walls are of rubble, of pink, yellow, and

pale lilac-coloured sandstone, and are 3 feet thick. There is a single string course. Oyster shells are present in the mortar. The entrance to the west chamber is in the north wall close to the west gable. This chamber contains 593 nest holes, the lowest row of holes being 2 feet 8 inches from the floor. The entrance to the east chamber is in the east gable and this chamber has 490 nest holes, the lowest row being 4 feet 8 inches from the floor. The roof is slated. The dove entrances are ten openings, in a wooden board, half-way down the sloping roof of the east chamber. The similar openings in the west roof are all broken down. I am indebted to Mr. Macrae, former city architect, for informing me of the existence of this dovecote.

Granton Castle Dovecote

This rectangular dovecote is situated in Mr. Smith's market garden, near the shore of the Firth of Forth. Its west wall is in line with the wall that encloses the market garden on its west side. It has been two-chambered. The walls are of rubble grey sandstone, and contain oyster shells. Some of the harling remains on the north wall. The walls are 2 feet 8 inches thick. Two broad string courses of sandstone are present on all the walls. The upper string course forms the cornice below the eaves on the south side, the lower course being 6 feet 8 inches up from the ground level. There is a window to each chamber in the south wall. An entrance in the west end of the south wall is 5 feet high, 28 inches wide; another entrance in the west wall is 3 feet 2 inches wide. There has also been an entrance in the north wall but it is now blocked up. No nest holes are now present but their former presence is easily traceable. Their number has been 880. Each nest was 9 inches wide and 10 inches high. Part of the partition that once separated the two chambers is still present. The roof slopes to the south and is slated. Each gable has six crowsteps with one higher step at the top to the back wall. The dimensions of the dovecote are 19 feet 6 inches long, 13 feet 11 inches wide. The walls are slightly recessed above the upper string course. The interior of the east chamber was used as an air-raid shelter by the Smiths, and had sleeping bunks round its interior.

Note.—Dr. Robertson points out that the caption for the photograph in Vol. XXV, opp. p. 184 should be 'Leny' and not 'Craigiehall.' He also expresses thanks to Mr. L. S. Paterson for these excellent photographs.

15. A SERVITUDE FOOTPATH.

The closing of the path that runs from the end of Morningside Terrace to the west end of Maxwell Street has reminded the writer of a curious passage in the history of Morningside. When the Royal Edinburgh Hospital was opened in 1813 it occupied roughly the area between the present Morningside Park and Maxwell Street, this being the site of the East House which was, of course, the original hospital. To the north and west of this lay the village of Tipperlinn, and the villagers used a footpath to reach the Jordan Burn, then an open stream, for the purpose, I gather, of washing their clothes.

In 1837 a proposal was being considered to extend the East House, but the extra land to be feued lay astride this path, which the villagers refused to relinquish. A satisfactory compromise was reached when an alternative path was provided to skirt the new ground to the west.

This original plan for extending the East House was dropped in 1840, and an entirely new scheme adopted, namely the construction of the present West House. This plan was put into execution, and the building of the West House was begun, but once more, in 1847, trouble arose about 'the servitude road from the village of Tipperlinn to the Jordan burn.' This path, the new one mentioned above, now ran straight across the middle of the Hospital's ground since, to build the West House, a big tract of ground had been taken to the west of the East House grounds. The villagers flatly refused to give up their right of way to the burn, and an impasse had been reached.

At this stage an almost incredible solution was found, for the Hospital ran a large wall along each side of the path, and excavated a sunk carriage drive which ran *underneath* both walls and path, so that transit between the East and West Houses was free, unhindered and entirely private!

In 1853 the rest of the village of Tipperlinn was purchased by the Hospital with the idea of boarding some of the patients there, and gradually the houses were granted to Hospital employees or their relatives. By 1861, however, the village was thought to be too dilapidated, and it was demolished, thus seemingly ending the problem.

Twenty-one years later trouble arose once more about this awkward little path, and this time a final verdict was reached. In the Agreement made by the Hospital with the Railway Company, which latter bore the rather grandiloquent title of 'The Edinburgh Suburban and

Southside Junction Railway Company,' it was agreed that the Company should do its best to close the path, which they were quite willing to do. When the Bill came forward two of the neighbouring feudal superiors had different views, however, and challenged the Company's right to close the path. One of these gentlemen was persuaded to withdraw his objection, but the other held to his protest, and when the Commons had passed the Bill, he had it challenged in the Lords. The Lords decided that the Commons had no jurisdiction in the matter of the path, which should have come under the control of the Edinburgh Police—and they threw out the clause. Thus, by the final decision of the highest authority in the land, the little path remained. The old right-of-way had beaten both Railway Company and Hospital Board.

Until recently one could see on this path the remains of the old East House wall on the east side, while the West House wall, now the wall of the Jordanburn Nerve Hospital, towers to its full height on the west side. Some time ago a fire in the yard to the east of the path led to its being closed . . . but I wonder if that action was *really* legal?

HENRY TOD, Junr.

16. THE FRIENDS BURIAL PLACE, PLEASANCE.

Miss E. M. Mein called the Editor's attention to a small Note-book deposited by her in the Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Public Library, wherein she describes certain tombstones in the above burial place not mentioned in W. Pitcairn Anderson's *Silences that Speak*. They number 27, and are situated on the south side of the ground against the wall of the Pleasance Church.

The stones are sandstone, without ornament, and the lettering is plain capital lettering without serifs. They measure 20 inches in height and 26 inches in width, with slight variations. The earliest one is dated 1819 and the last interment took place in 1914.

For further details about the burial place and interments, see Anderson's book, and references in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

Acknowledgment is made to the Librarian, Edinburgh Public Library, for kind permission to make these extracts:—

Barlow, John, died 29th of first month, 1856, aged 40 years. His son Alfred died 30th of sixth month, 1857, aged 5 years.

Brantingham, George, of Kinmuck, died at Edinburgh on 8th of first month, 1874, aged 43 years.

Cruickshank, Alexander, died 3rd of second month, 1842, aged 84 years.

Cruickshank, Ann, died 31st of twelfth month, 1836, aged 62 years.

Cruickshank, Elizabeth, died 24th of ninth month, 182— (stone repaired at some time and becoming indecipherable).

Doull, Clement Rimington, died 8th of first month, 1862, aged 21 years.

Doull, David, died 8th of first month, 1858, aged 74 years.

Doull, Mary, died 6th of eighth month, 1868, aged 70 years.

Doull, William, died 5th of eleventh month, 1865, aged 37 years.

Gibbs, Helenus, died 20th of fifth month, 1876, aged 74 years.

Gray, Elizabeth, died 5th of eleventh month, 1872, aged 89 years.

Gray, William, died 4th of twelfth month, 1865, aged 76 years.

Johnson, William, died 21st of seventh month, 1837, aged 32; and

Margaret Bryson, died 11th of twelfth month, 1862, aged 62.

M'Kenzie, Alexander, died 18th of second month, 1890, aged 38 years; Mary Dowie, his wife, died 26th of first month, 1914, aged 64; and Allan, their son, died in 1890, aged 15 years.

M'Laren, Priscilla Bright, widow of Duncan M'Laren, born 8th Sept. 1815, died 5th Nov. 1906 (buried in St. Cuthbert's Church-yard).

[Commemorative stone on wall outside entrance.]

Mason, Robert, died 1st of fifth month, 1861, aged 81 years.

Miller, Ann, widow of George Miller, died 10th of tenth month, 1892, aged 82 years.

Miller, Ellen, wife of William Miller, died 20th of sixth month, 1841, aged 38 years.

Miller, William, born 28th of fifth month, 1786, died 20th of first month, 1882; Jane Miller, his widow, born 29th of fourth month, 1818, died 12th of second month, 1908.

Thompson, Edwin, resident physician in Royal Infirmary, died 21st of third month, 1870, aged 22 years.

Wellstood, Stephen, eldest son of James and Ann Geikie Wellstood, born 1st Nov. 1811, died 27th Jan. 1886.

Wellstood, Robert Lundie, fourth son of above parents, died 25th of third month, 1819, aged 2 years 8 months.

Wellstood, Jessie M., wife of Stephen Wellstood, died 9th April 1898, in her 75th year.

- Wigham, Jane, widow of John Wigham, *tertius*, died 29th of eleventh month, 1888, aged 86 years.
- Wigham, John, *tertius*, died 27th of tenth month, 1864, aged 80 years.
- Wigham, John, junior, died 29th of fourth month, 1862, aged 80 years.
- Wigham, Sarah Elizabeth, died 31st of eighth month, 1854, aged 20 years.
- Woods, Joseph Thompson, died 8th of fifth month, 1867, aged 34 years.

17. A FORGOTTEN GRAVE.

It is well known that 'Christopher North' (John Wilson) is buried in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh. Near his grave are those of two brothers, James, and Robert Sym Wilson, but the whereabouts of the burial places of his mother and his wife have for long been a matter of speculation, even to his descendants.

The uncertainty has now been removed by reference to the Register of Burials of St. John's Episcopal Church in Princes Street. It appears from the Register that until the opening of the Dean Cemetery about 1845, the family grave of the Wilson family was in St. John's Church Burial Ground, in the walled enclosure immediately to the east of the church, known as the Dormitory. Unfortunately the headstone, for we must assume that there was one, has disappeared without trace, and for that reason all knowledge of the grave has faded out of memory.

The Wilson burying ground is situated in the north-east corner of the Dormitory, next to that of Dean Ramsay. According to the family records the piece of ground was purchased by John Wilson's younger brother, Robert Sym Wilson, for the sum of 60 guineas, but it is shown on the plan as the ground of John Wilson. It would appear from the entries in the Register of Burials that there were at least eight interments, including a sister of the Professor's, and a daughter named Harriet Woodville, a sixth child who is not mentioned in Mrs. Gordon's life of her father. Three of these interments are worth recording:

1824. Mrs. Margaret Wilson, widow of John Wilson, Esq., Merchant, Paisley, died on the 6th day of December, aged 71 years, and was buried in the dormitory of St. John's Chapel on the tenth of the same month. D. S. (DANIEL SANDFORD).

1837. Mrs. Jane Wilson, wife of John Wilson, Esq., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, died 29th March 1837, and buried in family tomb, St. John's Chapel, 1st April 1837, aged 49. E. B. RAMSAY.
1837. Mrs. Isabella Wilson, wife of James Wilson, Esq., of Woodville, Canaan, died 21st October 1837, and was interred in the dormitory of St. John's Chapel, Oct. 26th, 1837. E. B. RAMSAY.

The last of these three entries will be of interest to lovers of Marjory Fleming, for Mrs. Isabella Wilson was, before her marriage, Isabella Keith, Marjory's 'dear Isa.' She married James Wilson in 1824, and died, after a short but happy married life, in 1837. Her husband died in 1856, and was buried near his brother in the Dean Cemetery. The following reference to the matter occurs in James Hamilton's life of James Wilson: 'He also expressed a desire to be buried in the Dean Cemetery, where his brother, the Professor, had been buried two years before, adding, in allusion to his wife's grave elsewhere, "the other spot will still be sacred to you."'

It is pleasant to place on record a hitherto unpublished tribute to the woman whose name is inseparably bound up with that of Marjory Fleming. The following note is extracted from the diary of Mrs. Keith of Ravelston, the sister of the Baroness Nairne. The occasion referred to was the death of her husband, Alexander Keith, in 1819:

'28 Oct. 1837. Tidings came today of Isabella Keith (Wilson) having died last Saturday. The letter to me from Miss Wilson. Her mind and memory much gone. Liver complaint the disease, which at last carried off, O, I trust to glory. Never can I forget the time when she aided me so kindly to raise my mind heavenwards when in deep affliction at Ravelston, reading hymns etc. constantly to me after my sad bereavement.' F. GENT.

18. THE LOCHS OF DRYLAW.

It is somewhat surprising that Drylaw House, a plain, sedate mansion, the earliest portion of which was built while Charles I was still on the throne, and housing for several generations a family prominently connected with the history of Edinburgh as well as with distinguished service in various parts of the world—it is surprising that Drylaw has attracted little notice from local historians and

antiquaries. Though marked on John Adair's map of 1680, there is no mention of the building in the Midlothian volume of the Ancient Monuments Commission, nor in Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*. Yet historically there are few more interesting houses in and around the city. Drylaw gathers to itself a rich variety of local history.

Situated on high ground overlooking the Ferry Road, the mansion is surrounded by a belt of stately trees, while stretching away in every direction are some forty acres, partly grass and partly under cultivation. The grounds are diversified with hedgerows, extensive flowerbeds and fruit-trees, a lawn, and an old-fashioned kitchen garden. To the south there is a haunting view of Edinburgh and the Pentlands, while northwards, beyond the ancient dovecote, the eye rests upon the wide expanse of the Firth of Forth, the green uplands of Fife, and in the foreground Inchcolm and Cramond Island.

Above the main doorway are the armorial bearings of the illustrious family of Loch, who were owners of the property for a century and a half.

On entering the mansion one is ushered into a rather diminutive hall, the chief feature of which is a graceful balustrade of hammered iron, probably as old as the house itself. The principal rooms are of moderate size and are panelled in dark wood. Above one or two mantelpieces are mural paintings reminiscent of the scenery of Italy and the south of France. The ceilings are comparatively low, and the windows have small panes. Such are the outstanding features of Drylaw House.

Of the Lochs of Drylaw, whose head is now Baron Loch of Drylaw, little was known until the publication by Lt.-Col. Gordon Dalzell of the Binns for private circulation of a sumptuous and costly volume which revealed from authentic sources not only the meritorious services rendered by the family to the Empire, especially in India, but their close and conspicuous connection with Edinburgh.

The Lochs were landed proprietors in Peeblesshire at a very early date, and are reputed the only family to retain any trace of the blood of Eadulf, a Saxon settler. In the 12th century Walter de Loch was witness to a charter confirming the monks of Newbattle in part of the lands of Lochogow in Eddleston parish. The family seems to have been constantly in residence in Peeblesshire till 1439. In that year several members removed to Midlothian. But the 18th century found them again in their old haunts.

In 1765 James Loch, writer in Edinburgh, acquired the estate of Rachan, which in 1774 he conveyed along with other lands to John Loch, younger of Hawkshaw, in liferent, and William Loch, his eldest son, in fee. John Loch was progressive and alert in the management of his lands; he introduced a breed of cows from Ayrshire, and planted the woods at Rachan.

The Lochs settled in Edinburgh in the first half of the 15th century. They owned considerable property in the High Street, in Blackfriars' Wynd, and at Kirk of Field. Some of these properties remained with them till near the end of the 18th century. In 1473 John Loch witnessed a charter of land on the north side of High Street. In 1480 he was farming the petty customs of Edinburgh. Then we learn of David Loch being made a burgess of the city in 1500, and of Richard Loch acquiring ground beside the Castle Wall.

Some members of the family served in the pre-Reformation Church. Sir Henry Loch was chaplain-sacristan of St. Giles', while Michael Loch was prebendary and deacon of Trinity College. In 1556 Sir Henry Loch assisted in taking down the images in St. Giles' and helped to save the Mass vessels. Again, in 1565, mention is made of John Loch having his property confiscated for adhering to the old religion, besides being imprisoned in the Tolbooth. He, however, regained his freedom and his belongings by command of Mary Queen of Scots.

For certain of the Lochs a roving life on the high seas, partly in search of adventure but mainly to amass wealth by trading with foreign parts, had its attractions. In 1543 Patrick Loch was afloat in the *Mary Gallande* with an eye to the Baltic trade, which, in the burgh records, is referred to as the 'Wild Adventures,' so perilous was the enterprise. Patrick was a brave and resourceful seaman. In the reign of Mary a privateering commission issued to him exhibits him in an amiable light:

'Now when Patrick Loche is about to proceed against the enemy [the English] with an armed ship called the *Mary Gallande*, he has desired these official tokens of our trust, by which we signify to You that he is our man, no robber, no pirate, but bearing just and lawful war with his country against the enemy. Wherefore we desire that if it shall happen him to bring or in any wise send to You any English ships in Your harbours You aid him with provisions and deny him no kindnesses.'

Patrick Loch was influential in Leith. When Mary was imprisoned at Lochleven, he and George Hume took a leading part in obtaining

the consent of the inhabitants to the election of Moray as Regent. Patrick was a contemporary of Archibald Loch to whom Mary granted land near the Market Cross of Edinburgh, the charter being signed jointly by the Queen and Darnley.

Of the Lochs, who traded with the Low Countries for fully a century, James was the most prominent. Made a burghess merchant of Edinburgh in 1613, he became Treasurer of the city, and was partly responsible for the reception of Charles I when, in 1633, he visited his Scottish capital to be crowned at Holyrood. He also was one of those instructed by the Committee of Estates to spend £12,400 Scots on the fortification of Leith, a step taken in 1639 in view of the possible arrival of a hostile fleet. Part owner of a vessel, the *Anna of Leith*, James Loch conveyed cargoes of herring and timber. He is said to have made a fortune in trade with Sweden. Anyhow he was able to buy property near Holyroodhouse, long known as 'Loch's land.' He was owner, too, of dwellings in St. Mary's Wynd, at the Netherbow, and on the Castle Hill. Nor ought it to be forgotten that he gave of his substance towards the building of the Parliament House. He also collected money from the inhabitants in the north-west quarter of the city for the repair of St. Giles' and the erection of the Tron Church. Furthermore, in 1644, he lent 5400 marks towards the support of the Covenanting army, and in 1650 bore the major portion of the expense of the troops opposed to Cromwell at Dunbar Drove.

The chief personal event of James Loch's career was his purchase in 1643 of the estate of Drylaw. The Forresters of Corstorphine were the previous owners. In 1406 Sir John Forrester, Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland, settled Drylaw on his brother Thomas. The latter died without issue, and the estate reverted to Sir John, who obtained a charter, dated 10th July 1424, of the lands of Corstorphine, Drylaw, the barony of Nether Liberton, and the acres of Meadowfield.

A subsequent laird of Drylaw was James Forrester. His daughter, Elizabeth, married David Makgill of Nisbet and Cranston Riddell. Makgill, through his wife, became possessor of Drylaw, and in his family it remained till near the middle of the 17th century when James Makgill, subsequently raised to the peerage by the titles of Viscount Oxfuird and Lord Makgill of Cousland, sold the estate to James Loch, who also acquired the lands of Groathill which have ever since been attached to those of Drylaw. He built the present mansion about 1648. The original house, portions of which still remain, was burned

by Hertford in 1544. This laird loaned large sums of money, and at his death in December 1653 there was due to him £52,943, 11s. 1d. Scots, including 16,000 marks by Sir William Dick of Braid.

Loch was succeeded by a son who bore the same name. He was one of the Commissioners of the Shire of Edinburgh for the collection of Supply on behalf of William III and Queen Mary. He married Isobel, daughter of George Foulis of Ravelston. On his death in 1690, Drylaw passed to his son George, who in 1697 married his cousin Jean, daughter of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston.

The eldest son, James, succeeded to Drylaw. In 1739 he was made a burghess and guild brother of Edinburgh 'for good services.' He lived a secluded life, and was of studious habits. He owned an extensive library, consisting of works of travel, history, philosophy, theology and science. He had a decided bent towards mathematical pursuits, and besides being an omnivorous reader was a large book buyer. He had an account with Gavin Hamilton, the Edinburgh bookseller, amounting to £211, 2s. 11d. Some of the items bought are interesting. The laird of Drylaw paid £2, 15s. for Archbishop Tillotson's works; £1, 16s. for Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*; 13s. for Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*; but only 5s. for Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion*.

The scholarly James Loch died in 1759. His pecuniary affairs, unfortunately, were in disorder. This led to the sale of the bulk of the furnishings of Drylaw, the sum realised being £652, 18s. 2½d. The mansion was now let to Lady Margaret Wemyss, widow of James, ninth Earl of Moray, 'an excellent and hospital lady' who died at Drylaw in 1779. During her tenancy George Loch, only son of the late laird, and his wife lived abroad, chiefly in Rome, partly in attendance at the Court of the exiled Stuarts and partly in collecting books, coins, and engravings. The Jacobite proclivities of the Lochs were pronounced, so much so that had the laird of Drylaw refrained from assisting the Old Pretender and Prince Charles Edward to the extent, it is recorded, of £10,000, there would have been no burden on the estate.

Moreover, the financial situation did not improve in George Loch's absence, for his kinsman, James Loch of Hermandshiels, in whose hands he had left Drylaw, not only mismanaged the estate but added to its burdens by building House on Hill. Consequently it was an impoverished estate to which George Loch returned in 1779. For several years thereafter he manfully strove to place Drylaw on a sound financial basis, taking one of the farms into his own hands, and even

doing his own ploughing. But his efforts were unavailing, and in 1786 he was forced to sell Drylaw to William Ramsay of Barnton for £24,000. The purchase included Easter and Wester Drylaw, House on Hill, Groathill and Pirniehall—a total of 458 English acres. The most notable feature, however, was not disclosed till some years later when a portion of land at Craigleith was found to conceal an abundance of durable stone, which was wrought in the building of the New Town of Edinburgh and the London Docks. Craigleith Quarry yielded immense profits over a considerable period.

After the loss of Drylaw several members of the Loch family settled in England. Others went to the East Indies, where they entered the service of the Crown. James Loch, eldest son of the last laird of Drylaw, was entrusted by the first Duke of Sutherland with the management of his Scottish estates, and was responsible for the so-called 'Loch policy' of removing crofters in the inland valleys who were in a state of semi-starvation, and directing them to employment at the coast.

He was also associated with the Sutherland emigration scheme, and to him were mainly due improvements in agriculture as well as the opening up of the northern Highlands by means of canals.

A brother, John, was deputy chairman of the East India Company. He was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott, to whom he gave a 'promise of a cadetship to Allan Cunningham's son.' William Loch, another brother, joined the Bengal Civil Service, and was promoted an Agent of the Governor-General. Francis entered the Navy, and at one time commanded Nelson's flagship, the *Victory*. Subsequently he was naval aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria and a Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

During the period 1780 to 1932 there were sixty-two descendants of the last laird of Drylaw. Half that number spent the whole or the greater part of their service in India, chiefly in the Army. A number reached positions of distinction. Eleven were killed or died in the execution of their duty. No fewer than nineteen members served in the First Great War. Fourteen were officers in the regular Army, one was attached to the Flying Corps, and one was employed in munitions.

It will thus be seen that the old house of Drylaw is the ancestral home of a family the majority of whose members have rendered exemplary service in the upbuilding of the British Empire.

W. F. G.

19. TWO OLD EDINBURGH CHARACTERS.

The multitude of 'originals' catalogued in Kay's *Portraits* proves that at that period Edinburgh was inhabited by a remarkable number of such persons of all grades of society. Widely, however, as Kay cast his net some queer fish managed to elude him. It is with two of these that we are now concerned.

About the year 1806 a curious being named Peter Nimmo first appeared at the University of Edinburgh where he entered himself as a student and paid matriculation fees for a course of lectures in Theology. Time wore on until, within the memory of Professor David Masson, and as late as 1846, Peter Nimmo still haunted the precincts of the University. Of his origin nothing is known. His chief claim to fame rests upon his celebrated interview with Wordsworth who took him to be an eccentric Scots baronet. Nimmo is thought to have paid such respectful attention to all that the loquacious poet had to say that he quite won the latter's good opinion by his qualities as a listener. By 1831, Thomas Carlyle, who was Nimmo's fellow-student, had published an article about him in *Fraser's Magazine*. A metrical rhapsody and a more dismal attempt at humour could scarcely have been perpetrated by Wilfred Shadbolt.

An earlier humorist than Carlyle was Philemon of *The Lapsus Linguae or College Tatler* who, in 1824, called the attention of the editor of that periodical to Dr. Peter Nimmo, 'the most illustrious character at present attending this University. . . . His notes of each course of lectures he has attended (and what has he *not* attended?) are at once copious and correct and his style is elegant. These notes—the fruits of a long and literary life—are now in the press. . . . This splendid work in 203 volumes folio, to which the world looks forward with so much anxiety, occupies . . . a great deal of Dr. Nimmo's time.' Philemon's puff of this imaginary work ends by giving the illustrious author's address as 'World's End Close, Canongate, 14th entrance, 10th door upstairs,' which may be a piece of genuine information. Grant describes World's End Close as 'the last gloomy and mysterious-looking alley on the south side of the High Street, adjacent to the Netherbow Port.' A fitting address, with its associations of mystery and misery, for such as Peter Nimmo.

The reminiscences contributed by John Hill Burton to Mrs. Gordon's *Memoirs of Christopher North* depict 'Sir Peter Nimmo [as]

a dirty, ill-looking lout' whose presence at lectures was often made use of by the students to torment professors less able to keep order than was the redoubtable John Wilson. In Hill Burton's opinion the scarecrow student 'was merely an idly-inclined and stupidish man of low condition' who saw that the practice of being a public laughing-stock paid better than honest industry and had cunning enough to keep it up. It was an established practice to get hold of the cards of important people, particularly if they were of a choleric nature, and to present them to Sir Peter with a request that he favour them with his company at dinner; 'he always went, pretending simplicity, and using a little caution if he saw symptoms of strong measures. I suppose he sometimes got a meal that way. . . . He wandered about sometimes endeavouring to establish himself as a sponge in country houses.'

To Masson, however, who had made some enquiries into the history of this student of some forty years' standing, Peter Nimmo was 'a lank, miserable, mendicant-looking object of unknown age, with a blue face, often scarred and patched, and garments not of the cleanest, the chief of which was a long, threadbare, snuff-brown great-coat.' The Professor came to the conclusion that Nimmo 'had come up about the beginning of the century as a stupid youth from Dumbartonshire, honestly destined for the Church, and that he had gradually or suddenly broken down into the crazed being who could not exist but by haunting the classes for ever and becoming a fixture about the University.'

The curious biography of Peter Nimmo is carried a step further by James Laurie's 'Reminiscences of a Town Clerk,' published in the fourteenth volume of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. Laurie relates that he was a fellow-passenger with Professor Jameson and his class on a steamboat excursion to the Isle of May in 1829. All aboard 'enjoyed a lecture on the structure of the island,' and the writer goes on to say that, among the students, 'was the celebrated Sir Peter Buchanan Nimmo, a perpetual student of the University and a candidate for several chairs. Some people seemed to think that Sir Peter was more rogue than fool. He was in the practice of travelling through the country in summer and sorning upon old collegians. On one of these excursions he arrived . . . at Gosford House, East Lothian, and being well known to Lord Elcho, himself an old collegian, he was called in and introduced to the company then at dinner, one of whom

was the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. In the course of the bantering that took place . . . at Sir Peter's expense, the Duke conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, or, as Sir Peter affirmed, a baronetcy, and from that day forth Sir Peter bore the title. My sister heard Sir Peter himself tell this to Earl Grey . . . in 1834.'

A vilely written letter, addressed to the Duchess of Buccleuch by Peter Nimmo, is one of the curiosities of the Edinburgh Room at the Central Public Library. A perusal of it adds point to Philemon's sarcasm about Nimmo's literary gifts. After a somewhat high-flown opening, the scribe touches upon a recent walking-tour in the south, his attendance at University lectures, his niece's forthcoming journey to join her sister in Hobart, Van Diemen's Land—her passage being paid for by her brother—and, finally, the Duchess is requested to ask the Duke to beg King William to confirm Sir Peter's title or advance him to a baronetcy or to be one of the new peers, as this will enable him 'to succeed in getting a nice wife.' The plan, he says, was suggested to him by Lord Melbourne with whom he had had an interview when on his walking-tour in the south. The end of Peter Nimmo is as obscure as his beginning. A day came when he was seen no more about the classrooms, but he had provided a curious chapter in the student life of the University.

Our second character was a native of greater Edinburgh and, though not an eccentric in Nimmo's fashion, his now obscure history may interest readers appreciative of Scottish music, for he was, apparently, a kind of Lowland Neil Gow. This musical prodigy was named Peter Baillie, and the author of *Liberton in Ancient and Modern Times* states that he was born in a 'now vanished hamlet named Broken Briggs' in 1774. 'His parents belonged to the labouring class and were both very musical, more particularly his mother. He was the youngest of the family, some of whom he surpassed on the violin. For some time he wrought in Burdiehouse lime quarries from which he was often called away to play the violin in competition. When very young he stayed occasionally with several families of distinction, entertaining them with his violin, and was a great favourite at Dalkeith Palace. He composed several pieces, principally reels and strathspeys.' . . .

David Baptie, who includes a note on Peter Baillie in *Musical Scotland Past and Present*, gives the date of his death as 1843, and continues that he was 'a famous violinist and composer of whose

somewhat romantic history but little seems to be known. He was supposed by some to belong to the gipsy race. . . . In 1825 he published a set of original tunes for violin and piano . . . [he] could extemporise variations on favourite tunes *ad infinitum*.' Baptie also relates that 'on one occasion the celebrated "Pate" Baillie, who was famous for extinguishing the smaller fiddlers when he appeared upon the scene,' was unlucky enough to find himself outclassed by William Thomson (1785-1840), a native of Penicuik, and a violinist of great ability, at a ball at Auchendinny House. The situation was more than Baillie could endure, and in a fit of temper he laid his violin down and jumped upon it.

One other reference to Peter Baillie occurs in Murdoch's *The Fiddle in Scotland*, in which it is stated that he published a meritorious selection of original tunes in Edinburgh in 1825. Would that a copy of this publication was forthcoming, for then the merit of Peter Baillie's compositions could be judged. As it is, all that remains now, as far as the present writer is aware, are two pieces of manuscript music containing the airs of three strathspeys set down in a semi-literate hand and signed P. Baillie, with the added commendation that the tunes are 'goud ones.'

M. TAIT.

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APPENDIX

THIRTY-NINTH, FORTIETH AND FORTY-FIRST
ANNUAL REPORTS, Etc.

REPORT OF THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE Thirty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Friday, 7th February 1947.

The Right Hon. Sir John I. Falconer, LL.D., Lord Provost, presided.

The Thirty-ninth Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, was held as read. The Report is in the following terms :—

The Council has the honour to submit its Thirty-ninth Annual Report.

It congratulates Mr. Alexander Paterson on his promotion to the post of Superintendent of Branches of the North of Scotland Bank, but regrets that this has necessitated the relinquishment of his office of Honorary Treasurer of the Club to which he has given much of his time and energy to the great benefit of the Club. Members are singularly fortunate in having as his successor Mr. W. Crown Hodge, Manager of the Hanover Street Branch of the North of Scotland Bank.

The Council records with much regret the deaths of nine members. Rev. Will Burnett, B.D., formerly minister at Restalrig, was for ten years Hon. Secretary of the Club, and provided an interesting article on The Society of Friendly Contributors of Restalrig. Robert T. Skinner, M.A., F.R.S.E., a Vice-President, was well known as an efficient and enthusiastic leader of excursions, particularly in 'The Royal Mile,' about which he had written a small book. He loved to discourse on the famous personalities of Old Edinburgh rather than on its architecture; and he gave practical proof of his interest in the activities of the Club by bequeathing for its use the sum of £100, free of tax. Mr. John Russell, F.E.I.S., was equally popular as a lecturer and leader of Club excursions. Author of *The Story of Leith*, he was an acknowledged authority on its history, and contributed articles on

the Lands of Bonnington and on Pilrig House. He had hoped also to write something on the Family of Barton and the Leith Skippers, but was prevented by physical weakness. Mr. Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., a Vice-President, also rendered distinguished service alike as lecturer, leader of excursions, and contributor. His genius for imaginative reconstruction of ancient buildings is exemplified in his article in Vol. XXIV. Among valuable contributions were his map of Edinburgh in mid-eighteenth century, and his article on Gabriel's Road and other roads now almost obliterated. Colonel H. L. Warden, C.B.E., D.S.O., D.L., rendered valuable service as a member of Council, from whose table he was seldom absent. Mention must also be made of Miss Barbara Peddie, who belonged to an old Edinburgh family, and who died in her hundredth year at her home in Sussex. To her pertains the honour of suggesting the formation of an Old Edinburgh Club. Three years ago, after reading of the excursion to Leith, she wrote an interesting note on the Sibbalds (see Thirty-fifth Annual Report). Miss Peddie bequeathed £25, free of legacy duty, to the Club.

There were four resignations during 1946. The roll now stands at 368 individual members and 31 libraries.

During the summer of 1946 excursions were made (1) to Caroline Park House, Granton, once the home of the fifth Duke of Argyll, where Mr. Haldane, Secretary of Messrs. A. B. Fleming and Company, showed seventeenth- and eighteenth-century frescoes and the seventeenth-century ironwork in the stair balustrade; (2) to Prestonfield House, the seventeenth-century residence of Provost Alexander Dick and since then the home of the Dick-Cunynghames. Mrs. Dick-Cunynghame gave a warm welcome to the visitors, while Mr. Robert Waterston narrated the history of the mansion and estate. A proposed excursion to the grounds of Holyroodhouse, where new discoveries have been made by the Ministry of Works, had to be abandoned owing to the reopening of the historical apartments to the public. It is hoped that members will have an opportunity next summer of visiting the Palace, after the work of uncovering a wall and panels has been completed.

Three lectures will be delivered during February and March: (1) 'Mediaeval Scottish Burgh Life,' by Professor W. Croft Dickinson (at the special request of the Council); (2) 'Report on the Re-Planning of the Royal Mile,' by Mr. E. J. McRae, A.R.I.B.A.; and (3) 'Scottish Paintings in the Scottish National Gallery,' by Mr. Stanley

Cursiter, O.B.E., R.S.W. Intimation of the dates of these lectures will be posted to members.

With regard to the Book of the Club the Editor reports that while it is premature to indicate definitely the contents of next volume, it may be expected to contain an article by Dr. Mason on the Edinburgh Art School and its antecedents; a paper on the Hermitage of Braid, by Dr. Malcolm; Notes from the Diary of an Edinburgh Student, by Dr. H. W. Meikle; Edinburgh in the Time of Lord Provost Drummond, by Mr. W. Forbes Gray; and a symposium of Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh, including some from the pen of Professor Sir D'Arcy Thompson. Old and new members alike are cordially invited to contribute papers or notes, long or short. There is space for them all.

The Balance Sheet, duly audited, is appended.

Just as we go to press the Council learns with much regret of the death of Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson, the Senior Vice-President of the Club, and one of its most valuable members. His account of the Closes and Wynds of the Old Town appeared in Volume XII of the Book of the Club, and has proved of great service to writers on Old Edinburgh. He was most obliging and painstaking in helping students in their enquiries.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1946

RECEIPTS

I. Funds at 1st January 1946,	£330 2 10
II. Subscriptions Received :—	
346 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£181 13 0
28 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	14 14 0
	£196 7 0
Less—14 paid in advance,	7 7 0
	£189 0 0
<i>Add—</i>	
3 Arrears paid,	£1 11 6
4 Prepaid subscrip- tions,	2 2 0
	3 13 6
III. 8 volumes sold (2 at 10s. 6d.),	192 13 6
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts,	7 7 0
V. Balance at 31st December, 1946 (represented by Overdraft on Bank Account),	3 4 11
	4 2 11
	£537 11 2

PAYMENTS

I. Income Tax,	£1 10 0
II. Rent of Room,	3 0 0
III. Lantern Exhibition,	2 5 0
IV. Hire of Bus,	1 1 0
V. Postages and Cheque Book,	1 15 6
VI. Bank Interest,	0 2 6
	£9 14 0
VII. Printing and Stationery, including Publication of Volume XXV :—	
W. Forbes Gray,	£7 7 0
(Index Expenses)	
Hislop & Day Ltd.,	43 12 4
T. & A. Constable Ltd.,	476 17 10
	527 17 2
	£537 11 2

EDINBURGH, 20th January 1947.—I have examined the Intimations of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1946, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

W. CROWN HODGE, A.L.A.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*
C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

REPORT OF THE FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE Fortieth Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Monday, 9th February 1948.

The Right Hon. A. H. A. Murray, Lord Provost, presided.

The Fortieth Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, was held as read. The Report is in the following terms :—

The Council submits its Fortieth Annual Report.

It records with regret the death of Sir John Fraser of Tain, Bart., K.C.V.O., M.D., etc., an Honorary Vice-President. Sir John took a lively interest in the published works of the Club, which was surprising to those who were aware of the almost constant demands upon his services. Those members who were present at the Annual Meeting of 1945 will recall his admirable speech when seconding the motion for the adoption of the Report.

It has also to report with regret the death of Miss Helen Maud Anderson, one of the original members of the Club. Author of *Kelston of Kells* and of other novels, Miss Anderson contributed to Vol. XIX of the Book of the Club a carefully documented historical Account of the Canongate Grammar School.

Altogether four members died during the year and two resigned ; 26 new members have been added to the Roll, which now stands at 376 individual and 33 institutional members.

During June and July last five places of historic interest were visited. On the evening of 16th June Miss Herdman, philanthropic worker among the poor children of the Canongate, welcomed about 150 members to her house in Chessel's Court, memorable alike as the site of the old Excise Office for its thwarted burglary by Deacon Brodie and for fine sculptured friezes and the Norie landscape paintings over the fireplaces. After passing through the various rooms and the

terraced gardens, which face Salisbury Crags, the party proceeded to the Canongate Parish Church where the Rev. Ronald Selby Wright, B.D., Minister of the Church, gave an interesting account of its history and of the work of restoration the fabric is undergoing. It was pleasant to learn that one of the Church members is H.M. the King.

On the evening of 26th June more than a hundred members mustered in the Surgeons' Hall where, after being welcomed by Mr. J. Graham, President of the College, Dr. Douglas Guthrie conducted the party through the rooms, giving brief biographical sketches of the distinguished surgeons whose portraits adorn the walls.

Thence to Archers' Hall where Mr. Alastair C. Blair, W.S., Secretary of the Royal Company, recounted the history of the Royal Company, King's Bodyguard for Scotland, and the Hon. Douglas Watson, W.S., that of the competitions for the silver arrows and medals displayed in the glass cases of the Hall.

The third and last excursion, on Saturday afternoon of 19th July, was to Cramond Parish Church where the Minister, the Rev. R. Leonard Small, B.D., told the story of the church and of its precincts.

The volume which members of the Club are doubtless awaiting with varying degrees of patience is suffering delay for two major reasons. The first is that the frequently repeated invitation to members to contribute papers, long or short, has had little response, and it is difficult to make bricks without straw. The burden of filling the volume is accordingly falling once more on veteran contributors who have already done more than their proper share in maintaining the flow of material. The second reason is that printing costs continue to rise, and it may be necessary in consequence to propose that the cost of issuing a volume shall be set against three instead of two annual subscriptions.

Meanwhile it is hoped that Volume XXVI may be issued during the current year. Its contents were hinted at in last year's Report. Unfortunately the expected symposium of Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh from the pen of Sir D'Arcy Thompson and others has not yet materialised. Professor Thompson, who has been unwell for a considerable time, finds it impossible at present to contribute what to the majority of the Club's members would be a fascinating account of the Edinburgh of his earlier years. By way of compensation it is hoped to brighten the volume with a further selection of Skene drawings.

Dr. John Mason gives an account of the Old Edinburgh School of Design; Dr. Charles Malcolm writes on Hermitage of Braid; Mr. W. Forbes Gray on Edinburgh in the Time of Lord Provost Drummond; Mr. Frank Gent on Edinburgh House Numbers; Dr. Henry W. Meikle deals with the Diary of an Edinburgh Student; and Mr. Robert Waterston contributes Further Notes on Early Paper Making near Edinburgh. With the exception of Dr. Meikle's paper, these contributions are fairly brief, and another article or two would be welcomed, provided they arrive speedily. There is also the usual Miscellany.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1947

RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS	
I. Subscriptions Received:—	I. Dr. Balance 31.12.46,	£4 2 11
352 Members at 10s. 6d.,	II. Postages and Rent of Room,	5 6 6
31 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	III. Income Tax,	1 7 0
	IV. Printing and Stationery,	41 14 1
II. 3 volumes sold,		£52 10 6
III. Legacy from Mr. R. T. Skinner's Executors,	V. Balance 31.12.47 per Deposit Receipt, £200 0 0	
IV. Do. Miss B. S. Peddie's Executors,	Current Account, 76 19 6	276 19 6
		£329 10 0

WM. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 30th January 1948.—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1947, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed. The sums shown as Subscriptions received include arrears collected and payments in advance.

C. MATTLAND SMITH, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

REPORT OF THE FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE Forty-first Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Monday, 7th March 1949.

Sir Francis J. Grant, K.C.V.O., LL.D., President of the Club, presided.

The Forty-first Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts, which had been issued to the members, was held as read. The Report is in the following terms :—

The Council has pleasure in submitting its Forty-first Annual Report.

It records with regret the death of the Hon. Lord St. Vigeans, LL.D., an active member from the start, and from 1937 to 1943 the President, succeeding the late Mr. C. E. S. Chambers. In 1935 he lectured on 'Characters and Characteristics of Old Edinburgh.' The Council also record with deep regret the death of Sir Thomas B. Whitson, LL.D., who gave loyal and devoted service to the Club as its Treasurer for no fewer than twenty-two years (1913-1935). In spite of his exacting duties as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir Thomas retained the Treasurership, and was rarely absent from the meetings of Council, which were held in his office in Rutland Street. To Vol. III of our publications he contributed a paper on 'Lady Stair's House.' Nor ought it to be forgotten, where Old Edinburgh is concerned, that Sir Thomas began the collection of portraits of former Lord Provosts which now adorn the corridor of the City Chambers—a fitting memorial of his tenure of office as Chief Magistrate.

The passing of Sir D'Arcy W. Thompson, F.R.S., LL.D., is another sore loss. He had promised to write for the Club his boyhood recollections of the city, a retrospect of some eighty years, but ill-health prevented fulfilment. The death of this accomplished man and charming writer, which occurred last July, has deprived members of

what undoubtedly would have been a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Edinburgh in early Victorian times.

The Council has invited the Earl of Rosebery to become Hon. President, an office which was filled by Lord St. Vigeans in his later years. Lord Rosebery's acceptance will afford much gratification, in view of the fact that his illustrious father was one of the originators of the Club, and as the first Hon. President delivered a delightful address long remembered by those who heard it. The vacancy in the Hon. Vice-Presidentship, caused by the death of Sir John Fraser of Tain, Bart., has been accepted by the Earl of Selkirk, who has been for some years a member of the Club.

In the last week of 1948 members received the twenty-sixth volume of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. The volume is entitled 'George Square : Annals of an Edinburgh Locality, 1766-1926,' and is the work of Miss Margaret Tait and Mr. W. Forbes Gray. In its 176 pages are numerous illustrations, including those of James Brown, the builder of George Square, Admiral Viscount Duncan, the hero of the battle of Camperdown, and a silhouette of Sir Walter Scott by Edouart. Volume XXVI attempts 'to narrate graphically and accurately the annals of George Square as revealed by title-deeds, directories, and a wide survey of literary allusion.' A review of prominent events associated with the Square and its neighbourhood is followed by a historical survey of *every house*. The result is the presentation of an enormous amount of interesting information, much of it fresh, drawn from sources not otherwise readily accessible. The social life, manners and customs of noted Scottish families are depicted, the whole conveying attractive glimpses of the upper classes as they comported themselves in Old Edinburgh a hundred years ago and more. One section deals with distinguished personages who are known to have lived in the Square but whose habitations, for a variety of reasons, cannot be identified. The narrative ends with a full list of the Square's inhabitants from 1766 to 1926.

Volume XXVI has been warmly received. The controversy connected with George Square and the interest evoked has induced the Council to print, in addition to the requirements of members, one hundred copies for the general public at a cost of 35s. each. More than half this issue has already been subscribed, and fresh orders are arriving daily. These extra copies can be had through the Hon. Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club, North of Scotland Bank, 20 Hanover Street,

Edinburgh, to whom cheques or postal orders should be forwarded. It is hoped to issue to members Vol. XXVII towards the close of this year. A considerable portion of the contents is already in type. The following articles will be included: 'Old Edinburgh School of Design,' by Dr. John Mason; 'Hermitage of Braid,' by Dr. Charles A. Malcolm; 'Edinburgh in the Time of Lord Provost Drummond,' by Mr. W. Forbes Gray; 'Diary of an Edinburgh Student in the Olden Time,' by Dr. Henry W. Meikle; 'Edinburgh House Numbers,' by Mr. Frank Gent; 'Further Notes on Early Paper Making near Edinburgh,' by Mr. Robert Waterston; 'Notes on Early History of Dean Orphan Hospital,' by John Richardson, W.S.; 'Old Sundials in and near Edinburgh,' by Dr. A. Niven Robertson.

During the summer of 1948 the Club had the customary three excursions. On the evening of 26th May about 150 visited Trinity House, Leith, where the Master, the old Master and the Secretary welcomed the company to their rooms filled with relics of the old Master Mariners of the seaport.

On 23rd June, Dr. Gordon Donaldson, in Old St. Paul's Episcopal Church, told the story of the church with its Jacobite associations. Trinity College Church was next visited, the Minister, the Rev. W. W. Morrell, as host, welcoming the large company.

In the apse, the most historic part of the building, built exactly after the manner and to the measurement of the medieval Church of the Holy Trinity—and with the actual stones of the old church—Mr. E. J. McRae, F.R.I.B.A., described the architecture of the old church and its ecclesiastical history until its demolition in 1846 by the North British Railway Company; and its partial re-erection on the present site.

The third and last excursion was made on the afternoon of Saturday, 24th July, to the 17th-century Drylaw House, where, by the courtesy of Mrs. Sellar, the company were admitted to the various rooms, after which Mr. W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., recounted the personal history of various former owners and occupants.

The enclosed catalogue of books on Edinburgh is sent with the compliments of Mr. Butchart, Chief Librarian, Public Library.

Appended is the Account of Income and Expenditure.

Old Edinburgh Club

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

For the Year ended 31st December 1948

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
I. Cr. Balance 31.12.47,	£276 19 6	I. Expenses of George Square Volume,	£62 2 6
II. Subscriptions Received:—		II. Printing, Stationery and Expenses of Meetings,	44 15 2
370 Members at 10s. 6d.,	£194 5 0	III. Postages,	3 8 9
36 Libraries at 10s. 6d.,	18 18 0	IV. Balance 31.12.48:—	£110 6 5
	213 3 0	Deposit Receipts,	£200 0 0
		Current Account,	193 9 1
III. Volumes sold,	13 13 0		393 9 1
	£503 15 6		£503 15 6

W. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 25th February 1949.—I have examined the Intramissions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1948, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed. The sums shown as Subscriptions include arrears collected and payments in advance.

C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

Old Edinburgh Club

1948-1949

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

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Honorary Auditor

C. MAITLAND SMITH, C.A., 4A York Place.

Old Edinburgh Club

LIST OF MEMBERS

*Surviving Original Members marked **

AIKMAN, J. S., 43 Jeffrey Street.
Albert, Mrs., M.A., 46 Fountainhall Road.
Alison, Arthur J., K.C., 46 Heriot Row.
Allan, Mrs. Alicia, 6 Castlelaw Road, Colinton.
Allan, Mrs. C. A., 40 Park Road, Trinity.
Allan, Eric, M.A., 40 Park Road, Trinity.
Allan, F. H., 33 Inverleith Gardens.
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Leny House, Muthill, Perthshire.
*Angus, William, LL.D., 69 Cluny Gardens.
Archer, John M., 24 Stanley Road, Leith.
Armet, Miss Helen, 42 Main Street, Davidson's Mains.
Armstrong, Ian, C.A., Glenockie, Bettyhill, Sutherland.
Arnott, Mrs. George, 6 Campbell Avenue.
Arnott, James A., F.R.I.B.A., 7 Mansionhouse Road.
Atkinson, John J., 12 Viewforth Square.

BAIKIE, WILLIAM, 23 Blackwood Crescent.
Balfour, Miss Marie, Edinburgh Public Library, 6 Warrender Park Road.
Balfour-Melville, Evan W. M., D.Litt., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.
Barke, Jas., Daljarrock House, Pinwherry, Ayrshire.
*Barrie, John A., 11 Lady Road.
Barrie, William, c/o Miss Balfour, 18 East Preston Street.
Bartholomew, John, M.C., M.A., 12 Duncan Street.
Bell, J. M., S.S.C., 3 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.
Benham, Mrs., 32 Morningside Park.
Birrell, J. Hamilton, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.G.S., 51 Lauderdale Street.

Bisset, Norman, C.A., 10 Mortonhall Road.
 Blackie, V. Grant, 7 Hatton Place.
 Blair, Hugh A., C.A., New Club, Princes Street.
 Bonar, John J., W.S., Eldinbrae, Lasswade.
 Bonnar, A. O., 20 Wester Coates Gardens.
 Bowman, John, M.I.C.E., Swanston Cottage, Fairmilehead.
 Boyes, Dr. John, 31 Campbell Road.
 Brown, Mrs. Jean H., 32 Drumsheugh Gardens.
 Brown, Miss Mary F., 26 Stafford Street.
 Bruce, James, W.S., 10 Buckingham Terrace.
 Bryce, Herbert D., 60 Macdowall Road.
 Bucher, Mrs. S. Beatrice, 17 Mayfield Gardens.
 Budge, James, 28 Barony Terrace, Corstorphine.
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CONSTITUTION

- I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'
- II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.
- III. The membership of the Club shall be limited to four hundred. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, countersigned by a proposer and a seconder who are Members of the Club. The admission of Members shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have full discretionary power in filling up vacancies in the membership as these occur.
- IV. The annual subscription shall be 10s. 6d., payable in advance on 1st January. Any Member whose subscription is not paid within four months from that date may be struck off the Roll by the Council.
- V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Editor of Publications, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes. Representatives to such Committees may be appointed from the general body of Members. At meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and at meetings of the Council seven.
- VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.
- VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all moneys, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.
- 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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