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**TITLE:** The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 30

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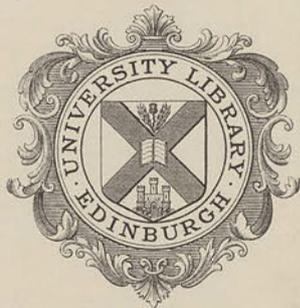
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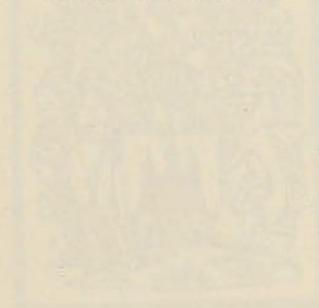
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Issued to Members  
November 1959

[736]

THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH  
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THIRTIETH VOLUME



EDINBURGH

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

1959



*By Resolution of the Council  
this volume of  
The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club  
is dedicated to the following members who  
left legacies to the Club*

WILLIAM ANGUS  
H. BROUGHAM PATTERSON

THE BOOK OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH

CLUB  
THIRTIETH VOLUME



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TREVERLEN, DUDDINGSTON AND ARTHUR'S SEAT

By G. W. S. BARROW

AS a parish and village, it is well known that Duddingston has a long history. The present parish church, though enlarged and altered at later dates, is still essentially a twelfth-century building, and it was during the course of the twelfth century that the name Duddingston, 'Dodin's village,' was formed. As an inhabited settlement, however, the history of Duddingston may be pushed further back still. It can be shown that the English name Duddingston, old as it is, replaced an even older Welsh name, Treverlen or Traverlen. This name, occurring only in documents of the twelfth century, has never been interpreted convincingly, and the place to which it referred has not previously been located. The late William Watson suggested, very tentatively, that Treverlen might stand for Welsh *tref 'wr lén*, the homestead of the *gwr lén*, or lector, an important dignitary in the larger Celtic churches (equivalent to the Gaelic *fer léighinn*).<sup>1</sup> The south of Scotland can show many examples of place-names originally beginning 'trever-, ' such as Tranent, Traquair, Trailtrow, Terregles, etc., and usually in these names 'trever-' stands for Welsh *tref yr*, 'homestead of the . . .' No suggestion as to the meaning of Treverlen can be offered here, but it is hoped that at least the question, Where was Treverlen? is now answered. Moreover, the solution of this problem involves a consideration of the early history of Arthur's Seat, with which Duddingston has always been closely connected. It emerges that one of the earliest recorded names for Arthur's Seat, or at least for a considerable part of it, was Craggenemarf, which Watson translated as 'dead men's rock.'<sup>2</sup> More

<sup>1</sup> *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1922), pp. 360-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

generally, Arthur's Seat seems to have been known in early times simply as 'the Crag.' A more fanciful name, found once in a monastic source of the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> is *Mons Dolorosus*, the Mount Dolorous, a name of the same type as *Castellum Puellarum*, 'Castle of Maidens,' by which Edinburgh was often known in written documents. These names—Arthur's Seat, Dead Men's Craig, Castle of Maidens and Mount Dolorous, to which perhaps 'the village of the man of learning' might be added—suggest forcibly the imaginative world of the early medieval romances. We shall now see how prosaic Duddingston fits historically into the same landscape.

In order to prove that Duddingston and Treverlen were one and the same place, we must first go to the records which tell us the history of the ownership of both places. In the early decades of the twelfth century, a man named Uviet 'the White' was a person of some consequence in South-east Scotland, and a landowner in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Several charters and brieves of King David I were witnessed by Uviet the White.<sup>2</sup> One of these was issued at Scone; of the rest, two are known certainly to have been issued at Dunfermline and two evidently at some major royal centre in the east of Scotland, perhaps Dunfermline or Edinburgh. Rather earlier, Uviet—here called Uuiaet thwite—witnessed a charter of King Edgar granting Swinton in Berwickshire to the church of Coldingham, which belonged to Saint Cuthbert and the monks of Durham Cathedral priory.<sup>3</sup> Probably it was the same man who, as Vuiget, witnessed King Duncan II's charter granting lands in Lothian to Saint Cuthbert.<sup>4</sup> The name Uviet or Uvieth is a late form of Old English Wulfgeat. Because of the similarity between u and n in medieval handwriting, the name is often rendered Uniet

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle of Holyrood*, ed. M. O. and A. O. Anderson (Scottish History Society), p. 153, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, Nos. 68, 70, 77, 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 12.

(as regularly, e.g., by Sir Archibald Lawrie in his *Early Scottish Charters*). It sometimes appears in still more misleading forms, Vinet, Vineth, etc. By way of these mistaken readings it has given rise to the Scots surname Winzet or Wingate, a corruption rather like that which in the later middle ages produced Vans out of *de Vaus* (Latin *de Vallibus*).

Uviet the White, either at the time Holyrood Abbey was founded or not long afterwards, endowed the canons of Holyrood with part of a 'crag' known as Craggenemarf, another part of which was royal demesne.<sup>1</sup> Now we also know from another document of David I's reign that a man called Uviet was at one time the owner of a village called Treverlen. This document, a charter issued between 1136 and 1147 by King David's son Earl Henry, grants Treverlen to the abbey of Kelso, 'with its rightful marches, as Uviet at any time held and possessed it best and most fully; and the Crag, as my father [i.e. King David I] and I and Bishop John [of Glasgow] and many others traversed it and divided it *between the canons of the church of Holyrood and the aforesaid Uviet.*'<sup>2</sup> In other words, two documents of the period 1128-1147 tell us respectively of a 'crag' (also called Craggenemarf), partly given to Holyrood Abbey and partly retained by a certain Uviet the White, and of a 'crag' partly belonging to Holyrood Abbey and partly to a certain Uviet, who also possessed a village associated with the crag and called Treverlen. It is a reasonable inference that these documents are speaking of one and the same Uviet and one and the same crag.

The language of Earl Henry's charter makes it probable that Uviet was dead by 1147. If, indeed, he is to be identified with the witness of King Duncan's charter of 1094, he probably died some time before 1147, perhaps c. 1130. We next hear of Treverlen in the great charter of confirmation which King Malcolm IV issued for Kelso Abbey in 1159,<sup>3</sup> and once again

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 153 (p. 118).    <sup>2</sup> *Liber de Calchou* (Bannatyne Club), No. 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v after the *Tabula*.

it is worth giving a translation of the charter's actual words. Kelso is confirmed in possession of 'Traverlen, with its right-ful marches, as Uvieth held and possessed it best and most fully, together with all the easements in the neighbourhood of the marshy ground [*strodre*<sup>1</sup>] which is called Cameri; and the crag of that same village, as the lord Alwin, abbot of Holyrood, and Arnold, abbot of Kelso, reached agreement in the matter of a certain lawsuit between them touching this crag, in the presence of these witnesses: Ralph, abbot of Newbattle, William, abbot of Stirling, Osbert, prior of Jedburgh, Richard the clerk, Macbeth.' We have quoted from Malcolm IV's charter because it is an original with a reliable text, but it is clear that the lawsuit between Holyrood and Kelso over the crag of Treverlen, and its settlement, took place in the reign of King David I.<sup>2</sup>

Treverlen, wherever it was located, was not only a *villa*, that is, a 'manor' or 'village': it was also an ecclesiastical parish. In a document dating 1198-1202, the bishop of St. Andrews, Roger de Beaumont, confirmed to Kelso Abbey the thirteen parish churches which it possessed in his diocese.<sup>3</sup> All the churches which can be identified with certainty were south of the Forth, in the archdeaconry of Lothian: Makerston, Hume, Greenlaw, Fogo, Simprim, Langton, Horndean, Gordon, Keith [i.e. Humber], with a rent from Keith Marischal chapel, Mid Calder, Cranston and Pencaitland. Pencaitland, incidentally, if it was correctly included in this list, had ceased to belong to Kelso before the close of the thirteenth century;

<sup>1</sup> The word *stroder* is given in A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (English Place-Name Society), Part II, p. 164, as meaning 'a place overgrown with brushwood,' cognate with *ströd*, 'marshy land overgrown with brushwood.' The Scottish evidence makes it clear that in Lothian the word *stroder* was used in the sense of marshy ground or peatmoss. Cf. *Registrum de Neubolle* (Bannatyne Club), No. 14, 'peatary of Lochquerwer (Borthwick) called *Wluestrother*'; No. 86, 'marsh of Morham called *Rauenildestrother*'; No. 102, 'peatary in *Crumbrestrother*'.

<sup>2</sup> Abbot Alwin of Holyrood died in 1150 or 1151.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber de Calchou*, No. 83.

it was granted to Dryburgh Abbey in the fourteenth century and remained the property of Dryburgh until the Reformation. The only unidentified parish in Bishop Beaumont's list is 'Traverlen,' inserted between Calder and Cranston. It is most improbable that 'Traverlen' was north of the Forth, since the characteristically Welsh formation *tref yr* is not known to occur in this region, though it is common in southern Scotland. In seeking the location of Treverlen, therefore, we should look for a sizeable estate with a parish church in that part of the St. Andrews diocese which lay south of the Forth—in effect, the counties of West, Mid and East Lothian, and also Berwickshire.

Fortunately we have at least one late thirteenth-century list of parish churches belonging to Kelso Abbey in the archdeaconry of Lothian to compare with Bishop Beaumont's.<sup>1</sup> This gives the following names, rearranged in the order of Bishop Beaumont's list: Makerston, Hume, Greenlaw, Fogo, Simprim, Langton, Horndean, Gordon, Keith-Humber, Mid Calder, Duddingston and Cranston. Leaving Pencaitland out of the reckoning, this list is identical with the earlier list, save that it has Duddingston instead of Treverlen. Either the two names refer to the same parish, or during the century separating the two lists Kelso Abbey lost the church of Treverlen (as it seems to have lost Pencaitland) and gained that of Duddingston. We can rule out the possibility that Treverlen retained its name but changed its ownership, because apart from the lists already quoted we have at least two independent lists of parish churches in Lothian in the period, one covering the years 1274-6,<sup>2</sup> the other prepared for the 'Taxation of Pope Nicholas' in 1290.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these

<sup>1</sup> *Priory of Coldingham*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1841), pp. cxv-cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> A. I. Dunlop, 'Bagimond's Roll,' in Scottish History Society, *Miscellany*, vi. (1939), pp. 33-6, 55-60.

<sup>3</sup> In the Bannatyne Club's *Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andree in Scotia*, *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* and *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*. For Duddingston, see pp. 28, 203, and vol. i., p. 232, of these works respectively.

lists knows anything of a church called Treverlen; both include Duddingston, in the deanery of Linlithgow. We may therefore conclude that during the thirteenth century the parish of Treverlen was either suppressed or else changed its name to Duddingston. Is there any further evidence which would help us to decide which of these alternatives is correct?

In the Kelso Abbey cartulary there is a charter of William the Lion, of date 1165-1174, confirming to the monks of Kelso 'the village of Traverlen and the land in Berwick belonging to Dodin.'<sup>1</sup> It may be a coincidence that these two properties were associated in one royal charter: on the other hand, the association may have been logical and deliberate. At least, it is almost certain that it was this Dodin, holding land in Berwick before 1152,<sup>2</sup> who gave his name to Duddingston. Dodin was a benefactor of Kelso Abbey in his own right, granting it the church of Linton *Ruderich* (West Linton),<sup>3</sup> and he witnessed the grant of another benefactor of Kelso, in the period 1153-1159, as 'Dodin de Dodinestun.'<sup>4</sup> Rather later in the twelfth century, or very early in the thirteenth, there is record of *Hugo de villa Dodin*, Hugh of Duddingston, in documents relating to Holyrood Abbey.<sup>5</sup> Later still, in record concerning the abbeys of Holyrood and Kelso—in the latter instance, in connection with its estate of Easter Duddingston—we find mention of Richard of Duddingston (1221-1236).<sup>6</sup>

The estate or barony of Duddingston, as well as the parish church, were in the possession of Kelso Abbey from the early thirteenth century, at latest, until the sixteenth. From the period 1211-1226 there survive infeftments made by Abbot Herbert of Kelso of the lands of 'Esterdodyngstoun' (Easter

<sup>1</sup> *Liber de Calchou*, No. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber de Calchou*, No. 436.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 273, datable to the reign of Malcolm IV, and before 1159 because the grant was confirmed in the king's great charter of that year.

<sup>5</sup> *Charters of Holyrood* (Bannatyne Club), Nos. 33, 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 57; *Liber de Calchou*, Nos. 456, 457.

Duddingston), 'with a moiety of the peatmoss of Camerun (Camberun, Cambrun).'<sup>1</sup> Kelso's lordship over both Easter and Wester Duddingston from this period down to the sixteenth century is amply recorded.<sup>2</sup> In view of the association with Duddingston, there is no doubt that the name Camerun is that now preserved in Cameron House and Cameron Bridge, at what used to be the south-west corner of Duddingston parish. The identification of Treverlen with Duddingston is certainly made more attractive when we see that Kelso Abbey held, in the twelfth century, a village and parish church called Treverlen, with marshy ground or peatmoss called Cameri, and, from the thirteenth century onwards, a village and parish church called Duddingston, with a peatmoss called Camerun. But we remember also that Treverlen had a 'crag,' obviously not an insignificant rocky outcrop, but important enough to be the subject of a legal dispute between two powerful religious houses. Can we identify this crag, and can it be associated with Duddingston?

Luckily, a papal indulgence of 1426, whose text has recently been made available from the Vatican archives, enables us to decide the point with finality. The indulgence was obtained by the abbot of Kelso on behalf of the chapel of St. Anthony on the Crag (*in Ruppe*) 'near the town of Edinburgh and in the territory [i.e. the barony and parish] of Duddingston.'<sup>3</sup> We are justified in translating *in Ruppe* by 'on the Crag' (rather than Mrs. Dunlop's 'on the Rock') by three late fifteenth-century entries in *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*,<sup>4</sup> which speak of offerings to the chapel of 'Sanct Anthonis in (of) the Crag,' otherwise *de Rupe*. There are two points of interest here. One is that although St. Anthony's Chapel is on the north side of Arthur's Seat, much nearer to Holyrood

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, and cf. No. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the evidence cited in the previous note, see *ibid.*, pp. 468, 472, 493.

<sup>3</sup> A. I. Dunlop, *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-8* (Scottish History Society), p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I, pp. 64, 387.

Abbey than to Duddingston village, it was nevertheless in Duddingston parish and barony. In other words, a part of Arthur's Seat actually overlooking Holyrood belonged to the abbey of Kelso. The other point that concerns us here is that a part at least, if not the whole, of Arthur's Seat had evidently been known at one time as the 'crag.' This receives confirmation from an unexpected quarter. Writing in the middle of the twelfth century, the chronicler John, prior of Hexham, gives the names of a number of monasteries founded by King David I. Instead of the more familiar names of Holyrood (*ecclesia Sancte Crucis*) or Edinburgh, he calls this house the monastery of the 'Crag.'<sup>1</sup> I believe we should be wrong to look for some minor protuberance of rock to explain the crag of our charters and chronicles. We have only to think of the situation both of Holyrood Abbey and of St. Anthony's Chapel to realise that the 'crag' should be sought in the great dominating feature of the neighbourhood: Arthur's Seat, a rocky hill whose ownership was shared by the two royal abbeys of Holyrood and Kelso, whose grazing alone was well worth a lawsuit, and whose southern slopes fall steeply to the ancient village of Duddingston, with its twelfth-century church and, on the west, towards Cameron House, its loch and marshy ground.

We may now sum up this brief contribution to the geography of Edinburgh and its environs in the twelfth century. The ground on which Holyrood Abbey was founded in 1128, together with some part—no doubt the nearest part—of Arthur's Seat, was royal demesne, to be seen simply as an eastern extension of the territory attached to the king's castle of Edinburgh. The rest of Arthur's Seat was already understood to belong to the village or estate of Treverlen, and from c. 1090 to c. 1130 was held by Uviet the White, who, like his neighbour Malbeth (or Macbeth) 'the Bear,' lord of Liberton, was presumably a member of the native aristocracy of Scottish

<sup>1</sup> Simeon of Durham, *Opera* (Rolls Series ed.), ii. 330.

Northumbria. Uviet granted part of Arthur's Seat to the canons of Holyrood, retaining the rest. The boundaries between what he gave away and what he retained were, in the usual manner, formally 'perambulated,' in this case by rather unusually exalted persons, among them King David, his son, and the bishop of Glasgow. It is noticeable that the Kelso charters do not say that Treverlen was granted by Uviet, and we may infer that on Uviet's death his lands were acquired by the king, who then gave Treverlen and its 'crag' to the monks of Kelso. At this time, the boundaries between that part of the crag already held by Holyrood and that part which passed with Treverlen into the possession of Kelso were still uncertain. Consequently, it was necessary for the respective abbots, Alwin and Arnold, to submit the point to the judgement of a court, involving (no doubt) a further perambulation. It was very likely Abbot Arnold (1147-1160) who feued out Treverlen to Dodin: certainly Dodin was in possession between 1153 and 1159, and we know that Abbot Arnold was feuing out some of Kelso's Clydesdale property to laymen in this period.<sup>1</sup> It may indeed have been Dodin who built the present parish church. If this was a new church, or on a different site from the previous one, and if Dodin founded a more compact settlement beside it, that would easily account for the replacement of 'Treverlen' in popular speech by the new name *Dodinestun*, Duddingston. However this may be, the name Duddingston had arrived as early as 1159 and had come to stay. But we have proof from the name which it replaced that as an inhabited settlement the history of Duddingston—or Treverlen—begins not in the twelfth century but, at the latest, some five hundred years earlier.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber de Calchou*, Nos. 102, 107.

## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE WATER OF LEITH VILLAGE

BY BASIL SKINNER

A FEATURE that regularly appears in the Minutes of the Edinburgh Town Council from the sixteenth century onwards is the series of reports on the condition of the town's Common Mills in the old Water of Leith village. The interest in these entries lies not so much in the recurring descriptions of storm damage, ruinous buildings and gable-ends in need of repair, as in the clues which they provide to the topography of this industrial outpost of Edinburgh. The present notes<sup>1</sup> are an attempt to connect the scraps of information to be drawn from these records with the remains of old buildings surviving in what is now called the Dean Village.

The key to the arrangement of the buildings in the old village lies in the fact that the Water of Leith, at this point flowing through a deep valley, describes two wide curves. The land contained in each curve of the stream was cut by a mill-lade served by a dam, and it was upon these lades and upon the river itself that the mills were built, forming the core of the Water of Leith village.

The number of mills varied. One of the earliest references to the Common Mills as a group appears in the Council Minutes of 1553-4, where the number is given as five. Twenty years later, seven mills are referred to; and in 1585 there is mention

<sup>1</sup> References quoted are generally to the printed volumes of Extracts from the City Records, full date and page in the relevant volume being given. In addition, I am most grateful to the Town Clerk for permission to refer to the City Records, and to Miss Helen Armet and to Miss Balfour for assistance. Other sources include 'Early Views and Maps of Edinburgh' (*R.S.G.S.*), 'The Lands of Drumsheugh' (*B.O.E.C.*, Vol. XXV), and Geddie's 'Water of Leith.'

of the 'bigging of foure new mylnis.'<sup>1</sup> From that time on, a typical form of reference is to the 'eleven commoun mylnes of this burgh upon baith the sydis of the Water of Leith.'

Those mills that stood north of the water appear to have been of the greater antiquity; indeed the haugh at this point must have been a most obvious choice for the construction of a lade. When Lord Lyndsay of the Byres challenged the right of the Town in 1541 to put up a new mill on land that he considered his, the Town replied that it had owned the old mill there for over a hundred years. References in the Council Minutes define the number of mills in this group as five. The two West Mills appear to have stood near the north end of the present bridge across the river, near the point where the lade emptied itself back into the stream. In 1805 they were demolished and replaced by the existing block of warehouse buildings. The remains of other old buildings long since destroyed can be seen behind this block and may be related to houses shown in old views of the village. The other three mills north of the river must have been placed further up the mill-lade, along the line of what is now a lane known as 'Damside.' These mills are variously referred to as the Mid-Mill, the Malt-Mills and Colt's Mills.

The upper mill-lade served not only these Common Mills but also the weavers' cottages and sheds that formed a notoriously evil neighbourhood until this over-crowded area on the north bank of the river was cleared at the end of the last century to make way for Well Court. It ran as an open sluice along Damside in a more or less direct line from the upper 'damheid,' opposite the present tannery, to a point still visible below the Dean Village bridge, just above the lower dam. That it constituted a menace to the villagers can be deduced from a Council order of 1694 that iron gratings should be fixed across the troughs following the accidental

<sup>1</sup> Extracts 23 Apr. 1585, p. 411.

drowning of a small boy. The upper dam itself suffered almost annually from flood damage and constantly demanded repair. The Committee of inspection in 1657 had to report that it was losing half its water with a consequent loss of efficiency to the mills it served.<sup>1</sup>

On the south bank of the Water of Leith, three groups of mills were served from the mill-lade that started from the lower dam, the present water-fall above World's End Pool that provides a very picturesque view from the Dean Bridge. It is quite possible today to trace the foundations and lower walls of some of these buildings along the Dean Valley foot-path. Nearest to the dam was Lindsay's Mill, the site now marked by a group of three millstones and the remains of old walls. This building, which was demolished in 1931 after serving as a distillery for some years, had a most respectable history, for its origin can be traced to 1556, when on 28th August before the Bailies of the Town, there 'comperit Maister James Lindsay ane of the counsale and firmorar of the commoun mylnes,' who 'offerit to big ane milne upon the Water of Leyth,' within the Town's lands.<sup>2</sup> The fact that this mill was placed so near the source of the lade was apparently unfortunate, for there is a report in 1659 of occasional shortage of water for it, 'being of greattest height and difficultie to be served by the under damheid.'<sup>3</sup>

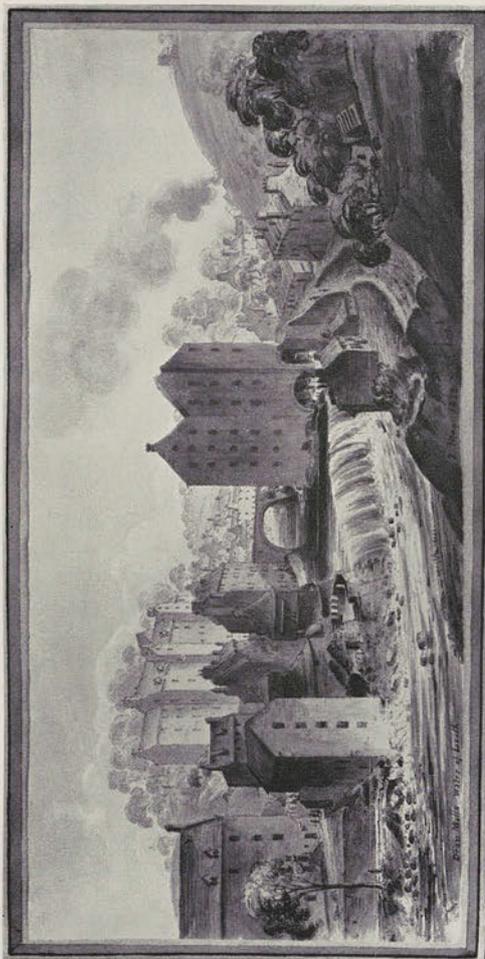
Next to Lindsay's Mill, and at the point where a knitwear factory stands today below the Dean Bridge, was Marr's Mill, of indefinite antiquity and apparently comprising two mills in the one building. The earliest reference is in 1580,<sup>4</sup> and from that period the name occurs regularly in the annual surveying reports. Its position and lay-out can be quite

<sup>1</sup> Extracts 26 Aug. 1657, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts 28 Aug. 1556, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Extracts 9 Sept. 1659, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts 30 Mar. 1580, p. 156.



DEAN MILLS, WATER OF LEITH VILLAGE, 1833  
From a water-colour by James Skene, in *Edinburgh Public Libraries*

easily distinguished on the old maps. About a hundred yards below this mill, where the river swings to the north beyond the Dean Bridge, stood the lowest of this series of mill buildings, the Greenland Mill. It is referred to in 1713<sup>1</sup> as a 'new milne with a new-built kilne contiguous thereto,' and other references of the same period would imply that the Greenland Mill buildings were put up between 1702 and 1712. Some idea of the appearance of this mill in 1825 is to be had from Cumberland Hill's sketch in the illustrated edition of his *Reminiscences of Stockbridge*, which shows St. Bernard's Cave just above it.

Cumberland Hill also refers in passing to the picturesque appearance of the mill-lade south of the river. The lade itself must have been a feat of considerable engineering skill, for not only did it serve the three groups of mills just described but it was carried on down the valley in raised wooden troughs. At Stockbridge, it passed by the old market, sometimes above ground, sometimes below, to the mills at Silvermills village, and thence by a marshy loch to Canonmills. It completed its tortuous two-mile course after serving snuff and pepper mills by returning to the river near Powderhall.

Apart from Lindsay's, Marr's and Greenland Mills, there also stood, on the south bank but further upstream, the Sclaitt or Slate Mill, a name referring presumably to its method of construction. Its position was evidently directly on the river itself, probably below the upper dam, for references show that water could be made available to it only on certain days each week. It can never have prospered, for in 1684 appears the entry, 'Item, the sixth meill mylne called the Sclaitemylne has been these severall years bygone Idle and unpossesst.'<sup>2</sup>

Except the new West Mills, none of the buildings referred to so far have survived above foundation level. The two

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Town Council (MS.) 23 Dec. 1713.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts 29 Oct. 1684, p. 126.

most imposing relics of the old Water of Leith village that stand today were both granaries and offices, the one put up by the Bakers of Edinburgh at the foot of Bell's Brae to the left, and now housing the Cathedral Mission, the other on Millers' Row beside the river, put up by the Town and later a theatrical warehouse, the scene of a recent fire.

The Baxters or Bakers had acquired rights to successive areas of land south of the river, on which over the years they erected various buildings. In 1642<sup>1</sup> the Council disposed to them a piece of waste-land lying between a ruinous kiln near the Sclaitt Mill, and the south putt of the bridge over the river; and by 1659<sup>2</sup> they had erected on this land 'considerable houses and a great kilne,' and were then building a second kiln. One or other of these kilns is shown in early nineteenth-century maps. In 1675<sup>3</sup> the Bakers applied for a further piece of ground on which to build a granary, and were again granted an area of waste-land, upon which they put up their 'great house' which still forms the most striking feature of the Dean Village. The date stone, 1675, with a suitable pious blessing upon the Baxters of Edinburgh, is still preserved in the outer wall.

In the disposition by which the waste-land is made over to the Bakers, directions are given as to the distance that the gable-end of the new granary is to be built from 'the house of John McCapie, weaver, lying on the west side of the old way from the bridge of the Water of Leith to the Citie.' This may well refer to one of the old houses that still adjoin the bridge on the south side of the river.

On the land between the Baxters' 'great house' and the granary erected by the Town, stood millers' houses, along with is now called Millers' Row, and a further kiln belonging to

<sup>1</sup> Extracts 6 Apr. 1642, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts 26 Oct. 1659, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Extracts 5 Mar. 1675, p. 218.

the Bakers, put up on the steep grass banks below Bell's Brae. These millers' houses suffered considerably from damp, as one might expect, from 'the water that comes from the brae.'

The town's granary, the imposing six-storey building on the Dean Valley walk that can most effectively be seen from the Dean Bridge, was of somewhat greater age than that of the Bakers'. As early as 1580<sup>1</sup> the Council approved the erection of a store-house on this 'grund and land on the west side of the Mawse mylne' (the Marr's Mill referred to above). Its true date may be somewhere in the early seventeenth century, and it is possibly significant that the carved stone dated 1619 and with wheatsheaf insignia, at present built into the house at the head of Bell's Brae, may well be related to a sculptural setting of similar size and shape still surviving on the warehouse wall.

In the old records this granary is constantly referred to as 'that great house Jericho,' a romantic name the origin of which is not clear. Curiously enough the name continues in use among the local children today in relation to a piece of ground immediately behind 'Jericho' proper. Various floors of Jericho were leased out separately, one as a purtenance of Marr's Mill, another with Greenland Mill. Behind the main building stood a kiln and a brewhouse, later replaced by the stable buildings of a nineteenth-century cab-hirer.

Besides these mills and granaries, some half-dozen old houses survive in the village, mostly of early eighteenth-century date. No identification of these is possible, although one of them may well have been the lodging put up for use by the tacksman of the Common Mills. A stone dated 1643 in a wall beside the bridge is also a displaced relic of some building no longer identifiable. There are references in the records to the houses of the horsemen attached to the different mills

<sup>1</sup> Extracts 30 Mar. 1580, p. 156.

and to the smithy, but these were probably not constructions of very great solidity.

It remains to add a note upon the road that led to the Water of Leith village and upon the old bridge across the river. That a bridge occupied the site of the present one at least as early as 1573, is shown by a reference<sup>1</sup> in that year to 'twa of the commoun mylnis lyand upon the north syde of the brig of the Water of Leith,' presumably the old West Mills. In the grant of land to the Bakers in 1642, the bridge is referred to as 'builled in aisler work,' showing that it was by that time a construction of some solidity. References in the Minutes to repairs to bridges in the Water of Leith village are however apt to be misleading, and mostly concern the lesser structures that carried roads or paths across one or other of the mill-lades.

The old road to the Water of Leith village apparently followed the line of the service-lane behind Lyndoch Place. Its line to the river can be guessed from references to the 'causey' in various dispositions of land by the Town, where it is quoted as a boundary. Thus in 1642<sup>2</sup> it is taken as the southern boundary of the Bakers' land parallel with the river and between the Sclaitt Mill and the bridge-end.

At the point below the present Belford Road, which has been considerably built up and levelled in the course of improvements, the road to Bell's Mills diverged from it, and the Water of Leith track curved down the line of what is now a narrow lane<sup>3</sup> towards the river ford. A second curve brought one branch of it back to the old bridge, thus forming a winding but easy gradient down the hillside. The hazards of

<sup>1</sup> Extracts 16 Dec. 1573, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts 6 Apr. 1642, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> An old well stood beside this section of road, and there is built into a near-by wall an unrecorded date stone of 1670. Above, on the curve of Belford Road, may be seen the remains of the old underground road that gave access to the quarries behind Rothesay Place.

travel on this exposed slope are shown by an entry in the Council Minutes in 1659,<sup>1</sup> appointing the treasurer to inspect the highway to the Water of Leith 'where some people have lately received damage throw thir stormie braes being blown over the heugh and to cause fence the same as he sall think fit.'

By 1673, this highway had become 'hardly passabil by men or horses,' and in the following year, one Thomas Robertson offered to construct a new road to the north 'toward the new houses built be the good toun,' some of which had to be demolished in the process, and to 'levill the said way and calsay the same the breidth of sax ells.'<sup>2</sup> This new road probably followed the line of the present Bell's Brae. Some greater security to travellers may have resulted from the change, but at least one catastrophe overtook the new road, for on a night in January 1764, says the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 'the high wall at Bell's Brae near the Water of Leith bridge fell down, by which accident the footpath and part of the turnpike road are carried away.' At the top of this 'turnpike road' where it now joins the Dean Bridge, stood three buildings. One of these was a small toll-house; another, the surviving house at the head of Bell's Brae, was for long an inn—the 'Baxters' house of call.' It should be remembered however that all references to 'Bell's Brae' in the city records do not necessarily refer to the road that at present has the name, for there was a second hill of the same name leading down to Bell's Mills further to the west.

Some idea of the appearance of the old Water of Leith village can be had from various engraved views. The general impression is of a mass of small, closely crowded houses, cramped into the valley bottom, and punctuated at intervals by the solid constructions of the granaries and mills. The

<sup>1</sup> Extracts 4 Feb. 1659, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts 7 Jan. 1674, p. 166.

two great blocks of storehouses that survive from the seventeenth century have altogether an appeal of their own. They are well proportioned, simply designed and eminently practical. A few smaller buildings survive, in a state of greater or less disrepair, from a rather later date, and the early nineteenth-century mill building still stands at the north end of the bridge. That is all that is left of the old village, but what remains is well worth preserving.

#### ALLAN RAMSAY OF KINKELL'S PROPERTY ON THE CASTLEHILL

BY HELEN ARMET

IN the Protocol Book of John Foular (1500-1503)<sup>1</sup> an entry dated 9th November 1501 records that Andrew Moncur, burgess, resigned in the hands of William Goldsmith, bailie, his land and tenement, fore and back, lying at the Castlehill, between the Castle-bank on the west, his own east tenement on the east, the King's street on the south, and the north loch on the north, upon which the bailie gave sasine thereof to him and his wife, Janet Cant. This fifteenth century property became the property of Allan Ramsay of Kinkell in the eighteenth century.

On 4th May 1698, an act of the Town Council by way of a Disposition was granted in favour of Samuel McClellan, merchant, then Town Treasurer, of a ruinous house, waste ground and yard demolished several years past, which belonged to the heirs of the deceased Robert Davidson, merchant in Edinburgh, bounded by the Castlehill and Castle-bank on the west, the north loch on the north, the high street leading to the Castle on the south, and the lands belonging to Bailie Fullerton's heirs on the east; also of an adjoining waste ground or yard on the east, now in grass, without any dyke, belonging to the heirs of — Hutchison, bounded by the founding-house on the south, the north loch on the north, and the common passage now leading from the Castlehill to the north loch upon the east. This passage, now Ramsay Lane, was the highway made in 1682 leading to the port at the foot of Halkerston's Wynd. The value of the first subjects was placed at £20 Scots for 18 years purchase,

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Record Society*, vol. 64, p. 78.

amounting to £360 Scots, and the second at £6 Scots, or £108 Scots. The property was stated 'to be holden of the King in free burgage, for service of burgh used and wont.' By a Disposition dated 30th May 1635, by William Halliday of Tullibole, son and heir of the late John Halliday of Tullibole, Kt., advocate,<sup>1</sup> Robert Davidson, mentioned above, and his wife, Jean Lawrie, became proprietors of a tenement of land on the north side of the high street beside the Castlehill on the west, which formerly belonged to the late George, Earl of Dunbar,<sup>2</sup> then to Dame Anna Home, his daughter, and to Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes, Kt., her husband. Robert Davidson was elected to the Town Council in 1643/44; from an entry in the Town Council Minutes of 30th August 1661 it appears that he went bankrupt after 1646.

Ten years later, in 1708, Samuel McClellan, now Sir Samuel McClellan, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, sold his property, which was described as 'now in labour' and occupied by James Berry, gardener, and enclosed by a dyke on either side, to Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Forglen, Bart., Senator of the College of Justice.

Lord Forglen died on 30th March 1727, but on the 14th March he sold to Robert Hope, surgeon in Edinburgh, for 2000 merks, his yard, park and enclosures, with the gardener's house and other houses thereon, as presently possessed by himself and John Tennant, his gardener, all as bounded in the Disposition in favour of Samuel McClellan. Part of the property Robert Hope disposed to Allan Ramsay, bookseller, in life-rent, and his only lawful son, Allan Ramsay, in fee, for £25 sterling. The description in the Disposition, dated 18th September 1733, is as follows: 'that piece of ground adjoining to the founding-house belonging to the Town which lies mostly to the westward and partly to the northward of the founding-house and consists of about 180 feet of

<sup>1</sup> John Halliday of Tullibole was admitted advocate on 17th March 1584.

<sup>2</sup> The Town Council gave a banquet to him and others in June 1606.

ground or thereby from east to west, and of about 100 feet from south to north and which piece of ground was formerly for the most part garden, and is at present surrounded with stone walls, and the said founding-house on the west, south and east parts and whereof the boundary upon the north is the remains of an old fail dyke running from the southmost elm tree growing within the stone dyke upon the east to the southmost elm tree growing within the stone dyke upon the west, being the southmost part of the land bought by Robert Hope from the late Sir Alexander Ogilvie.' For ascertaining and fixing the march upon the north between this piece of ground and the remainder of Robert Hope's ground Allan Ramsay was obliged to build before Whitsunday a stone dyke or wooden paling at least six-quarters high upon the foundation of the old fail dyke. Robert Hope also disposed in favour of Archibald Hope, his eldest son, his yard or enclosure with houses and others, excepting the yard or uppermost enclosure lately disposed by him to Allan Ramsay, bookseller. This Disposition was dated 'at Hope Park,' 3rd April 1734.

On part of the ground bought from Robert Hope, Allan Ramsay, the poet and bookseller, built his house, which from its shape was given the title 'the goose-pie' by some of his contemporaries. The house is shown along with the bell-house or founding-house on Edgar's Plan of 1742. In the Disposition dated 10th December 1741, by Ramsay in favour of his son, the description continues 'and whereas I have since making the foresaid purchase inclosed the foresaid piece of ground and built a house thereupon with office houses and taken in a part thereof for a garden.'

The poet's son was then twenty-eight years of age. He had left home in the summer of 1736 to study his art abroad and it was two years before he returned on a brief visit to his home, after which he set up as a portrait painter in London. He acquired the lands of Kinkell in Fife in 1747, and thereafter, although mostly residing in London or abroad, he evidently

determined to obtain the ground adjoining his property on the Castlehill. This was a delectable site with a magnificent panoramic view over the north loch, yet undrained, and green fields stretching to the edge of the River Forth and over the firth to the hills to the north. The ground to the south of the house built by his father, still in the possession of the Hope family, was his first acquisition. On 11th August 1748, Archibald Hope, with consent of his trustees, granted a Disposition in his favour of the piece of waste ground formerly belonging to the heirs of Robert Davidson, 'bounded by the Castlehill and the Castle-bank on the west, the ground formerly disposed by Archibald Hope's father to Allan Ramsay, bookseller, on the north, the high street leading to the Castle on the south, and the land sometime belonging to Bailie Fullerton's heirs on the east.' Ramsay built a wing to the house and made other alterations. His object in obtaining the piece of ground to the south was to secure an entrance from the Castlehill. There is an act of the Dean of Guild Court dated 21st March 1750, following on a petition by him, showing that he had a piece of ground on the north side of the Castlehill upon which he had built a house, which ground was bounded on the east by the tenement belonging to Fullerton's heirs, now conveyed to Mr. Charteris of Amisfield, the high street on the south, and the Castlehill and Castle-bank on the west. On this ground there remained the gable and east chimneys of a ruinous tenement which he could have rebuilt since it was his property, but at present he designed only to enclose the ground of it by making a proper entry to his house in order to make it more agreeable to every person resorting to the Castlehill 'and particularly to the Gentlemen and Ladies of the first rank who from the nature of the petitioners business resort to his house.' When he had begun to enclose this piece of waste ground lying between his house and the street he was hindered by the commanding officer of the Castle, who claimed that area as part of the Castlehill and the

property of the Crown. After communication with Lord Mark Ker, Governor of the Castle, Mr. Robert Craigie, late Lord Advocate, and Mr. William Grant, His Majesty's Advocate, it was determined that the petitioner had right to enclose the ground and make a proper entry to his house. Evidence had been produced from the Burgh Register of Sasines that Fullerton's tenement originally was bounded on the west by the waste tenement of the deceased Andrew Moncur, and that the said tenement at the west or uppermost end of the Castlehill had become the property of Robert Davidson and had been allowed to fall to ruin. The Town's assessors also had reported that there was satisfying evidence that there had been a passage entered by a pended gate between the said tenements. Allan Ramsay was given permission to enclose his ground with a stone wall five foot in height, leaving out 25 feet in breadth from south to north and 50 feet in length from east to west under a servitude of never being built upon or enclosed or separated from the public walk on the Castlehill.

Fullerton's tenement, referred to above, was originally Andrew Moncur's east tenement<sup>1</sup> which eventually became the property of John Fullerton and his wife, Margaret Jardine, in 1636. Their son John was elected bailie in 1664. It came into the possession of Colonel Francis Charteris in 1708. By Feu Contract dated April 1757, the Honourable Francis Charteris of Amisfield, as heir of entail to the late Colonel Francis Charteris, feued to John Davidson, W.S.,<sup>2</sup> for £4 sterling the waste tenement and others lying on the north side of the high street above the Reservoir. In this contract was excepted a yard or area adjoining the north end of the waste tenement jutting out into the upper part of the garden belonging to Allan Ramsay of Kinkell within a little of the bank

<sup>1</sup> See p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> John Davidson of Stewartfield and Haltree, Crown Agent, and Depute Keeper of the Signet, 1778-1797.

or rock facing his house, the said area being 14 yards in length north from the north gable of the ruin and in breadth  $9\frac{3}{4}$  yards, the west boundary of the yard running in a straight line north with the west wall of the ruined house, which area was presently possessed by Allan Ramsay with free ish and entry thereto. On this waste tenement John Davidson built a house consisting of three storeys, a sunk storey and attic storey. In Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits*, Vol. II, p. 243, the biographical sketch of John Davidson, Esq., W.S., continues: 'The late Mr. Hugh Warrender, his first clerk, succeeded to his business at his death, which occurred at Edinburgh on the 29th December 1797. The house built by Mr. Davidson, and for sixty years successively inhabited by him and Mr. Warrender, was the uppermost house on the Castlehill, next to the Castle, on the north side of the street, and is now (1842) possessed by Sir George Warrender, Bart., who inherits it under the settlement of his relative.' The house is shown in the Measured Drawings of Lawnmarket and Castlehill made by Thomas Hamilton, architect,<sup>1</sup> but it was demolished by the Water Company in 1849 to make way for the enlargement of the reservoir.

Davidson, like Ramsay, was anxious to secure the adjoining property and in August 1757, while Ramsay was in Italy, he acquired from the Honourable Francis Charteris that area or yard to which Ramsay had been given free entry. This caused acrimonious disagreement between Ramsay and Davidson, the former accusing the latter of seeking to take advantage of him, particularly as Davidson offered to sell the area, upon servitude, to Ramsay, who had previously held it from Charteris without payment. In a long letter from Ramsay in London, dated 14th January 1758, to Davidson, Ramsay concludes: 'Having thus drawn you on to read a very long and unentertaining Detail of what you should know full as well as I, I will save you the Trouble of reading it

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol. XII, p. 249.

over again by contracting the Substance of it into the following summary:—

'That there is a piece of ground possessed by me which Mr. Charteris refused to sell you reserving it expressly for my use.

'That you afterwards bought this ground from him in my name.

'That you are no more than an Agent in this purchase, and, consequently, have no right to retain the Subject for yourself, or, which is the same thing, to load it with conditions for your own advantage.

'That I will not grant you any Servitude upon my own Ground, by Virtue of your letter above recited, so that if you are as deeply entrenched in Law as you imagine, the Ground you pretended to purchase for me will become your own, and you will carry it off with the additional glory of having outwitted my Doer and Mr. Charteris, notwithstanding all his Endeavours to keep his Promise, and to do a kindness to his old Friend.

'Wishing you all the Success which such enterprises deserve. I remain as much as I have been for some months past, Sir, Your most humble Servant.'

Davidson in March 1758 also succeeded in acquiring from Archibald Hope a piece of ground extending 40 feet from Allan Ramsay's north boundary, bounded by the hedge of Allan Ramsay's ground on the south, Hope's own ground on the north, and the dykes enclosing the ground on the east and west. On the 4th of April of that year he petitioned the Town Council for a feu of the bell-house at an annual feu duty of £6 sterling, but it was Allan Ramsay of Kinkell, 'limner,' who obtained from the Town Council on 27th September a feu contract of the bell-house or founding-house, described as lying upon the north side of the Castlehill, 'consisting of 57 feet in length from east to west, 40 feet in breadth at the west end and 25 feet at the east end, bounded by the house and yard or garden belonging to Allan Ramsay on the west and north, the enclosed ground belonging to the City, now possessed by William Baird of Newbyth, and Allan Ramsay's entry on the south, and the highway leading from the high

street to the new port and flesh-markets on the east.' The Town Council in 1684 caused the bell-house or founding-house to be built for the use of John Meikle, founder, in casting the Town's bells.<sup>1</sup> Bells for the High School, Greyfriars Church, the fire bell in the high steeple of St. Giles, and musical bells were all cast by Meikle, who was succeeded in his occupation of the bell-house by Robert Maxwell, Daniel Hope, James Bell, Alexander Anderson, and William Armstrong. It was let to James Cunningham, founder, and William Ormiston, copper-smith, in 1738.

Mr. William Johnston, advocate, was tenant of Allan Ramsay's house in 1759,<sup>2</sup> when he and the latter petitioned the Town Council for the repair of the road leading from the Castlehill by the north side of the town. The Town Council was not prepared to incur any expense but agreed to allow them to make a footpath to the house and to pave the other parts of the road at their own expense 'if they have a mind,' which footpath it was stipulated should be only 5 feet broad.

Disagreements continued between Ramsay and Davidson, and these were submitted to George Drummond, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and William Alston, W.S., for determining the several processes between them pending in the Court of Session. On 10th April 1759, sentence and decreet arbitral was pronounced. Davidson was decerned to have right to the house built by him and to the piece of ground adjoining the north gable of the house which he was ordered to enclose at his own expense, with entry only on the east side. Ramsay was not to erect any building or plant thicket of trees over that part of his ground on the west side of Davidson's house. The latter was declared to have no right to an entry or passage through Ramsay's piece of ground on the west side of his dwelling-house and Ramsay had no right to a passage for

<sup>1</sup> See *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1681-1689*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>2</sup> Allan Ramsay, the poet, who had continued to live in the house on the Castlehill, died in January 1758.

any wheeled carriage in the close on the east side of Davidson's house. In recompense for any encroachment made by Davidson on Ramsay's property in building his house and enclosing the small piece of land to the north of the house, the arbiters ordered Davidson to dispoise to Ramsay that piece of ground possessed by Ramsay and feued to Davidson by Francis Charteris of Amisfield, under servitude that Ramsay would not erect any building or plant any trees to the injury of Davidson's lights, Ramsay relieving Davidson of the feu duty of £1 sterling, or paying him £30 as the price of the feu duty; also that Davidson should dispoise to Ramsay that piece of ground which Davidson had from Archibald Hope, extending 40 feet from Ramsay's north boundary. To these conditions both parties submitted.

William Baird of Newbyth, who had a house on the south side of the Castlehill, was tacksman of the Town's coach-house and stables opposite the bell-house, and had acquired from Davidson in April 1759 the southmost part of a piece of ground below the reservoir for £2 sterling. Davidson dispoised to Ramsay the remainder of the ground, the northmost part, on 16th September 1760 for £7, 7s. sterling. On 18th June 1761, William Johnston, Ramsay's tenant, wrote the following letter to William Baird: 'Lord Elibank acquainted me of your offer to let Mr. Ramsay have the piece of ground belonging to you opposite to the bell-house, Castlehill, for a hogshead of claret as you was in use to get from John Inglis. I informed Mr. Ramsay of this and have his answer last night desiring me to write you that he agrees to your proposal, and desiring you will be so good as to cause make out a conveyance in his favour, when I shall give an order in Mr. Ramsay's name for the hogshead of claret from Mr. Inglis. As Mr. Ramsay proposes to set about his new building immediately he shall be glad that the conveyance be executed with your first conveniency.' The Disposition of the southmost part to Allan Ramsay is dated 2nd July 1761.

Ramsay's new building mentioned above was a project which he had put forward in a petition to the Town Council on 4th February. He desired to build two houses 'in the English fashion fit to accommodate two small families of distinction—a project of certain advantage to the City of Edinburgh, however hazardous it may be to the projector.' Upon examining the ground he had found that the bell-house itself, 25 feet from south to north, was not capable of taking the intended building and he wished to include nine feet more of his original ground northwards which he held in free burgage. Therefore he wished the Town Council to convert the feu duty of the bell-house ground into a purchase, holding free burgage. To this the Council agreed, he paying £156 sterling, being 26 years' purchase of the present yearly feu duty of £6. The Disposition in his favour was signed on 27th July 1763, the description of the bell-house being the same as in the Feu Contract, but the bounds were now given as the houses and garden ground belonging to the said Allan Ramsay on the west and north, the enclosed ground north of the City's water-house and of the coach-house possessed by Mr. John Davidson on the south, and the highway leading from the high street to the new port on the east. Warrant was given to him by the Dean of Guild on 3rd July 1765 to build two houses with a common wall, the whole occupying 60 feet from east to west and 39 feet from south to north, the front coming as far south as the southernmost part of his washing-house now possessed by Mr. Nairn, and the west gable to be placed where the west gable of the bell-house then stood, containing in height three storeys and garrets above ground to the south, and a sunk storey. The neighbouring heritors, Mr. Joseph Williamson, advocate, Mr. John Davidson, W.S., Clerk to the Signet, Peter Hutchison, indweller, and Mr. William Ramsay, treasurer to the City, lodged no objections. It was stipulated that Allan Ramsay was to observe the laws relative to building within the City, particularly the Act of Parliament of

1698, and also to keep the east gable of his new building upon the old foundation of the east gable of the bell-house.

The houses in Ramsay Garden, apparently designed by Robert Adam,<sup>1</sup> were built by 1768, as on 24th August of that year Ramsay asked permission of the Town Council to bring that part of the road which lies between the high street and the houses lately built by him to a proper level at his own expense. In a letter dated 11th October 1769 to the Town Council he stated that having *three* new houses behind the reservoir he wished each to have a pipe of water.

The piece of ground which Archibald Hope had retained to the north of Allan Ramsay's property he disposed on 23rd June 1766 in favour of his sister, Miss Margaret Hope, for £200 sterling. Archibald Hope was then designed 'Collector of Excise at Ormistoun,' and the subjects were described as 'his park or enclosure with the houses and others thereon on the north side of the Castlehill, excepting 40 feet of the highest and southmost part of the said park running in a line from east to west disposed by him to Mr. Allan Ramsay . . . which park is partly enclosed with a stone dyke on either side and the remains of the outmost ditch at the foot and north side.' On 17th June 1773, Margaret Hope disposed this remaining ground to Allan Ramsay of Kinkell for £350 sterling, which now completed his purchase of the property adjudged to Samuel McClellan in 1698 and which originally belonged to Andrew Moncur in 1501.

Allan Ramsay of Kinkell, who had been appointed Principal Painter to His Majesty in 1767, died in 1784, when the property passed to his son, General John Ramsay. In the latter years of his life he made few visits to Scotland, but the

<sup>1</sup> In *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, by A. T. Bolton, there is listed in the Topographical Index to the collection of Adam Drawings now in the Sir John Soane Museum, London, Section I, Country, under Edinburgh, a 'Design for a pair of houses' for Allan Ramsay—5 plans 3 elevations. (61 ft. frontage x 40 ft. depth.) The brothers Adam were old friends of Allan Ramsay.

houses built by him still remain. Then the new Town was in creation and from that time the prospect from the houses on the Castlehill has been a changing one over the valley beyond. Lord Provost Drummond's vision of the 'green fields covered with houses, forming a splendid and magnificent city' has come true.

## NOTE

This article is based on unpublished material in the City Archives.

## WILLIAM'S HUT

BY MARGARET TAIT

THERE appears to have been a curious local usage of the word Hut, defined by Chambers as 'a small or mean house, a small temporary dwelling,' in Edinburgh during the second half of the eighteenth century, to indicate the secondary (but by no means small, mean, or temporary) house of a family who normally inhabited a larger and more imposing abode. At least three instances of this use of the word are recorded, and one of the houses survives. The most important of the three was the Lothian Hutt, which was the town house of the Lothian family and adjoined the Abbey Close. It was built in 1750 and demolished in 1825. The Lothian Hutt is marked on Ainslie's map of 1804. The existence of another Hut is proved by an advertisement in the *Courant* of 6th February 1775, which runs—'To let that house known by the name of Bruntsfield Hut with a garden and large room therein, stable, cellar, and other conveniences agreeably situated near the head of Bruntsfield Links as presently possessed by John Baptie, vintner, and also two houses adjoining. Enquire of Mrs. Brown the proprietor at Bruntsfield Links.' The last of the trio is William's Hut, now No. 13 Sylvan Place.<sup>1</sup>

A rich fund of local tradition exists about William's Hut none of which I have been able to verify. It is said that it was at one period the home of the Duke of Argyll's factor, and, later on, of a mysterious early anatomist with a reputation akin to that of the celebrated Dr. Knox. In the day of this grisly practitioner of the art of surgery, William's Hut went by the name of Sylvan House and stood in pleasantly wooded

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this article, the author has discovered a fourth Hut. On Kincaid's map of 1784 Ramsay Lodge is marked as Ramsay's Hut.

grounds with a winding avenue leading from the entrance gates to the house. The Edinburgh Directories have provided no information about previous occupants. As William's Hut was for so long outside Edinburgh proper its history remains obscure. Laurie's Map of *circa* 1763 indicates three unnamed houses in the approximate position south of the Meadows, as does the Edinburgh map of 1773. I assume the middle one of the three to be William's Hut, which gradually emerges on the city's maps from a dot to a fairly extensive L-shaped building until upon the Ordnance Survey map of 1852 (Sheet 43) it has become a handsome villa with a large ornamental garden. But there was an ever-growing cloud of new building upon the horizon of William's Hut which gradually surrounded the house and obliterated the fine gardens until it was finally engulfed about 1883, and by 1914 it had been reduced to its present oblong, but still attractive, shape.

The streets of houses, which now so completely encompass William's Hut that it is hidden from the casual view, are Sylvan Place, of which it is now counted a part, on its east side, Fingal Place on the north, Argyle Place to the west, and Sciennes Road to the South. Standing close, as it does, to where the rill which gave its name to Rillbank Terrace and Crescent ran down to the Burgh Loch, Sylvan Place was, doubtless, descriptively named. It lies east of the site of a pavilion named the Meadow Cage on Ainslie's Map of 1804.

The name 'Sylvan' affords no clue as to the history of William's Hut. From the name of the adjacent Argyle Place, however, probably stems the legend about the Duke of Argyll's factor. This little street is situated on property once owned by a Mr. Campbell. His dwelling-house, named Argyle Park, on the 'South Side of Hope Park [Meadows] on the road from Sciennes to Bruntsfield was formed by enclosure of umquhile David Campbell, tailor . . .' and was one of a series of rural villas bordering the aforesaid road. This Scottish proto-

type of the Great Mel was 'H.M. master tailor for North Britain' *circa* 1736. In 1800 it was the abode of 'Gabriel Campbell, spirit dealer, No. 1 west from Meadow Cage.' The name of Fingal Place, of which Sylvan and Argyle are the arms, throws little more light except to show that that part of the town was influenced by Argyllshire Campbell nomenclature. Unfortunately, the 'Memorials of Hope Park,' privately published in 1886, dealing with the nearby home of William Miller, the Quaker and engraver, yield no information about William's Hut, though the charming vignette of the now vanished Hope Park provides us with some idea of the probable appearance of neighbouring villas.

The history of William's Hut has never been disentangled from the voluminous and probably now incomplete title deeds of the various properties owned at one time or another by the Williamson family. It can only be asserted here that the titles of No. 13 Sylvan Place state that it was the house known as William's Hut 'erected by Joseph Williamson, advocate, upon the grounds of Leven Lodge.' It is therefore not to be confused with Leven Cottage, another small house much nearer to the parent property, which was built by the Earl of Leven at about the same date. My surmise is that before Joseph Williamson bought Leven Lodge itself in 1770 he had feued ground from the Earl and built William's Hut as a rural retreat for himself and his family.

It may be of interest to recall something about the man who built William's Hut and named it so playfully. Joseph Williamson, advocate, was one of that remarkable legal fraternity so notable in the annals of eighteenth-century Edinburgh. He was Clerk to the Commission of Teinds; Town Clerk of Edinburgh; an original member of the Edinburgh Society of Bowlers; author of 'Remarks for the Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh upon a Pamphlet, signed by Ten Gentlemen, entitled Observations by the Committee of Writers to the Signet upon a Memorial for the Magistrates

and Council concerning the Affairs of the Poors Rate,' etc.; and, last but by no means least, Joseph Williamson was the son (probably posthumous) of the celebrated 'Dainty Davie,' the much married minister of St. Cuthbert's. Dainty Davie lived to a great age, as did his son Joseph, and it was remarked on as 'a singular circumstance that a minister in public life in 1652 should have a son who died in 1795.'

Joseph Williamson, needless to say, grew up a staunch supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty and proved a most crusty proposition when the pusillanimous Town Council of Edinburgh wished to surrender to Prince Charles Edward, going so far as to refuse to deliver up the keys of the town even to the Lord Provost, and 'when commanded peremptorily by his Lordship, he implored that *he* might be permitted at least to escape over the wall so as not to share in the general disgrace of the city!' William's Hut was inherited by this tough old advocate's rather ineffectual grandson, Lieut.-Col. David Williamson of the 92nd, of whom Greenhill Gardyne remarks that he 'seems to have been an amiable gentleman, but from the letters of the Colonel [Sir Alexander Duff], it is evident that he was not satisfied with his lieutenant, to whom he alludes as "our friend Dainty Davie".' With him ends the Williamsons' connection with William's Hut.

#### A NOTE ON THE ARCHITECTURE

BY K. CRUFT

William's Hut, though reduced in size, is of a type of house prevalent in Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century—two storeys and attics, and the entrance door usually having a simple cornice. It differs from most in that it has a very handsome stone doorway with a carved pediment supported by consoles, and egg and dart decoration round the architrave. It is in itself out of proportion to the rest of the house, but no doubt

before 1914 it would have been more effective as part of the larger building.

Although the interior of the house has been slightly altered to meet modern requirements, it still retains some of its late eighteenth-century character. There were originally two large rooms on each floor; the room now used as a sitting-room has its original pine panelling and chimney piece, now painted white, and there is still some panelling in the corresponding room on the first floor. The two remaining rooms have been divided and all original features removed. At the head of the staircase there is the only ceiling decoration in the house, consisting of an oval centrepiece and enriched cornice. The attics have been converted into living accommodation, but from here one can look through to the interior of the roof and see the massive wooden beams used in the roof construction.

LOST OPPORTUNITIES: AN ACCOUNT OF SOME  
OF EDINBURGH'S UNREALISED PROJECTS

BY R. BUTCHART

EDINBURGH is a city justly renowned for its great beauty, much of it resulting from its fine situation and the many handsome and historical buildings within its boundaries. It is an unusual city in many respects, for a great part of the centre of the town is on two levels and many of the great improvement schemes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were rendered necessary by the need for the construction of bridges to serve as lines of communication over valleys. There is no doubt that on many occasions in the past architectural and planning projects which would have altered the face of the city were neglected or altogether discarded. Whether the carrying out of these various projects would have improved the Edinburgh scene must always be a matter of opinion, but a brief account of some of them may prove of interest.

**The Tron Octagon.**

When the South Bridge area was in course of construction the problem of the Tron Church occupied much attention, as indeed it does even to-day. James Craig was interested in it, and his *Plan for improving the City of Edinburgh, illustrated with Engravings*, dated 1786, indicated a solution of the rather complicated lay-out of this part of the Old Town. The main feature of his design was an octagon at the intersection of the High Street with the North and South Bridges, with the Tron Church on its island site at the western side of the octagon. Craig states that 'this part of the design was to prevent the accidents which both carriages and foot-passengers would be liable to if the entry to so great a thoroughfare was at right angles to the High Street.' In other words, even in those

leisurely days, the need for the traffic to 'keep left' was recognised. Craig also declared that this approach to the Old Town was 'much more elegant in itself' and a careful study of his plan would appear to justify his assertion.

Another feature of the plan is College Crescent, the semi-circular sweep of which is shown as extending from what is approximately the end of Chambers Street on the west to the old Royal Infirmary on the east.

**National Monument.**

In 1816 there was first mooted a scheme for the erection of a national monument as a memorial to the great achievements of Scottish troops in the grim struggle against Napoleon which had terminated in 1815 on the field of Waterloo. The gaunt towering pillars of the Monument which resulted can be seen silhouetted against the sky from many parts of the city.

To promote the scheme a distinguished committee was formed, but it was not until 24th February 1819 that the first practical step was taken to consider the actual form of the monument. Full details are given in the *Report of the Proceedings of a numerous and respectable meeting of Noblemen and Gentlemen of Scotland . . . held . . . with a view to the erection of a National Monument in the Metropolis of Scotland*. Following the opening speeches Sir William Rae stated that the committee had requested Mr Archibald Elliot, architect, to prepare a design. This he had done, and the *Report* is illustrated with a perspective view and plan of the great structure. In keeping with the times it was on classical lines and modelled on the Pantheon at Rome. The plan shows a pillared portico leading to a great domed Inscription Hall, and beyond that, to a church, in which all contributors of £25 and over to the scheme would have 'right to a share and accommodation.' Unlike all later proposals the site was to have been at the southern end of the Mound.

The *Report* ends with an extensive list of subscribers and

the total sum promised amounted to £6215. By 1822 that figure had been increased to approximately £16,000: a disappointing result for an appeal with a target of £42,000. In spite of that it was resolved to carry on, and Charles R. Cockerell, an eminent London architect, and William H. Playfair were appointed to supervise the work. It was soon realised that the promoters had been too optimistic, for in 1829 the project had to be abandoned for lack of funds.

Many people, gazing in perplexity at the incomplete fragment of a classical temple, must have wondered why a generous Scottish public should have for over a century ignored the challenge of these twelve massive Doric pillars and numerous suggestions have been put forward from time to time to stimulate public interest in completing the work.

After Elliot the next contributor to the National Monument project was George Cleghorn of Weens. In 1824 Constable published his *Remarks on the proposed restoration of the Parthenon of Athens as the National Monument of Scotland*. This extremely prolix statement of his views on the matter dwelt at great length on the principles of Grecian architecture, the form the monument should take (whether church or hall of honour), the desirability of incorporating sculpture as one of the architectural features, and in particular the advisability of erecting an equestrian statue of George IV in front of the building. There had been strong support for a suggestion that it should 'comprehend a place of divine worship' in which contributors to the cause would 'obtain a right to pews in proportion to the amount of their subscriptions.' Furthermore an optional clause was included in the Act of 1822 to authorise the provision of 'cells for sepulture in the vaults beneath.' As funds for the Monument dwindled and finally ceased altogether, the Directors of the Royal Association decided to offer the vaults for sale, and an advertisement appeared in all the newspapers under a grandiose headline, 'The Grand National Cemetery, authorised by Act of Parlia-

ment'! No offers were received and Cleghorn writes most scathingly about such commercialism. Ultimately the idea of a church within the building was departed from, and the work proceeded until funds were exhausted in 1829.

In 1846 Cleghorn returned to the attack with his *Restoration of the Parthenon of Athens as the National Monument of Scotland* in which he reiterates the views expressed in his earlier work and quotes from *The Gaberlunzie's Wallet* :—

'Awake, my country, why delay?  
Ye slumber in the blaze of day,  
All shameless in your shame;  
To let this noble fragment stand  
A wreck, unfinished, and a brand  
Upon the Scottish name;  
While strangers as they pass it by  
Thus sneeringly deride,—  
"There stands old Scotland's poverty,  
And poor old Scotland's pride";  
Come, start men, show heart men,  
Be soul and sinew strained,  
Till ample, this temple,  
Shall tell the conquest gained.'

Cleghorn's final attempt to secure attention for his appeal was delivered before the Architectural Institute of Scotland in January 1852. In it he combated fiercely the critics of the *Quarterly Review* who had been antagonistic to the scheme from the beginning and called upon all Scotsmen to rescue their country from the stigma on her honour. Alas, he was once more doomed to disappointment, for in spite of an offer of £10,000 from a native of Scotland resident in London, provided others of his countrymen were willing to contribute also, no further progress was made.

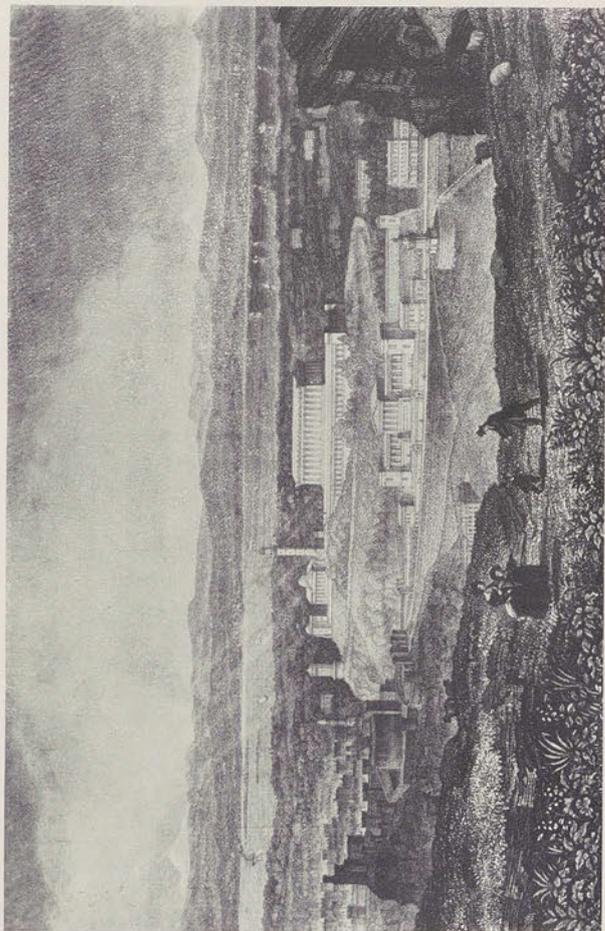
The next to enter the field of contest was George Meikle Kemp, the architect of the Scott Monument. In 1843 he

produced five drawings illustrating his outlook on the problem. These were:—

- (a) Calton Hill and surrounding scenery from Salisbury Crag, with the National Monument as it would appear if completed. Engraved by J. West.
- (b) Calton Hill [with proposed National Monument] from the summit of Salisbury Crag. Engraved by Nichol.
- (c) Edinburgh from the neighbourhood of Arthur Seat. Engraved by T. Dick.
- (d) National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh. Engraved by T. Dick.
- (e) View in Edinburgh from St. Anton's Well.

The lithograph by Nichol is the largest of the five. All provide substantial evidence that Kemp was fascinated by the possibilities of the subject. The five prints reflect strongly the Grecian classical tradition, with the great Doric structure, as he visualised it, nobly sited on the hilltop, and the High School, Burns Monument, and the memorial to Dugald Stewart equally well sited at a somewhat lower level. Together these examples of Greek architecture on an Edinburgh hillside emphasise in striking fashion the similarity of the Calton Hill to the Acropolis of Athens. Though none of Kemp's sketches brought any response they were important as pioneer efforts to achieve something permanent to replace the picturesque but solitary pillars.

The next important approach to the question was that of J. Dick Peddie, R.S.A. who in 1866 made a notable drawing of *The Calton Hill and its capabilities: the National Monument completed*, which is finely reproduced in colour in William Mitchell's *The National Monument to be completed for the Scottish National Gallery on the model of the Parthenon at Athens*. This, the most ambitious and certainly the most



THE NATIONAL MONUMENT AS PROPOSED BY G. M. KEMP, 1843

From a drawing by G. M. Kemp; engraved by J. West

striking, appeal to achieve the desired end, was published by A. and C. Black of London in 1907. The edition de luxe is a handsome quarto with six illustrations in colour and two series of drawings by Henry F. Kerr, A.R.I.B.A., giving plans and elevations for the proposed completion of the building. As the title indicates, Mitchell's aim was to provide a worthy erection for housing the great art collection of the National Gallery. The first series of Mr. Kerr's drawings incorporated an unusual feature—a funicular railway from Waterloo Place to the entrance hall of the gallery. Probably that part of the proposal would have been unacceptable to many people, and in any case it would appear that Mitchell appreciated such an objection, for Kerr agreed to do another set of plans in which the funicular railway was replaced by a tramway track to the summit. Though the case for completion was so ably argued in this elaborate volume it had no better fate than the proposals of Kemp, Cleghorn, and Peddie.

Eleven more years were to elapse before the next attempt to revive the question. The new approach was quite a fresh one. It was outlined in George Washington Browne's *Suggestion for the completion of the Scottish National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, as a War Memorial* issued in the middle of 1918, about six months before World War I ended. The brochure states that 'The design illustrated frankly accepts the twelve columns as a sufficient basis for an entire scheme.' The entablature would be completed by the addition of frieze, cornice, and blocking course and provision made for sculptured groups including 'a quadriga with a winged victory, the four horses being emblematic of the four great nations carrying on the war to a triumphant conclusion—Britain, France, Italy, and America.' Two recumbent lions were to grace the eastern extremity of the podium. A writer in *The Builder* of 5th July 1918 warmly approved Browne's proposal but pleaded for obelisks to terminate the return columns. Two reproductions in the brochure clearly illustrate the effect of

the new plan. Like the earlier suggestions it has long since been forgotten, yet few would gainsay that it, or indeed any of the schemes described above, would have improved greatly the impressive contours of the Calton Hill.

Nowadays many people appear content to look upon the Monument as a picturesque ruin and rarely reflect that no matter how beautiful a ruin may be, it cannot in any aspect match in splendour a finely designed structure upon which the careful thought and skilled planning of a noted architect have been freely lavished. Even to-day there are still those who dream of the time when the Monument will be completed, for as recently as 13th June 1957, a letter to the editor of *The Scotsman* voiced the desire for a new approach to the problem

#### The Mound.

The construction of the Mound, which ultimately was to serve as a main thoroughfare between the Old and New Towns, was a very gradual process. As it began to take shape suggestions were frequently made as to the best use that could be made of this fine site in the very heart of the fast spreading city.

One of the first proposals is illustrated in the *Scots Magazine* for March 1815, in which there appears a brief article entitled *Description of Plans for Buildings to be erected on the Mound*. The accompanying illustrations and plans were from designs by R. Dickson, engraved by R. Scott, the noted Edinburgh artist of the period. The main feature is a long low building of particularly utilitarian aspect extending along the Earthen Mound. The layout provides for a long range of houses, shops, etc. on a line with the centre of Hanover Street. The elevations to the east and west are identical. On each side there is a walk and colonnade, and a carriageway linking the Old and New Towns. Other details include a Royal Manege, with dressing-rooms for ladies and gentlemen, gallery for spectators,

house for the master, and plan of a riding school for the young people about town. Though the Royal Manege has some pretensions to architectural dignity the other elements of the design must have had little appeal to the citizens for nothing further developed with reference to this early attempt to create something worthy of the Mound site.

Twelve years later the next planner staked his claim for recognition. He was Robert Fleming Gourlay, a pertinacious egoist who, for a period of thirty years or thereby, spent most of his time in thinking of the improvement of the city. He devised plans for new and attractive layouts for the central area of the town, and wrote memoranda, reports, and similar documents for consideration by the Magistrates and Council as well as other bodies which were likely to be affected by his grandiose schemes. He had no false modesty and did not hesitate to challenge those who were not prepared to support his claims.

In 1827 Gourlay's *Plan for the Improvement of Edinburgh* was issued. The following letter printed in the bottom left hand corner of the plan indicates that he was not only an egoist but also a real crank :—

House of Correction, Cold-Bath-Fields,  
London, 31st August, 1827.

To the Editor of the *Caledonian Mercury*,

SIR,

The account of laying the foundation stones of the bridges has delighted me and heartily do I wish success to the undertaking. I sent you in March 1824 a plan and description of Improvements for Edinburgh which was not published for want of a plate. Since then I have thought much on the subject and could now suggest others, which altogether would so add to convenience, singularity and splendour, as fairly to entitle the Capital of my native country to precedence as the 'Queen of Cities.'

You will see from the subjoined address (my letter to the King 10th August 1827) that I have offered to eradicate the poor-law system in 20 years and liquidate the National Debt in 50. The King has not yet replied; but in the interim permit me to say that if the good people of Edinburgh will subscribe to remove me thither, I shall submit at Public Meetings, first my plans for improving the City and then my greater proposals as to poor-laws & the debt. Should a majority approve my reputation would be established and the Royal favor secured. Otherwise, let me turn to as a common labourer at the works now begun, which would be preferable to remaining here. I am quite serious. No one has been placed as I am. No one dreads being so: therefore there is no sympathy nor any consideration given to my case. It is, however, trying in the extreme; and nothing but extraordinary measures can save me from destruction. I propose the subscription as a manifestation of a wish to hear me, and if the wind is raised, which in a single day it may be, I shall lose no time in being with you for trial and judgement. Oblige me by giving the first impetus by publishing this, and let those move next whom God wills.

(signed) ROB. GOURLAY.

The lithographic plan gives an elevation of a Hollow Way extending to the Grassmarket below the middle of the Mound. At the head of the Mound are two churches (the East and West) connected by a triumphal arch, an elevation of which is also given. These are on the direct approach to the Lawnmarket and an illustration shows the effect as seen from that point. The plan also indicates the line of the new West Approach from Lothian Road via Castle Terrace, over the Asses Bridge, and thence to the Lawnmarket by what is now Johnston Terrace. An equestrian statue near the County Hall obstructs the northern end of George IV Bridge, and another is sited in the middle of Castlehill at the approach to the Castle Esplanade. Where East Princes Street Gardens are now the plan shows a great amphitheatre, to the east of which the Mound Bridge is extended to St. Giles Street. No part of Gourlay's 1827 plan was ever adopted. It would have

entailed a heavy expenditure and one must confess that it appears to be no improvement upon the existing shape of things.

Two years later, an elaborate and well-planned scheme was issued by Alexander Trotter of Dreghorn, *A Plan of Communication between the New and the Old Town of Edinburgh, in the line of the Earthen Mound, and of building on that site, with observations and ground-plans*. The main features outlined in this ambitious project were:—

- (a) The creation of a great boulevard between Princes Street and the High Street by way of the Mound, thence along the north of the Bank of Scotland, and terminating in an approach to the High Street directly opposite the north door of St. Giles. This thoroughfare was to be levelled at the upper end of the Mound in order to avoid the steep incline to Bank Street and the proposed southern highway which is now George IV Bridge.
- (b) The erection of a great Arcade on the line of the Royal Institution, classical in design, and with stately porticos at each end and also on the east and west fronts. On both sides of the building provision was made for shops with entrances from a grand gallery running the whole length of the building. The gallery was intended not only to serve as a means of communication between Princes Street and the Old Town but also to act as a protection from the cold blasts which sweep in from the east. The rentals from the shops it was thought would practically finance the project.
- (c) The provision of fine lamp standards and statues to adorn the artistic balustrades which were designed to line each side of the great new boulevard.

The brochure describing the scheme is illustrated by five plates:—

- (a) Design for the building, drawn under Alexander Trotter's directions by the Master of the Architectural School at Venice—1820. This shows the western façade.
- (b) Elevations of the western façade and southern and northern porticos, and plan showing the lay-out of the shops and the Grand Gallery.
- (c) Ground plan of the area involved in the proposals.
- (d) Perspective drawing from the middle of Princes Street at St. David Street, by George Bell, a student in the Academy of the Royal Institution. The scenery in the drawing was done by J. Ewbank.
- (e) Lithographic sketch of the proposed improvement of the Mound, by Sir James Stuart, Bart. A feature of this sketch is the equestrian statue in the centre of the ornamental balustrade forming the eastern side of the proposed line of communication.

Later in 1829 Trotter issued a second edition of his *Plan*, greatly enlarged and with additional plates. These plates were very similar to those in the original brochure, but Plate VI is entitled *A View of Mr Trotter's proposed line of Approach to the Old Town from a drawing by Mr Elliot, Architect*. This additional plate features the highway past the north side of the Bank of Scotland and its junction with the High Street. It also shows the arched base for the terrace above. But the necessity for this new edition was consequent upon an important change in Trotter's outlook on his first scheme. He had now dropped the idea of an Arcade in deference to the opinions of those who were strongly opposed to the erection on the Mound of another building, even though it was designed to harmonise with the Royal Institution.

Naturally this ambitious scheme attracted much attention. While there was fairly general agreement on the main principles and beauties of the proposal, the feelings of most of the citizens was, as Lord Cockburn said, 'that it was too magnificent for execution.' He might also have added that the cost was too great for a city which was already heavily burdened by taxation to meet expenditure on other improvements.

Between 1829 and 1834 when Trotter's *Modified Plan* was published there were meetings of interested bodies, and on 21st March 1832 we find Lord Provost John Learmonth writing to Mr Trotter stating that the Magistrates and Council, having carefully considered this plan for the improvement of the Mound, were of the opinion 'that the difficulties in the way of carrying these plans into execution, are such, as to render it impossible, at present, to take any steps for that purpose.'

While Trotter himself felt the force of the objections and particularly that relating to the undesirability of erecting more buildings on the Mound, he was extremely loath to abandon the whole scheme, and in 1834 there appeared *Observations of Alexander Trotter, Esq., of Dreghorn in illustration of his Modified Plan of a Communication between the New and the Old Town of Edinburgh*. To present his modifications more clearly he included in this publication a frontispiece in the form of an engraving by Thomas H. Shepherd which measures 8 inches by 5.1. This represents only a small part of a much larger print in possession of the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library, which bears the signature of Col. D. P. Trotter, a descendant of the originator of the scheme. It gives a much wider view of the Old Town. At the southern end of the approach from Princes Street there appears an ornamental fountain, flanked on either side by a Depot for the City Police and a covered way from the Princes Street level to the elevated part of the Old Town.

During this period the Magistrates had also had in contemplation the erection of a church near the site now occupied

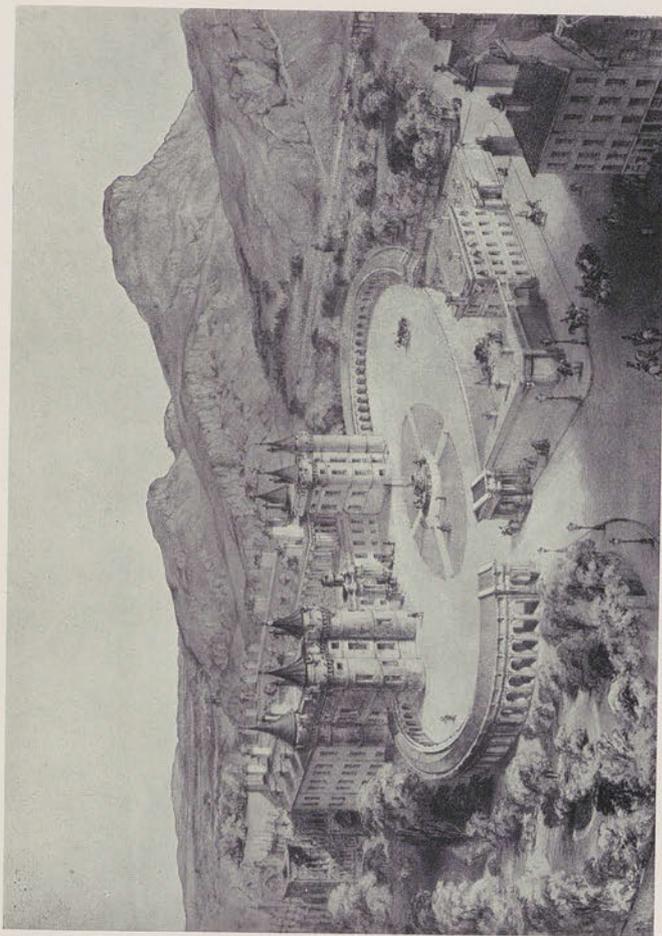
by the New College, but nothing had been finally decided about the matter. The idea of this church, however, fitted in with Trotter's own conception of the best means of developing the Mound, and the engraving done by Shepherd for him embodies a drawing of a church similar in design to one Trotter had seen in Berne. It is sited directly above the fountain already mentioned. The engraving also shows the terrace in front of the Bank with its well designed arches. Curiously enough James Skene of Rubislaw, in his manuscript volume entitled *Reekiana*, also states that 'a great portion of this south side of the street [Castlehill] has been recently removed for the purpose of erecting a Church there, which plan having been abandoned, it is as yet undecided to what purpose the space cleared of buildings may be turned to.' Trotter was somewhat concerned about the cost of erecting the terrace and church but he was hopeful that 'the revenue to be derived from the purposes to which the arches may be applied would meet this expenditure.'

The *Observations* of 1834 represents Trotter's final appeal for more consideration of his scheme. It was apparently unavailing, though few would have gainsaid that it was a dignified approach to the problem of securing an effective layout for a through route between the Old and New Towns.

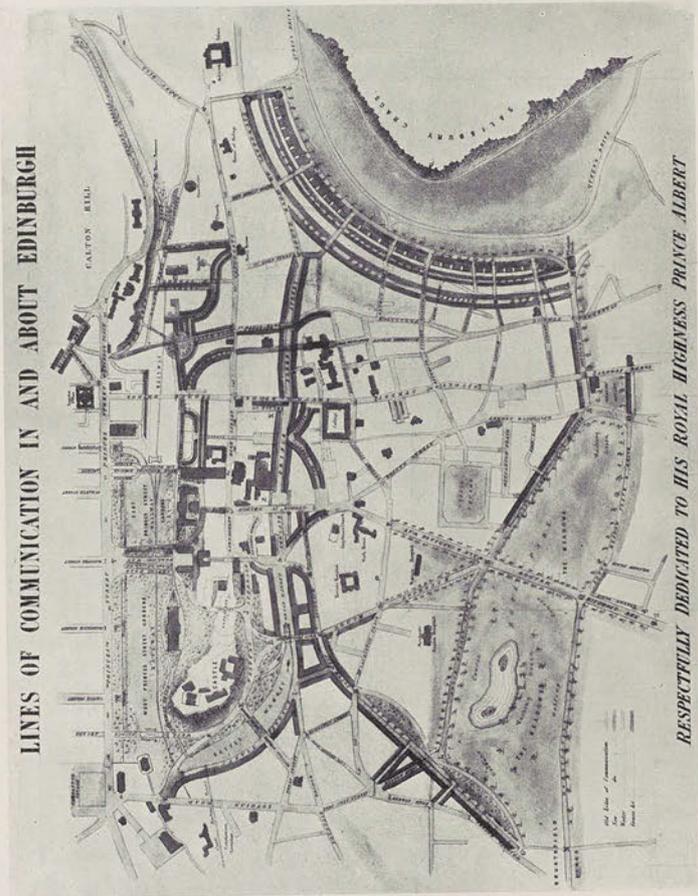
There was still another project for the improvement of the Mound—that of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder *circa* 1840. It embodied proposals for bringing down the south end of the Mound to the level of Princes Street and cutting a tunnel below the Lawnmarket, to provide a connection on the level with the Old Town. The proposal had not the same artistic appeal as the Trotter scheme and it suffered the same fate as the ambitious plans described above.

#### Trinity College Church.

This famous church, founded by Mary of Gueldres in 1462, was one of the architectural glories of Edinburgh. According



PROPOSED FORECOURT FOR HOLYROOD PALACE  
From an unsigned lithograph in Edinburgh Public Libraries



From a coloured plan by Robert F. Gourlay, 1852

to James Grant, 'with the exception of Holyrood, it was the finest example of decorated Gothic architecture in the city.' In spite of that, and in the face of strenuous opposition, it was demolished in 1848, to provide a site for the North British Railway Company. Lord Cockburn, however, disagreed with that specious reason and declared that it was merely 'in order to give the station of a railway a few feet more room.' It is not proposed to deal with the history of the church here, but only to consider some of the suggestions which were put forward to have the structure restored upon a site worthy of it. The chief proposals submitted were as follows:—

- (a) Calton Hill. David Bryce's approach to the problem is clearly shown in the lithograph entitled *Trinity College Church as restored on the Calton Hill*. Drawn by L. Ghemar and engraved by Schenck and McFarlane, it appeared in 1852.
- (b) The Castle. David Rhind, the architect, sought to have the old building re-erected in the Castle as a garrison chapel on the site occupied by the northern portion of the Armoury. He was convinced that the site would be a most imposing one and that the church as viewed from Princes Street and other points would present a very fine spectacle. This proposal is outlined in *The Scotsman* and *The Courant* of 6th May 1854.
- (c) Bank of Scotland. According to a letter from Robert F. Gourlay to the Directors of the Bank of Scotland dated 31st October 1855 the Bank Directors 'refused space, and very properly, for the rebuilding of Trinity College Church' to the east of their building.
- (d) Leith Wynd. At Ireland's woodyard, at the foot of Leith Wynd, some ground belonging to the church and quite near the spot where the original building stood, was considered. There was much opposition

to this suggestion as it was felt that the building would be hidden away amid a cluster of mean properties. To counteract this objection R. F. Gourlay planned a great basement of four stories to house shops, dwellings, and schools on the top of which the church would be rebuilt. His ideas are clearly illustrated in a lithograph (plate 7) in a work entitled *The Best Site for Trinity College Church*, published in 1855.

- (e) Princes Street Gardens. Lord Cockburn, W. H. Playfair, William Burn and others strongly favoured a site at the S.E. corner of East Princes Street Gardens on Waverley Bridge—facing the Scott Monument.
- (f) Holyrood. A suggestion was made that the stones from the demolished building should be used to replace the choir, nave, and central tower of Holyrood Chapel.
- (g) Greyfriars. The church to be restored in place of Old Greyfriars, the eastern portion of which had been destroyed.

Apparently none of these proposals found favour though some of them were strongly supported and would undoubtedly have been preferable to that ultimately decided upon—the restoration of the building in Jeffrey Street and the contiguous Chalmers Close. Unfortunately, though the stones of the famous church had been carefully numbered with a view to possible re-erection elsewhere, so many years had elapsed since the demolition that many of the finest sculptured pieces had been lost or so damaged that it was impossible to have the historic structure restored in its original form; indeed only the apse and part of the choir, with various fragments of figured stones and mouldings, were actually incorporated in the new church which was opened in 1877, following upon

nearly thirty years of controversy and litigation. This fine old foundation, or what remains of it, is now too seldom seen, situated as it is in a little-visited side street.

#### Holyrood Chapel.

The ruined chapel of Holyrood has not been without the attentions of those interested in the amenities of the City. As already stated there was a proposal to use the stones of Trinity College Church for the restoration of parts of the chapel, but nothing came of it. Later the suggestion was put forward that the chapel should be restored as a memorial to the Prince Consort but that, too, was rejected. Then in 1906 the Earl of Leven and Melville bequeathed a sum of £40,000 for the reconstruction of the ancient and historical foundation on condition that Mr Thomas Ross be appointed architect. On the face of it this seemed a favourable opportunity for doing something practical to restore the famous chapel, but as there were differences of opinion regarding the desirability of accepting the bequest on the conditions imposed in the Earl's will, it was resolved to seek the advice of the Edinburgh Architectural Association as to the possibility of repairing and restoring the structure. The members of that professional body were agreed that such a restoration was practicable, but in spite of that authoritative pronouncement, there was still very considerable and influential opposition to the scheme and ultimately the substantial legacy was forfeited and returned to the trustees of Lord Leven's estate.

#### Holyrood Palace.

Like the Chapel, Holyrood Palace has also been of interest to the improvers. In the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library there is a large print showing a great and elaborately planned forecourt. Unfortunately this fine lithograph provides no artist's name, nor is there any indication of the engraver or date of issue. The print shows two semi-circular



arcades with archways, projecting from the wings of the main frontage, and terminating in gateways at each side. In the foreground, approximately on the site of Horse Wynd, is a three-story gatehouse which completes the outer part of the forecourt. No doubt this gatehouse was intended to provide accommodation for staff as well as stabling for horses and carriages. Altogether this is a fine print and it would be interesting to have more information concerning its origin.

#### Road Improvements.

Robert F. Gourlay, whom I have already mentioned, published in 1852 *Lines of Communication in and about Edinburgh*, addressed in grandiloquent terms to His Royal Highness Prince Albert. The Public Library copy of this brochure contains a fine hand-coloured plan illustrating the layout of the special features incorporated in Gourlay's scheme.

The first point that strikes one is the series of great curved terraces (Victoria Crescent, Jeanie Dean's Lane, and West and North Streets) sweeping along parallel to the Queen's Drive between St. Leonard's Church and Holyrood Palace. The Post Office is situated to the west of the North Bridge and still further west are the High and Low Waverley Bridges. This would appear to be one of the first mentions of the High Bridge, the idea of which was evolved by Gourlay as a direct means of communication between Princes Street and St. Giles. This is best illustrated by Schenk and McFarlane's lithograph of Gourlay's drawing entitled *View of the High Waverley Bridge from the West, as it may be*, notable features of which are the railway marshalling yards to the east of the bridge, the gas works chimney fantastically camouflaged as a pagoda, and the Calton Hill with its monuments. Still further west is the Mound with the Hollow Way projected in Gourlay's proposals of 1827, and fronting Princes Street Gardens are two statues, to St. Patrick and St. George, obviously designed to balance

the Scott Monument. In the southern section of the plan are the Meadows with a golf course, a boating loch and washing greens. Prominently marked in this area are the Merchant Maiden Hospital, the first Watson's Hospital adjoining the Middle Meadow Walk, and the Workhouse in Forrester Road.

There are many other details of the scheme which cannot be noted here, but the points to which attention has been directed are sufficient to enable one to realise that the excessive cost of these elaborate planning projects was enough to condemn them for all time.

Apparently, however, Gourlay was still not satisfied that his earlier proposals had been carefully considered for in 1855 he returned to the attack with yet another pamphlet entitled *Edinburgh as it now is—and may be*. This was illustrated by a large plan and a number of lithographs chiefly concerned with the Bank of Scotland and the Free Church College. Once again the High Waverley Bridge is shown, and his Market Road has two great blocks flanking the existing Bank. The latter are well defined in an elevation picturing the imposing nature of the improvement here. The Free Church College is similarly shown in another elevation.

This plan was 'submitted to Citizens of Edinburgh, and more especially to the Directors of the Bank of Scotland,' but despite his tenacity Gourlay was once more frustrated and nothing came of his proposals.

#### The Meadows.

In 1855 the Corporation offered prizes for a fresh layout of the Meadows, and the competition was won by Thomas Davies, civil engineer and architect. Robert Gourlay strongly criticised the award and issued another of his many pamphlets—*First Prize Design for laying out the Meadows—Edinburgh, compared with design yet unprized, 1855*. This unprized design was, of course, his own suggestions for re-planning the Meadows which he had incorporated in his *Lines of Communica-*

tion brochure of 1852. Davies' rough oval-shaped layout provided, in its eastern half leading to Hope Park, for an archery ground, a bowling green, a pond, and a bleaching and drying ground; while the western half of the plan was simply two great parks divided by a broad carriageway and planted with trees. The approach to this section was from Tollcross by what is now Brougham Street.

Gourlay admitted that, *as a picture*, the design of Davies appeared better than his, but declared that roads or carriageways should be a primary consideration and complained that in this respect Davies only provided for one carriageway from east to west, while his scheme was planned for several, and in particular for one from the south through the Middle Meadow Walk to George IV Bridge. Gourlay also emphasised the value of golf links in the city, and challenged anyone to point out any better proposal than the one he had submitted to Prince Albert in his *Lines of Communication*.

On receiving the award Davies asked the Town Council to consider engaging him to supervise the work involved in his plan and enclosed two estimates for it, one amounting to £12,142 and an alternative specification costing £7412. Though the Police Commissioners approved the plan the Town Council turned it down, and Gourlay claimed that his protests had been justified. So the Meadows remained much as they are to-day though no doubt many of the citizens would welcome a thoroughfare to take conveyances as well as pedestrians from the Marchmont area to the High Street.

#### Wallace and Bruce Memorial.

In 1859 there was issued a folio publication entitled *National Memorial of the War of Independence under Wallace and Bruce and of its results in the Union of England and Scotland to be erected in the Scottish Metropolis*. The brochure takes the form of an appeal to the Scottish nation for funds to commemorate the doughty deeds of the two great patriots and

their valiant comrades in arms. The memorial was designed by J. Noel Paton, R.S.A., who developed his theme as a 'Runic or Ancient Scottish Cross' upon the sides of which were grouped statues and panels in relief depicting appropriate representations of notable events during the period covering the years of the struggles for independence. At the head of the cross was the Scottish Crown and on the face of it a great two-handed sword on the blade of which were inscribed the words 'Pro Libertate.' The flanks of the cross were to bear the escutcheons of the knights who fought under Wallace and Bruce, and the front a great bronze statue of Wallace defending the symbolic figure of Scotland and supported by a Scottish spearman. This frontal group was balanced on the rear by another great bronze of the Bruce, clad in armour and cloaked, with a sheathed sword in one hand and the Arbroath Declaration of 1320 in the other. The pedestal was to be decorated by four panels representing:—

- (a) Wallace crowned in mockery before Edward I at Westminster Hall.
- (b) Sir Henry de Bohun's overthrow by Bruce.
- (c) The Union of Scotland and England as Independent Powers.
- (d) The Reign of Peace: the progress of religion, education, arts, etc.

The memorial was to be constructed in bronze, granite, and native marble. With its octagonal pedestal of steps it was to be 110 feet in height, the figure of Wallace about 22 feet, and the seated figures about 15 feet. The suggested site for this great artistic conception was to be 'the West Princes Street Gardens, directly opposite Frederick Street, and on a line with the Institution Buildings and the Scott Monument—the Castle slopes, the Castle, and the Old Town forming the background.'

The appeal consists of eight pages of text accompanied by seven lithographic sketches of the cross and the proposed decorative features of each side of the great memorial. Following upon the issue of the appeal an influential committee was formed and subscriptions solicited. Promises of considerable sums were received but apparently the amount was insufficient and the project was abandoned.

#### Albert Memorial.

Sir Noel Paton was also greatly interested in the competition for a memorial to the Prince Consort. For this designs were invited and suggestions for sites considered by the committee set up to further the proposal. Public opinion was divided upon the form the memorial should take. The principal suggestions included:—

- (a) An equestrian statue.
- (b) A monument upon the Calton Hill to replace that which unworthily commemorates our greatest naval hero.
- (c) An elegant glyptothek.
- (d) A gallery of sculpture.
- (e) The restoration of Holyrood Chapel.
- (f) A tower on the highest point of the Castle Rock.

The suggestions for sites were as numerous. As there appeared to be no hope of unanimity regarding either of these vital considerations the Committee of Advice decided to throw the matter open to competition. A catalogue of the designs submitted, issued in December 1864, listed 60 drawings and models. Sir Noel Paton's entry was described in *The Scotsman* of 1st July 1863 in these terms:—

'It may be said to present the appearance of a rich Gothic cross surmounted by a modelled cope and plinth, bearing a full length statue of the Prince in the robes of the Order

of the Garter. Under the trefoil arch on each of the four sides of the cross is a seated figure emblematic of science and the arts which the Prince loved so well. The whole is supported on a moulded pedestal and flight of steps taking the form of a cross. The front of the pedestal, under each of the figures, bears an elaborate bas-relief.'

According to Alfred T. Story's *Life and Work of Sir Joseph Noel Paton* the design was 'warmly approved by Her Majesty.' That statement appeared in *The Scotsman* of 1st July 1863 but was contradicted in the issue of 4th July. Ultimately the award was given to Sir John Steell, whose statue of the Prince was erected in the gardens of Charlotte Square.

As already noted, one of the suggestions for the Prince Consort Memorial was that it should take the form of a tower on the highest point of the Castle Rock. Scotus in a letter to *The Scotsman* of 25th November 1863, speaking of the site for the monument, says:—

'I refer to the highest point of the rock in the centre of the Castle buildings, on which a huge, bold tower of simple masonry, and similar in design to Adrian's Tomb, might find a solid foundation, and attract the eye for many miles around.'

David Bryce may have been attracted by this proposal for his contribution to the memorial competition was 'the erection of a kind of conjectural restoration of David's Tower,' illustrated in W. T. Oldrieve's article in the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Volume VI. Had the Keep as visualised by Bryce taken shape the battlemented tower would have been boldly silhouetted against the skyline—possibly, a too strongly dominating feature when compared with the existing well-loved outline of the Castle. That aspect of the design was certainly taken by Mr John Lorimer, advocate, when he spoke at a meeting of the Architectural Institute of Scotland on

12th January 1868. There he declared that he 'admired immensely the tower of Mr Bryce, but he thought it would be preposterous to have such a monument on the Castle.'

#### University Medical School.

Most people who are familiar with the appearance of the Medical School in Teviot Place and its frontage on the Middle Meadow Walk have forgotten that the architect, Sir Rowand Anderson, had submitted a design with an unusual feature which would most certainly have greatly enhanced the attractiveness of the building. In *The Architect* of 16th June 1877, there appeared an elevation of the proposed new extension for the School, the main feature of which was a great campanile based upon the best Italian style of architecture. The design of the tower included a projecting balcony, clock faces, and a great statue on the apex of the structure at a height of 250 feet from the ground. Apparently the campanile must have been considered too ambitious or too costly for it was abandoned. The effect of this, and other changes in the design, was to alter greatly the front elevation of the building which, in its final form, lacked the originality of treatment exhibited in the architect's first proposals. But though Sir Rowand failed to obtain acceptance of the campanile for the Medical School he will be remembered by the modified version of it which was erected on the church of St. George's West in Shandwick Place in 1892.

#### Bank of Scotland.

This building, a notable landmark as seen from Princes Street, was in its early stages designed by Richard Crichton, but later it was enlarged and improved by David Bryce, an architect who was responsible for many notable buildings in Edinburgh.

But there was another, and much larger design for the Bank, the work of Thomas Hamilton, the architect of the

High School. According to W. G. Blaikie Murdoch in an article in the *Weekly Scotsman* of 1st September 1934 there is a water colour drawing by Hamilton in the possession of the Bank. The illustration of it reproduced in the article shows that, though not unlike the existing building, it is much larger and more imposing than the Bank as we now know it.

The projects described in the previous pages were the most important in the development of the City, but there were many more. To outline them in detail would be a very lengthy task, but they include:—

- (a) The many plans submitted in the Usher Hall and other architectural competitions.
- (b) The removal of the Knox statue from the quadrangle of New College to the slope in front of the main entrance.
- (c) The demolition of the archways in front of the City Chambers.
- (d) Mr Alan Reiach's proposals for a Gallery of Modern Art to be erected in East Princes Street Gardens.
- (e) Sir Patrick Abercrombie's great scheme for the re-planning of the whole city.

It is encouraging to know that down the years so many persons have been keenly concerned with the amenities of the City, and it is to be hoped that this enlightened outlook upon the planning problems of the future may long continue. Should it do so the Edinburgh Scene will present as fair a prospect in the years that lie ahead as it has done in bygone days.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF JESSY ALLAN,  
WIFE OF JOHN HARDEN, 1801-1811

BY WILLIAM PARK

JESSY ALLAN'S father was Robert Allan, banker and proprietor of the *Caledonian Mercury*, who was born in 1745 and died in 1818. By the turn of the century he was a widower with five surviving children—Agnes, who was born in 1774; Jessy, 1776; Thomas, 1777; Helen, 1787; and Catherine, 1789.

The journal was written by Jessy to send to Agnes in India. Agnes had married George Ranken, surgeon to the Bengal European Infantry Regiment, and had gone out with him in 1799. She, too, kept a journal, but the only part of it to survive is apparently her private log of the voyage to India. Jessy's journal, on the other hand, has survived more or less complete. There are gaps, it is true, but what remains is a fairly solid block of reading matter. And not solely of reading matter. For Jessy's husband, John Harden, whom she married in 1803, was an assiduous water-colourist, and sketches of places visited began to accompany the journal to India. In due course Agnes brought the journal and the sketches back to this country; succeeding generations preserved them; and in 1954 the journal and about thirty of the sketches were generously presented to the National Library of Scotland by Jessy's great-grandson, Mr. A. S. Clay. They should be referred to as N.L.S. MS. Acc. 2466.

For rather less than a year after they were married the Hardens lived with Robert Allan at 29 Queen Street. They then had a few months in lodgings in Edinburgh, but John Harden had already succumbed to the attractions of the Lake District, and it was there that he and his wife set up house on their own. They were frequently in Edinburgh, and they were

back for eighteen months during 1809 and 1810, when for a time it looked as if Harden might be induced to stay and take over the *Caledonian Mercury*. But his feeling for a country life was too strong, as, probably, his interest in the management and editorship of a newspaper was too weak. The Lake District was where he wanted to live, and by 1810 his wife had come to agree with him. At first she had been reluctant to leave Edinburgh, but after a few jaunts (her own word for the sightseeing and sketching expeditions her husband was always making) she settled very happily, first at Brathay Hall on Windermere, and then at Field Head House, Hawkshead.

The journal, written by one sister for the information of another, though both John Harden and Robert Allan take a hand in it now and then, is a journal of feminine gossip. It is concerned with characters of ordinary life, to some extent with their involvements and feelings, and at all times with their daily round. The purpose of printing some of it here is to give readers in the middle of the twentieth century some sense of the daily round of a well-to-do family in Edinburgh one hundred and fifty years ago. It is to be read right through, *andante con moto*, and the editor has resisted the temptation to slow the whole thing down with an accompaniment of footnotes.

The first of the surviving entries is dated from Manderston, the 16th September 1801. Jessy, her father, and her sister Helen are off on a tour which will take them over to Ireland. For Robert Allan the tour is, to some extent at least, a matter of business; for his daughters, pleasure. At their various stopping places they revive old acquaintance and make new; in Dublin they have an aunt, Aunt Home, to visit; and in Dublin Jessy receives attentions from an Irishman, three years older than herself, a widower of six months, called John Harden, who came over from Holyhead on the same boat. By the 9th November the Allans are back in Edinburgh. The journal runs on, with news of settling down, until the

14th, when Jessy writes: 'I shall now conclude this volume [she had said on the 16th September that she was going to write in books instead of separate sheets as hitherto] which Major McLeod will take to London and I hope it will go by this fleet. I am afraid my next one will not be so entertaining as it will have less variety, but it will be interesting to you, I know whatever may be its contents which idea makes it pleasant occupation.' The next one that Jessy wrote is, however, missing; perhaps more than one. The first extant thereafter begins as follows:—

*Edinburgh, June 30, 1802.* I finished my last volume my dear Nancy last night, but there is no franking at present so it must lay till I hear of some person going to London. I had a very pleasant ride this forenoon with Middleton & a friend of his, Mr. Male. We went first to Curry & rode over a great many hills not knowing the road till we got to Bonailly, & so to Collington, altogether about 18 miles, the only inconvenience I felt was the heat but I mean to take the Evæg. to my next trip. . . .

*July 1.* . . . Tom dined out & in the evæg. Kate & I rode out with Middleton & Male, I got Nannie Williamson but I don't like her half as well as my own, but I wd. not trust Kate on a stranger, however she rides very well & was quite delighted with her trip. We went the length of Cramond where we met Messrs. Sligo & Jo<sup>h</sup> Outram who had been dining with Cadel.

*July 2.* We all dined at St. John St. where we met Genl. Ferrier, Col. Dixon, Dr. Middleton & Mr. Robertson, the former seems very much afraid the Brigade will be disbanded, but they are making as much Interest as they can to prevent it. I went to Mrs. Grahame's to supper, we had Mr. & Miss Thomson there who sing very well & Mr. Grahame too sings a very good song. The party altogether was a very pleasant one.

*3rd.* Mrs. Gordon & I went to Market this morn. which



JESSY HARDEN AT HER EASEL IN BRATHAY HALL

*From a pen and ink drawing by John Harden  
in the possession of Miss Lilian Mather*

is no very agreeable place but we thought it wd. be somewhat pleasanter to go together. We had our Saturday Levee of Beaux in the forenoon, & in the eveg. Helen, Eliz<sup>th</sup> Learmonth [a cousin on her mother's side], Middleton & myself set out on horseback to Leithmount where we left Nell & cd. not lengthen our ride (as intended) because of rain. Messrs. McBraid, Reid & R. Wight supped here, the former sent a piece of cambric muslin to my Father & another to me yesty. as a present, & a very handsome one it is, instead of making his into neck-cloths as McBraid proposed we have agreed to make it all into 3 gowns, one for you, Nell, & my Ladyship, yours will go with one of the Hooked Carpets. . . .

*4th.* I sent off my packet to you to-day & a letter from Helen along with it to Dr. Hare's care, I daresay he forwards them all to you as expeditiously as possible. Miss Ainslie dined here & went with us in the eveg. to hear Sidney Smith preach a Charity Sermon for the Industrious Blind. He is a very fine orator. Tom dined at Scougals & Helen is still at Leithmount but Dr. Middleton came in to supper.

*5th.* I had a good many visitors this morn. & in the eveg. went with Tom & Miss Cockburn to hear the great Billington. She is really a most wonderful singer. I was quite delighted with her, the Opera was new to me too altho' a very old one. Love in a Village. The House was very much crowded, amongst the rest was the Comte d'Artois who met a hearty reception for the House was really like to be knocked down with acclamations on his entrance, he seemed very well pleased with the compliment, the Box Tickets are raised 2/- while she remains here. Kelly too accompanies her, their Duets were most delightful.

*July 6, 1802.* Mr. Ross from Gibraltar & Misses Crawford Graham & Walker called with the latter of whom I went over to St John St. as she said I shd. be better out than painting all the morn. but I wd. have been as well at home for it rained on me all the way back again. . . .

*7th.* Mr. De Negro dined here, he is an Italian who has been travelling 7 yrs. & brought an introductory letter fr. Dr. Cleghorn. Lexy writes me he plays extremely well on the Harp & I intend borrowing one from Corri to hear him. Miss Bruce & Mr. Williamson from Leith dined here too. She went with us to the Play & is to sleep here: we were amazingly well entertained with that syren Billington in Artaxerxes. Kelly too did his part wonderfully well & the house was as full as possible. Mrs. Moir (who expects to be confined every day) was in the next Box & her sister Hariot who is grown a most beautiful girl indeed. Aunty Fordyce was of the Party likewise.

*8th.* Dr. Alcock fr. Aberdeen, Mr. di Nigro & Millar dined with us & in the evg. we were very much amused by Nigro's harp. He plays extremely well indeed & requires no pressing, some of the tunes were his own composition to wh. he sings with great taste but has not much voice. Mr. MacBaine came in to supper & was amazingly delighted with the music.

*9th.* Mr. & Mrs. Ross, Mr. & Mrs. Inglis, Mrs. Hamilton, Miss Haryman, Miss Grahame & di Nigro dined with us, the 3 latter of whom stopped to supper & were joined by the Miss Liddels & Williamson. They were all much pleased with the Harp, & really besides that di Nigro is a great acquisition to a Party for he has so much fun about him, he is the liveliest creature I ever saw. Miss Grahame I think an uncommon pleasant girl & quite unaffected wh. is not the case with every Miss one meets with but suits me exactly.

*10th.* They all dined at Mr. Dick's but I did not go for I have had a great cold for some days & did not like to make it worse by going out on a wet day. Di Nigro drank tea with me & Millar called for him at 9 oC. to take him to a musical party at Lord Cullin's, if he was well known here, he wd. not be much disengaged, but except ourselves no one seems to pay him any attention, his letters indeed were only to some of the Professors who seldom trouble themselves much about those people.

Kate went to the Play with the Reids but Helen wd. not go because I did not.

*11th.* Di Nigro was wondering what the people did with themselves here of a rainy Sunday so Tom brought him here to spend the day, he wanted me to send down his harp last night but I told him the people wd. mob him if he attempted to touch it. Millar came in the evg. & a pretty noise the 3 youths set up, not like a Sunday evg. at all. We have left them downstairs for it is near 12 oC. but it rains so hard they don't like to move. . . .

*July 12, 1802.* We had a famous concert this evg., no less than three excellent performers besides a few indifferent ones, Miss Fairfax on the Piano, Mr. Falkner a nephew of Mrs. Kennedy's played the Violin in a most masterly style & di Nigro on the Harp. We did not sup till 12 & now 3 oC. is struck. We were in all 10 misses & 11 beaux, & have been all extremely well amused, but you will allow it is time for me to go to bed.

*13th.* As poor di Nigro is to set off tomorrow for London I shall send this by him, as I suppose he will call to take leave of us to-day: he is an odd being, I wonder if ever we shall see him again, it is curious the variety of visitors we have here & most of them seem to like Edinburgh. He says he likes it better than any place he has been in except his native town Genoa but that is saying rather too much for he has been all over Europe, but we may allow him to follow the common practice of his country by paying compliments. Kate's Hooked Carpet is sent off by sea & Helen's will follow it shortly, but they think it best to send them separately in case any of them shd. be lost, the Gown & picture will be packed with Helen's & will be sent first opportunity. I hope they will go safe for they are very pretty & cost them some trouble. . . . I had a Card from Corri to invite Tom to dine with him to-day to meet Mrs. Billington wh. he accepted of with the greatest pleasure, not like him in general for he is so nice about going

anywhere but this is something new. It is high time to finish this nonsense so I shall bid you Adieu. Give my best love to Georgie & believe me ever Your truly affte. J. Allan.

Again there is a gap, sixty-four pages of the original being missing before the following :—

*July 20, 1802.* I yesterday wrote you a letter besides sending off a few more sheets of this elegant Journal. I hope you will receive them all safe however worthless they are. All of us except my Father went to the Play last night, where we got a complete roasting; it was Cook's benefit who acted Macbeth but very indifferently I think. Our Party consisted of Mrs. Kinnear, Mrs. Jameson, Misses Tait, Bell & 4 Allans & Messrs. Kinnear, Watherston, Robertson, Tom Middleton & Best besides a good many intruders who we did not know, but I am very well pleased my dissipation is over for the present, the weather is so warm. The Thermometer is at 74, which is uncommonly high for this climate. I spent all this forenoon at Nasmyth's endeavouring to take a sketch as I found upon trial at home I cd. not make it out. I find I am very far from expert at the business but I intend to stick to it until I can make some hand of it. Nasmyth begged I wd. go soon again & draw with him—he finds so much pleasure in my company, he says he draws all the better for it. The Kinnears, Pillans, Math & Sandy Ross & Small all dined with us but all went home before supper except the latter who goes to Perth to-morrow.

*July 21.* At 7.30 this morn. Nell & I set out to the Bathing in company with Misses Scott, Stuart and Huttons, a party who wished one or two more additions in order to lessen the expence which is no joke now since Coach hires were so much heightened. I never enjoyed the Sea more being a very warm morning. Kate wished much to bathe too but I consulted Rutherford upon the occasion who put a negative on it, however we took her down to-day so far on her way to Leith-

mount where she was to dine, but the Monkey sent up to say she was to stay all night which I am not quite so fond of her doing. Nell & I had a long visit from Middleton & Best who were in a very merry humour & put us in the same with their nonsense. *Jack* & Mr. Walker dined with us, this was the sale day for Chester Hall but no bidders. I wish it was sold on my father's account who has no small concern in the business. I left them soon after dinner & mounted Hacket on whom I travelled to Inveresk & called on Mrs. Stuart, she made many very particular enquiries after you. . . .

*22nd.* My Father & Tom drove out in the Gig this aft. & Nell & I walked with Mr. Middleton down to Lavrock Bank, to tea where we met the Miss Knoxes & had a very pleasant walk. Jane is much taken up with her Brats but I never saw anybody improve so much on matrimony as she has done in her looks—her complexion is quite beautiful. Uncle John supped with us, the first I have seen of his family for a fortnight, it is rather strange the only near relations we have now in Edin<sup>h</sup> to see so seldom, but we are always so much occupied somehow that St. John St. gets quite out of head. I had a letter from E. Learmonth to-day : Fan continues very bad : Dr. Pitcairn has put her on a vegetable diet now & has bled her too. Aunt Watty is pretty well again. Kate came up from Leithmount to-night, very much pleased with her visit : Mrs. Pillans asked her to go down next week to stay some time, but I have not yet determined whether to let her go or not for if we take a Jaunt it wd. be better for her to go then.

*July 23, 1802.* Skirving breakfasted with us & amused us by drawing our profiles with chalk on boards being in very good humor. I expect he will begin my Father's picture very soon now—we were in the midst of jelly-making too wh. made his visit not so very convenient, however we soon got it done & went to bathe at 12. My Father dined at Uncle John's & I at Mrs. Gregory's where were Mr. & Mrs. Forbes, the Dr.'s sister & brother-in-law ; she is very like him & pleasant kind

of woman. . . . I understand a Fleet is expected in a fortnight, would it were here & we had good accounts from you !

*24th July.* We spent an hour with Miss Hutton & then Kate went to St. John St. to dinner Helen to Mrs. Kinnear's & Tom I don't know where, but our party was small enough at home. . . . The weather is really delightful at present but rather warm ; I wonder what it will be with you. *This* is the anniversary of a melancholy day to us, I have been thinking of it the whole of it [death of her brother Robert].

*25th.* After Church this forenoon Nell & I called on Mrs. Sinclair who poor woman gets daily worse, she is hardly now able to speak & Mary Ann is looking very ill too in consequence of her confinement. We then went to Miss Burnet's & found her in better spirits than I have seen her for some time. Misses Alexander were here when we came home & went with us to hear Moodie in the aft. : they were obliged to take a chair home as very heavy rain came on which still continues. Grannie, Jack, & J. Renton dined with us but Tom was at Leithmount where he frequently spends the Sunday, he is very unlucky in weather for if there is rain at all he is sure to get wet, he got 2 drenchings to-day & was obliged to come home in borrowed cloaths.

*July 26, 1802.* Rain all day, nevertheless my Father sisters & I drank tea at old Mr. Ross as I had engaged to do on Saty. poor man he is 81 & quite tired of every enjoyment he used to have. . . . We looked in on Mrs. Kinnear afterward[s] taking advantage of the near neighbourhood & found Geordie & she busy at Backgammon, he breakfasted here this morn. & coached it over the way.

*July 27, 1802.* After drawing a sketch from our window I went this morn. to Nasmyth's to ask his opinion of it. He said it was very well done & advised me to try & finish it on Canvas, wh. I mean to begin to-morrow. . . . We went down to bathe at 2 o'clock but found the Sea very cold indeed ; the wind having changed again to East. Jack dined with us &

the Plenderleaths & Miss Mclean drank tea the Ainslies, Nasmyths, & Messrs. Agnew & Black (two Irishmen) came in to supper so that we mustered a party of 15 & tolerably pleasant we were as we had some very good music from Mr. Plenderleath while the old ones were at Whist. Nasmyth takes it kind in us asking Jane out, for wh. reason I do it sometimes. She is a fine girl but rather backward.

*28th July 1802.* The Misses set out at 8 this morn. for Leithmount. I sat down to my Easel but did very little good with it for Middleton came in & I chatted almost the whole forenoon, & of course kept me rather idle : besides I had a visit from Mrs. John Allan & Mrs. Kinnear. My father Tom & I dined at St. John St. where were Mr. & Mrs. McKenzie & Miss Gay both of whom are genteel women but I like the married one best.

*29th.* Helen went over to make artificial flowers with the Miss Liddels this forenoon & I began my Queen St. view on Canvas which by the way if I ever finish I shall most probably send to you but I rather doubt that ever will be the case : at least to my mind for I find it very difficult to color properly. Being a disagreeable day I had no lady callers but no less than 5 gentlemen who you know to me are in general as agreeable particularly young ones. . . .

*31st.* . . . This has been another wet day. . . . There is a Frenchman here who was strongly recommended to my Father by the Rentons & to oblige them he wished to give him some employment, accordingly we 3 Misses are to have a chat with him 3 times a week en francois : he came to-day at 12 but I am not sure that we shall reap much benefit from it, particularly my sisters, for he gives all his explanations in French wh. are not so easily understood ; indeed he speaks so bad English he cd. not pretend to explain anything in that language, but most likely we shall all understand him better when longer acquainted ; he seems a good kind of creature & very anxious to please : he is just existing here in the hopes

of being some time able to return home. Luring called just after he left us, he has been at Aberdeen & returned the other day only but not half so much pleased with any place as Edin<sup>h</sup> he says he wishes he cd. settle here. . . .

*Aug. 1, 1802.* Upon my going down to breakfast my Father told me that Bruce Boswel is arrived in England: I hope we shall have a packet from you by him very very soon, there are only 2 of the Ships yet arrived. The Mckenzie's dined here to-day. I really think *Clear Pate* has been a most fortunate man: *she* will certainly improve him very much in his manners, her sister too is extremely agreeable. We had the S. John St. family too & 2 other Germans besides Luring but their names are too difficult to write. I don't admire them much either so there is the less matter.

*Aug. 2.* Being a pretty good morning I set out for Mrs. Gregory's intending to accompany her to Chapel in case she was going there, not being very well she did not go but Mrs. Forbes (the Dr.'s sister) & I went over in the carriage & heard a most excellent sermon from M. Alison, addressed to Old people but not unsuitable for the young either. I called (as I promised) on Mrs. Gregory between sermons but finding her quite alone I preferred stopping with her to hearing even Ritchie, not thinking myself very graceless after all. My Father & I took a walk after tea to see Gillespie's Hospital for old Men which is building at the Toll as you go to Burnsfield Links, & a very fine one it will be.

*3rd.* A good part of this forenoon I was occupied at the Easel & at 12 L'Ephrain [L'Evêque] came. We were however so much interrupted with visitors that I have changed his hour in future. Luring was one of them, he came to take leave before departing for Glasgow & stayed with us till he only left himself time to take dinner & step into the Telegraph. Jack, R. Wight & Margaret Allan dined with us & after Tea Mrs. Gregory called & we walked a little together. . . .

*Aug. 4, 1802.* L'Eveque came this morning to Breakfast

for Tom wanted to parler Francois too but I think the gentleman likes full as well to hear himself parler as anyone else. He left us at 10 & we to our several occupations. We had no visitors except Middleton & J. Paton but I forgot Welch & Williamson were here too for a wonder. Mr. Paton has got the Governorship of St. Helena in lieu of his brother in law Brook, wh. is a great advantage being worth above £2000 a year: they are all to go there at Christmas. Kate began with Corri to-day—I have long wished him to come to her but cd. not make it out before. . . .

*5th.* Mr. Mrs. & Miss McCall with the 2 sisters & Mr. Poole dined with us; they soon went away & my sisters & I accompanied by Messrs. Middleton & Best (who came to tea) set off for Vauxhall where were a good many people & very pleasant it was: it is held at Red Braes, Sir Hugh Crawford's old abode & conducted by a Mrs. Stuart, she began it in the Race Week but until very lately it has been very ill attended, the weather has been much against her but a finer evening than this I never saw. Our Beaux came in with us to supper & are just gone home. . . .

*Aug. 6, 1802.* I left Helen at the Bathing place to-day as she wished to go to Leithmount & being remarkably warm she did not return before dinner as she intended but spent the day with Mrs. Pillans who was much the worse of her Vauxhall expedition indeed I was surprised to see her there in *her* condition. . . . I went down to drink tea with Chatterbags alias Mrs. Edwards having got great reproaches for not going before. I found Welch & Williamson here on my return at Whist with my Father & Tom. Welch seems to enjoy the thoughts much of his return to India. Mrs. Sinclair was at last laid in her long home to-day after suffering so much that everybody I daresay felt relieved on hearing it was at an end. What a dreadful complaint that is, & very very common indeed it is become.

*Aug. 7, 1802.* I had a letter from Ellen to-day & am very

sorry to find that Fanny is worse again, the perspirations are returned more violently than ever. Her pulse is fallen 30 but is still at 90. I fear there is very little hope of her. We were in the Sea to-day again & mean to go to-morrow: bathing is so very pleasant in warm weather but we intend always to stop as we did before when the wind changes to the East for then it gets so dreadfully cold there is no pleasure in it which is our principal reason for going at all. I had a pop in from Mrs. Hamilton to-day, she came to town the day before yest. along with her mother & children but returns to-morrow again, she is in great health & spirits. My Father dined with Mr. Higgins to-day, Tom with Williamson & we went over & drank tea with Miss Liddels & spent a very pleasant eveg. with them; Skirving knew we were going, so called & walked over with us, he says they are the finest girls he knows & make proper use of their talents, indeed I agree with him in thinking very well of them.

*8th.* We all dined at Mr. Simpson's of the Bank to-day where we met Mrs. Capn. Duff, Miss Dirom, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Finlayson & Mr. Mcnight, they are building a Front to the House such as Mr. Johnston's at Lathrisk. I supped at Mr. Burnet's where I met some more interesting people, the Fairfax's & Birrells. I was very much pressed to pay them a visit at Burnt Island wh. I shall do if I possibly can.

*Aug. 9, 1802.* Tom & Kate dined at St. John St. Helen at Lavrock Bank & I went with my Father to Chesterhall leaving room in the chaise for Jack to return in it. We got there at 12, & went to Church, but a more indifferent Preacher than Fisher is I never heard. [Cousin] Tom is to be married on Tuesday to Miss Baron who they say is a fine enough girl but only 17. I hope she will prove a sensible woman for in that case she may make him appear something more respectable than he has hitherto done: the friends on both sides seem all wonderfully pleased with the match which is so far in their favor. . . .

*Aug. 10.* Nell & I set out pretty early to-day, to pay visits: we first went to Nasmyth's who was just preparing to go to Inverary where he is going to draw for the Duke, next to Mrs. Gregory's & then to Mr. Boswel's for I wished to hear if they had heard anything of you but no. Bruce arrived in London on Thursday but has sent no letters tho' certainly he must have some, or it is very strange. I met Mrs. Swindel who had one from Ghazipore this very day. I shall be quite mortified if we get none to-morrow. . . .

*Aug. 12, 1802.* Yesty. instead of proceeding with this I wrote you a letter to acknowledge the receipt of 6 from you & sent it off direct, as I fear this will be a very lazy traveller. Tom went to Wilsontown yesty. & according to his usual luck had a wet forenoon to-day. Old Neil Campbell & T. Allan (Ingliston) dined here & after it I went down with my Father & Neil to Leith as they had some business there & I took on the coach to Leithmount to call on Mrs. Pillans, as I find I cannot easily go down there to call without a Conveyance & dining abroad becomes just as troublesome to me when my Father is not of the party, but I promised to go again on Monday & take him along with me.

*13th.* I had a letter from Helen Robertson to-day in wh. she mentions having met with Mrs. Dick who told her she saw you lately before she left Calcutta. . . . Helen went to Leithmount after breakfast & is not returned yet on account of the rain. Kate & I painted, played & chatted till 1 when Best came in to take another leave for he did not get away on Wedy. as expected with Middleton, however our chat was soon interrupted by my bathing coach but he promised to return in the Eveg. for a letter of introduction to Mrs. Waugh at Carlisle where he is to stop 2 days. In spite of the rain we went to drink tea with Mrs. Forrest by appointment but made our visit as short as we could, for we were home at 8 oC. when Colonel Paterson's brother called & soon after him Best came for his letter. . . .

*Aug. 14, 1802.* I rose today at 6.30 & was just thinking it was a pity it was not bathing day, not being always quite so alert, when I saw Mrs. Kinear's coach pass, so I sent in my Compts. & was admitted into the family party consisting of Mr. Mrs. Miss & Master besides Jeany to dress them. Kate & I had a very snug tete à tete till 1 when Mrs. Dick interrupted it & we went out soon afterwards to pay visits. We called on Mrs. Stuart Hanover St., then Mrs. Smith of Gottenburg at Dumbrecks, Mrs. Porter & Miss Burnet. I read one of yr. letters to her wh. gratified her amazingly poor body, she is much interested about you both but she says Ranken really deserves a hearty scold for not writing to Williamson, poor man, who nobody writes to, as to Hare he never writes to anyone. I am much of her opinion with regard to that so tell him that when two such wise heads join in giving him an advice it is the least thing he can do to follow it. R. Wight dined with us & after tea we 2 Damsels steered out again along the Bridges having some shopping to do. . . . The accounts of Fan are rather better to-day but I can't say I trust to them much. . . .

*Aug. 15.* Up again early & bathed with our own party, went to Miss Huttons at eleven & when we returned from her had visits fm. Mrs. George Bell & Mr. Begbie, his wife was much delighted with yr. letter. Mrs. Dick & Jack went in the Coach with my Father & we 3 to Craig Rook where was a party of 24, large enough for that small house you will allow: Mrs. Allan is really a fine, sensible looking girl, I am much surprised at her choice of Tom for a husband, but I hope she will improve him. Mr. & Mrs. Baron are decent, sensible kind of folks, she is a sister of Mr. Robinson of Granton who with his wife & sister were of the party. . . .

*Aug. 16, 1802.* I bathed with the Kinears this morn. the first time I ever did so of a Sunday but I don't see any harm in it—my hair was not dry in time to go to Church in the forenoon, but I went & heard a very good sermon from

Ritchie in the aft. the Magistrates were all there to-day too, this being the time they generally go thro' the Churches. My Father dined at Ingliston, & Jack & A. Christie with us. After tea we took a walk to the Drum & a very delightful one it was, the Eveg. being remarkably fine. Tom likewise dined at Ingliston on his way from Wilsontown where he has had very bad sport in the shooting way, but plenty of fun he says—poor Welch was very bad the other day, he took a fit wh. frightened Williamson a good deal, I am afraid it will be a rash measure in him to return to India.

*17th.* We 3 set out to Leithmount to-day at 12 & the gentlemen joined us at dinner. It is really a snug place, Pillans has furnished it very elegantly & Mrs. P. conducts everything with great propriety. They seem really a very happy couple.

*18th.* Bathing & breakfast being over I sat down to paint a little but did not do much at it, for Corri came to Kate at 11, & Williamson called with Tom at 12 to go with him, Margaret & H[elen] to the Ferry. We are obliged to send her back again poor thing for she really was such a trouble that I thought it might hurt Helen fighting with her (being very obstinate) besides giving her ideas she is by no means entitled to. I shall never take charge of another child who is not to be brought up in the same style of life as ourselves. I find by experience it is a very bad plan, & our family & hers being in such terms as they are, made it the more disagreeable, they seem to have tried which cd. behave with the most ingratitude to my Father, yet he is to be at the total expense of Margaret's board & education with the old Allans. A. Christie was here all day assisting Helen to make a gown wh. they finished before dinner. Kate & I went a shopping again in the forenoon, as Mr. Hutton & his daughters were to spend the evening with us. Messrs. Black, Agnew & Williamson likewise joined the party & much delighted we all were with Miss Hutton's singing; she is really a sweet interesting woman, indeed

nothing but that cd. have induced me to go so often to her, but the first day I went with my sisters I was so much pleased with her that I determined to go along with them, as much to be acquainted with her, as for my own improvement & I really think by & by we shall be able to sing Catches & Glees tolerably well. Nell is coming on wonderfully.

*Aug. 19, 1802.* Our patience was a little tried waiting for a machine to-day, we were obliged to wait about an hour before we cd. get one: Bathing being so much the *Ton* at present. We played, painted &c as usual all the forenoon & only had my Aunt Learmonth to call upon us, indeed the weather is too warm for walking in the morn. but we had a very pleasant one in the eveg.: we went to see the Alex<sup>rs</sup> & were with them just at Vauxhall door when we met Mr. Williamson who asked us to go in, & as they wd. not do it (wh. was rather stiffish I think) we three went with him & were very much entertained with the Fireworks altho' the company was not numerous. We had a most delightful walk home at 10 oC. in a fine moonlight night, & found Pappa busy at the Desk but I told him he *must* chaperon us next time for I really think it a very pleasant place, but I fear it won't succeed for the expence is so great, & she meets with so little encouragement. We are really a most *spunkless* set in Edinburgh. Poor Small got a tumble out of a Gig the other day at Dunkeld & has hurt his leg very much, I fear it will be difficult to heal on account of his fatness & the warm weather: the Gig was all broke, they are terrible dangerous things.

*Aug. 20.* Mr. & Mrs. Cleghorn are going a jaunt the length of London & I shall send this with them to-morrow. I have been reading it over & see it is very incorrect but considering the time I write it, that is no great wonder: I am often very tired when I do it, but never break thro' the rule I have laid down of continuing it every night. I enclose you the sketch of my painting wh. I took fm. the window & shall send you itself some other time but it is not finished yet, & I mean

to hang it up a little first to see if the people find out the resemblance. . . .

*Aug. 21, 1802.* I waked this morn. at 6, very busy dreaming about you. I thought I was reading yr. Journal & that it was quite full abt. our dear brother who is gone; of course I felt much distressed & was glad to get up & was ready in good time for the Bathers at 7. My Father, Helen & I dined at Mr. Sligo's, Tom did not go but had Welch & Williamson to dine here. Mrs. & Miss Scougal, Mr. & Mrs. Scory etc., Mr. & Mrs. McGordon Mr. Youngson & W. Sligo were likewise of the party wh. formed a very pleasant one. Many enquiries were made concerning you I assure you. . . .

*Aug. 22.* We dined at Mr. Scougal's to-day & afterwards went to Vauxhall where we met the Learmonths, Alexanders & a great many more of our acquaintance but I really feel quite fagged with walking so much which will make me cut you short for the present. Kate & the Patons met us there too, they are sleeping here & all as happy as possible with their expedition.

*23rd.* Between sermons Nell & I called on Mrs. Gregory who is but poorly, she takes fainting fits frequently wh. weaken her very much, sweet woman. I wish I cd. make her as stout as myself, most willingly shd. I spare her some of my beef but surely it is much better to be a little clumsy than delicate. Mrs. Cleghorn does not set off till to-morrow, I wish she may have my Journal up in time to go by the first ships, she promised to send it to the India House as soon as possible. Tom dined with Williamson, Helen with Mrs. Kinear, & Grannie, Jack & R. Wight with us. . . .

*24th.* L'Eveque breakfasted with us this morn. again he has been absent a fortnight at Eymouth etc., Mr. Burnet called in the forenoon & desired I wd. remember him to you in my journal. Judge Day & his wife fm. Dublin, Messrs. Broughton, Welch, Williamson, Alexr. & a Mr. Hamilton from London all dined with us & the Miss Liddels came to tea, wh.

made out a very pleasant party indeed, as they all stayed to supper, except Broughton (who I saw too little to judge of)—but he seems to dislike this country very much & is determined to return to India : I was sorry he did not come up to tea for I wished much to have a chat with him, being so much prepossessed in his favor besides he must have been very well entertained for we were all so merry dancing & singing ; Welch capered away at an immense rate & Will<sup>n</sup> sang a little (when he thought we did not hear him) Mr. Day is a pleasant man & seem[e]d quite delighted with the amusement—he said he never saw reels before.

*Aug. 25, 1802.* I was waked out of a sound sleep this morn. by Mrs. Kinear's summons to bathe & upon returning home finding my Father was to dine with the Stentmasters at Leith, Tom with the Days at Mr. Ker's, & Helen at Leithmount I thought I shd. wander off too as Kate might either dine at St. John Street or have the Patons at home, the latter of wh. she preferred, & I mounted Hacket & rode to Inveresk intending to spend the day with Mrs. Tait but finding she was from home I proceeded to Mrs. Stuart's where I spent a very pleasant day. . . .

*26th.* . . . Nasmyth supped with us, quite full of his Inverary Jaunt from whence he is just returned.

*Aug. 27.* I was quite feasted with letters this morn. : I received yours of Feb. 5 & altho' I saw the other was directed by Uncle Watty I wd. not look whether he had got a daughter or son until I had perused all yr. delightful one, but before I proceed I must tell you that Aunt & her Miss are doing extremely well. . . . I prevailed on myself to withstand Mrs. Kinear's invitation to bathe to-day altho' the weather was very tempting & took a walk to Bell's Mills to take a sketch of the Well, but I did not succeed very well for I found there were a great many more objects to be taken in than I expected. Helen had a letter from Ellen too to-day who gives a very unfavorable acct. of poor Fan, she gets weaker every day. Jack

dined with us & at 5 o'clock Tom & I rode to Craig Rook & returned by Leithmount much pleased with our excursion.

*Aug. 28, 1802.* Kate went with us in the Bathing coach & she & I proceeded afterwards to Leithmount where we spent the rest of the day very agreeably, my Father was out with Uncle John at Port Seton & Williamson dined here with Tom & Nell. I had a call in the forenoon from your jeweller Mr. Moore who brought a great many pretty things to shew me ; Mr. Ross was here too with yr. letter to me of Feb. 7. Mrs. Ross has had the rose in her arms very bad but is better.

*Aug. 29.* After spending an hour with Miss Hutton this morn. we all three set a shopping, first to buy keepsakes for Kate to give the Patons, & then to look for Habits for Nell & I as we are all to set out on a jaunt in a fortnight & must be equipt accordingly. We then called on Aunt John & went with her to choose Drawing-room chairs & Sophas at Yong & Trotters : I was rallying her t'other day about having such shabby ones (for you must know I am now beginning to observe these things a little more than formerly) when she told me she had been wishing for others a long time but grudged the expence of them : I told her *that* was no reason for her & promised to assist her in the choice of them when she pleased. Tom took an early dinner & rode away to Queenston afterwards, we had the Wights & an elegant Captn. dining with us, newly imported from Copenhagen. The Miss Knoxes came into tea, they are good pleasant girls. Betsey is to remain all winter with Mrs. Outram where she has been since last November.

*Aug. 30, 1802.* Heard 2 very good sermons from Moodie & Ritchie. Mr. & Mrs. Ross, Grannie & Jack dined with us, a very well met party for they got all very sociable. Mrs. Ross's arm got very suddenly well but she was not able to put on her Cloaths for a fortnight with it. . . .

*31st.* A. Christie spent the day with us, she was helping Helen to make up a gown, what a foolish girl she is, not to do

something for herself. After Tea, Nell & I went to call on the Patons who seem all in a bustle preparing to leave this country wh. they will do as soon as they have got all things prepared. Mr. Paton & Maria are going to Aberdeen next week to bring home Sally, but the Mother has been very ill wh. has delayed them some time. We had that dear man Jack again to-day, he is only just gone; Tom returned this morning fr. Queenston all our friends there are well & busy with the Harvest.

*Sept. 2.* I was obliged to miss writing you last night for I did not sleep at home; I rode to Lavrock Bank in the forenoon intending to spend the day with Mrs. Gordon, but she being from home I proceeded to Leithmount & sent home the horses intending to walk home in the eveg. but it rained so hard I was obliged to stay all night. I expected our Bathers this morn. so went to meet them at Leith & was home a little after 8, before our folks had begun breakfast. Pillans & Jack dined with us but I was wearying to see Mrs. Gregory so went & drank tea with her. . . .

*Sept. 3.* That bothering fellow L'Evesque breakfasted with us this morn. again, poor creature, he is very willing to please, but has not a good method of teaching. We had Uncle & Aunt John, Miss Ewart, Messrs. Porter, Ritchie, Pym, Jay & a German at dinner, & Miss Patons joined the party at supper, but I cannot say it was a merry one, somehow or other it was rather dull, not like the one we had last week, but that sometimes happens: I feel a little fagged & as it is now near 1, & I must be up before 7 to-morrow I shall lay down my pen for the present, & hope to sleep till the coach comes, as I can soon dress you know.

*4th.* We had Miss Pringle in our bathing party this morn.: she told me her brother & sister are at Ghazipore, no doubt you wd. be glad to see 2 Scotch faces, but how do you like them? . . . Mrs. Ross sent me over yr. Table-cloth to look at, it is an very handsome one indeed: I sent back along with it the Cambric gown I mentioned to you before, & wrapt it in

some Mercurys & a song that I think you will like: I have heard no other new one that I think worth sending: there is likewise a parcel of needles &c. which you say you want & a few yards of the 42nd. Plaid ribbon, quite the go here at present. . . .

*Sept. 5, 1802.* 'Jessy gives me nothing to do in the letter way to you. Tom & Cath: out in the Gig to Chesterhall this morn. to shoot. Your last letter gave me much pleasure—indeed all yr. letters do. George & I don't trouble the pen much. Fine weather, a great Crop. Tom Allan Craigrook in 20 stacks. Tom Allan Ingleston 9. I never saw a harvest so good & early: it never cd. come in better time. Meat was 3/4 now 1/4 & will soon be 1/-. I called on Swinton-Houston &c. You do well to write about all you know who have connexions here, you cannot conceive how much they are gratified. May God bless you both. We mean to see Mrs. Outram. Yours ever R. Allan.'

After this burst of rapid fire by Robert Allan there is, for us, silence until the New Year, and then an unexpected item of news:—

*Lanark, Jan. 2, 1802[3].* Just before my marriage yesterday I dispatched a letter for you my dear Sister and really think you will allow me some Credit for writing you at such a moment, indeed I was excessively surprized at my own Composure all Morg. I rose before 6 o'clock and after settling a great many little matters wrote that Epistle. My Grandmother Uncle and Aunt John their four Children and the Parson formed the Party and my Ladyship behaved like a Heroine during the Ceremony until the heavy sobs of poor Tom and Nell disturbed me a little. It is certainly an awful business.

Harden, Helen and I set off at eleven intending to come here, but we found the postillion would not take us so long a stage as Carnwath so took the other road and slept at Hamilton

and this Morg came on here after seeing the beautiful Fall of Stonebyers which looked to infinite more advantage than when we saw it last September.

We may now create a gap in the extant Journal by skipping the sightseeings and the sketchings and the social callings in Clydesdale, and come straight to the end of the honeymoon and the return to Edinburgh:—

*January 15th.* . . . Yesterday we arrived in Queen Street at 3 o'clock after calling on our Cousins at the Mains. Mrs. A is expected to be confined every day and was very ill indeed for some weeks, indeed her Doctor pronounced that she would not be able to leave her Bed before the Event was over however he is mistaken for I never saw her look so stout as she does at present and very happy she was to see us, as she had no expectation of our visiting her on this occasion. You would be astonished to have seen how much joy our arrival at home occasioned considering the shortness of our absence. Indeed they were all delighted to see us and C Learmonth not less so than the rest. I hope we shall continue a long time here as I really think it will be pleasanter for all Parties than our taking a separate house and I am sorry to find Harden cannot bear the thought of taking one *here* consequently you may believe I shall delay taking one at all as long as possible. That we *must* be happy wherever we are together there is no doubt but certainly I should be most so in Edinr. yet it is a hard thing to ask a man to leave his own Country but I need write no more on this subject as time alone can determine it. I was most agreeably surprized by finding a great packet of letters from you, one of which dated as late as the 20th of August. I am quite happy to find you are so much recovered and hope in God, you will not again relapse. . . .

*16th.* Yesterday I had a great many visits of congratulation and at dinner we had my Uncle John Williamson, and Millar who were all entertained at the new economy of our



JESSY HARDEN AND HER FATHER, ROBERT ALLAN,  
IN HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, 1805

*From a pen and ink drawing by John Harden in the possession of A. S. Clay, Esq.*



A MUSICAL EVENING

*From a composite pen and ink drawing by John Harden, in the possession of A. S. Clay, Esq.; the left half done at Edinburgh, 1803, the right at Brathay Hall, 1804*

Table my giving place to *Miss Allan*; we were extremely sorry and happy I assure you. Every body seems so much pleased with my Husband that I declare I get quite proud of him but I dont think any one can blame me for *that* conceit. Mrs. Jackson is arrived and as soon as *my bustle* subsides a little, I am to wait upon her along with Williamson, she has got a House in Argyle Square. We all went to Church this Morg and between Sermons had visits from my Aunt Learmonth, and the Children, Mr. and Mrs. Thomson and the Bruces. Harden begins to get a little tired of *being shown*.

I have a great many more congratulatory letters, one of which from our Dear Aunt Home. She says they are all pretty well and speaks greatly in praise of my Mother in law—indeed she seems a general Favorite as well as her son. I am in great hopes she will come over here in a few months. Lizy and her spouse are expected home daily. I was sorry to see by a letter from E. Learmonth that Uncle Sandy is laid up with a desperate fit of yt gout; it was as well he delayed *that* till he got home as it would have been doubly irksome for him to be confined among us, as he was last year.

The Modern Philosophers were sent to you and Mrs. Walker (I think) took them herself to London however I shall enquire next time I see her. . . .

*Queen St. Edinb. Mondy. morg. 17th Janry. 1803.* To gratify myself as much as to meet the wish of our dearest Jessy I take up my pen to waft my Love to my new sister and her husband and to tell my Dear Mr. and Mrs. Rankin how happy *all* in this house are, but above all your Jessy and her Harden—this new confirmation will I'm certain afford you and yours much pleasure—in truth I did not think it possible I ever could be made so completely happy—but such is the worth and excellence of my Dearest. . . .

Harden continues in some hundreds of words, which need not however be quoted here. Nor need Jessy herself be quoted so fully as before when we have her again on the

7th May. Three dots will now tend to indicate larger and more frequent omissions :—

It is some days since I dispatched my last Epistle by Mr. Lindsay but really there is such a sameness in these *Journals* that I think it will be a better plan for me to write seldomer and then I may happen to make them more interesting. I sent a specimen of my Dear Spouses drawing along with it. . . .

We have been all at Church this afternoon, tomorrow being Sacrament Sunday, and had a very good Sermon from Mr. McNight but were a good deal alarmed by finding that the Bells were stopped ringing on account of Mr. Moodie being very ill. He is a sincere good Christian. I hope He will soon recover as I dont think there are many who would be more regretted for his very amiable private Character ; his Brother too is ill and is gone with Mr. Brown to England to endeavour to recruit ; that is no less than three of our usual Instructors on these occasions prevented by sickness, indeed few people remember seeing such a sickly season. I have just sent to enquire for Dr. Moodie and find that He is *rather easier*.

Mr. Crawford of Belfast is here at present. He came to take home his Children but his Daughter who had the operation performed on her Leg expresses a wish to be left until it is perfectly healed although the Doctors say that she may go home with perfect safety. I am however inclined to think She is right for as long as they find it necessary for her to have a silver pipe through the part that was diseased She cannot feel quite well although she appears to walk as well as anybody. Miss C. and her Brother are to go with the Father and she remains for some time which is certainly highly proper being her own wish. She is a sweet Girl and I think must have a great deal of attention paid her for many reasons. She is boarded with two old Maids in Castle Street who have paid her all along unremitted attention.

*9th May.* Yesterday was a very solemn Day as usual at this time but no Bells were rung on account of poor Moodies illness. He has had his Head shaved and a blister put on it this Morg; I hope it will be of use; but indeed He is very bad. . . .

*May 12th.* . . . Bristow it is said here has left a million of money to his son and £50,000 to each of his two Daughters but we heard nothing of the natural ones. His Wife had got an annuity of £1000 which I think is not much considering his fortune. . . . [John] is a Dear good Soul ; no wonder than [*sic*] I am fond of him for he pays me such unremitted attention that I fear he is teaching me a bad custom. He and I set out in the Gig yesterday after Breakfast and landed at Roslin where we walked about all the forenoon and were much pleased with Hawthornden which we stopped to sketch. We dined there and intend to repeat the expedition frequently through the summer.

*May 15th.* On Thursday we all dined at Main's with Thos. Allan who seems to be quite happy with his little Boy and indeed I dont wonder at it for he is a remarkable fine Child and his Mother makes a nice nurse. I think her a very good sort of a Body in spite of all that was said about her before her marriage. Tom has sublet his Farm and goes to Winsburgh. He is to get £200 additional rent for it ; I have seldom known a luckier Fellow in these concerns than He.

On Friday whether I had caught cold by walking too long the Evg before or in taking a nap in the Carriage coming I dont know but I had a pretty severe attack of the cramps during the night which alarmed Mr. H. very much but I lay in Bed all the forenoon and got a good sleep which refreshed me so much that I was as well yesterday as if nothing had happened ; I never got so soon well after it before, indeed I thought I had got completely rid of it never having the least simptom of it for nearly two years. . . . The Weather is so boisterous and we have had two hail showers since we came out of Church. Mr. Moodie is better but no bells ring yet ; Mrs. Munro who was

out on Thursday at Church died on Tuesday; another very sudden demise. I never knew of so many as have been this year.

24th. On Wednesday we again set out in the Gig and had a very pleasant drive by Leithmount and Christian Bank where Uncle Johns Family seem to be all very happy; the little ones are as stout again in appearance as before they went down. Tom and Swedensturn set out on Thursday on a Tour to Cumberland and probably Tom may go from thence to bring over Mrs. Harden and Aunt Home from Dublin. At least he has offered so to do and I dont think they will be so foolish as refuse so good an oppy. War seems now quite determined upon. I wish the French may not attempt to land in Ireland otherwise it is much feared they will gather too many Adherents; it is a dismal business entering so soon again into a War when Every body were so completely sick of it before and have had so short a respite however one thing in our Favor is that *all* seem to think it now absolutely necessary which has never been the case (I suppose) before. No one seems to think it possible to bear with Buonaparts Insolence.

On Friday my *better half* and myself spent the Day very pleasantly at Leithmount en famille. I really dont know a more agreeable Couple than James and his Wife.

On Saturday we all spent the Day at Christian Bank but just as we left it I found my stomach getting ill again and was seized with it all night though not in so violent a manner as when I last had it yet I still continue to feel the effects of it having a very disagreeable pain in my back ever since. . . .

29th. On Thursday finding myself pretty stout again I ventured to walk out with my *Sweetheart*. We went first to call on the Lithgow's but indeed I was much shocked to see such an alteration on him, poor Man. He has been extremely ill all winter which prevented me from calling before but on hearing he had expressed a wish to see my Husband I took the first oppy of taking him there. I dont expect He has many months to live. In the Evg we all went to hear Mr. Dibdin

at the Theatre. He seems a very clever Man and we were well entertained. We have letters this Morg from Tom. He was at Dumfries on Friday and seems extremely well pleased with his Jaunt so far. He spent some days with J. Outram at Clyde to see all the curiosities thereabouts and had been that [day?] dining with Mr. Miller at Dalswinton. . . .

3d June. On Tuesday Evg we had a large Party at supper consisting of Mrs. Fletcher, two particular Friends of hers who are living with her at present, Miss Fergusson and — but long before they left us I was taken violently ill with that dreadful complaint in my stomach accompanied by reaching to a great excess which continued all Wednesday so bad that neither medecine or anything else would stay on my stomach, however I slept most of yesterday which restored me greatly and now I have got the length of the Parlor once more. Mr Bryce has been my Medical Attendant and a very attentive Man He is. . . .

Sunday 5th June. We heard from Tom yesterday at Keswick. He has been very busy Mineralizing since he went away which is his favorite occupation and becomes daily more so. His Cabinet now is very extensive (I believe) reckoned the best private one in Edin<sup>r</sup>. Swedensturn is quite an Enthusiast too in that Science which make him a nice Companion for Tom. . . .

9th. As I had called several times on Mrs. Craig without seeing her I at last sent her an Invitation to spend any day with us that she could as it was endless playing at *hide and seek* with Calls, but in answer I received a note that she had been very ill with the Influenza and was still confined. Accordingly I went next day to see her, which visit did not afford me the wished for pleasure for she looks so extremely ill, indeed I very much fear her Influenza will end in Consumption, poor Soul; She has every appearance of it. She was very glad to see us—for I was accompanied by my *better half* and made many enquiries about you. . . .

Yesterday we took a drive to Collington and after putting up the Gig, walked along the Banks which was very delightful and put me in mind of the former pleasant days we used all to spend there. The walks are not in such good order as old Sir James used to keep them, but I daresay Sir W. Forbes will take good care of them when he goes to reside there but his House which is a large one will not be ready for some time. Trotter is building a perfect Palace at Dreghorn, it will cost they say £40,000.

12 June. Mr. Wilson is just now here and offers to take this for me to London where he is to set out for at 4 o'clock so I am glad of the opportunity tho' it is rather an awkward time for me to write being in bed. I had another violent attack of this plaguy complaint on Friday night and have not been able to leave the Bed since but I am so much better to-day I intend rising in an hour or two. I daresay you will be alarmed to find I complain so often but I suspect there is more than the usual cause for it, consequently I expect to be stouter shortly. If I am not mistaken I am about three months in the Family way, and within the last month have suffered very severely but I hope the remaining six will be more tolerable as it is equally irksome to the whole Family as myself only they don't suffer bodily pain; my Dear Harden never quits me except for a few minutes to hurry over his Meals. He is the most attentive Creature in the world. Mrs. Bryce brought her little Girl to light yesterday and is doing well. Mrs. Begbie came to see me too; she I think is looking much better than when last in Town.

Tom is in Dublin by this time and I hope will bring over Mrs. Harden to us although she has been complaining so much of late she is rather frightened to undertake so long a Journey; the Homes are all well and gone to the country. Farewell my Dear Sister—ever believe me with best Love to Ranken your most

Affte Sister

J. Harden.

[4.7.1803]

Linlithgow.

My Dear Sister

It is just three weeks since I dispatched my last Journal to you, since when I wrote you a tolerable long letter from Leithmount, where I spent near a fortnight most agreeably. . . .

Edinr. 7th July. Here we are once more rather sooner than we expected, but the cause was this. When we arrived at Clyde on Tuesday Mr. Outram showed us a letter from Tom, mentioning that he hoped we received a letter he wrote from Dublin in time to prevent us setting out from Edinr. as he intended returning by Dumfries in order that he might see some land my Father has purchased there for (I believe) upwards of £20,000 accordingly we set out again yesterday Morg and came all the way home in the Gigg too, without being the least fatigued and luckily arrived half an hour before them. Mrs. Harden and my Aunt were both tired but are pretty well today. . . .

10th June [or rather July]. . . . Nancy Allan of Leith and her two Brothers dined with us yesterday; the first time ever *She* has been in the House but my Father has now made up matters with Nicol which I am glad of particularly on her account as I always thought her a good Girl and regretted much the coolness that has subsisted so long between the families [i.e. Robert's, and his eldest brother, James's]. James [Jr.] is the same good hearted Creature as ever. I have great hopes too he will soon be restored to health. In this time of general alarm there is a great bustle among all the Young Men as they think it quite necessary to show their Loyalty. Tom has rejoined the Cavalry and my Spouse too has enlisted; they are gone this morning to Mussleburgh where the Corps is ordered to drill for a week but I hope they won't have much confinement after that unless there is an actual invasion which it is to be hoped will not be the case; my

Sisters went to the play last night to see Jack Banister but we *Old Ladies* stopped at home not knowing how we might relish the heat of a crowded Theatre at this Season.

14th. On Monday my Aunt was going to see Miss Young at Beggars Bush so she offered to take us with her the length of Mussleburgh to see our Beaux accordingly we all set out and were most heartily received by them and treated with Strawberries &c. They were both in high spirits and Harden very much pleased at having entered the Corps which he was some time hesitating about. My Aunt and Kate spent the remainder of the Day with us in Queen Street and went to Polmont on Tuesday. On Wednesday we again went to visit the Youths and were accompanied by Mrs. Fletcher and a particular Friend of hers Mrs. Brudenel. We took a round by Dalkeith which was very pleasant and the Stranger Ladies quite charmed with the Place. In the Evg Mrs. Harden my Father and I went to the Play which was the same my sisters saw on Saturday consequently they did not go; it is called John Bull and I think a most excellent Comedy. Banister performed both in it and the Prize which (I think) is his principal Character. Being an *unfashionable* night the House was very ill attended, but that made it more agreeable for the Spectators as it would otherwise have been too hot.

17th. . . . On Thursday we all dined at Mrs. Fletcher's where we were very much entertained as we met there Mr. Erskine (who has always a great deal to say for himself) and likewise Miss Hamilton the Lady who wrote the *Modern Philosophers*; the *Hindoo Rajah*; and what (I think) superior to either, an *Essay on Education*. It certainly surpasses both Miss Moores and Miss Edgeworths on that subject. I shall try to get it conveyed to you some time or other. Miss Hamilton is a very pleasing Woman. No person could find it by her manner that she has more than common abilities, which is certainly a great advantage to one who has such. On Friday we dined at Christian bank with Uncle John Learmonth in the

family way and on our way there called to see James Allan. He is very far from well yet having a great wound in his breast kept open with a Cord. He is going to confine himself now for it, but has not begun the Mercury yet; indeed I think one drain might suffice particularly as his bilious complaint has almost left him. Nancy poor Soul seemed very glad to see us there once more. We called at Leithmount and saw the new married Couple. I assure you I think Maria has every prospect of happiness as Salto seems an uncommon amiable young Man. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson are there too so that Mrs. Pillans has a great many of her Friends with her and in consequence seems very much delighted. She has had however another attack of that horrid headach since we left her.

Yesterday Mrs. Harden, the Girls, Williamson, Miller and I all set out to Dalkeith to see our Beaux reviewed which was a pretty sight but we had a great roast returning; the day being very hot they broke up after it, but indeed you never saw such a figure as Tom is with the sun, his Face being so swelled and the skin of it all peeling off; I doubt if he would have been worse had he spent the week in India instead of Mussleburgh. John's too was just beginning to feel the effects in the same way, so that it is lucky they have done with it for the present although they are very much pleased with the society they have been in. John got quite intimate with Young William Forbes on account of their mutual taste for drawing; when they had any leisure they went out together to sketch.

Miss Hutton and Faukener dined with us so we had some music in the Evg. a pleasing way of finishing the Day. My Father Kate and T. Allan set off for Dumfries this Morg to see the Estate which he has bought but I believe it is only on speculation and I understand it is reckoned a very good purchase; which I hope will prove the case. . . .

I am sorry that my not having red Wax at hand should

have caused you so much uneasiness but I shall take care not to repeat that blunder. . . .

I am sorry to find you have not followed my advice of *cropping* as I think it would be a great comfort to you. *We three* have done so and even in this cold Place feel it quite a luxury to wash our heads daily. We have *Hair Caps* which we sometimes wear in dress but in general we go bare headed; another luxury in warm weather. We have likewise *fronts* to put on occasionally which are just such things as the little *back crop* you had. . . .

I think you are right in not going to large Parties. They are disagreeable things and neither you nor I need to *search* for any other society than of our Husbands although a select one is certainly a great acquisition. . . .

*27th July, Kelso.* I wrote you a long letter on Sunday and Tom another yesterday so that you will hear enough of our race week which I dont think is in general a very pleasant one being always such a bustle. We went only once to the course (I mean the Ladies of the Family) and after seeing a very bad race and but an indifferent Compv. we went to Roslin accompanied by my better half and Williamson. It was a charming day and we all enjoyed it extremely. The walks there are certainly most delightful and Mrs. Harden was quite charmed with the old Church and Castle. . . .

We three Hardens left the good people in Auld Reeky this Morg with the intention of taking a ramble for some weeks. We changed Horses at Blackshiels and had a mutton Chop at Whitburn after which we proceeded to this place which we reached a little after six and had a most delightful walk after tea by the River side. . . .

This is the beginning of a three months' jaunt to the Lake District, and the Journal for the period is not much to our purpose except in one or two places. On a wet

Sunday she answers a letter from Agnes, who must have asked about the changing face of Edinburgh :—

The Row of Houses opposite ours is nearly completed but they are all build just under Lady Blairs Field so that our situation is still very open for a Town. They intend building two Rows under them but I daresay the War will put a stop to some of them. You would be astonished to see the improvements in that part of the town; there is now a handsome street instead of the old beggarly houses that used to be inhabited by the Weavers in Picardy, its called Forth Street, and in a short time York Place will be continued to Hillside or rather Forth Street will join them. Mrs. Scots House is enlarged and converted into the Excise Office but it is not yet determined what to make of the old one. Charlotte Square too is at last going on tho' rather slowly. Most of the ground already built on belongs to the Hospital of Heriot and they are now proceeding on Mr. Stuarts which is lucky for him. They are also building a very expensive Bank nearly opposite to the Mound and there is a very neat Street heading from it to the High Street which is a very great improvement particularly now when the lucken booths are coming down. The houses there are all condemned and emptied except Creeche's and the Prison which are allowed to remain a year or two still. I am very glad you have learned Chess although I have given it up myself but I think it must be amazingly pleasant to you who have more time to spare. When I found John knew nothing of it and rather wished me to alott my spare hours with him to the Piano I gave it up but indeed I had not got far advanced in the knowledge of it.

Nell says she would not waste her precious time either learning it.

The other passages we may note are retailings of pieces of news from Edinburgh :—

*Tuesday, 13th Sept.* On Friday we had letters from home saying that my Father, Aunt H. & the girls will be with us shortly as they accompany her to the water side. Helen mentions having seen Dr. Hare frequently, he is about purchasing *my* Mare as John calls it but I only was once on her back, for I was then told I *ought* not to ride; she is a beautiful creature but we have now no use for her at least for one twelvemonth. Tom Learmonth is just going to be married to Miss Donald, not the one we knew, but her cousin, she is several years older than he, but having £3 or 4000 she may assist him in the business he has begun as a Wine Merchant, but I rather think she has not chosen a very great Headpiece. . . .

*Bowness, Sept. 24, 1803.* We came here on Thursday to tea & were very much pleased with our drive from Ambleside along the side of Windermere. . . . In the eveg. our fond Friends made their appearance & seem all quite stout & hearty. . . . Cleghorn & Wilson have given up business, & I understand Uncle John has bought it. I daresay it [may] turn out very lucrative for his family if well managed, but he is certainly an amazing enterprising little Fellow to undertake so much, for we all thought he was quite overloaded with business before. Walter Wight is gone to learn the business; it will be a good opening for him.

*27th Sept.* . . . Everybody seems alarmed at our threatened Invasion. Uncle Sandy says that the people in London have not the least doubt but Buonaparte will make a landing either there or in Ireland, indeed we are in a bad way at present. Helen tells me that Tom Learmonth's wife seems a very pleasant woman. She waited on her in their house in Hanover St. I hope the match may turn out well. . . .

At the end of October they turn for home and by the 4th November have reached Melrose:—

*Nov. 4.* . . . There is now little else talked of than the French Invasion & everyone seems to think they will attempt

to land at Leith very shortly from Holland. I have heard much of the same subject all summer but never took alarm till now, however I must say I feel extremely anxious about it particularly on account of my Husband & Brother who I fear will be called out to fight against these hell-hounds, in case they do make their appearance, but GOD Almighty in His infinite Goodness will I hope protect us all, from Him alone can we look for succour. It is thought they will attempt to land likewise in Ireland & different parts of England for Buona Parte does not mind his men more than reptiles so will not spare them. . . . I never felt such a coward before.

*Queen St., 6th Nov.* We arrived here in good time for dinner yesterday, after the most delightful journey I have ever made, & we had the happiness of finding all our friends quite well. They were some of them just returned from a grand Review of all the Volunteer Corps by Lord Moira. Uncle Sandy & Susan dined here also, the latter is much improved & grown more like her mother than any of the rest. Williamson & Miller came to supper, so that we had a tolerable busy day of it altogether, so much so that indeed I could rest but little at night, with the variety of thoughts on my mind. What about the French, our Indian letters, my sisters' accounts of Ireland, & last tho' not least, our own plans about Lodgings, servants &c. In the midst of it all I feared it was a bad preparation for Church to-day & to-morrow as the Sacrament is to be—however I mean to dedicate this Eveg. to my book, & hope to have my thoughts more settled before to-morrow, at all events I shall go, please GOD, to His Altar with a grateful heart for indeed I have not a wish ungratified. Immediately after breakfast we set out a lodging hunting & have got one, which I hope will prove on trial, as well as we promise ourselves, it is in the corner of Hanover St. with windows looking to George St. & belongs to the widow of our late Elder Mr. Norris; one great inducement was my Father passing by it every day, & none of the family almost

can go out without passing us, which makes it very pleasant to be so near them. Tom Allan & his wife, the Irish Crawfurds, Uncle Sandy & James Allan called on us before Church which occupied all the time between it & our getting home from our walk; we then went & heard a very good discourse from Grant. Dr. Moodie is not yet stout enough to officiate at this time.

*Sunday night.* My Father, sisters, Husband & self went off to Church pretty early this mornng. but John came home with me [. . .], as we were at the first Table. He was very much pleased with the solemnity of the business, although a number of people from England & Ireland think that our Scotch Ceremony is fit for ridicule. I cannot say however that it shews much of either their sense or minds to do so. . . .

Here, after a few inconsiderable remarks about happenings on *Tuesday*, is another gap, during which Jessy's first son, Allan, is born. Then:—

*Edinburgh, 1st January 1804.* This day twelvemonth my Dear Sister I wrote you at a moment when I suppose very few persons could have composed themselves so far as to have written even a few lines, & far less, a letter of three pages, but my composure I then looked upon (what it has proved) a most favorable omen. . . . It is now eleven months from the date of your last letter, what a terrible lapse of time, I declare I get quite out of all patience to hear from you but we must content ourselves with the delays occasioned by Captures &c. . . . Our Cousin Margaret Clogg brought a Christmas Box to her husband of a girl & is doing well although she came a month too soon. My friend Mrs. Gregory was likewise delivered the same day of two boys & she was also too soon, but that I am not surprized at both on account of having two, & the fatigue she has undergone both of body & mind for some months past her 3 children had very bad scarlet fevers & her sister is still lingering in the house with her of a consumption.



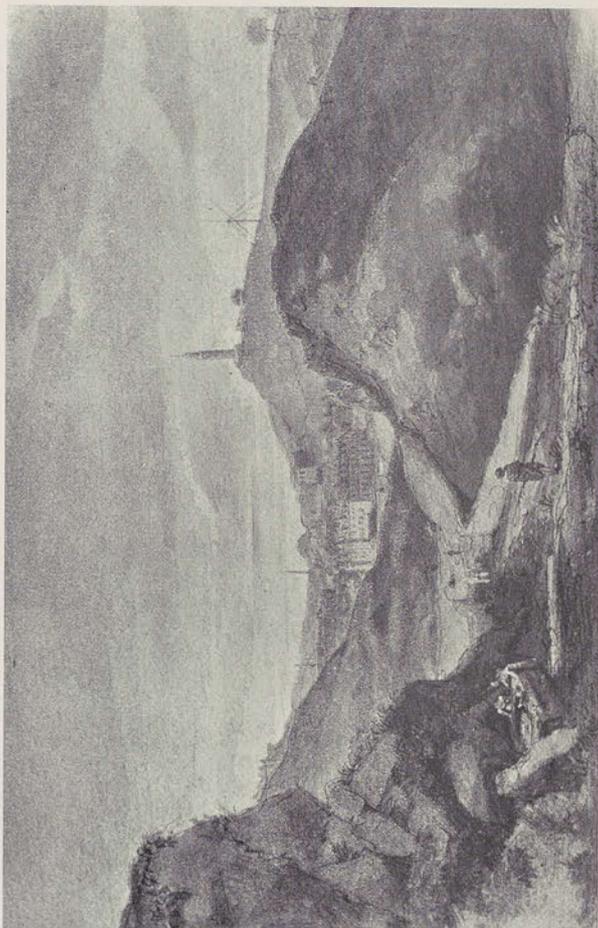
JOHN HARDEN

*From a self-portrait in pencil in the possession of A. S. Clay, Esq.*



ROBERT ALLAN HARDEN

*From an oil painting by Sir Henry Raeburn in the possession of A. S. Clay, Esq.*



EDINBURGH FROM ST. ANTHONY'S  
From a water-colour by John Harden in the National Galleries

Dr. Gregory with his usual courage, tried a very odd cure for his boys which succeeded amazingly, that of immersing them in cold water while in the fever.

*Monday, 2nd Jany.* I am going out for the first time to-day to dine at my Father's with all the Learmonth's &c—my little Darling will make a great addition to the party. . . .

*Thursday, Jan. 5, 1804.* To be sure we had a formidable party on Monday, all the family nearly being assembled. . . . I never came home from a visit so much gratified & my Father gave me a New Year's Gift too, which is to me invaluable, a miniature picture of himself enamelled by Mr. Murphy & copied from a Portrait done by Raeburn, they are both as like as possible, & the Enamel will stand ages without being the worse. It is an art which has been lost for many years but is now revived. I was interrupted just now by the fruits of a very good office my Father has done to a poor woman, my nurse-tender, who is such a good one that I have not yet prevailed on myself to part with her. She is a widow & brought up 4 children on her own labour but her 3 boys to her great sorrow are sailors, & one of them was pressed into a ship where he was very much oppressed, the other into the best in the Fleet being the Admiral's. So my Father wrote to Nicol Brown, Lord Keith's Secretary & through his interest, has got them both into the same ship, which is just what Nurse was so anxious for, & I never saw any person more overjoyed than she was on hearing Mr. Brown's letter which my Father sent up to us. . . .

*Sunday, 8th Jan. 1804.* On Thursday we dined at my Father's & met there Messrs. Mill, Trist, & McDowal besides Misses Liddel, Crawford & Mrs. Murphy. Trist is a Frenchman introduced by our old acquaintance Mr. Pigot, he seems a genteel, pleasant man. . . . On Friday Mrs. Harden matronized my sisters & Susan to the Promenade at Corris Rooms, which concludes with a ball, it was very crowded & they were all very much pleased with it; as John was obliged to Gallant the

ladies there Mrs. Murphy came & played with me at Chess. She is a sweet woman & is here very often. . . .

*Sunday, 15th January.* I have had a very severe fit of illness since I last wrote & never during the last week could write or indeed occupy myself in any other way—another attack of my old complaint, the Cramp in my stomach, it came on on Monday night & never quitted me entirely till to-day, but now I flatter myself all that remains of pain is only in consequence of suffering so much, & not the forerunner of another fit of it. My anxiety about my darling was very great, fearing I should be obliged to give up nursing, however I hope that will not be the case. . . .

*Sunday, 21st January.* On Monday I was again so poorly that when Dr. Hamilton called, he ordered me a Vomit to try what effect that would have & ordered me to go out if I should only be able to walk along one division of the street, as the long confinement I have had he thinks is one chief cause of my illness. I accordingly sauntered out a little the two following days without feeling much benefit from it, but on Thursday I began to feel better, & now I hope I shall continue to get stout, for indeed I am far from it at present, the length of Princes St. being all I can accomplish, however when health returns strength in general soon follows. I went yesterday to see my dear Mrs. Gregory, poor soul she has made a very slow recovery, & was laying on the bed; but she says she feels pretty well now. . . .

*Thursday, 26th January.* . . . I have been very much at home again this week with a cold, but indeed I don't think it seems much the better of confinement, for I am coughing away very heartily at present. . . . That unfortunate woman Mrs. Thos. Allan has at length paid the debt of nature! She was found dead in her bed whether in consequence of a drunken fit or not I cant say but I hope she had time to repent.

*27th January.* This has been a very wet day but not the less pleasant for us, as I played on the Piano most of the

morning & my dear John accompanied me on the Flute & you can't think how very happy he is when so occupied. We meet with so many interruptions of a fine day, from Callers, & exercising ourselves that we can hardly find time to practise. He is gone to the Concert this evening with my Sisters & Susan, being very fond of that amusement: indeed I like it very much too & intend to go to the next, providing I am well enough to be church'd on Sunday. Uncle Sandy returned from Grenock last night & has taken up his abode in Queen St. My father & he sat with me an hour this Eveng. after the Misses were gone, but they had an appointment at 9 o'clock so cd. not stop longer. They were all at the Assembly last night with Aunt John too, indeed they are quite gay, but they will never do it younger, for when they marry they will lose all relish for those things as I have, I suppose.

*29th January.* Yesterday we had a large Party (for our small rooms) as we mustered at dinner 17, of Pillans's, Bruces, Scougals, Learmonths & Allans, besides Miller, the party diminished to 12 at supper, & on the whole the day went off very pleasantly only a little fatiguing for me, having not been out of Bed so late for a great while. This being a very fine day I took a walk through some of the streets with my Father & John, & afterwards went to Church, where we heard a very good sermon from Mr. Oliver. Mrs. Harden never was in any of our Scotch churches before & I daresay will not go to any more. . . .

*Friday, Feb. 2, 1804.* Monday was very rainy, but every day since I have been out & find my strength & spirits quite renewed in consequence. . . .

*Feb. 6.* . . . My boy was inoculated to-day with the cow-pock. I did not intend it to be done quite so early but as the small pox are raging at present Bryce advised us to do it immediately, from the very great purity of his blood, I fear he may not take the infection, for he has hardly had any food yet except my milk.

*Thursday, 9th Feb.* On Tuesday Mrs. Fletcher, Uncle Sandy & my sisters spent the eveg. with us in a rational way, by that I mean we had no cards. . . .

*Sunday, 12th Feb.* On Thursday we dined in S. John St. where we met the Walkers & Boswels. . . . On Friday John went with Tom & Pillans on a Shooting Party & dined at Winsburgh. Mrs. Harden spent the day at Murphy's & I dined with my sisters & accompanied them to the Concert in the Evge. being my first appearance in public this season. Mr. & Mrs. Aske perform[ed] & a few other new ones but on the whole the Music is inferior to what it used to be last winter, nor was the Company either so numerous or genteel. . . . Bryce called yesterday & inoculated Allan in his other arm from the first; he is quite satisfied with the progress of it but they always inoculate twice for security's sake. . . .

*Sunday, 19th Feb. 1804, Queen St.* I daresay you think me grown very lazy at my Journal & write only on the Sundays but really something or other always comes in the way to prevent me. I have hardly time enough to turn myself sometimes, but as it is needless to fill this up with apologies I shall return to my adventures. On Monday we dined here & went with the girls to Corri's Benefit which was very crowded, but it was an Oratorio, which our performers are by no means fit for, & what songs they did sing were quite butchered, however the people seemed very much amused with their Chat to each other for I never heard such a noisy Concert in my life. . . . On Wednesday I had a lesson from Alday, that is, he came to accompany me on the Piano for John is so anxious for my improvement in that accomplishment that he is extravagant enough to give 3 guineas for 12 lessons from him. I am anxious to improve myself too but really I grudge much having so little time to practise, having such a variety of interruptions. We drank tea with Grannie who seems very fond of Mr. Hardy as she calls him. . . . On Friday they all went to the Circus except my Father & I, but I was afraid to

leave the child so long, & he stopped to bear me company. Yesterday we had Falkner & Kate Learmonth to dinner, & in the Evge. had a complete rout for we mustered no less than 25 at supper & had a good deal of music before it from Miss Fairfax Messrs. Falkner & Alday Kate & myself & very merry we all were until near 2 this morning. Sir W. Fairfax was likewise with us & your friends Hare & W. . . . n. We went to S. Andrew's Church this morning & S. George's in the aft. where we had a most excellent sermon from Vincent; on coming here we were astonished at the sight of the door, which is so disfigured by some mischievous people last night who were not content with wresting off the knockers but tore away great part of each of the Pannels they are fastened to. Tom is going to advertise a reward of 20 guineas for apprehending the person who did it, but I rather think it has been some drunken gentleman. Mr. Edinton & Miller dined here besides our party & now the 4 ladies are chatting alongside of me when I seize the opportunity of making up my lee way to you. . . .

*Edinburgh, March 11, 1804.*

My dear Sister,

I despatched a long letter to you on Monday, & now recommence my Journal, although I confess not with much spirit for want of letters from you. . . .

On Monday we went to Alday's benefit, which was extremely ill attended, but the best Music that has been heard at any Concert this winter, so much for fashion, this poor man is not lucky enough to be so—there was a kind of Ball after it, which my party all wished to partake of, so I stopped with them, & as there was rather a scarcity of Ladies, I ventured to exhibit myself on the floor, for the first time this twelvemonth, & did not find myself anything the worse, although I have heard that Nurses ought not to attempt it.

On Tuesday we spent the Evening at Bryce's with a large party, among whom was Nabob Stuart as tipsy as you please.

He comes frequently to Town but his Wife never accompanies him. . . .

Saturday Tom borrowed John's Gigg & set off for Grenock to stand best man to John Watson who is very foolishly married to a girl with nothing, & all he has is for being upper Clerk to old Neil Campbell there. My Father & Uncle Sandy went to the Golf & my sisters & Susan came here so that they were all disposed of one way or another. . . .

*Thursday, 22nd March.* On the same day I last wrote we had an Oyster Party made up by the Queen Streeters, the Matrons were Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Bryce, Aunt L & myself but I came home before supper to my Boy, & left the rest till 4 o'clock in the morning which they seemed all to enjoy extremely. . . .

*22nd Tuesday.* We again dined in Queen St. & met there Mr. Gillies from Belfast, Mr. Knox & Mr. Vaughan two Friends of his, besides some other Gentlemen most of whom went with us in the Evening to Yanowicz's Benefit which was but indifferently attended although good Music, but the People are really getting sick of Concerts. Last night we all went to Miss Linwood's promenade which I think a very foolish thing to give a Crown for the privilege of walking up & down a Room that we have been all at before but it is *fashionable* & that is everything you know.

*Thursday 29th.* On Monday I went to call on Miss Fairfax & afterwards walked with Johnny. Dr. Hare called on us too, he tells me he intends taking up his abode in the Country as he does not like a Town idle Life. I am much of his opinion, & unless John goes into business I don't think we shall ever reside in one again for any length of time. It is so much more expensive besides not being half as pleasant. . . .

*Thursday 5th April.* On Monday Helen & I walked to the Drum & returned by Leith being another fine day, but we have had a sad change since in the weather, a great deal of

snow, so that the Hills all round are covered with it. On Tuesday we dined in Queen St. with the Murphy Fozard, Miss Cockburn, Hare, Williamson &c. I had a long chat with Hare about you. He says you promised me to him for a wife but he is generally a stage too late in these enterprizes. He thinks nobody will take him now but I rather believe he is mistaken there.

*8th April.* Mrs. Murphy, Miss Crawford, Mr. Handiman & I went in the Evng. to Ritchie's Ball to see Mrs. Allan's Children dance. I don't think he is a very good dancing master, nor is his school very fully attended. I went with my Aunt Learmonth to Stuarts on Friday which was much better worth going to. He is Strange's successor. Jessy is one of the principal performers & little Maggy too makes a very good figure as she dances extremely well & being so small makes it still appear better. Elizth. thinks herself too old to attend this winter but I think it rather a pity she has commenced old woman so soon, she is so very little one would hardly guess her to be above 12 yrs. old, she is wonderfully delicate poor thing & the very picture of her mother. . . .

*Saturday, 14th April 1804.* . . . We had a letter from Mr. King at Ambleside yesterday with the Intelligence that he has accomplished the Commission we gave him of taking a House for us, & has got the best one in Westmoreland about half-a-mile from Ambleside, situated at the head of the lake Windermere. . . .

*Wednesday, April 17.* . . . This has been a very busy day with us, for as we are to leave our Lodgings on Saturday we sent off all the things we can spare by the Kendal Carrier it is wonderful how one collects what with Stable Furniture Writing Desk, Work Box &c. we filled 3 Boxes & 3 Trunks, but the Piano will be the most difficult to carry, it is to go by a Wagon to Newcastle & from thence to Kendal—however Corri says he gets his very often by the same Conveyance without Injury so I hope we shall be as lucky. . . .

After about a month at Queen Street the Hardens depart for Brathay Hall, and again the matter of the Journal ceases to be appropriate to these pages. But on 9th July Robert Allan receives an instalment from Jessy to send on to India and takes the opportunity to begin a postscript covering more than a month. One or two extracts are worth making :—

*21st July.* Tom came in from the Cavalry to-day with the Corps—our young Roscius in Douglas a prodigy, as is Master Owens a young violin player we saw last night in Corri's rooms, along with H. Johnston who spoke Collins' Ode to the Passions, & an address from the loyal North Britons in the dress of the Corps.

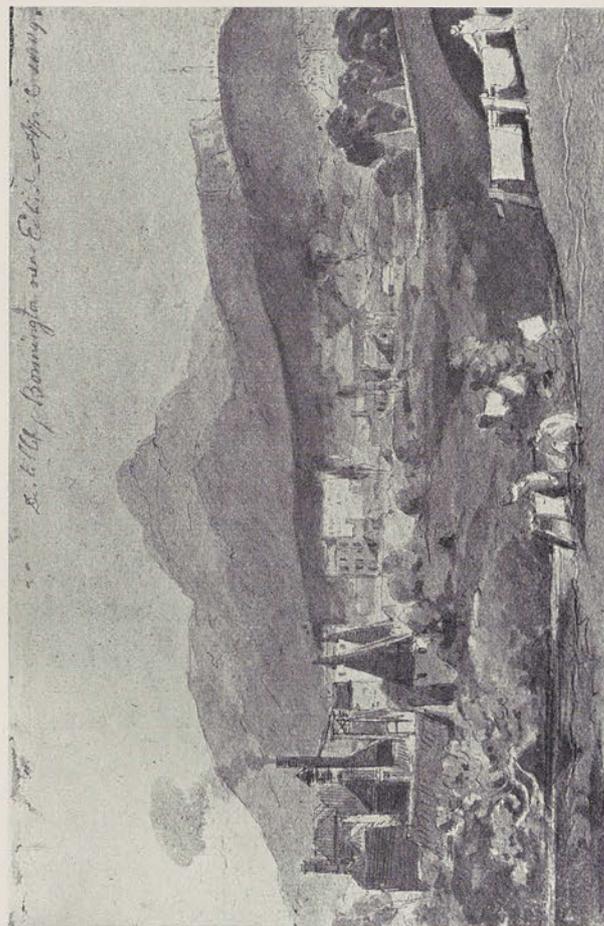
*24 July.* The rain began yesterday. . . . Tom goes to Staffa 26th with a Mr. Davie & Mr. John Hope from London, the first a prodigy also, not 23 & at the head of the Royal Institute London—a famous Philosopher, Naturalist &c. . . .

*26th July.* . . . I just saw Tom to the Glasgow Coach—last night at Corri's rooms, a very good concert, the Music excellent. . . .

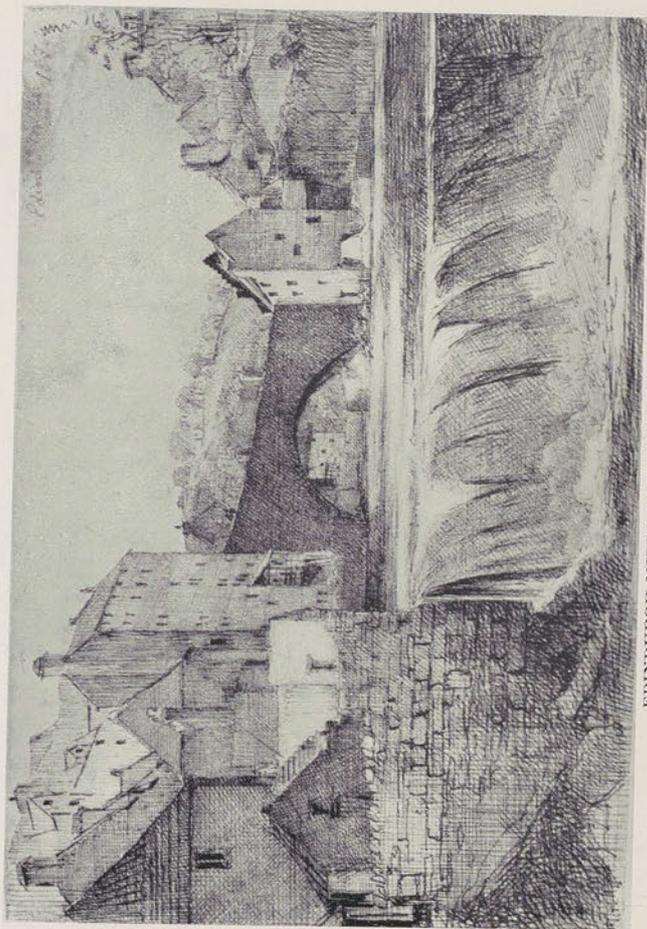
*31 July.* Last night another vocal concert, Elliot, Evans &c. very fine melody—going there to-night to hear Master Owens, a charming boy, good violin ; to-morrow have got places to see Master Beattie—the young Roscius—the greatest wonder of the age, beats Garrick, Kemble &c. Last Friday he sat 2 hrs. with us in the Box at seeing Munden in Jimmy Jumps. A very good letter from Jessy, her boy has got a tooth, that's a matter of immense importance to a mother. . . . Miss Bruce goes with us to the Concert—a charming warm evening, it cannot be better in India.

*1st Aug.* Very charming harmony but a thin house last night.

*2nd.* Saw Beatty yest. (he is called the young Roscius) in Barbarossa, very good indeed, & to-night in young Norval his



BONNINGTON DISTILLERY, EDINBURGH, 1809  
From a water-colour by John Harden in the National Galleries



EDINBURGH MILLS, WATER OF LEITH VILLAGE  
From a water-colour by John Hadden in the National Library

best Character it's said. Earl Moira & his Lady in the House—much crowded, no wonder.

3rd. Ann Gray & Sally Hamilton with us—we look for Young Roscius to tea. . . .

Aug. 8. Young Roscius called this morn'g. & breakfasted with us. . . .

11 August. Seventeen China ships arrived; no letter from you. A letter from Tom to-day from the Island of Ulva—met there Lords Gervis & Lewisham, a wild place. . . . Young Roscius Beatty on Tuesday performed King Richard 3rd, came home with my Family—played after supper at Blind Harry. Yesterday morn'g. at 3 p.m. set off for Birmingham—not 13, a fine boy, but wont live till 20 too hard wrought. When Tom returns I take up Helen at Bothwell Park, go to Dumfries, & see Jessy for 2 or 3 days, perhaps a week I am anxious to see them, the little fellow she says is a darling, do you believe her?

The Hardens originally intended to stay at Brathay Hall only for the summer, but by September they have decided to stay on. In February John turns down an offer of a share in the *Caledonian Mercury*, and in March he takes a nine years' lease of Brathay Hall and forty acres thereabout. On the 4th September Jessy has another boy, Joseph. Then brother Tom is going to marry and by December he 'has taken a furnished house in Princes Street until one that he means to buy in Charlotte Square is finished.' On the 12th December the Hardens arrive for a stay at Queen Street and on the 15th Jessy writes :—

I went out with Helen yesterday to equip myself with a winter dress, & as you sometimes like to hear something about these things, I shall tell you what I got; colored velvet Pelices are the most fashionable, but as I thought them too expensive for me at present, being 8 guineas without trimming, I took a purple & brown shot colored silk one with a

fur trimming which altogether came to six—it has a purple velvet spencer & is loose in the back, Helen's is a sea green & Kate's puce colored trimmed with the Lace which Tom brought them from France, but I shall reserve mine for some future occasion—my Hat is brown velvet turned up in front with a bow on the top & a small feather in front of the same color. I never saw anything so common as pelices of velvet are of all colors but the most fashionable ones have no trimming, except *embossed* velvet ribbon of the same color all round & loose in the back—velvet Mantles too are very much worn but I don't like them at all. They are something like the old women's duffle ones only without hoods. . . .

There follows a round of visits that we need not occupy ourselves with. Indeed, up to the 9th May, when comes another gap, we need only pick out a few items of information from the social round, as follows:—

*Sunday, 21st December.* We yesty. went to see the house Tom has taken in Charlotte Sqre. . . . John being with us we afterwards went to see some Pictures, Raeburns, Nasmyths & a Mr. Haphy's, a clever young man who draws figures divinely in water colors, most of them whole lengths in miniature & a beautiful style it is. I think Raeburn still improves—he has done my Father's picture great justice which is to ornament Tom's house.

*Tuesday, March 11 [1806].* Yest. . . . We had a call from Mrs. Fletcher, who you know was always a favourite of mine. She is in high spirits at present as the people of her opinions are all flourishing now. Henry Erskine got his Commission yesterday as Lord Advocate: in short there is nothing but overtures; by a letter I had from Shannon to-day mentioning they are busy at the same work in Dublin. . . .

*Monday, March 23.* Thursday we all went to the Play (my father excepted who went to Dr. Tennent's) & saw Kemble perform Sir J. Falstaff, which I believe he did pretty well but

it is not a play to please me, & although I have not been in a Theatre for almost 3 yrs. before, I was so tired that I have no desire to return for three more. Friday Helen & I spent the Evng. at Uncle John's where was a large party of Brats as they are called, a Children's Ball with only a few lookers on, Misses Baker, Lyal & ourselves, they seemed all very happy & amounted to near 60 in number, these things are become out of all bounds in my opinion, as in general there is no expense spared but as fine an entertainment set down to these monkeys as if they were all grown people. I think the consequences [cannot] be good from such dissipation. . . .

*Wednesday, April 2, 1806.* . . . I had a curious rencontre the other mornng. I met Lily Craig that was, & of course immediately accosted her—she apologized for not remembering my name, but I forgot to ask hers nor can I recollect it yet, & what is as extraordinary when I enquired where she lived, I did not even know the street as it has been built since I went to Brathay—it is Dublin St. the continuation of Duke St. but indeed you wd. not know that side of the town at all.

*Wednesday, April 23, 1806.* Yesterday Kate & I walked down to ye Drum & home by Marionville, a tolerable good walk: above 5 miles but we were not much fatigued & enjoyed it very much: the weather being now delightful. Mrs. Mure is the same lovely old woman as ever & received us very warmly; Mrs. Scougal was also very kind & wd. have had us stay to dinner after so long a walk but that of course was out of the question at any rate; but Uncle John & Aunt & their family were here & had a game of whist in the evng. To-day we called on our cousins Mrs. Forrest & Mrs. Simpson & also at Mr. Ross's; they are all pretty well but Ann Ross is very subject to head-aches, which is much against her schooling, as her mother says, for she has them so bad, she is frequently obliged to go to bed. She does not seem to like music, & I advised them against persisting in it, as it is throw-

ing away a great deal of money to little purpose where there is little genius for it. My Father & I dined at Matthew Rosses' to-day where we had a very pleasant party, Mr. & Mrs. Fletcher, Mr. & Mrs. W. Wilson, Messrs. McDonald of St. Martin's & old Roland the Advocate who I never met before. He is a strange piece of Buckram. . . .

*Monday, May 5, 1806.* . . . I was in the mornng. with Allan at Mr. Raeburn's, & being a wet day we went in a chair which diverted the Darling amazingly, he told Mr. R. 'a good man carried Mama Jessy & me in a box'; dont suppose we are so extravagant as to get his picture painted ourselves: no such thing I assure you. Mr. R. offered to do it, but who it is for I cant tell. . . .

As has been indicated above, there is a period of silence after the 9th May 1806. When the Journal begins again on the 7th September it is from Brathay Hall. There is little in it then for this *Book*, though life was full of housekeeping and of comings and goings. There were excursions and boating parties, dinners and dances. There were new acquaintances, like John Wilson, to cultivate. And there was a growing family. A daughter, Jane, was born on the 8th April 1807; on the 26th March 1809—'Oh! my dear Sister, I have lost my lovely Infant, my Darling Margaret.' A couple of months later the Hardens are in Ireland. Then:—

*Edinburgh, Wed. 19 [July], 1809.* We arrived safe on Saty. and found all our friends well. . . .

On Monday aftn. [24th July] my Father, Mrs. H. Jovy & I drove to Milbourne Tour & drank tea with Mr. & Mrs. Liston. He was the late Ambassador & a most agreeable man. He has built a very curious house but a remarkable neat one, a green house on the top which answers for his Study, and altogether it is a very odd looking House, & all small rooms & the windows in proportion, the Garden is full of the rarest

flowers as Mrs. Liston is fond of botany. On our return home we found two Gowns & letters to my sisters from you: they are very elegant ones & with a little alteration will fit them exactly. The bodies are much too short for the fashion but the skirts long enough to spare what will alter them. You will see by the dresses of the girls how much longer waists are worn than they used to be, do you remember the blue scarfs you sent us 8 yrs. ago, they are now quite fashionable. I never wore mine until I went to Dublin where it was greatly admired, scarfs, tippets & shawls are now constantly worn in dress, as are long sleeves, made of the same as the gowns, or lace, but seldom do you see bare arms now. Last night we went to a Concert, to hear a musical band brought here by D. Corri, it was a tolerable good one though nothing after the grand Oratorio I heard 3 weeks ago [in St. Patrick's, Dublin, when 'the music was chiefly from Handel and Haydn']. . . . The annexed drawing was taken by John from the back of the Calton, no doubt the objects will be familiar to you represented therein, except the large building at the head of the Mound, which is the new Bank. . . .

*Calder Hall, 26th Oct. 1809.* . . . My Father, Mrs. Harden, Kate, John & I came here [Calder Hall] on Saty. last to visit yr. amiable friend Dr. Hare. He is truly a worthy man the more one sees of him the more they must be convinced of that. He is making a very charming place of this & seems to enjoy the farming exceedingly. He is also building a very elegant addition to his house which gives him plenty to look after, & really he is all the better of it. He rises every mornng. at 6, or a little after, & goes to see what all his people are about, & when wet he reads in his Library, which is a very excellent one. Yesterday . . . he had his harvest home instead of the Jubilee held at most places in commemoration of the 50th yr. of His Majesty's reign: the 20 Masons in addition to the usual party of Servants & Labourers made a very jovial one, we enjoyed seeing them all dancing extremely. . . . Thursday

[3rd November] poor L'Evesque came in the eveg. He has written an account of the Jubilee, 2 copies of wh. he brought us, & 1 will be sent to you first oppy. He is the most contented creature possible, altho' banished fm. his country 18 yrs., he now feels himself entirely Scotch, & is very grateful to our Government—their liberality is indeed very great to all the french clergymen emigrants in this country—they are allowed £24 a yr. . . .

*Sunday, Nov. 19.* This day week we spent most of in Church but Monday was such that I did not go out but finished an oil painting I have copied from one Tom purchased of Nasmyth some years ago. On Tuesday Helen went to the opening of our new Theatre with wh. she was not much pleased, nor is anybody else I have seen, it is thought greatly inferior to the old one. . . .

*Thursday, Jan. 4, 1810.* As usual, the first employment of my pen after confinement is to my dear absent sister. I did not expect when I last wrote to be so soon taken ill, but on the 11th Decr. I was seized about three o'clock in the morning & my little boy was in the world before 12 o'clock—a little fellow indeed but being two or three weeks before his time that is not wonderful and he thrives (as yet) extraordinary well, as to myself, I have done remarkably well; I was out an airing yesterday, & to-day I walked out on the flags, 10 minutes, but did not venture to stay longer, finding the wind cold. . . .

*Jan. 18.* On Tuesday my dear Infant was christened [John William] by Mr. Alison who performed the ceremony most delightfully. . . .

*Thursday, Feb. 1, 1810.* On Friday being Catalani's last subscription Concert I ventured to leave my Boy for the first time for 3 hours in order to hear her. Accordingly my sisters & Mrs. Hamilton went early to secure seats, & I followed them with my Spouse who with some difficulty got me squeezed thro' the crowd to join them: She is undoubtedly a most

astounding singer but not so pleasing in my opinion as Mara, her voice is excessive strong & reaches far higher than any of the Instruments accompanying her, wh. were obliged to stop when she took those flights, she runs up & down all the notes & semi-notes with as much ease as another person cd. touch them on the Piano. . . . Last night [9th February] John & I went again to a Concert (Corri's benefit) & the last appearance of Catalani this season, it was so crowded before we got there we cd. get no other seats than the back of the orchestra which however I think are most pleasant ones, having the advantage of facing all the Company & hearing every note of the music, we were amazingly delighted, I never heard such singing before, she had not been well the first night I heard her as she did not please at least half as much and she sung a great deal, no less than 5 songs & 2 of them she repeated with the greatest good humour. . . .

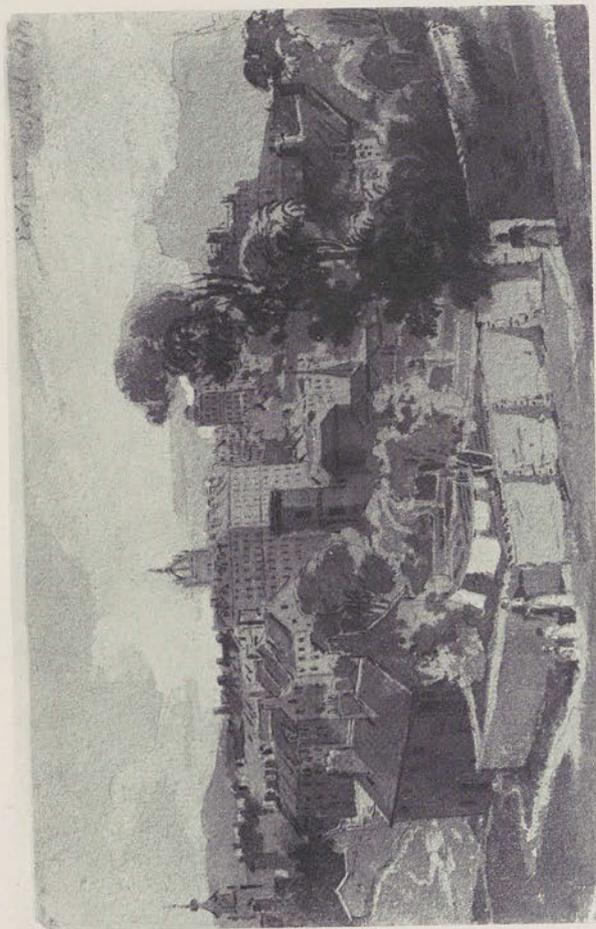
*Sunday, 25th.* On Tuesday my Father & I dined tête à tête again, the rest being at Mrs. Wilson's. On Wedy. we were all out, he & Mrs. Harden dined at Mrs. Hamilton's, the girls were at a Ball given by Mrs. Hamilton in Thistle St., & John & I went to a Rout at Tom's, the first time I have been in his large drawing-room: we met a very elegant company there, but as there was nothing doing but chat, it was dull enough: we had some of the *learned* set, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Fletcher &c. but in a Party I don't think such people are a bit more entertaining than their neighbours, & Cards & music are quite necessary to make an eveg. go off pleasantly. On Thursday John went to the Harmonic club, a society of the best musicians in town wh. he has joined at the moderate expense of a guinea the season, & from whence he returns home always delighted, he is a member too of another called the Connoisseurs at 3 guineas, but he don't like it half as well & means to subscribe no more to it. . . .

*Tuesday, 10th [April].* Last night . . . I went to the Play to see Mrs. Siddons act Constance in King John. I was

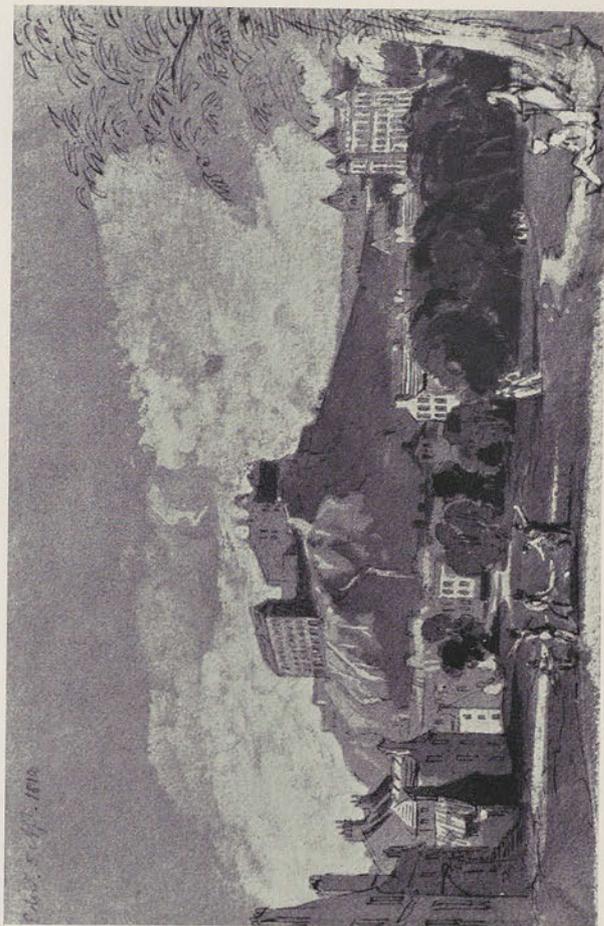
extremely delighted indeed with her & am quite of opinion that she never acted better in her life than she did last night. Her uncommon size now is greatly against her in young characters, but as a Widow it is of no consequence.

*Thursday, 12th.* We went to see the Exhibition of Paintings on Wedy. which is the third now that has been in Edinh. & really this is an excellent one, I am told much superior to the former ones: Raeburn makes a great figure there, & our friend David Thomson shines most in the landscapes but the style most admired is in imitation, I think, of the Dutch masters & the principal performer here of that kind is a youth of the name of Fraser who excels in it exceedingly; Tom has purchased the best for 50 guineas, the subject a Boat landing with fish, & some figures, Musselburgh fishwives, grotesque, very well executed indeed. P. Nasmyth's landscapes are thought to excel his father's but neither of them so much admired as Thomson's. Williams has some paintings there wh. are wonderfully well for the time he has taken up the oils, only 5 months, but by no means equal to his water-colors which he seems now tired of. Yesty. my Aunt & John Learmonth dined with us & in the Eveng. we had the addition of Messrs. Douglas, McBean, Williams, & George & David Thomsons, & had a good deal of music which however Mrs. Harden was not able to sit out but went up to her room, long before supper: she is certainly mending however, tho' slowly.

*Saturday, April 14, 1810.* . . . I went last night with Mrs. Gregory to Mme. Bonnet's Ball where I was much pleased with some of the children's dancing. Do you remember poor Mazzoni, the performer, he died mad some years ago, & left a large family, the eldest girl was a pupil of Madame's at the time, who has entirely supported her ever since, & now she is her assistant, & will probably be her successor, as she is above 70 now, & very unfit, (one wd. imagine), at such an age for that profession, however she seems very active & seems greatly attached to Rosa Mazzini who dances truly elegantly, the



EDINBURGH FROM THE CALTON HILL, 1810  
From a water-colour by John Harden in the National Library



EDINBURGH CASTLE FROM BRUNTSFIELD LINKS, 1810

From a water-colour by John Harden in the National Library

2nd girl teaches music & the 3rd is governess with Mrs. Dr. Munro, a beautiful girl, it is pleasant to see them so well provided for, at least in a fair way to do for themselves: I was delighted in watching the countenance of the old Mother while her daughter was dancing & (so modestly) receiving so much applause. . . . I understand Mr. Martin is going off for London to-day, so I shall take the opportunity of sending this by him, as he is so attentive, he will be sure & send it as soon as possible. . . .

*April 14, 1810, Mercury Office.* Jessy has sent this over for me to get off by Mr. Martin . . . he goes off by & by having arranged with Messrs. Constable & Hunter to become a partner & conductor of their business here, he is to reside here, & now that I am become Mercury & a printer, we look to him as being able to be very serviceable to us in our printing concerns. Tom gives much more attendance here than heretofore, we get on well & happily so far. . . .

After the 14th April 1810 there is a gap. What we have next begins on the 12th December, but Jessy writes then from Brathay Hall and she continues to do so for as much of the Journal as remains, that is until the 5th December 1811. Naturally she is more and more taken up with her life at Brathay Hall, and naturally Edinburgh fades more and more out of the picture, so much so that 'Finis' could now be put to these 'Extracts' if Harden had not still been in Edinburgh during December 1810 and there written a fairly full journal for the benefit both of his sister-in-law and his wife. A few extracts from Harden, therefore, to conclude:—

*Monday, Dec. 10, 1810.* I walked for  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour with Richd. Watson (Bishop of Llandaff's son) & made a call at Wilson's whom I found so uncomfortably deranged on Saturday, poor fellow. I met him on the street near his own house on that day as I was going to call on him, I joined &

took several turns up & down with him—he seemed far from right & complained much of the creeping chill all thro' him. I left him at Geo. Wood's whom he went to consult: he is wretchedly careless of himself & commits all kinds of excess, such as severe walking in wet roads & in rain, remaining in his wet cloaths, drinking spirits to injure him, & in short, destroys a good constitution without any reasonable temptation. The walk he & Watson took hither from Windermere occupied a week full of these extremes, sometimes up all night having lost their way—this may be fun but they are neither of them the better for it, nor does it accord with Wilson's good sense.

*Tuesday.* By the by I sauntered with Tom in the Hall of the Courts of Law & chatted with some old acquaintances, their welcome was agreeable, & the testimony of Mr. Fletcher to the merits of our Mercury very flattering. Of course there are various opinions held by Ministerial & anti-M-party, in the meantime the subscribers, sales, & Advertisements increase, & other printing concerns advance well too. . . . Stark brought two Ballets for you, viz Cupid & Psyche & Venus & Adonis, both Parisian, & very pretty he is told, we shall try them, & either keep them & send them soon to you, or exchange them for other music. By the by Penson has opened a grand Music Salon in Princes St. & is very grateful & civil to me.

*Wednesday, Dec. 12, 1810.* Snowy & winterlike. Went to breakfast with Richard, being no London news day. However there were letters announcing the failure of a Bank (now a frequent occurrence you see) in our neighbourhood, namely Bowes & Co. Workington. I hope (tho' I fear) that of the Banks notes I left with you none are of this firm—we must only take our chance. By the by I should have told you that your Father has sold at last the Ensigny which I purchased to obtain the gratis nomination of William Harden to his Ensigny—he gets back my money, viz £400, & Interest—but 'till the King or his Regent can sign a Commission, the trans-

action cannot be made cash to me. However the Sale is perfected by your Father & accepted by Mr. Tawse here, & the money will come at signing the Commission & gazetting the purchaser. So far I have been in luck, as a sett off for a little of this luck, our Pipe of Port is Invoiced £9 dearer than yr. Father's & Tom's—owing to the destruction of the Vineyards mine will cost me near 100 Gs. I hope it will prove good—it is an immense cost, & then the carriage of it besides.

*Sunday, 16th.* After tea popped over to the Theatre where I had difficulty in getting a seat in the low boxes. The Opera of the Siege of Belgrade, & Braham were the attractions—having heard him often before I confess I felt little, he never was a singer to my taste, he over enriches & is eternally ornamenting, & altho' he can scarcely spoil, Nature having given him so exquisite a voice, yet he runs lamentably wide of good taste. His ornaments remind me of a coarse yet striking Irish allusion 'like spreading butter upon fat'. At 9.30 I returned home, supped, & sat up after the family had retired, highly delighted with the Review of Scott's Lady of the Lake with every opinion of which I coincide, & indeed had already expressed. Poor Bussford is declared a Bankrupt & is deficient £200,000, it will be a wretched return to his creditors.

*Dec. 19, 1810.* I met John Wilson, & we sauntered about up & down together, he poor fellow, seemed anything but what he used to be, absorbed & occupied, in fact I like not the state he is in, he was however to-day tolerably himself, he accepted my invitation & returned to a quiet en famille dinner (he had been asked to come yesty. but was unwell), when he & I sat & quaffed & chatted till 8 oC. your Father having gone to dine at Charlotte Square, & the 3 lassies having gone to the Braham with Mrs. & Jessy Hamilton, Mr. Parsons their Beau, poor Clarke being not well—at 8 Wilson & I went & took our Coffee with him & sat there till 10—Wilson coughed excessively & was otherwise not himself, however company seemed to call

him out. I saw him home after passing 8 hrs. together, but oh! he is changed. . . . In talking over some matters of my own & of Wilson's in the course of our interview I was glad to learn from him that upwards of £7000 which he had lent to a trading friend of his in Glasgow, & which was in jeopardy when he came up here, (the house having become with many others embarrassed) is now safe & that he will not lose his money: he may thank the better advice of his mother & sister for thus escaping; it wd. have been hard indeed on him had he lost his friend (wh. is the case it now seems) & his money too—he is a generous soul. He has parted with his manuscript Poems & they will be printed e'er long by his bookseller in Glasgow—at the risk of the latter, & if any profits, Wilson gets half after expences—this is doing well. I wish he wd. constrain himself to study for he is otherwise in danger: indeed idleness, & his readiness to obey the impulse of the moment, & his inability to avoid excess when led into any temptation will destroy him if he does not take care. Yesterday he said to me 'I don't think I shall be right or well till I'm married,' if he is so then it is more than I omen. He told us the melancholy fate of his friend Finlay, author of Wallace & other poems, who died on the road-side in an obscure pot-house from excess of drinking Whiskey. I confess I shuddered when I heard of poor Finlay & saw the danger our own friend stands in. Wilson had generously supplied him with money but the tragical end of his fate proved him undeserving—so much for Genius. Watson I fear is not by any means such a companion as Wilson needs. I walked with Watson & Mrs. Ferrier a while to-day. The Wilsons & Watson have been asked twice lately but have declined—indeed I pity Mrs. Wilson, that doating mother, she is not well.

*Thursday, Dec. 20, 1810.* A black foggy morning with frost—took my place at the Mercury desk having given yr. Father my arm as usual in his way over to the Bank Office. I was amused with Jeffery, (the reviewer) the other day whom I

met at Mr. Simonds' lodgings, talking of Lord Buchan whom he calls blockhead & all sorts of drivling epithets—he related the following facts which displays falsehood & vanity in an extreme degree in the old Earl. Lord B. & a friend happening to be at a Sale when amongst other things a Portrait was put up—the friend exclaimed how extremely like it was to Smollett, is it, well then, said Lord B. I shall buy it, which he accordingly did; this same old portrait he clapped into a small frame & with a Tablet at top enumerating Smollett's pedigree, talents &c. &c. & at the bottom of the frame another Tablet dedicating it with his Lordship's most profound regards &c. &c. to the College at Glasgow where it now remains a monument of vanity & falsehood. Jeffery told this admirably. His Lordship & Lady Buchan do not forget you, they both asked after you, & his Lp. desired me when next I wrote you to present his good wishes & to assure you he feels much interested in us both. Were it not for this compound of good-natured smoothness, with his self-sufficiency, frothiness & deceit, he wd. not be bearable.

*Sat., Dec. 22, 1810.* I visited Mrs. Gregory—a pleasant visit—she is looking very delicate indeed, but don't complain & her spirits seem good—the Dr. has just been inoculating all his younger children, 8 yrs. & downwards with small pox infection—in consequence of some strong cases reported to him from Bath of the inefficiency of Cow-pox—& of its losing its virtue after 4 yrs., (wearing in fact out of the constitution). I am happy to add Dr. G's proofs are most satisfactory in favor of Cow-pox, & he is now perfectly confirmed in its being permanent, the more cases there are of this kind the better, but so it is in all new discoveries, there will be doubts & lies . . . I afterwards called on . . . Williams—he is annoyed by a wretched dauber of scenes who has adopted the name of *Williams*, whereby great confusion is created, much to our friend Ws displeasure, & he fancies, loss & discredit. However when this *new* Mr. W. comes before the public in the

Theatrical piece from the *Lady of the Lake* which is in preparation we can explain the matter & give him his proper place in the Mercury. I left this at 7 o'clock and went to the Play where Maria and Catherine had accompanied Mrs. Pillans, Mrs. Hamilton &c.—Mrs. H. had 4 of her children & Mrs. P. 3 of hers who all seemed amused with the performance which I confess was more than I expected they wd. be. The *Haunted Tower* (Opera) in wh. Braham sang very admirably & introduced 3 or 4 extra songs, capitally sang—he is a very superior singer, a pity he is not more chaste in his ornaments & less profuse of his enrichment; returned home to supper where we found all the circle en famille. I did not stop for the farce (my old nervous headache having returned, with wh. I have been somewhat teased these 3-4 days) but our party were amused with it very highly they say.

*Monday morning, Dec. 24.* I made two or three calls before dinner, (accompanied Sir George McKenzie & Tom on the subject of engraving for his Iceland book) walked with Worgan, odd fish—found Wilson at Queen St. & took a turn or two with him, he is a perfect beast in appearance, uncombed, unshaven, unwashed, & *unhappy* I fear! for else I cannot account for the abstractedness & filthy neglect of his person, poor fellow, he is not well nor at all like himself, he talks of not being able to marry till summer—indeed I pity all connected or likely to be connected with him, notwithstanding his excellent talents, & good disposition. Dined at home en famille, & went (solus) to Play, where I was well entertained. Braham gave us some good songs, & Terry acted as usual very respectably—a good house.

Jessy Harden died in 1836, her husband in 1847.

'Tour in Ireland by John Harden in 1797' has been published in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vols. lviii-lx (1953-55).

## SHOPS IN EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY EDINBURGH

BY W. H. MARWICK

THE history of retail trade has been rather neglected by historians. Several analytical and statistical studies by economists of contemporary conditions have recently appeared, but almost the only attempts to explore the origin and growth of the modern shop have been a study, published forty years ago, by an American scholar, Westerfield,<sup>1</sup> of seventeenth and eighteenth century developments, and a more recent one by J. B. Jefferys,<sup>2</sup> which outlines the development from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century.

One obvious explanation of this neglect is the difficulty of obtaining material. Few records of retail businesses have survived; many of them have been of short duration; long-lived 'family' businesses have passed into other hands. There is also perhaps a certain 'coyness' on the part of business men, which precludes them from obtaining the same sort of publicity for their activities as, for example, politicians or men of letters secure in their contemporary press or in such works of reference as *Who's Who* or the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This must be the main apology for the jejune-ness of this paper.

The term 'shop' is itself ambiguous, as in the famous description of the English as a 'nation of shopkeepers,' sometimes attributed to Napoleon, but actually found in Adam

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Westerfield, *The Middleman in English Business, particularly between 1660 and 1760*, esp. Chap. vii. New Haven, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Jefferys, *Retail Trade in Britain, 1850-1950*. Cambridge, 1954.

Smith.<sup>1</sup> The somewhat depreciatory implication is paralleled by the German contrast of 'Händler' with 'Heraan,' whereas 'Kaufmann' seems a more euphemistic designation; likewise a Shopkeepers' Association sometimes prefers to style itself 'Merchants' Association,' a term used of retailers as well as wholesalers in Scotland, as Chambers observed.

The Oxford Dictionary definition of 'shop' is 'a building, room, etc. for retail sale, manufacture or repair.' In current usage, it has the two main connotations of a workshop, as in 'shop steward' or in the colloquial 'talk shop,' i.e. productive activity; and the place where the butcher, baker, etc., sells retail to the customer, i.e. distributive activity. This probably reflects the original combination of roles. Similarly a 'tradesman' may be either one who pursues a craft, for example a carpenter, or a retailer. The etymological derivation appears to be the Old English 'sceoppa,' commonly rendered 'booth,' and used in this sense in *Piers Plowman* in the fourteenth century.

In the Middle Ages there were three chief methods of conducting retail trade: (1) the booths of the urban craftsmen, who manufactured and sold their wares on the same premises, usually for a local custom, (2) stalls set up at the periodic, often weekly, markets, and the more infrequent fairs, where goods from overseas might be displayed by travelling merchants, and (3) itinerant pedlars, packmen or chapmen.

Probably the earliest *pure* retailers were dealers in food, for example, the 'cookshops'<sup>2</sup> (though here the preparation might be deemed a productive activity), existing as early as the twelfth century, and still flourishing in the eighteenth—'on the river bank [the Thames] every variety of fish, flesh

<sup>1</sup> A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (2 vols.). Vol. 2, p. 110—'a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers.' [Everyman's Library, 412-13.] London, 1930-31.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food; A History of Five Centuries of English Diet*, pp. 32-3, 258-60. London, 1939.

and fowl was ever preparing.'<sup>1</sup> So also the grocer, at first primarily a dealer in imported wares such as spices and properly a wholesaler (*grossier*; cf. Danish *grosserer*, French *marchand en gros*), seems legitimately classifiable as a retailer.

The growth of a monetary economy and the decline of local self-sufficiency encouraged the expansion of retail trade, especially in such an urban centre as London, where by the fifteenth century we hear of drapers or mercers and goldsmiths' shops in Cheapside and Paternoster Row. By the seventeenth century 'a relative decline in the importance of the market was accompanied by the relative rise of shops and stores.'<sup>2</sup> This was also the era of the growing obsolescence of the craft guilds and the establishment of manufacture outwith the borough. There comes a distinction between 'shop goods,' usually of a more durable type, and the more perishable 'market goods,' produce and provisions which were still largely sold at periodic markets. Even in the early nineteenth century, large-scale purchase of provisions in bulk survived, especially among rural dwellers. The doyen of economic historians, Thorold Rogers, illustrates this from family practice about 1830.<sup>3</sup> Professor Henry Hamilton maintains that only in the nineteenth century did the retail shop usurp the function of the market-place and begin to specialise.<sup>4</sup> Daniel Defoe, writing in the early eighteenth century, gives us, in his *Complete English Tradesman* (1726), the first full description of contemporary practice, with special reference to London, which no doubt was in advance of most towns in this and other respects.

Retail trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (the period with which this paper is chiefly con-

<sup>1</sup> L. F. Salzman, *English Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 60. London, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Westerfield, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> J. E. T. Rogers, *Industrial and Commercial History of England*, pp. 385-6. London, 1892.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hamilton, *History of the Homeland: The Story of the British Background*, p. 251. London, 1947.

cerned) still included that carried on in markets, which received a new lease of life in the permanent covered halls established in the growing industrial towns, sometimes called bazaars and sometimes municipally promoted; the activities of travelling pedlars and hawkers; those of the producer-retailer, especially in clothing and footwear; and those of the retailer proper, such as the grocer and draper. Among characteristics commonly recognised are the prevalence of the family business and of apprenticeship, often involving a 'living-in' system, the shopkeeper frequently living above or behind his business premises. 'The proprietor was essentially a specialist, often a craftsman';<sup>1</sup> the grocer, for example, received his tea or sugar in bulk, and prepared it for his customers by blending the tea and cutting up the amorphous lumps of sugar. The better-class firms relied mainly on regular custom, and, according to Macaulay,<sup>2</sup> disdained advertisement and display: 'a butcher of the higher class disdains to ticket his meat. . . . A mercer of the higher class would be ashamed to hang up papers in his window inviting the passerby to look at the stock of a bankrupt, all of the first quality and going for half their value. We expect some reserve, some decent pride, in our hatter and our bootmaker.' Defoe, however, had a century earlier deplored 'the modern custom to lay out two-thirds of one's fortune in fitting up shops.'<sup>3</sup> The growth of the newspaper press was now facilitating and encouraging advertisement. Shops of an inferior type, especially in the industrial areas, acquired a bad reputation for adulteration, tainted quality, and light weight,<sup>4</sup> which gave

<sup>1</sup> L. E. Neal, *Retailing and the Public*, Chap. i. London, 1932. Cf. R. S. Lambert, *The Universal Provider; A Study of William Whiteley and the Rise of the London Department Store*, Chap. i. London, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> 'Mr. Robert Montgomery's Poems, and the Modern Practice of Puffing,' *The Edinburgh Review*, li. (1830), 193-210.

<sup>3</sup> D. Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman in Familiar Letters*. London, 1726.

<sup>4</sup> Drummond and Wilbraham, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-2, 223-8, 233-4.

an impetus to the Co-operative movement, and evoked the belated satire of G. K. Chesterton on the grocer who

'Sells us sands of Araby  
As sugar for cash down;  
He sweeps his shop and sells the dust  
The purest salt in town;  
He crams with tins of poisoned meat  
Poor subjects of the King.'

According to Jefferys, the later nineteenth century saw a considerable transformation, especially in the technique of selling. The apprenticeship system declined, with the lessened requirement of technical skills, the growing separation of place of work and place of residence, the increase of factory-made goods and of imports, for example, fruit, dairy produce, frozen meat, the invention of canning and tinning of foodstuffs, and the branding and marking of goods ready for sale. With the introduction of plate glass, display to attract the customer had a wider vogue; expressions like 'window dressing,' 'putting one's goods in the shop window' soon attained the dignity of metaphorical use. The 'customer' in the literal sense of habitual patron indeed in some measure gave way to the casual purchaser.

Fixed prices generally displaced the higgling of the market, the bargaining or chaffering or 'prigging' now considered distinctive of the Orient. As to the responsibility for this change there has been controversy. Priority is often assigned to the early Quakers, as an illustration of their integrity and trustworthiness;<sup>1</sup> on this point, Defoe observes: 'Some people have condemned . . . the practice of asking more than he will take . . . as dishonest. The Quakers for a time strictly stood to their point in the contrary practice . . . but time and the necessities of trade have brought them a good deal off of that

<sup>1</sup> E.g. P. H. Emden, *Quakers in Commerce: A Record of Business Achievement*, p. 17. London, 1940.

severity.<sup>1</sup> Apparently fixed prices became general only with the adoption of a marking or labelling system, in which the early department stores took the lead.<sup>2</sup>

Wider economic factors were the substitution of large-scale, speculative production for a general 'market' for production partly to order ('bespoke'), for a known local market, and the increased range of demand with rising standards of living in the mid-Victorian 'Age of Plenty.' In particular, the better paid, more skilled and regularly employed section of the working class were now able to offer a stable 'effective demand' for food and other consumable goods. Large-scale production tended to increase the dependence of the retailer on the wholesaler; sometimes practices of price regulation, especially in proprietary goods, such as drugs, grew up. The middleman acquired a position of strategic advantage, and the commercial traveller became a familiar figure. Improvements in communication facilitated the transport of goods and gave a wider range of choice to the consumer. The art of advertising was cultivated. Priority is sometimes assigned to the vendors of quack medicines (particularly associated with the Radical press); a noted practitioner was Thomas J. Barratt, who popularised such slogans as 'Good morning, have you used Pears' soap?' and the cartoon of the tramp 'Ten years ago I used your soap; since then I have used no other.'<sup>3</sup>

Bargain sales to attract custom and dispose of surplus stock are intimated as early as the 1830s. The growth of the multiple and department store and of the consumers' cooperative movement brought new types of retail trade, but the small shopkeeper still outnumbered them by ten to one, though retaining less than half the total turnover; shops

<sup>1</sup> Defoe, *op. cit.*, Bk. v, Chap. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Briggs, *Friends of the People: The Centenary History of Lewis's*. London, 1956.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising!* London, 1952. W. H. Beable, *The Romance of Great Businesses*, pp. 47-59. London, 1926.

number half a million against 20,000 market and 600 street traders.<sup>1</sup>

These features of the growth of retail trade may be illustrated by examples from eighteenth and nineteenth century Edinburgh.

Almost a century ago Robert Chambers described conditions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when 'the central line of street between West Bow and Nether Bow was the chief place of merchandise. . . . "Inland Merchandise," for example, coarse cloth, stockings, was by a Charter of 1477 ordained to be sold in the part of the street subsequently referred to as Landmarket, by people occupying "laigh" shops.' Later, the 'Lucken' or closed Booths evolved in the High Street, while 'krames' or 'buithes' tended to cluster round and even abut on the City Church, as they still do in the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup>

Chambers does not carry his account beyond 1707, but it is probable that there was little change until the building of the New Town. Some of these venerable booths survived until the great clearance of 1817. Chambers also cites the names of leading merchants, such as Bailie Macmorran, Robert Gourlay and William Little, who apparently combined wholesale and retail trade; hence perhaps the retention of the more honorific title by the latter. He also emphasises the association of the gentry with commerce; for example, the seventeenth century traders who were forebears of the Earls of Haddington and Hopetoun. This readiness of scions of the landed class to engage in trade is still evident in the eighteenth century, as contemporaries noted. As the chronicler of a noble family says: 'It was by no means uncommon for men of good family, carrying on exchange and banking business

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Levy, *The Shops of Britain: A Study of Retail Distribution*. London, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> R. Chambers, *Edinburgh Merchants and Merchandise in Old Times*, pp. 3-10. [Lecture to the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, Feb. 14, 1859.] Edinburgh, 1859.

to have besides a retail shop.<sup>1</sup> The head of a branch of this family, Thomas Dundas of Fingask (a Stirlingshire laird, and the father of the better-known Sir Lawrence Dundas), who laid the family fortune through war contracts; the Earl of Hopetoun, whose ancestral fortune had been augmented by the sale of lead from his Lanarkshire mines; and the widow of Maxwell of Arkland, ruined by his excessive zeal for agricultural improvement, are referred to as among mid-century traders.<sup>2</sup>

At the turn of the century, Robert Heron, one of the prolific, miscellaneous writers of the day, gives a vivid description of 'Edinburgh as a Commercial Centre': 'The most considerable branch of its trade, is that *retail trade* which it possesses as the seat of fashion, and the commercial centre of intercourse for Scotland. Hence those splendid shops which line its streets. Hence is it, that many of its richest and most respectable citizens are simply shopkeepers. What vast quantities of cottons, of linens, of silks, of woollen stuffs are retailed here. What abundance of liquors and of grocery goods of all kinds. The cabinetmaker earns very large sums. The taylor is among the most considerable gainers. The materials for this retail trade are supplied by a very large importation. From the circumjacent country are brought grain, whiskey, sheep, beeves, swine, poultry, wildfowl, fish, cheese, butter, milk, eggs, and indeed all articles of fresh provisions. . . . From England come an innumerable variety of articles, partly its raw produce, partly of its manufactures, and in part imported by the English from Foreign Countries. Happily we can now provide muslins for our own use. But a large quantity of Irish Linens are still annually imported into Edinburgh. From France, many articles of the consumpt of our metropolis have till very lately been directly imported.

<sup>1</sup> M. I. Dundas, *Dundas of Fingask*, Chap. v. Edinburgh, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 203. 4th ed. Repr. London, 1950.

Timber, iron, leather and coarse linens are brought hither from Russia. From the countries on the Mediterranean, too, are large imports brought into the port of Leith. For our West India goods we begin to be less dependent, than we once were on Glasgow and on London.<sup>1</sup>

From the similar work of his prolific contemporary, Robert Forsyth, a corroborative footnote may be quoted: 'With regard to such a city as Edinburgh, cabinet and upholstery work must necessarily be made to a considerable extent. . . . Some tradesmen in this department are said to carry on business to a greater extent than those in the same rank of employment in London. This is ascribed to the degree of equal luxury which prevails in the greater part of the society in Edinburgh; in consequence of which, though very splendid equipages do not so greatly abound, yet genteel families enter into a more general rivalry in those articles of expence which consist of ordinary dress, household furniture, and the luxuries of the table.'<sup>2</sup>

With the establishment of the New Town, a new centre for retail trade emerged in Princes Street, which soon lost its original residential status. It is noted that conversion of mansions into shops was in progress in the 1820s. A decade or two later it was affirmed that 'Princes St. contains most of the best stocked, highest rented and most handsome business premises and shops in the city.' By 1880 'most of the edifices, all constructed as elegant and commodious dwelling-houses, are now enlarged, re-built, or turned into large hotels, shops, club-houses, insurance-offices, warehouses,' etc.<sup>3</sup> Leith Street, and to some extent George Street, were also part of the shopping centre.

The regular publication of a City Directory from about

<sup>1</sup> R. Heron, *Observations Made in a Journey Through the Western Counties of Scotland in the Autumn of 1792*. 2 vols. Vol. 2, pp. 488-9. Perth, 1793.

<sup>2</sup> R. Forsyth, *Beauties of Scotland*. 5 vols. Vol. 1, p. 168. Edinburgh, 1805-8.

<sup>3</sup> J. Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh*. 3 vols. Vol. 2, pp. 118, 123. London, 1880-3.

the end of the century makes possible some statistical evidence for the type of retail trade—more conveniently after a classification by trades was introduced in the 1830s. In 1834-35 premises in the High Street included those of spirit dealers, silversmiths, hairdressers, fleshers, saddlers and tailors. Princes Street provided scope for spirit merchants, seed merchants, leather merchants, saddlers, bootmakers, watchmakers and drapers. North and South Bridge and George Street were among the other main shopping streets. There were then recorded some 330 grocers and spirit dealers, 300 spirit dealers (publicans), about 200 bakers and 200 boot and shoemakers; about 180 milliners and dressmakers, 120 fleshers, over 70 drapers, about 100 victual dealers, over 100 booksellers and stationers, about 50 coal merchants and between three and four hundred others who may reasonably be classed as retailers.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the principal types may now be considered in detail. The gold and silver-smith, originally of course a craftsman, has been notable and influential in Edinburgh since the days of George Heriot. As a salesman he tended to combine his business with that of the watch and clockmaker, also a skilled craft of which Scotland had notable practitioners. Two of the latter attained special repute in the early nineteenth century.

Robert Bryson (1778-1852) started in 1798 a business in the High Street, transferred to the South Bridge in 1815 and to Princes Street in 1840. He became a member of the Hammermen's Incorporation in 1815, and made clocks for the Royal Observatory. He is known as a promoter of the School of Arts (1823), which later developed into the Heriot-Watt College, his suggestion of such an institution being taken up by Leonard Horner, who described him as his 'right-hand man in starting it.' He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He was succeeded by his sons Alexander

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Post Office Annual Directory*, 1834-5.

(1816-66) and Robert (d. 1886). The former was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and delivered papers on horology and kindred topics to the Royal Society of Arts. The younger brother, Robert, became Master of the Merchant Company.<sup>1</sup> On his death as sole partner, the business was taken over by Hamilton and Inches, founded in 1866 by James Hamilton and his nephew (Sir) Robert K. Inches (1840-1918), a Lord Provost of the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

More purely professional fame was gained by James Ritchie & Son. The founder was apprenticed to a Mr. Howden and with his aid set up on his own account in Leith Street in May 1809. He sold watches by other makers as well as his own products, did cleaning and repairs and dealt in such articles as chains, thimbles and brooches. Among his early customers were Sir Walter Scott and Madame Tussaud. In 1819 he took over the business of Joseph Durward (established in 1775), and in 1836 assumed his son as a partner. The firm described themselves as 'clock contractors for government departments,' and undertook responsibility in 1852 for the time ball on Calton Hill and in 1861 for the one o'clock gun in the Castle. The founder's grandson, L. L. Ritchie (1870-1957), was sole partner for many years till his retirement in 1953.<sup>3</sup>

Edinburgh, largely thanks to its University, soon established a reputation in the book trade. The sale of books has often been combined with their publication, from the days of Alexander Donaldson<sup>4</sup> and William Creech (1745-1815).

<sup>1</sup> D. Puseley, *The Commercial Companion and Peerage of Commerce*, p. 39. 2nd ed. London, 1860. *Journal of Adult Education*, iv, (1932) 390. *The Scotsman*, Dec. 10, 1866. J. Smith, *Old Scottish Clockmakers from 1453 to 1850*, pp. 69-74. 2nd ed. Edinburgh, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> *The Scotsman*, July 20, 1918; Jan. 26, 1952.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, June 26, 1953. *Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers*, 160th Annual Report . . . 1945, pp. 48-9. Edinburgh, 1945. *Smith, op. cit.*, pp. 132-3, 317. *The Scotsman*, Dec. 12, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> R. Chambers, *The Traditions of Edinburgh*, pp. 48-50. Edinburgh, 1949.

Lauchlan Hunter was also known in the eighteenth century as a 'bookseller and antique dealer.' The fame of Creech (the first of several publishers who became Lord Provosts) as the publisher of Burns, and that of his shop in the Old Town as the howff of the intelligentsia, was rivalled in the next generation by that of Archibald Constable, 'by far the most busy scene in the Bibliopolic world of the North, . . . situated in the High St., in the midst of the Old Town, where indeed the greater part of the Edinburgh Booksellers are still to be found lingering.'<sup>1</sup> Constable, however, removed to Princes Street in 1822.<sup>2</sup> The successors of Creech, Messrs. Manners and Miller are contrasted in *Peter's Letters* as 'the true lounging-place of the blue-stockings and literary beau monde of the Northern metropolis.'<sup>3</sup> Thomas Philips is said to have been the first to open a bookshop in Princes Street about 1780.<sup>4</sup> The literary circle associated with the magazine he founded soon gave pre-eminence to Constable's business and political competitor, William Blackwood, first of a still ruling dynasty, whose 'large and airy suite of rooms in Princes St.,' occupied in 1816, comprised 'a spacious place set apart for retail business,' and 'an elegant oval saloon, . . . where various groups of loungers and literary dilettanti are engaged in looking at the publications just arrived by that day's coach from town.'<sup>5</sup> Blackwood soon much reduced the retail side and held an auction sale in October 1828.<sup>6</sup> William Laing, father of the antiquarian David Laing, was noted particularly for 'valuable editions of old authors'; his shop at

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Lockhart, *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, p. 174. [Nelson's Classics, 400.] London, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> Grant, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> C. A. Malcolm, *Princes Street, Edinburgh: An Illustrated Account of its Origin and Development*, p. 50. Issued by the Life Association of Scotland on the occasion of its centenary, 1938. Edinburgh, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> Lockhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-3.

<sup>6</sup> F. D. Tredrey, *The House of Blackwood, 1804-1954: The History of a Publishing Firm*, Chap. ii. Edinburgh, 1954.

49 South Bridge, near the University, is also mentioned by Lockhart.<sup>1</sup>

Another firm, still surviving under a new guise, is that of Robert Grant and Son, who started business as quill pen manufacturers in 1804, and developed a bookselling and stationery business, becoming Stationers to the University in 1863. They absorbed their contemporary Thomas Veitch, and, by the acquisition of Manners and Miller in 1865, became heirs to the pioneer enterprise of Creech. Later, directed by Arthur Giles (1833-1921), who became a partner in 1861, they undertook publishing, being the official agents of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and proprietors of the County Directory of Scotland. The publishing side was latterly carried on under the designation of the Moray Press. Recently, under the auspices of Sir Will Y. Darling, they have been combined with another old firm, William Brown of George Street,<sup>2</sup> founded in 1879.

Secondhand as well as new books added to the repute of Edinburgh in this field; the stalls in George IV Bridge frequently figure in Victorian reminiscences. The doyen of the trade, in books both new and old, was James Thin (1824-1915), who commenced business in Infirmary Street in 1848, acquired the bankrupt stock of Richard McLachlan and Stewart, and removed his rapidly expanding trade to the South Bridge, opposite the University, whose official publisher he became in 1873. He was succeeded by his equally long-lived son, James Hay Thin (1853-1943), who became associated with the publishing firm of Oliver and Boyd in 1896; the business is still in the family.<sup>3</sup> Baxendine, noted specially for school-books, Bryce, and R. W. Hunter (later W. F. Henderson) flourished in the Old Town; Douglas and Foulis, Macniven

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80. Grant, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> *The Literary Centre of a Literary Capital*. Edinburgh, 1946. *The Scotsman*, Feb. 12, 1921; July 16, 1955.

<sup>3</sup> *The Scotsman*, April 12, 1915; Sept. 9, 1943. *Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, op. cit.*, pp. 45-6.

and Wallace, and Andrew Elliot (all now subsidiaries of John Menzies & Co., the wholesalers) in the New.

A kindred activity is that of the music seller. Three firms of national repute emerged. Paterson & Sons remained for some generations in the family of Robert Paterson (1780-1857), who commenced as a piano manufacturer about 1820. Robert Roy Paterson (1830-1903) established the series of Subscription Concerts in 1887.<sup>1</sup> R. W. Pentland succeeded in the 1890s to the business of Wightman & Son, founded in 1840, and Methven Simpson's in 1888 to that of John Purdie, founded in 1827.

Chemists and druggists, in close relation with the medical schools, also sometimes retained the dual capacity of producers and retailers, as did the two noted firms of Duncan Flockhart & Co., originally Duncan and Ogilvie, and T. and H. Smith & Co., founded respectively in 1825 and 1849. The latter was founded by two brothers, Dr. Thomas, who long occupied Heriot Hill House, Canonmills, and Dr. Henry, who originally described themselves as 'surgeons, druggists, and Manufacturers of aerated waters.' They set up the Blandford Chemical Works, and were among the first producers of chloroform. The firm became a Limited Company in 1904 and amalgamated in 1952 with Duncan Flockhart.<sup>2</sup>

Oil dealers played an important part as suppliers of illuminants before gas and electric lighting became prevalent; the trade was frequently combined with the sale of provisions and other goods. A remarkable enterprise was that long known as Smith & Co. in Blair Street. Thomas Smith (1754-?1815), the founder, combined it with the trade of tinsmith (Greenside Co.'s works), and by his responsibility for the city lamps acquired the sobriquet of 'leerie Smith.' He became in 1786 engineer to the newly formed Board of Northern Lighthouses, having 'designed a system of oil lights to take

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, Dec. 3, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1904; Jan. 23, 1952; June 26, 1952.

the place of the primitive coal fires before in use.' He was joined three years later in both enterprises by his stepson Robert Stevenson (1772-1850), first of the noted family commemorated by his grandson Robert Louis Stevenson. The partnership was dissolved in 1807, when Stevenson remained with the Northern Lights Board and Smith devoted himself to the multiple activities of his firm, which continued during the century as 'shipowners, underwriters, lampmakers, brass-founders, gasfitters, and purveyors of lamps and oils to the Crown.'<sup>1</sup> Later they amalgamated with James Gray & Son, Ironmongers, founded in 1818.

The grocers of the eighteenth century had a notable representative in Sir William Fettes (1750-1836), wine and tea merchant in the High Street about 1785, who made a fortune from army contracts, which he bequeathed to found the College which bears his name; he also was Lord Provost.<sup>2</sup> Robert Christie, who left an endowment of £40,000 for Aged Citizens, had a shop in North Hanover Street, notorious as 'dirty Christie's.' 'Although he was naturally of a neat, clean and tidy disposition, he was led to form the idea that it would be advantageous to have the reputation of being very much the reverse, and his judgment had not failed him, for his shop became the resort of the most fashionable ladies. . . . The windows were thick with mud, and they were always filled with tea chests, and tea chests were all over the shop, while candles stuck in beer bottles often stood on the counter for illumination at nights.'<sup>3</sup>

Robert Shepherd, in South Bridge, who retired in 1812,

<sup>1</sup> D. Stevenson, *Life of Robert Stevenson*, pp. 3-5. Edinburgh, 1878. R. L. Stevenson, *Records of a Family of Engineers*, pp. 16-22, 47-9. London, 1912. J. Livingston, *Some Edinburgh Shops, with Reminiscences of Edinburgh Business Men of Past Times*, pp. 33-40. Edinburgh, 1894; *Information from Mr. W. A. Douglas*.

<sup>2</sup> Livingston, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-9. Sir T. B. Whitson, *The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296-1932*, pp. 89-90. Edinburgh, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Livingston, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-4.

is recalled chiefly because his apprentices included the founders of two noted businesses still surviving, as well as the head of a Glasgow sugar wholesaler. Of these two Andrew Melrose (d. c. 1855) succeeded to the shop in South Bridge, and moved to George Street in 1834. With the end of the monopoly of the East India Co. in the previous year, he built up a large tea trade with China. For the accommodation of his staff of about thirty, he bought Chapel House, which 'was a good home for the young men. They were carefully attended to both in regard to their comforts and their social well-doing, being required to come home in good hours, family worship being regularly conducted, and all attending divine service on Sundays.' One of these well-brought-up young men, John Macmillan, later became head of the firm,<sup>1</sup> now 'tea dealers to the Queen.'

Shepherd's other old employee, William Law (1799-1878) and his brother George went into partnership in 1832 in the Canongate, and specialised in coffee. William made improvements in coffee-grinding machinery and became Lord Provost in 1869.<sup>2</sup> R. and T. Gibson was a well-known name in Princes Street until the business was acquired by Littlewoods in 1951. Founded in 1847, it was long headed by Thomas Gibson (d. 1896), prominent in municipal life, where his activities were surpassed by those of his son, James Pickering Gibson (1849-1912), who became a Baronet and a Member of Parliament as well as Lord Provost; the last head of the firm was also a Lord Provost, Sir Andrew Murray.<sup>3</sup>

Butchers, at first usually bearing the old name of fleshers, were mainly small-scale dealers in local meat; little was imported to Scotland before the twentieth century. The growth of the Meat Market and of public abattoirs affected the conduct of the trade. Occasionally the large dealers were

<sup>1</sup> Livingston, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-6. Whitson, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-31.

<sup>3</sup> *The Scotsman*, Jan. 11, 1912; Nov. 21, 1951; Dec. 27, 1951.

associated with the wholesale cattle trade, for example, Brechin Brothers of the 'Southern Emporium' with the Border auctioneers, Swans and Olivers, about 1880<sup>1</sup>; and Charles Wilson & Son. Carmichaels were 'butchers by royal warrant' for three generations; founded in the 1830s, they were primarily poulterers and game dealers.

The drapery trade was among the most prolific. In the days when the Paisley shawl flourished, and Edinburgh itself was a silk-manufacturing centre, dealers described themselves primarily as 'silk mercers.' It is recorded that when a consignment of 'the latest London fashions' arrived at Leith harbour, a flag was hoisted on the Nelson Monument.<sup>2</sup> The most noted of early mercers was Sir James Spittal (1769-1840), the first Lord Provost (1833-37) after municipal reform; the firm he established on South Bridge in 1807 has continued under various auspices and is still known as J. and R. Allan, though now a subsidiary of the great House of Fraser combine. The brothers, James (1839-1904) and Robert Allan (1842-1914), natives of Nigg, Ross-shire, acquired control in 1833, and absorbed neighbouring firms in 1897, when a Limited Company was constituted with a capital of £120,000. Robert was Chairman and Managing Director until his death. James became Chairman of the Glasgow Department store, Anderson's Polytechnic.<sup>3</sup>

'Haberdasher' was another term in contemporary vogue; an early example was John Neal and Son, who were originally in the High Street, and appear to have obtained premises in the 1770s in Princes Street, where a 'sale of silks' was advertised.<sup>4</sup> Alexander Cruickshanks (1757-1842), of an old

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, June 5, 1911. *The Glasgow Herald*, June 23, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-4.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. Gilbert (ed.), *Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 215-20. Edinburgh, 1901. *The Scotsman*, Jan. 20, 1897; May 27, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. i., p. 143. W. F. Gray, *An Edinburgh Miscellany: Chapters Mainly in the Social and Literary History of the City*, pp. 3-4. Edinburgh, 1925.

Aberdeenshire Quaker family, set up in 1790 a hosiery establishment which existed in George Street until the inter-war period.<sup>1</sup> He is one of those to whom credit for abandoning the 'prigging' system is assigned; he was devoted to the service of his religious Society and his activities for the relief of Poles after the insurrection of 1830 are recalled by the similar incursion of exiles during the late war. Another Quaker firm whose partners were cousins, distinguished as John Wigham junior and John Wigham tertius, specialised in shawls, in which they were the principal dealers; with the decline of the Paisley trade, the business was wound up. Both were active in their own Society and in the public life of the city.<sup>2</sup>

The most notable figure associated with the trade was Duncan McLaren (1800-86), leader of Scottish Radicalism, Lord Provost and Member of Parliament for Edinburgh and 'for Scotland.' He opened a shop at Warriston Close in the High Street in 1828, and was also a pioneer of fixed prices. For some time he was in partnership with his son-in-law, John S. Oliver, whose son, F. S. Oliver, was noted as a writer as well as a partner in Debenhams. McLaren retired in 1880; his premises were taken over in 1897 for an extension of the municipal buildings; his son Duncan (1839-1920) was head of the business till his retirement in 1900. He had meantime combined with the firm of Renton, established in Princes Street about 1816 by William Renton (1774-1855), on the death of the latter's son in 1883, and the business was transferred to their premises. (Sir) George McCrae (1860-1928), afterwards City Treasurer and Member of Parliament, and owner of a hatter's business, and Sir J. P. Gibson the grocer became partners; the firm continued as Rentons Ltd. until 1936.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Giles. *Across Western Waves and Home in a Royal Capital*, p. 247. London, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, xlvii (1954), 9, 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Mackie, *Life and Work of D. McLaren*. 2 vols. London, 1888. *The Scotsman*, Oct. 22, 1920; Dec. 28, 1928.

Cochrane's Ayrshire Needlework Warehouse, North Bridge, is described in the early 1840s as the 'only house in Scotland exclusively in this line, with the lowest prices marked in plain figures on every article.'<sup>1</sup> The family of Clapperton were involved in more than one enterprise. Alexander Clapperton was a cloth merchant in the High Street about 1800; his son John (1821-94) carried the business on until 1874; another son William joined with J. S. Oliver of McLarens, as linen and furniture dealers in 1864; this business continued until May 1906.<sup>2</sup> Jenners was founded in somewhat romantic circumstances by two apprentices, Charles Kennington and Charles Jenner (1810-93), 'sacked' for going to Musselburgh Races; they commenced on their own account at 47 Princes Street on May Day 1838. After the death of the former in 1863, the shop was carried on as Charles Jenner & Co.; Jenner retired in 1881; James Kennedy (1845-1906), an early apprentice, ultimately became senior partner and his family still retain control. After a notorious fire on November 26, 1892, when about 120 employees were still 'living in,' an elaborate new building designed by Hamilton Beattie was opened on May 6, 1895.<sup>3</sup>

Cranston and Elliot's, founded in 1865, is known chiefly through the fame of its founder, Sir Robert Cranston (1843-1923), noted 'Volunteer' and Lord Provost, and son of the ex-Chartist pioneer of Temperance Hotels. The opening of new premises in North Bridge was advertised in May 1866, with reduced prices and a claim of the partners to have 'long and practical experience in several of the best houses in town.' It became a Limited Company in 1897 under the direction of his less competent son, R. Elliot Cranston, and went into

<sup>1</sup> M. H. Swain, *The Flowerers; Origin and History of Ayrshire Needlework*. London, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> *The Scotsman*, May 4, 1864; Jan. 17, 1882; Dec. 20, 1894.

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm, *op. cit.* K. F. Lockie, *Picturesque Edinburgh*, pp. 114-7. Edinburgh, 1899. *The Edinburgh Courant*, Jan. 16, 1882. *The Scotsman*, Oct. 28, 1893; July 1, 1908.

liquidation in 1907.<sup>1</sup> Robert Maule, who had been in business in Kincardine-on-Forth since 1856, opened a shop in Leith in 1872; it was much extended by his son Sir Robert (1852-1931), who transferred it to the West End of Princes Street, where it became a fashionable shopping centre, later absorbed by Binns of Sunderland.<sup>2</sup> The firm founded by Donald Reid in 1860 evolved into Darlings of Princes Street under the direction of Dr. Alexander Darling (1858-1936) and his nephew and successor, Lord Provost Sir Will Y. Darling, and is now a subsidiary of Great Universal Stores.<sup>3</sup> William Small and Son, Princes Street, founded in 1852, and H. R. Elliot, Shandwick Place, founded in 1895, were among other well-known establishments. Patrick Thomson, originally partner in a ribbon and lace shop in Princes Street, which was founded by Thomas Thomson in 1845, opened his famous emporium on the North Bridge in 1895, and expanded it by acquiring the neighbouring Bon Marché. After his premature death in 1906 it came into the hands of a private company, subsequently merged in the Scottish Drapery Corporation, and now controlled by the House of Fraser.<sup>4</sup>

A pioneer of the ready-made tailoring trade was M. A. Levy, 'a stout little dark Jewish gentleman who did a good deal to revolutionise the tailoring trade in Edinburgh.' He conducted the 'Cosmopaleion' in the South Bridge in the mid-century.<sup>5</sup> This type of business, facilitated by the invention of sewing- and cutting-machines and other devices, and encouraged by the large-scale popular demand of the better-paid workers, gained on the 'bespoke' trade.<sup>6</sup> Its centre was Leeds, whence came Hepworths, founded in 1864,

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, May 3, 1866; May 7, 1866; Mar. 23, 1909; Oct. 23, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1895; Dec. 26, 1931.

<sup>3</sup> Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 240. *The Scotsman*, Jan. 1, 1895; Sept. 21, 1936; Dec. 23, 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 233. *Information from Mr. A. F. Gardner.*

<sup>5</sup> Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> M. Burton, *Ideals in Industry*. Leeds, 1950. Mrs. Jean Thomas, *A History of the Leeds Clothing Industry*. Hull, 1955.

with branches in Edinburgh from 1885 onwards. R. W. Forsyth, a pioneer of higher quality goods, started in Glasgow in 1872, but did not reach Edinburgh till 1907.<sup>1</sup> Sir Andrew McDonald (1836-1919), who was apprenticed to Levy and took over the business on his retirement in 1860, conducted a large merchant tailor trade and became Lord Provost.<sup>2</sup>

The footwear industry was for centuries associated with the ancient crafts of skimmers and cordiners, and became a preserve of the producer-retailer of bespoke goods. An outstanding personality was Forrest Alexander (1759-1833), who carried on business in Leith Street early in the century and was a founder of the Commercial Bank and of the Caledonian Insurance Co. He also owned a tannery in the Pleasance. His business was acquired by Charles Allan in 1856 and is carried on by his descendants as James Allan & Sons; the firm has been in Princes Street since 1870. The manufacturing side was transferred to Jones of Nottingham in 1952.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Duncan's, founded in North Bridge in 1797, was until 1951 another relic of the old hand-made trade.<sup>4</sup> The business was acquired in 1897 from the grandson of the founder by the Edinburgh Royal Hotel Co., its next-door neighbour at 53 Princes Street, when it became a Limited Company. In the latter part of the century machine-made goods became prevalent and producers sometimes opened multiple retail branches, for example, R. and J. Dick of Glasgow, who opened a shop in Edinburgh in 1889.

Coal mining was carried on in the Lothians from the Middle Ages, usually as part of an estate's economy. Its retail in Edinburgh seems to have been at first largely in the hands of agents of the landowner; for example, the Marquis

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, Feb. 1, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-1: *The Scotsman*, July 16, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> Livingston, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-70. *The Scotsman*, July 20, 1949. *Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-7. *The Scotsman*, June 6, 1897.

of Lothian's coal depot at St. Leonard's and Lord Belhaven's at the Caledonian Railway Station; while the Earl of Zetland's 'jewel coal' is advertised in the 1850s. The firm of J. Waldie and Son, founded in 1784, became the leading coal merchants, latterly under the headship of Thomas Waldie (1842-1924). The original James Waldie undertook the making of coke; he leased Tranent Colliery and brought coal from Fife pits by smacks to Leith. Waldie's were also contractors to Government Departments.<sup>1</sup>

The modern multiple store reached Edinburgh in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Among grocers, Lipton's opened a branch in 1882, and by 1900 had six; Cooper's, also of Glasgow origin, expanded from one to seven in the six years from 1894; the Home and Colonial Stores started in 1895 with three shops. The producer-retailer was represented by Fleming Reid of Greenock, who adopted the style 'Scotch Wool and Hosiery Stores' for their retail branches about 1884, and had three of these in Edinburgh by 1885, and, as already mentioned, by Hepworth of Leeds, tailors, and Dick of Glasgow, shoemakers. Edinburgh, unlike Glasgow, which had the Polytechnic from the mid-century, had (and has) no complete example of the department store or 'Universal Provider,' though Walter Wilson, a later exemplar in Glasgow, made a rather unsuccessful venture in Edinburgh in the 1890s, under the rather exotic title of 'Tréron et cie' in Princes Street (1894-99).<sup>2</sup>

Brief notes may be added on the two more general points. Though by the mid-century hours of labour had been legally restricted for certain classes of factory operatives and the hours of opening of public-houses were, for other reasons, regulated (Forbes Mackenzie Act, 1853), there was no limi-

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, Dec. 6, 1924. *Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, op. cit.*, pp. 63-5.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wilson, *Walter Wilson, Merchant*. Glasgow, 1920. *The Scotsman* Jan. 11, 1895.

tation on the times when shops might remain open. In the distributive trades any effective attempt at trade unionism dates only from the last years of the century. There were, however, movements for earlier closing; especially on Saturdays, motivated by humanitarianism, and in the latter case by Sabbatarian considerations as well, for example, on the part of the Reverend Dr. Begg, the Free Church leader, active in social reform. Some shopkeepers participated, for example, in the Drapers' Early Closing Association of the 1850s and 1860s. Thomas Knox, Master of the Merchant Company, was a prominent supporter of shorter hours. In the 1890s there was a Scottish Shopkeepers' and Assistants' Union for this purpose. Enthusiasm was, however, sporadic and no drastic change seems to have been effected.<sup>1</sup>

The prominent part taken by shopkeepers in municipal life has already been illustrated by frequent references to the Lord Provostship. Of thirty-four holders of the office during the century, sixteen may be reckoned within that class.<sup>2</sup>

According to Bernard Shaw, 'the small shopkeeper is master of the municipal situation,'<sup>3</sup> because of his greater facilities for taking time off than other classes. In the more leisurely Victorian days, probably men of business capacity found it easier to devote some of their energy to public life than in the legislation-ridden conditions of to-day, when the complexity of duties increasingly fosters administrative bureaucracy.

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, Mar. 30, 1867; Jan. 27, 1872; Dec. 5, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> Whitson, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> G. B. Shaw, *The Common-sense of Municipal Trading*, p. 112. London, 1908.

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1823-1833

(PART II. 1829 TO 1833)

1829 Jan. 15. The west Bridge<sup>1</sup> beside the castle is contracted for to be ready about the month of August. Contracts are also advertised for the New South Bridge<sup>2</sup> over the Cowgate at Liberton Wynd.

Feb. 5. *West Port Murders*. Under this title we have had ample discussion ever since Burke's trial in the newspapers, the editors & conductors eagerly embracing such a subject for interesting their readers particularly after such a long continued scarcity of public news. Since Burke's execution his confessions have made their appearance giving a disgusting detail of sixteen murders, committed almost precisely in the same manner. The whole appear to have been poor destitute creatures rendered quite senseless by intoxication.

An attempt has been made very lately in the name of Daft Jamie's Mother & Sister as private prosecutors to institute proceedings against Hare, Burke's accomplice evidently the greatest villain of the two but who turned King's evidence. After a great deal of discussion however in the Court of Justiciary it was allowed that the Lord Advocate's assurance of indemnity in this case, secured Hare from all further prosecution. He was accordingly liberated this evening & sent off privately in the Dumfries Mail coach, but his treatment wherever he goes will be that of an outcast & a vagabond.

Feb. 12. This afternoon & evening our city was a good deal agitated by a considerable assemblage of people mostly boys however who having prepared a tolerable effigy of Dr. Knox ever since the discovery of the Westport murders

<sup>1</sup> Johnston Terrace.

<sup>2</sup> George IV Bridge.

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rather an obnoxious character proceeded to his house at Newington where in spite of the utmost endeavour of the Police they broke all his windows and did a good deal of other damage. The police were more successful indeed in protecting his Lecture & dissecting rooms in Surgeon's Square which the mob evidently had marked out for their vengeance. No personal injury of any great consequence was sustained however.

April 27. *Scottish Academy Exhibition*. The exhibition of the Academy this Season is generally allowed to be superior to the Royal Institution. Still the most remarkable pieces are exotics namely Judith & Holoferney by Etty<sup>1</sup> and the Deluge by Marten<sup>2</sup>—Judith is a grand picture on a large scale. The Deluge is really a terrific composition. There are some good portraits by the Watsons,<sup>3</sup> Syme<sup>4</sup> &c. In the Landscape department the most striking are some river and still water pieces, by Wilson Ewbank<sup>5</sup> & to afford still more attraction the Earl of Hopetoun has lent them the Adoration of the Shepherds by Rubens.

At a meeting of the Merchant Company on the 27 after some discussion a motion was carried to address the town Council to allow the Company to be regularly represented on their body in the same manner as the Trades are by Leeds. It is easy to foresee the Town Council will never allow of this innovation unless parliamentary interference be resorted to which is not at all likely.

May 7. The London Mail now arrives earlier namely at half past three in the afternoon. This improvement led two of our newspapers the Mercury & Courant to give notice that they intended to publish their papers in the Evening instead

<sup>1</sup> William Etty, R.A., 1787-1849.

<sup>2</sup> John Martin, 1789-1854.

<sup>3</sup> George Watson, P.S.A., 1767-1837; (Sir) John Watson Gordon, later P.R.S.A., 1788-1864; William Smellie Watson, R.S.A., 1796-1874.

<sup>4</sup> John Syme, R.S.A., 1795-1861.

<sup>5</sup> John Wilson Ewbank, S.A., 1799-1847.

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of the Morning, but this intention was retracted again upon pretext that the North mail was to set off sooner.

May 16. The old High School<sup>1</sup> has been sold to the Infirmary for £7,500 so as to be turned into a Surgical Hospital.

Besides the Old High School, Minto House, Argyle Square<sup>2</sup> has been fitted for a Surgical Hospital also but by private persons. From those who can afford it board is to be taken.

June 11. *Leith*. It seems the operations for extending the West pier are fairly commencing.

June 18. Two Collectors of Assessed taxes & a Surveyor named Major Horsburgh & Messrs. Ewart & Waugh have been obliged to elope being defaulters to a great amount, they had for some time concealed their embezzlements by the most barefaced false returns.

June 22. The New High School on the Calton Hill was occupied for the first time this day. On this occasion the procession of the boys from the Old to the New School accompanied by the Magistrates, professors & c[hildren] was more interesting than such spectacles are in general.

June 30. Instead of 232, the number of houses building about three years ago, at present we can count but 32.

As to the Improvements the West Line is more forward than the South, the East side of the arch of the West Bridge is built up as far as the Spring, but on the west Side, the foundation is only digging. The foundations of the New South Bridge are digging & the Stones hewing but no building is as yet commenced. A great part of the houses between Merchant Street and the head of Liberton's Wynd are clear'd away.

A New Riding School is building west from the Lothian road.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In High School Yards.

<sup>2</sup> See Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh* (1882), Vol. II, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> In St. Cuthbert's Lane, now covered by the Caledonian Hotel.

The alterations or rather the rebuilding of a great part of St. Giles Church are about to commence, the workmen's sheds being put up all round the old building.

Aug. 19. The execution of Stewart and his wife this morning excites more than usual interest, their crime being rather novel, poisoning a passenger on board of a steam boat by infusing laudanum in strong liquor for the purpose of robbery.

Sept. 29. This day the Magistrates laid the foundation of a new church in place of one of those attached to St. Giles. It is to be named after John Knox. The Situation is on the line of the new west approach and the spire is to [be] 250 feet high.

Oct. 6. At the public dinner given on occasion of the election of our Magistrates, the new provost Allan<sup>1</sup> seems disposed for conciliatory measures with the Leith people.

Oct. 22. *St. Giles Church*. The renovating of our Metropolitan church is going on briskly. Tho' there is not a great deal of the old structure taken down the new outer walls in the Northwest division are already some feet above the ground. But instead of the new north wall of the building dressing back to use a military phrase, nearly to the steeple, they are encroaching so much upon the High Street as to render that part far too narrow, and tho' it should be levelled in the best manner still the general appearance in aspect from the lower part of the Street looking upwards must be much injur'd.

The building of the Bridge over the Water of Leith at the Dean is fairly commenced.

Nov. 12. That part of the North Loch which lies to the East of the Mound is just now inclosed for the purpose of being planted with trees. Hitherto, we may say since the days of Noah probably it has been open ground & a public thoroughfare.

<sup>1</sup> William Allan of Glen, Lord Provost from 1829 to 1831.

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A long course of hostility between two of our Edinr. Newspapers the Caledonian Mercury & the Scotsman has terminated in a duel between the two editors Dr. Browne & Mr. MacLaren but the upshot was rather ridiculous. They fired once without effect and then retired, without a word of apology on either side.

Nov. 14. From the proceedings of an Edinr. County Meeting held just now it appears to be in serious contemplation to commence the building of a Jail for debtors on the Calton Hill next year. (This did not take place.)

Dec. 5. The success of the Locomotive Steam engines on the Liverpool & Manchester railways have led two different companies or sets of adventurers to advertise for subscribers to railways between Edinburgh & Glasgow.

Dec. 12. The New South Bridge extending from the Lawnmarket to Merchant Street is at present contracted for at the price of £17,000 to be finished in eighteen months.

1830 Jan. 23. This month owing to the continuance of adverse winds & stormy weather the Leith & London Smacks have been detain'd about a month on their passage & their character for expeditious sailing is suffering so much when compared with the steam vessels, that people are predicting that the latter in a year or two will engross all the carrying trade.

Feb. 3. *North Briton Newspaper*. The first number of an Edinr. Newspaper under this designation made its appearance today with some degree of eclat. Browne the Editor who for some time conducted the Caledonian Mercury is well known as a writer of considerable talent, but his manner often verges on the libellous and owing to this disposition he has of late more than once got himself into serious scrapes. (This paper went on for a year or two & then gave up.)

March 1. The excavating of earth from the South castle bank is going on briskly and a temporary wooden bridge being lately thrown over the stone abutments built last year for the West Bridge carts are continually employed conveying the earth by this means to the Westmost division next the Lothian road & Canal Basin, a great part of which is nearly brought to a level with the road to the east of this bridge.

On the 27th of Febr. the foundation was laid for a building for the Royal College of Surgeons on the site of the Old Riding school in Nicholson Street.

A plan which was first talked of some years ago of forming a race Course in the Meadows is again brought forward as recommended by the young Duke of Buccleuch & other people of influence.

March 27. About this time that part of the North Loch east from the Mound is begun to be planted with trees.

June 30. The building trade continues very dull in Edinburgh. The public work carrying on under the Improvement Act are however getting on briskly.

St. Giles Church is in fair way of being soon completely renovated, but it encroaches too much on the High Street.

Of the new South Bridge five or six massy pillars extending from Merchant Street to the middle of Liberton Wynd have nearly reached their height but none of the arches are yet commenced.

The arch of the West Bridge is expected to be completed in about three months and the approach in this direction has reached the back part of the Street of the Castle Hill.

The Dean Bridge too in our immediate neighbourhood<sup>1</sup> promises to have a fine appearance. The pillars are nearly at their height and the arches will soon commence.

July 14. This day the London Mail forwarded by a curricule from Morpeth taking the direct route of Coldstream

<sup>1</sup> Presumably this refers to his place of work, if, as was assumed in the introduction to Part I of the Journal, he lived on the South Side.

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instead of Berwick arrived at Edinburgh a quarter before two afternoon thus gaining two hours on the coach.

Hitherto Canal navigation has been reckond a slow mode of Conveyance for passengers, quick sailing being accounted hurtful to the banks. An experiment has been made lately which proved that the speed of vessels may be doubled without any injury being sustained. A vessel named the Swift made the passage from Glasgow to Edinburgh on the 7th & next day returned to Glasgow in the same time namely 7 hours and the route by the Great & Union Canals being 56 miles, the rate of sailing was 8 miles an hour. This vessel very long & narrow its dimensions being 60 feet long by 8 feet 6 inches in breadth, & carrying 33 passengers & their baggage was drawn by horses as usual who accomplished their tasks with ease, the vessel from its peculiar construction skimming along the surface without occasioning any agitation in the water.

Aug. 30. Our theatre<sup>1</sup> is undergoing a thorough repair & in its internal arrangement considerable alterations are expected to be made previous to the commencement of the new patent.

At the yearly general meeting of the London & Edinburgh Shipping Company held this day it seems clearly ascertain'd that Smacks tho' the best kind of sailing vessel can no longer compete with steam vessels. The latter began with taking the passengers but are now also preferred for light fine goods which are reckond the most profitable kind of freight. This Smack Company talk of entering into the Steam trade but tho the steam vessels have run away with the Smack profits, those steamers in the Leith & London trade, by reason of their expensive equipment & great tear & wear have as yet realised nothing to themselves.

<sup>1</sup> The Theatre Royal in Shakespeare Square, now the site of the General Post Office.

Sept. 23. They are now beginning to take down a number of Old houses on the South side of the Castle hill from the West Bow to Rockvilles Close so that it is likely the west approach will be soon clear all the way at least for foot passengers. The Key stone of the West Bridge is also struck.

Oct. 9. The extension of Leith pier from the Light House is finished to the amount of 1000 feet but an addition of 500 feet is in progress & it is expected will be completed in the ensuing Spring. In fine weather this additional space makes an agreeable promenade, the only disadvantage is the openings of the planks which is rather annoying to the feet.

Oct. 16. The success of the Liverpool & Manchester Railway with its locomotive engines has naturally brought forward a plan for a similar communication between Edinburgh & Glasgow. From the advertisement which appeared for the first time in our papers this day it is stated that £400,000 will be necessary to be raised by a Company for this purpose shares to be £100 each.

Oct. 20. On the 8th there was a very crowded public meeting here with the Lord provost in the Chair for the purpose of framing a petition of parliament for the speedy abolition of Negro Slavery in the West Indies. The Dean of Faculty Jeffrey took the lead in a very sensible speech concluding that it be recommended to enact that every child born after the 1st January next should be declared free. This reasonable & moderate view of the subject however did not please Dr. Andrew Thomson who insisted that they ought to insist upon immediate abolition whatever may be the consequences, bloodshed confusion, or loss of property to West India planters. The provost was so irritated at such outrageous expression that he quitted the chair & the meeting broke up in confusion. On this occasion the provost certainly behaved imprudently. Still Dr. Thomson's language was inexcusable. Even among the primitive Christians slavery was tolerated, and tho' its abolition is desirable yet the West

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India proprietors have a right to indemnity. Yesterday a meeting took place of the violent party, Dr. Thomson regaled them with a very long speech in his usual style & a petition got up to their hearts content. The moderate party have also circulated a petition inviting the signature of those who favour their views of the subject.

Our Theatre is undergoing a complete renovation both in the front and in the inside. The principal novelty is the doing away of the two-shilling gallery, its place being supplied by a tier of undress boxes, admission to which to be four shillings. The shilling gallery to be brought lower & considerably extended but no half price allowed to this part of the house. Whether or not the receipts of the house will be improved upon the whole by this plan, it is likely opening will be given to more than one class of theatre visitors.

Oct. 23. Three different parties are competing each for their own line of railway. One of these proposes the bed of the canal, alleging that such a plan has been successfully adopted in England, but the line of the Union Canal is certainly too winding for this purpose. A long letter published as an advertisement shews an anxiety to throw cold water on all these plans by pointing out the striking fallacy of estimates illustrated by the case of the Union Canal. The engineer Mr. Baird was a man of Knowledge and experience in his profession yet his anticipation both of the expense & income of this public work proved lamentably erroneous.

Oct. 25. The late proprietor of the Edinburgh Advertiser, Mr. James Donaldson died lately & has left above £200,000 to endow an Hospital for Orphan Children. Four writers to the Signet Messrs. I. Irving, A. Monypenny, Walter Cooke & James Hope, also Mr. Cadell of the Bank of Scotland are appointed Trustees for this purpose. (This Hospital was building in 1843.)

There has been a good deal of agitation lately among

some of our corporate bodies on the view of making the members of the College of Justice and the lawyers in general liable to pay their share of [local] taxes, particularly what is called annuity or Ministers Stipend and poors money.

Nov. 1. The foundation of a wall I suppose not very high but strong enough is digging on the South Side of the Castle Hill.

Already £30,000 has been spent upon the New South & West approaches and there is an alarm about the Commissioners applying to parliament to enable them to lay on an additional assessment for carrying thro all their different projects.

Nov. 3. That part of the parliament close on the South east side rebuilt since the great fire of 1824 is this day begun to be occupied by the Banking house of Sir Wm. Forbes & Co. moving from their old premises.

Nov. 9. The repairs and alterations on our theatre are now drawing to a conclusion. The Building may be rather said to be renovated than repaired. The front is altogether new. So is the fitting up in the inside and the arrangement of the seats is also totally different from the former state of things. The Side walls are almost all that remain of the old structure. Prices are at length formally announced and are more reasonable than was expected at one time. The Lower or Dress boxes to be 4/- the upper or undress 3/-. The pit & steps 2/6, & the gallery 1/-. Half price 2/6 2/- 1/6 & 6. Children below 12 half price.

Nov. 17. Our theatre was open last night, being the commencement of the new patent, with an overflowing audience every body being curious to see the total change which the interior of the house has undergone. A suitable poetical address probably the composition of the Manager was given with good effect by Miss Jarman and the Comedy of the Honeymoon & two able pieces were performed with applause. There are a number of new performers.

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Dec. 4. This week the keystone of the first arch of the New South Bridge was struck being the Southmost in Merchant Street. The two next arches are also considerably advanced.

Dec. 17. Our Improvement Commission it appears are miserable calculators as there is a deficiency of £40,000 to make up. The work will be all at a stand immediately if money is not advanced and that advance must be on the faith of a fresh act of parliament allowing an additional assessment. Such a useless waste of money for which we are doubly taxed, is really a most crying grievance. The Edinburgh Town Council cannot be blamed on this occasion the liberals in a great measure taking the lead in the business.

Dec. 28. The building of John Knox' Church is suspended in the mean time tho' the situation for it towards the head of the West Bow at the commencement of the West approach is nearly clear'd & ready for the building work beginning. It seems to be the fate of a great part of the public buildings & improvement to be enterd into without material consideration and then they have to remain for years in an unfinished state. The Register Office, College, and National Monument, &c. are or have been memorials of the thoughtless projects of the people of Edinburgh.

1831 Jan. 14. The workmen on the New South and West Bridge are like to be thrown out of employment for want of funds. In the mean time a subscription is set a going which is understood to be a Conditional Loan to be repaid when a new act of parliament is procur'd for an additional assessment. Tho' a considerable sum already appears on paper for this purpose, there are doubts, whether all that can be procur'd this way will effect the purpose intended.

April 16. *Dalkeith Railway.* This railway is now finished & is to be opened immediately.

There is a great deal of wrangling at present between the Commissioner of the Improvements and the leading people in the wards. The former are applying to parliament for an additional assessment to continue an indefinite time at least it is feared so, the latter are rather opposed to more outlay of money, still they are not acting with that united & determined spirit of hostility to the measure which might be expected.

April 18. *Leith Pier.* The East pier is now about completed, this evening I walked to the extremity. The west pier is proceeding briskly.

April 23. In rebuilding St. Giles Church the Mason work was completed this day, the bells being set a ringing on the occasion.

April 27. The talk is now that Dundas will have the ascendancy in the Town Council in preference to Jeffreys tho' the electors have made no public avowal of their sentiments. In the mean time the Merchant Company & thus [*sic*] lately constituted body the political unions have recommended Jeffrey to the Magistrates. A general meeting of the inhabitants is appointed to be held on the 30th for the same purpose. All this kind of proceeding looks very like intimidation particularly as it is also reported that many of the constables mean to lay down their batons if Jeffrey is not elected. Such conduct is giving up every thing to the mob. Nervous people begin to be frightened with these approaches to liberalism.

April 30. The four lofty arches of the Dean Bridge are now all keyed, and it is likely the roadway may be completed in the course of this season.

May 2. The greatest exertions are making this day in favour of the Lord Advocate as representative for the city. As many signatures as possible are procuring to a petition in his favour address'd to the Town Council and he himself having only arrived from England yesterday is busy this day canvassing & the rumour at present is that it will be a close

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run contest. The election is fixed for tomorrow and there is much alarm about disturbances taking place in case the popular candidate loses his election.

May 3. As had been anticipated the election of Mr. Dundas by a majority of 3 was productive of serious disturbance in different parts of the city. The election was not finished till 4 o'clock in the afternoon but from that time to midnight we were in continual alarm yet bad as things were it is well they were not worse. The provost was certainly much to blame in exposing himself on the street as a good deal of the worst part of the rioting might have been avoided if he had kept out of the way. In the different contests of the police & constables with the mob, sticks and stone were the only weapons employed and these tho' often hurtful enough are not so certainly destructive as swords & muskets. Both Dragoons and foot soldiers were called in but behaved with prudence and moderation. The Lord Advocate exerted himself to the utmost to get the mobs to disperse and caused different placards to be put up for this purpose. Mr. Gibson Craig and other leading men of the Whig party shewed the same spirit, sensible that these kind of proceedings must be hurtful to the cause of reform after a serious disturbance of many hours continuance tho' many have been hurt and some seriously it is not yet ascertained any lives have been lost, neither has there been any great destruction of property. But the danger is not over those inclined to rioting will eagerly avail themselves of the least occasion for a renewal of these disgraceful scenes, and if this state of things get progressively worse as alarmists are at present disposed to predict, many people will get weary of reform if this is to be the result. A little time will bring the measure to the test & till a certain period elapses it is presumptuous to speak decisively on the subject.

July 9. The trade of housebuilding has been very dull since 1825. At present there are but few private houses in

progress. Behind Maitland Street there are some building as the commencement of a new Street. On the Calton Hill both the Royal & Regent terrace are advancing as the former altogether the half of the stances are occupied but the latter is very nearly completed. In other quarter houses are going on here and there.

As to public building that for the College of Surgeons in Nicholson Street is nearly completed. The abbey garden<sup>1</sup> which has been long shamefully neglected is now extended to the south and inclosing with a fine wall & railing. Of the Dean bridge all the arches are formed but it will require sometime to complete the roadway.

The improvements properly so called were likely to be stopped lately altogether for want of money but are now going on. As it is likely notwithstanding, a good deal of opposition, a new act will be obtained for an additional assessment at least as much as will complete what has been begun.

All the arches of the new South Bridge are finished except the two most northerly but it is likely none of the houses either in the Lawnmarket or Brown Square will be taken down sooner than next year so as to open the thoroughfare completely from North to South. The West approach is really open but not quite formed for carriage at the east end.

Aug. 15. From an advertisement in our papers just now it appears that serious attempts are in making to form a proper harbour at Portobello tho' it is to be supposed not with the good will either of the Edin. or Leith dignitaries. (This came to nothing.)

Aug. 18. The Grounds behind Holyrood House are at present inclosing with a magnificent iron railing.

Preparations are commencing for erecting a monument to Burns on the east side of the Calton Hill & an equestrian statue to the late King George IVth in George Street.

<sup>1</sup> See entry of Aug. 18, 1831, below.

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Sept. 28. The old state of things is now restored at our Theatre. The two shilling Gallery which was taken away at the commencement of this patent about a year ago is now restored and prices of other parts of the house are the same as formerly except the boxes which are 4/- instead of 5/- the price before the new patent.

Sept. 29. A decision of the House of Lords just now has put a final stop to the smashing of Salisbury Craigs. The Earl of Haddington gained his plea before the Court of Session, but the Chancellor has found that his rights extend only to the surface and that as Ranger his business was to protect & not to destroy the property of the Crown.

1832 May 30. The eastern part of the North Loch has for some time been planted with trees along the sloping banks. It is now let to a nurseryman so as that the lower part may be converted into pleasure grounds & walks, the citizen to be subjected to a small yearly payment for the liberty of walking thro' it. This may do something to the embellishment of the City but there is an outcry against it as depriving the town-folks of a right they have of bleaching their clothes, when it was as formerly an open green.

June 4. *Dalkeith Railway*. A kind of stage coach is advertised to run on this railway passengers to pay Sixpence as fare.

A good deal of discussion has taken place as to what kind of rejoicings we are to have in this city to celebrate the success of Reform. A procession of the trades with banners & music is the only thing fixed upon. Illuminations which hitherto always formed the most splendid part of the public rejoicings is now spoke against by many of the influential part of the citizens, & a public dinner to the poor or something of that kind substituted in its place. On the other hand the brilliant lighting of the Streets would help to keep the populace in good humour, besides being elegant of itself.

Sept. 18. This morning the King<sup>1</sup> & other members of the ex royal family of France embarked at Newhaven for the Continent, as it seems to be their intention to settle at Gratz in the Austrian dominions. Different reasons are given for their removal from Britain but it must be undoubtedly a loss to our city where they expended a great deal of money.

1833 Jany. 19. By the death of the late professor Leslie, the Chair of the Natural Philosophy Class in our University requires to be filled up. It may easily be supposed that this would be in no want of Candidates. In consequence of Herschel declining this honour it was thought that Sir David Brewster stood next in reputation as a philosopher. The chief objection to him was that he was deficient on the talents of a lecturer or public speaker this however was not properly subjected to proof and before his pretensions could be discussed, it was announced that a majority of our town Council had pledged themselves to Mr. James Forbes a brother of Sir John Forbes, a young man of unquestionable talents but from his age & inexperience hardly known to the great circle of Science. It is alleged that the reputation of our University having spread throughout the world, not only real talents were requisite for the successor of Robison Playfair & Leslie, but an extensive celebrity is indispensable. On this occasion the provost is in the Minority of the Council, there are also petitions & remonstrances from public bodies, urging the necessity of delay so as to bring more Candidates into the field. All their efforts are likely to be fruitless as this matter has virtually come to a decision.

April 15. Our city finances of late having got gradually more embarrassed, it is proposed to appoint a parliamentary commission to take charge of their money matters, & our provost is setting out for London for the purpose of expediting this business.

<sup>1</sup> Charles X.

1833

June 11. The late embarrassments of our City finances have led to something like a renewal of hostilities between Edinburgh & Leith. The Leith folks have taken offence both at the rumours of the Docks being likely to be disposed as part of the City property and also at statements made by the provost as to the great expense incurred by the Dock Commission amounting to extravagance. At a meeting of the Dock Comn. yesterday, this business led to a violent altercation between Crichton the Leith demagogue & our provost. The former certainly used the most ungentlemanly language but as he is backed by the rest of the good folks of Leith we may suppose the old hostile spirit on that question is kindling up again with fresh activity.

June 21. The idea of the control of the whole of our city's revenue devolving upon five or six commissioners, is meeting with decided opposition both from the Merchant Company & our popular leaders in general on the ground that it will leave so little power or influence with our reformed Magistracy.

June 29. There is a talk of endeavouring to get the National Monument forward partly by a donation from Government & partly by money borrowing on the security of letting the seats when converted into a church.

Oct. 3. The removing of the County building at the head of Liberton Wynd & rebuilding them somewhere else for some time talked of is now likely to be carried into effect. The cost £8,000 to be divided between the County gentlemen & Improvement Commiss—This really appears to be a foolish & useless piece of expense. It is also given out that both the South and West approaches are to be opened soon. The material of old houses in the Candlemaker, West Bow & West Port being advertised for sale.

Oct. 31. Among the places created Burghs by the Burgh Reform Act, Portobello was to have a provost magistrates & council. At a meeting of the inhabitants this week however,

all this kind of civic government is renounced by them, ostensibly as incurring a needless expense it is to be supposed also that they think they have prospered as a village & do not wish to exchange that designation for that of a burgh or town. It appears however that not long after this they were in some measure obliged to choose Counsellors & Magistrates like other burghs, new & old.

Novr. 5 & 14. The first election of our New Council & Magistrates has taken place. The outcry against the Annuity tax has brought forward more radicals or ultra-liberals than was at one time expected particularly in the old town still they form the decided minority. The first division of any consequence was on the provost's salary. The majority proposed £500 the half of the former allowance—eight of a minority however even for no salary at all.

Nov. 22. At this time usually supposed to be the commencement of the gay & bustling season, the manager of our theatre is pleading poverty, acknowledging that with all his efforts the concern will not pay & it seems likely if the public do not turn over a new leaf he must by & by shut shop. In the meantime he is trying the experiment of lowering the pit & box prices. The pit is to be 2/6 & 1/6 cheaper than ever it was in my remembrance.

D. G. MOIR.

EDINBURGH MANUSCRIPTS IN POSSESSION OF  
EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARIES

EDITORS' NOTE

By kind permission of the Librarian and Edinburgh Public Libraries Committee, and with the co-operation of Miss Balfour of the Edinburgh Room, there follows a list of manuscript material relating to the history of Edinburgh in possession of Edinburgh Public Libraries.

The manuscripts have been listed under the titles they bear in the Edinburgh Room, where, with one exception which is noted, they may be consulted. Because the list is relatively short, items have not been entered under different headings.

This is not a comprehensive list, but a selection, which the Editors think relevant, from the Edinburgh Room catalogue. No attempt was made to include what might be described as 'secondary material in manuscript,' e.g. the valuable collection of Boog Watson notes and transcripts from various sources. Transcriptions of monumental inscriptions have been treated as original manuscripts. Shelf marks are given in each case.

- Account** of the fire near the Cross, 1700. [A MS. letter from A. V. to M.W.] qYTH 9448.700.
- Adair, John.** Contract between John Adair, late of Grenada, and Samuel Brown, negro, binding Brown as servant to John Adair and his heirs. 1782. qYDA 1820 A19.
- Air Raid Precautions.** Log book of C. B. Boog Watson, 16 October 1939-31 March 1944. YDA 1864.939.
- Armstrong, Andrew.** Journal, 1 April 1789-27 October 1793. YDA 1861.789.
- Associated Sons of St. Andrew.** Regulations and accounts, 1807-11. YAS 122 A84.
- Ballantine and Allan,** painters and glaziers, 63 North Bridge. Ledger for 1828-30. qYTT 320.
- Bell and Bradfute,** booksellers. Day book, no. 5, 1794. qYZ 325 B43.
- Boswall, J. D., of Wardie.** Memoranda on the harbour of Leith, 1831-45. qYHE 558 L.
- Buccleuch Parish Churchyard.** Epitaphs and monumental inscriptions. By John Smith, 1908. qYCS 436 B91.

- Burns' Monument.** Visitors' book, 1865-6. qYDA 2324 B96.
- Calton Burying-Grounds.** Records of receipts for burials, 1890-94, 1915-19. YRA 630.
- Chambers, Robert.** Collection of autograph letters to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, 1824-5. YDA 1829 C44.
- Cockburn Association.** Letter books, 2 July 1912-12 January 1923. 2v. qYCC 135.
- Colinton School Board.** Letter books. Nos. 1-7, 31 November 1873-26 September 1919. qYL 353 C69.
- Congregational Union of Scotland Theological Society.** Minute book, 1908-12. YBR 4681.
- Congress Hall Social Club.** Minute books, 1785-1801. 5v. YHS 2865 C74.
- Corstorphine Parish.** MS. draft for a history of the parish, by John Philp Wood, circa 1792. YDA 2531.
- Cowan, Charles.** Diary, January 1842-December 1846. YDA 1820 C87.
- Cramond School Board.** Letter books, 24 January 1878-29 April 1919. 10v. qYL 353 C88.
- Crech, William.** View of affairs, 1799-1814; letter books; inventory of stock; and other manuscript papers. qYZ 325 C91.
- Dickson, David.** Record of deaths of friends and acquaintances, 1834-73. YDA 1820 D55.
- and **Dickson, William.** Journal, 1837, 1839-46, 1865-1884. 26v. YDA 1820 D55.
- **Mrs. James.** Household account book, 1821-29. qYDA 1820 D55.
- Edinburgh Bowling Club.** Minute books, 1848-1947. 5v. YGV 901 E23.
- Share certificate books, 1875-1907. 2v. YGV 901 E23.
- **Circus.** Deeds, letters, receipts, etc., relative to the Edinburgh Circus [or Amphitheatre]. 1790. qYPN 2605 A3.
- **Compositors' Society.** Minutes, June 1824-December 1942. 3v. qYZ 253.
- **Corporation.** Collection of manuscripts and other material on the precedence of Edinburgh and Dublin, 1863-4. qYCR 3908.
- **v. Professors of Edinburgh University.** Claims of the professors against the Trust Estate of the City of Edinburgh. 1836. qYLF 1032.
- **Friendly Speculative Society,** see Edinburgh Literary Society.
- **Literary Society.** Minute book, 5 January 1816-8 February 1821. YAS 122 E23 L.
- **Lying-in Institution.** Case book, 1825-1931. qYRG 16 E23.
- **Magdalene Asylum.** Committee minute book, October 1812-April 1834. 2v. qYHQ 358 M18.
- **Ladies' Committee** minute book, March 1834-January 1938. 2v. qYHQ 358 M18.
- **Memorandum book,** November 1841-July 1855. qYHQ 358 M18.
- **Monthly report on women's conduct,** January 1800-March 1807. qYHQ 358 M18.
- **Sub-committee** minute book, 1798-1934. 11v. qYHQ 358 M18.
- **Musical Association.** Minute book, 1844-7, and lists of members, 1844-52. YML 28 MA.
- **Photographic Society.** Collection of MS. letters and bills relating to the Society. YTR 1.
- **Portable Gas Company.** Minute book of the trustees, 28 September-1827-16 June 1831. qYTP 733 P.
- **Public Libraries.** Clerk of Works note books, Nos. 1 and 2. 2v. 1887-89. qYZ 792 E23 P.
- **Report book,** No. 1. 1887-9. qYZ 792 E23 P.
- **Specification and measurement of excavator, mason, and brick works to be executed in erecting proposed buildings at George IV Bridge and Cowgate, etc. 1887. qYZ 792 E23 P.**
- **Subscription Library.** Catalogue of books recommended for purchase. qYZ 921 E23 SU.

**Edinburgh Subscription Library.** Letter books, 1807-54, 1892-1900.

qYZ 792 E23 SU.  
Minutes of the committee, 1794-1901. 8v.

qYZ 792 E23 SU.  
Minutes of the transactions of the general meetings, 1794-1901. 3v.

Miscellaneous papers, 1808-1901. 2v. YZ 792 E23 SU.  
Share register.

qYZ 792 E23 SU.  
Treasurer's book, 1810-1900. 4v. qYZ 792 E23 SU.

**Sugar House Company.** Account book, 18 February 1758-22 November 1759.

qYHD 9111.8.  
Minute book, 27 April 1752-26 March 1763.

qYHD 9111.8.

**Farington, Joseph.** Tour in Scotland in 1788.

qYDA 1861.788.  
Collection of pencil drawings, and three manuscript notebooks, descriptive of his Scottish tours in 1788 and 1792. qYDA 1861.788.

**Forrester Family of Corstorphine.** Charter by William More of Ayr-corn granting to Adam Forster his dominical lands of Corstorfyn, 13 August 1376.

qYDA 2531.  
Charter under the great seal of Robert II, confirming the charter by William More, 11 December 1376.

qYDA 2531.  
Charter under the great seal of Robert III, confirming a charter (dated at Irwyne, 10 November 1391) by Robert de Danyelstoun of Finlathoun, granting to Adam Forster of Nethirlibertoun £10 sterling of annual rent from the lands of Corstorfyne, 31 January 1391-2.

qYDA 2531.  
Charter of sale by John de Hawden of that ilk, granting to Sir John Forester the lands of Medoufeld, 30 August 1423.

qYDA 2531.  
Charter under the great seal of James I, granting to John

Forstare, Master of his Household, the lands of Corstorfine, and others, 10 July 1424. qYDA 2531.

Charter under the great seal of James I, granting to John Forstare, Chamberlain of Scotland, the dominical lands of Corstorfine, and others, 4 February 1424-5.

qYDA 2531.  
Instrument of sasine following the above charter, 15 February 1424-5. qYDA 2531.

Instrument of sasine in favour of Archibald Forstar, son and heir of the late Alexander Forstar, 20 February 1467-8. qYDA 2531.

**Free New North Territorial Mission.** Minute book, 1858-9.

YBV 1090 N55.

**Gilmerton Junior Friendly Society.** Articles and account books, 1799-1902. qYHS 1508 G4.

**Greyfriars Burying Ground.** Records of receipts for burials, 1873-86.

YRA 630

**Churchyard.** Heraldic monuments; illustrated, with notes, by John Smith, 1914. qYCS 436 G84.

**Hart, Andro, printer.** Collection of manuscript documents including the contract for introducing Flemish artisans into Edinburgh, 1601, containing the signatures of A. H. and George Heriot. qYDA 1816.

**Hume, Dr. Francis.** Clinical cases from the Royal Infirmary, 1783-91.

YRC 66 H.

**Incorporated Trades of Calton.** Receipt for a tomb in Calton Burying Ground, 1833. qYHD 6462.

**Incorporation of Coopers of Leith.** Burgh Commission, examinations at Leith, 31 March 1834.

qYHD 6462 C77.  
Committee sederunt book, 27 August 1817-26 January 1819. qYHD 6462 C77.

Letter book, 10 October 1817-10 April 1851. qYHD 6462 C77.

**Incorporation of Coopers of Leith.** Quarter accounts, 18 January 1815-6 April 1838.

qYHD 6462 C77.

Scroll sederunt books, 2 July 1812-13 October 1820; 8 January 1830-12 January 1838; 6 April 1838-10 April 1863.

qYHD 6462 C77.  
Sederunt books, 15 May 1721-4 August 1803; 20 April 1814-14 April 1826; 5 May 1826-1 April 1842. qYHD 6462 C77.

**of Hammermen of Edinburgh.** Records and accounts, 1494-1826. 13v. fYHD 6462 H22.

**of Skinners of Edinburgh.** Miscellaneous collection of papers, 1680-1716. YHD 6462 S.

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**Millers of Craigentenny.** Miscellaneous collection of letters and notes relating to genealogy. YDA 1818 M64.

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- Old Calton Burying Ground.** Epitaphs and monumental inscriptions. By John Smith, illustrated by T. H. Walker, 1907. qYCS 436 C16 O.
- Philosophical Institution.** Minute books, 1852-1916, 1916-38. 6v. qYAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Directors' minute book, 1836-51. YAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Directors' scroll minute book, 1885-1901. 2v. qYAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Minutes of the Board of Management, 1847-1950. 7v. YAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Lecture committee minutes, 1856-1939. 2v. qYAS 122 P56.  
 ——— List of annual members, 1889-1950. 32v. qYAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Life members roll, 1889. qYAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Ledger no. 4. 1893-1900. qYAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Register of debentures, 1890-1907. qYAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Correspondence. 6v. YAS 122 P56.  
 ——— Collection of autographs and holograph letters to Secretary from eminent persons invited to address the Association; including Barrie, Buchan, Carlyle, Swinburne and Shaw. qYAS 122 P56.
- Rochead, James, of Inverleith.** Decree anent improvements on Inverleith. August 1778. qYDA 2340.
- Rollo, John Rollo, 6th baron.** Ledger of John Rollo, goldsmith in Edinburgh, 1731-7. qYHD 6462 G62 R.
- Royal Edinburgh Volunteers.** Orderly book, 1808-22. YUA 664.
- St. Cuthbert's and Dean School Board.** Letter book. 3v. 23 August 1889-19 May 1890. qYL 353 C98.
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 [In Huntly House Museum.]
- Sharpe, Charles Kirkpatrick.** Collection of MS. and other material dealing with the Burke and Hare case, 1829. YRA 641.
- Skene, James.** Reekiana [notes on his series of water colour drawings with autobiographical introduction]. 1836. YDA 1829.9 (823).  
 ——— Letter to Sir Walter Scott, dated Edinburgh, 28 March 1823, on illustrations for Chambers's Reekiana, enclosing three specimen plates. qYDA 1829.9 (823).
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- Smith, Colonel.** Memorandum of a journey to Edinburgh, from 2-24 July 1817. YDA 1862.817.
- Society of Friends Burial Place, the Pleasance.** Inscriptions on tombstones. By E. M. Mein. YCS 436 F91.
- Somerville, Jane.** Jane Somerville's house accounts, 1863-6. [Servant's accounts in the house of David Dickson.] YDA 1820 D55.
- South Leith Church of Scotland.** Extracts from the minute books of the Kirk Session of South Leith Parish, 29 May 1597-30 September 1836. qYDA 2410.
- Stockbridge Golf Club.** Minute book, 1893-1903. Constitution, 1937. Fixture card, 1914. YGV 963 S86.
- Trifontial Scientific Society.** Transactions, 1821-6. 3v. YQ 41 T.
- Victoria, Queen.** Statue of the Queen at Holyrood: minute book, 1850-1. qYDA 2168.
- Wellington Monument.** Wellington testimonial; letters and pamphlets, 1839-40. YDA 1968 W45.

## MISCELLANY

## 27. AN INVENTORY OF 1709.

The following is taken from the inventory of the means and estate of John Borthwick, son and heir of the late Mr. John Borthwick, Assay Master to His Majesty's Mint . . . dated 26th July and 15th August 1709.<sup>1</sup>

Moveable airship goods and gear.

<i>Imprimis</i> Ane fyne pendlem knock with a caise estimate to	£120 Scotcs
Item ane dozen of black kain chaires	£40
ane bleu stamped drogget bed trimmed with limmon crape	£48
ane feather bed bolster and two cods	£24
two pair of fine blankets	£20
ane thick single blanket	£3
Ane sute of nou stamped drogged hangings	£10
thrie fyne large pictores with gilded frames, £49 per peice	£127
a glass a table and stands	£36
a chimney shovell and tongs and poker with brass knoupes	£9
ane dozen of fine dornick napery with a tablecloth	£24
and pair of scotes holland sheits	£12
ane pair of brass candlesticks	£3.18.0
ane pair of snuffers and muff dish	£1.16.0
ane dozen of hard metalled pouthier trenchers	£10.16.0
ane peuther bassone	£1.16.0
a large peuther plate or charger	£3.16.0
a large kitching chimney with ane big spit and brass choffer	£6
ane whyte iron drainer and two smoothing irons	—
ane silver server weighting 17 unces at £3.4.0 per unce	£54.8.0

<sup>1</sup> City Archives, Moses Bundle 139-5467.

two silver jugs weighting 12 unces 12 drops at £3.4.0 per unce	£38.8.0
ane dozen of silver spoons weighting 25 unces 14 drop at £3.4.0 per unce	£77.16.0
a fine pendlem watch with a double silver case	£120

HELEN ARMET.

## 28. THE ORIGINS OF THE DEAN BRIDGE PROJECT

The circumstances under which Thomas Telford came to be associated with the Dean Bridge project have never been properly explained. In the library of the Institute of Civil Engineers<sup>1</sup> in London, however, there are two volumes of manuscript correspondence relating to the construction of the bridge, that go a long way towards correcting the misunderstandings that recently appeared in the press on the occasion of the Telford bicentenary celebrations. They show, among other things, exactly how it was that Telford entered into the affair, and how his association with the project came almost as an afterthought.

The Dean Bridge project may be said to have had its origin in 1825. In that year the Road Trustees of Cramond District employed James Jardine, Civil Engineer,<sup>2</sup> to make surveys and designs for a bridge 'at Drumsheugh Toll and above Bell's Mills.' In the autumn of that year John Learmonth feued 133 acres of the Dean Estate, and he too approached Jardine for designs for a bridge to connect these lands with the New Town. The resulting designs were approved by the Road Trustees, who promised money advances in exchange for full public rights for the bridge. In March 1826, arrangements were made to go ahead with the scheme.

In the following year, however, John Learmonth began to have some doubts about the scope of his undertaking, and arranged that Sir John Nisbet should take back 55 acres of the feued lands; about the same period John Paton, a builder, associated himself with the Learmonth speculation.

In February 1828, Learmonth and Paton asked Jardine to advertise for contractors according to his designs, and advertisements appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. Only then, apparently, was

attention drawn to one of the provisions of the original agreement between Learmonth and Sir John Nisbet of Dean. By this Learmonth had bound himself to erect 'a handsome and sufficient bridge over the Water of Leith,' which was to be 'designed executed and completely finished to the satisfaction of Mr. Gillespie Graham, Architect.'<sup>3</sup>

Jardine's designs were therefore submitted to Gillespie Graham, who rejected them out of hand, and in fact submitted counter-proposals of his own. Jardine, in a long letter to Telford on this aspect of the affair, points out that Graham had not much experience as an engineer, having been 'bred a wright,' as he puts it. And there is some suspicion that a Mr. James Haldane<sup>4</sup> had more than a little to do with the altered plans. It is worth mentioning too that Gillespie Graham was not the only architect who examined Jardine's proposals for the bridge. Both Playfair and Burn saw them and approved.

At this point—April 1828—Telford was brought in as referee, on account of a decision of the Road Trustees that they would countenance no scheme unless it was vetted and passed by Thomas Telford. Jardine's designs were sent to London, and in November, Messrs. Scott, Findlay and Balderston, W.S., representing the trustees of Sir John Nisbet, sent down Gillespie Graham's plans, with a covering note requesting Telford's opinion.

Ten days after the lawyers' letter, Learmonth wrote to Telford saying that he had had a sight of the correspondence and had been surprised to see that the full facts of the remit were not stated in the letter, and that one important clause was not mentioned. This was that if Telford was not satisfied with the design of Gillespie Graham, 'he may then be requested to make one out of his own.' On receiving Learmonth's letter, Telford very properly sent all the papers and documents back to Edinburgh and, in view of the discrepancy between the lawyers' and Learmonth's statements of the facts, refused to have anything more to do with the business. It was only after the entreaties of all the parties concerned, and after the entire text of the 'Registered Submission' had been sent to him, that he undertook to consider Graham's plans at all.

Telford accepted the remit in April 1829, and on 8th May of that year sent to the Cramond Road Trustees his own 'Specification for the Dean Bridge.' At a meeting on the 18th of May, Telford's plans were considered and accepted, and all the parties concerned put their signatures to the agreement. John Learmonth and John Paton signed

in their own right; John Rutherford of Edgerston and Alexander Pringle of Whitebank represented the trustees of Sir John Nisbet of Dean; and Sir Henry Jardine and James Clerk Rattray signed for the Road Trustees of Cramond District.

In this way, four years after the inception of the idea, Telford was appointed designer for the proposed Dean Bridge. The estimates of John Gibb and Son of Aberdeen, contractors, were accepted in July 1829, and Charles Atherton was appointed Inspector of Works. James Jardine remained as associate engineer and on 21st August laid off the site for the new bridge. The remainder of the story is too well known to be repeated here.

BASIL C. SKINNER.

#### NOTES

1. My thanks are due to the Secretary and Council of the Institute for permission to examine and make use of this material.
2. James Jardine, C.E. (1776-1858) had been responsible for the construction of the Union Canal and the Dalkeith Railway (1825).
3. James Gillespie (1777-1855), who assumed the additional surname Graham, was responsible for the layout of buildings on the adjoining Moray Estate in 1822.
4. James Haldane, architect, was a teacher of architectural drawing in Edinburgh and included Robert Stevenson, C.E., among his pupils.

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APPENDIX

JUBILEE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
HENRY M. PATON, M.A.—AN APPRECIATION  
ANNUAL REPORTS FOR THE YEARS  
1955-56, 1956-57 AND 1957-58, ETC.

ADDRESS TO THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB ON THE  
OCCASION OF ITS JUBILEE

By the President, Dr. J. S. RICHARDSON.

Our thanks are due to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and to the National Museum for the privilege of holding the first part of this meeting in their Library.

The Old Edinburgh Club having now entered into the fifty-first year of its existence it is with singular pride that we gather in this gallery, where looking down on the quick we find an appropriate assembly of distinguished men and women set in their frames who in their day and time have added lustre and enhanced the social life and history of our country. For this special treat we are indebted to the Board of Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland and we render our thanks for this privilege. Our appreciation and thanks we also offer to the Keeper of this Gallery and his assistants for having arranged for our special edification and interest a selection of the drawings of Old Edinburgh all of which are the meritorious work of that one time delineator and antiquary James Drummond, R.S.A. to whom we shall later pay due tribute.

The Board of Trustees has in its wisdom and in collaboration with the University of Edinburgh placed on exhibition the University's collection of portraits from the brush of that master of Scottish portraiture Sir Henry Raeburn. There are other portraits by this same artist to claim our attention this evening along with those by Runciman, Skirving, Sir John Watson Gordon and others who on canvas have produced representations of other distinguished individuals.

It is appropriate that we should adjust our minds in retrospect to what the Club has accomplished, for indeed it has enriched the archives of this ancient and Royal town with a wealth of historic information, diligently gleaned first-hand from all the sources available, and in this fresh ground has been broken. Truly this voluntary offering, particular to the Club's interest, is undeniably a public service of great achievement, one worthy of the best tradition of the capital of Scotland.

The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club is privileged to bear, on its outer cover, the coat of arms of this City and the motto 'NISI DOMINUS



Photo by Paul Shillaber

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

FRUSTRA,' a privilege accorded by our Ordinary Patrons, the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh. The psalmist sang 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.' This motto adopted in bygone times by the Town Council, and one often recorded on the door lintels of the dwellings of one time Burgesses, is by coincidence directly connected with the first contribution, recorded in the first volume of the Book, issued to members in March 1909.

I refer to the provisional list of old houses remaining in the High Street and Canongate of Edinburgh by the late Mr. Bruce Home and his excellent accompanying map, the first illustration published by the Club.

In this first volume you will find the appreciative remarks and enlightened advice offered by the late Lord Rosebery, that distinguished Statesman, historian and erudite man of letters. On that commemorative occasion the Honorary Burgess of the City paid tribute to our Ordinary Patrons; I shall quote his words concerning that august body 'I think that it is not merely an important countenance for the Club to receive but it also indicates something of the nature of a pledge, which in view of the past is not wholly unnecessary that the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh, will so far as it lies in their power always respect the ancient monuments of this City.' Lord Rosebery commented on the disturbing fact that since 1860 two-thirds of the monuments in Edinburgh, crumbling old houses which formed so distinguished and historical a feature, had been swept away. This lover of antiquity then asks 'Was that necessary'. He goes on to say, I quote his words, 'That so far as this Club can be efficacious and so far as our Honorary Patrons can use their best endeavours the remaining one-third of the ancient buildings of Edinburgh will receive all the respect that is possible.'

If Lord Rosebery, who by his timely advice saved the Castle of Edinburgh from what he termed 'the jelly mould', had lived to champion the cause of the remaining old houses, that recording map in our first volume would, I venture to think, have still registered the one-third which was in existence in 1907. Since then, in spite of the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendments Act, the Tailor's Hall Buildings that graced the Cowgate were swept away, and in these recent years Nisbet of Dirleton's House, in a rebuilding, was shorn of its original façade, which from my intimate knowledge of the building could have been retained. If a painting, such as an old

master, needed repair would it be scraped off the canvas and substituted by one copied from a painted photograph? If so, what would the public say? To add to a palpable deception, in this rebuilding older inscribed lintels from Warriston's Close have been inserted over the entrance doorway. If the authorities of the National Library of Scotland grangerized an illumination from a fourteenth-century manuscript on to one of later date, again I ask you, what would the public think? What would Lord Rosebery's feeling be to-day if he saw that interesting collection of mural monuments in Greyfriars Kirkyard, so worthy of protection, allowed to crumble and decay as the years pass on? Above all what would Lord Rosebery have thought if he realized that Merchiston Castle, the home of the renowned Napier, had been proclaimed subject to demolition and only later reprieved? In this connection, however, it is very gratifying to realise that the Cockburn Association, having regained its earlier strength and its watchful eye, sent a letter to the Editor of *The Scotsman* which appeared in the issue of 24th February of this year, setting out for public knowledge what that Association, with the assistance of the Old Edinburgh Club and ten other learned Societies of Edinburgh, had done in approaching the Town Council concerning the preservation of Merchiston Castle. This letter was, indeed, a timely reminder to those in authority. If Lord Rosebery's indication of a pledge had been set out in print, framed and hung up in an appropriate place in the City Chambers and accompanied by Mr. Bruce Home's map, so that each successive City architect should read, mark and learn, I venture to think that to-day the Royal Mile would have upheld its true tradition and not have been developed into a plausible make-believe.

With some feeling of satisfaction we can turn to two ventures established by a particular generation of our Ordinary Patrons, both of which I may say were engendered by the Old Edinburgh Club. I refer to the City Archivist's Department, so admirably developed and sustained by the late Dr. Marguerite Wood, who was supported by the late Mr. Boog Watson and encouraged by the then Deputy Town Clerk Mr. D. Robertson, and the Edinburgh Room in the City Library, where Miss Balfour has by her personal influence established a mecca worthy of pilgrimage for all those intrigued by the adventure of research.

At the present moment there is a delightful display of drawings, water colours and coloured prints and lithographs portraying the features of the City in that Library. This exhibition has been arranged

through the initiative of Mr. Minto, the City Librarian, and I recommend you to see this enterprise.

Let us now reflect on those men who were the founders of the Old Edinburgh Club, who in their enthusiasm tried to stem the stream of disinterest and lamentable destruction and turn the minds of men towards those interests that tend to enhance that love and understanding for the good things of the past; men who fill the niches in the façade of that metaphorical monument of which they set the foundation. First of all is the name of William Hay, the enthusiastic and unassuming one time occupant of John Knox's house, he it was who first promoted the idea of forming the Old Edinburgh Club.

Then follow those prolific recorders of the city's history and events of past ages, John Geddie, William Moir Bryce, W. T. Oldrieve, William Cowan, Charles Boog Watson, Sir Francis Grant, Dr. Thomas Ross, Sir Frank C. Mears, John Russell, James H. Jamieson, William Forbes Gray, and Harry A. Cockburn and now sad to relate our recently departed friends Dr. Harry Meikle, a man of generous knowledge, and Mr. Henry Paton, who with unassuming dignity devoted so much of his knowledge and time to this Club.

The memory of all these good men and true still holds place in the minds of those of us who were privileged to know them, yes, so far as we are concerned their memorials rest in the safe keeping of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Their example of production and the standard of their work has been well maintained by a number of contributors who are still with us. Such guides past and present point a way to those that join the future ranks; their combined merits can be sung on that day when by the grace of fortune the Old Edinburgh Club completes its centenary and when no doubt this address will be scrutinized for guidance by the president of that time.

As we enter into the second half century the Club demands new and keen recruits who will keep our flag flying with purposeful pride, for there must always be those that are drawn by natural instinct to the aims and functions of the Old Edinburgh Club. There are many young men and women who annually apply themselves to the study of Scottish history at the University of Edinburgh, should we not look in their direction for the young trees most likely to take the place of those that have been levelled low by the rude march of time?

Two world wars have taken their toll for we can recall many who had they not been sacrificed would have entered into the service of

this Club. It is all the more reason, therefore, for every endeavour to be made on our part to introduce young and fresh blood into our ranks.

In past centuries there were those who helped us to prepare the way for the Old Edinburgh Club. In the realm of portraiture Alan Ramsay and Sir Henry Raeburn have left their masterly records which can be seen and studied in the National Galleries of this city, where also can be viewed Tassie's portrait medallions, and of the later period there is a delightful fascination in the study of the photographs by D. O. Hill. Do we not often wish that a second Kay, a second Crombie and a second Geikie could appear, if only to record in their respective and inimitable renderings the one time and present members of our club?

There are those of earlier time who have applied their art in recording the old town. The first of these were the nameless English draughtsmen who produced the view of Edinburgh in 1544 and the siege of the Castle in 1574. Then follow those more accurate representations of that backbone of kirks and houses stretching down from the Castle to Holyrood House, showing the streets, wynds and closes, I refer to the works of those seventeenth-century recorders Gordon of Rothiemay, Hollar and Captain John Slezer, all reliable and observant draughtsmen. Then there is the map or plan of Edinburgh by Edgar which shows the arrangement and distribution of the wynds and closes.

It was, however, the appreciative eye of the nineteenth-century artist that has established so vividly a picture of what individual houses and groups of such dwellings appeared like in their day. David Roberts, born in Stockbridge, that eminent painter of architectural subjects, paid tribute to the city in this way. Henry Aston Baker, the producer of panoramic paintings, was another of that artistic generation, but perhaps the foremost of the recorders was James Drummond who followed the example of Paterson, an etcher of some merit.

Drummond, born in 1816 in John Knox's house, seems to have absorbed at his birth inspiration from that quaint building as from early childhood he was an enthusiastic student of Scottish history, archaeology and architecture. An artist of skill and power of descriptive detail he embellished his communications to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland with beautiful drawings. Above all he claims our attention from his recording in a large number of accurate and artistic water colour and pencil drawings of features of

Old Edinburgh, which is perhaps the greatest contribution any artist has ever made to the city of his birth. These drawings he left to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and they are now in the safe keeping of our National Gallery; their book-form representation in chromolithography presents a wonderland of Old Edinburgh and we have the pleasure of seeing a selection this evening of these works of art.

The Edinburgh Room has an important collection of water colour drawings of the high lands and closes produced by Skene, an observant student of bygone architecture, and also some pleasing water colour records by le Comte. There is also in this room a unique collection of some of the original pencil drawings of Edinburgh views by Captain John Slezer. As these late seventeenth-century records have never been engraved they are not so well known as the engravings of his works.

Others of bygone times Arnott, Maitland, Pennant, Grose, Scott, Chambers, Wilson and Stevenson, have by their descriptive writings enhanced our knowledge. When we come to our own time however, over and above those who have contributed to the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club there are books each of which pays compliment to the city and is well worthy of study. One of these, entitled *Edinburgh 1329-1929*, was published by our Ordinary Patrons when they commemorated the sixth hundredth anniversary of the granting of the Charter to the Burgh by King Robert The Bruce. This, a volume of high quality, contained contributions from one time members of this club, Mr. D. Robertson, Dr. Marguerite Wood, Sir F. C. Mears and Professor Robert Keir Hannay.

On that occasion the Marquis of Linlithgow, proposing the toast of the City of Edinburgh, made appropriate reference to Lord Rosebery who had died a short time before this commemoration. Lord Rosebery was, he said, a great lover and champion of the City and for him Edinburgh stood as the very heart of Scotland. Little wonder then that our first Honorary President encouraged what he termed attractive walks, and during these past fifty years we have promoted many under the auspices of our association over the ancient parts of Edinburgh. We have, in recent years, gone further afield, making pilgrimages to places claiming a close historical association with this city.

This unique Club was instituted on the 29th January 1908. No other city can claim such a commendable institution for the building up of its past traditions. It should be noted, however, that on the 7th February of that same year the Royal Commission on Ancient and

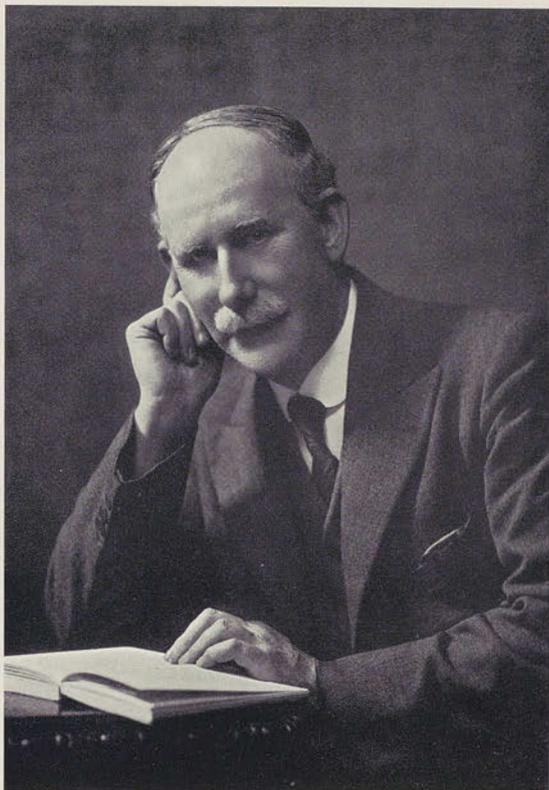
Historic Monuments and Constructions of Scotland received the Royal Warrant. In recent years this authoritative body published its comprehensive Inventory of the Historic Monuments in the City of Edinburgh. Attached to this is the Commission's recommendation concerning the special monuments that it considers to be the most worthy of preservation.

It was not until 1913 that under the Ancient Monument's Act the Ancient Monuments Advisory Board for Scotland came into being. One must always remember that in the early days of the Club's history there was no Buildings Record Council sponsored by the Government, there were no special safeguarding clauses concerning old buildings as now set out in the Town and County Planning Act operated by the Department of Health. Further there was no Historic Buildings Council that could guide, as it does to-day, financial help towards the preservation of old buildings of architectural importance. To-day with all these sponsored aids should we not expect a more enlightened understanding from the local authorities?

We have to thank the National Trust for Scotland, for it has proved to be the champion of our country's rights in that field of national enterprise ensuring the protection of the great and little houses that bespeak the building tradition and that sphere of applied art that is the hereditary pride of Scotland.

On entering into our fifty-first year we have pride in knowing that we have with us still five members of this Club since its inception, we wish them many happy returns.

Now in conclusion let me once more make that appeal which the Council is indeed ever anxious to promote, an invitation for new members and the oft repeated solicitation for new contributors of papers, for it must be confessed that contributors are still the 'old timers' who have borne more than their share in producing the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club. Of this achievement the Club has now twenty-nine volumes to its credit and a thirtieth is in production.



*Photo by E. R. Yerbury*

THE LATE HENRY M. PATON, M.A.

## HENRY M. PATON, M.A.

### AN APPRECIATION

His many friends will lament the loss of Henry M. Paton who died on 6th August 1958, in his 77th year. The friend and counsellor of all who sought his aid in the preparation of articles for the Book of the Club, especially where research was required in original documents, he was equally helpful at lectures and excursions as speaker and guide. His untiring activities were recognized by his unanimous election as Vice-President in 1956. As Editor of the Book of the Club from 1939 to 1955 he not only read, revised and corrected articles submitted, but contributed monographs of particular local and historical importance as well as short notes for the 'Miscellany'. He was an original member of the Club.

Henry Macleod Paton received his training in palaeography and history from his father, the Rev. Henry Paton who for many years was the highly esteemed assistant editor of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. From him he learned to read the cryptic writing of medieval and post-medieval documents, and to become familiar with the various strands of Scottish history. Thus prepared for his life's work H. M. was in 1925 appointed a clerk in the Historical Department of the Register House and after promotion to chief clerkship in 1933, became in 1936 Curator, an office which he held with distinction until his retirement in 1946 under the age-limit regulations.

The Club has been singularly fortunate in having among its members scholars from the Register House whose contributions to its Book are regarded by students even outside the Club as standard authorities. Of these William Moir Bryce's monumental History of the lands of the Burgh Muir formed the entire tenth volume. Dr. William Angus, also Curator of the Historical Department and immediate predecessor of H. M. Paton, was long a valued member and contributor to the Book. H. M.'s monographs, 'The Bore Stone,' 'The Barony of Calton,' 'The Register House' and 'The Lands of St. Leonard's' could not have been written but by a scholar familiar with the original documents in the Register House. The Bore Stone article disappointed some readers who disliked the old popular tradition being found untrue to fact. One distinguished member was heard to

declare that he had as a boy been told the traditional story of the royal banner being fixed in the bore stone on the Burgh Muir at what later became Morningside Road, and he would continue to believe it was there in 1513 in spite of all documentary evidence to the contrary!

H. M. Paton belonged to many Book issuing Clubs, to all of which he contributed from his store of knowledge. For the Scottish History Society he edited the Letters of the second Earl of Lauderdale; to the Church History Society he contributed articles on Church History; for the Scottish Record Society, of which he was Chairman, he transcribed and edited numerous protocol books and documents from old charter chests; the Stair Society was indebted to him for transcripts from medieval manuscripts; and as Editor of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* he gained much praise for overcoming the difficulties in the matter of printing that confronted all editors during the Second World War. Commissioned by the Government to edit the medieval *Accounts of the Master Builders of the Royal Castles and Palaces of Scotland* he completed the first volume in 1956 and shortly before his death had finished the second and final volume. This work, which sheds new light on the economic and social conditions of the craftsmen and labourers of those times, is remarkable also for its notes and glossary.

To his many friends it was pleasing to read of the award of an Honorary Degree of Master of Arts by the University of Edinburgh to Henry Macleod Paton 'in recognition of his unique knowledge of Scottish Records and skill as an archivist and palaeographer which has made him the indispensable guide and ever-helpful friend of every worker breaking new ground in Scottish History. As Curator of historical records in the Register House he maintained the high traditions of his office.'

That well-merited eulogy of the late Henry M. Paton will be endorsed by all members of the Old Edinburgh Club.

C. A. M.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBERS, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Thursday, 22nd March 1956.*

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN G. BANKS, LORD PROVOST, presided.

At this meeting the report for the year 1955-56 was presented as follows —:

During the summer of 1955 three excursions were held. The first excursion, held on Monday, 6th June 1955, was to Restalrig Church and St. Triduana's Well. In the church the Rev. R. B. Notman, B.D., outlined the history of the church and the adjacent well of St. Triduana. Thereafter Dr. James S. Richardson, President of the Club, outlined their architectural features. Owing to the disfigured state of the well chamber the members were unable to view it with advantage, and following the meeting the attention of the Ministry of Works was called to the unfortunate state of this unique National Monument. A reply was received promising the necessary attention.

On Thursday, 16th June 1955, members of the Club visited Greyfriars Church and Churchyard under the guidance of the Rev. R. Stuart Loudon, when an account of the history of the church was given and monuments of special historical and architectural interest in the churchyard viewed.

The last of the excursions, on Saturday, 1st October 1955, took the form of a visit to places in the Border Country associated with Sir Walter Scott. Through the courtesy of Vice-Admiral Sir Conolly Abel Smith and Lady Abel Smith the members were conducted over Ashiestiel House, a privilege highly esteemed by all Scott lovers. The members then visited Abbotsford House as guests of Mrs. Patricia M. Maxwell-Scott. Dr. J. C. Corson, Deputy Librarian of the University of Edinburgh and Honorary Librarian of Abbotsford, acting as leader, took the party through the apartments describing the various exhibits. On all these outings there was a large attendance of members.

During the winter three lecture meetings were held. The first by Dr. Gordon Donaldson was on 'The Siege of Leith, 1560,' the

talk being illustrated by maps and diagrams. Mr. Alan Rae, M.A., in a lecture on 'The Roman Fort at Cramond' described some excavation work carried out on the site by his students from Moray House Training College for Teachers, and in addition to lantern slides illustrating the progress of the works he showed some of the finds. The third lecture was given by the Rev. R. Selby Wright, M.A., on 'The Kirk in the Canongate, from 1128,' in the restored hall of the Canongate Tolbooth. All the meetings were well attended.

The Club suffered the loss through death of several valued members. The ranks of the surviving original members were reduced by the death of Dr. William Angus. By his General Disposition and Settlement Dr. Angus left the sum of £100 to the Old Edinburgh Club for its general use and benefit. Mr. James Angus gifted to the Club Volumes 1-28 of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club from the library of his brother.

The issue of Volume XXIX of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, the contents of which were noted in the last Annual Report, is expected to be available to members in May.

Ten members died during 1955, eight resigned and twelve new members have been added to the roll, which now stands at 359.

The Account of Income and Expenditure, duly audited, is appended.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

as at 31st December 1955.

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Balance in Bank 31/12/54 . . . . .	£715 3 11	Printing, Postages, Stationery and Expenses of Meetings . . . . .	£67 2 4
Subscriptions received :—		Schedule "D" Income Tax . . . . .	1 5 6
282 Members at £1, 1/- . . . . .	£296 2 0	Balance in Bank :—	
40 Libraries at £1, 1/- . . . . .	42 0 0	Current Account . . . . .	£734 3 5
Sale of Volumes . . . . .	388 2 0	Savings Account . . . . .	258 19 7
Bank Interest . . . . .	3 6 6		
	4 18 5		
	£1081 10 10		993 3 0
			£1061 10 10

W. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

*Edinburgh, 23rd January, 1956.*—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1955, 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.

CHARLES H. BURROWS, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Friday, 22nd February 1957.*

Councillor IAN JOHNSTON-GILBERT, C.B.E., presided.

At this meeting the report for the year 1956-57 was presented as follows :—

Two summer outings were arranged. In May, Mr. Ian G. Lindsay O.B.E., A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., conducted the members around those parts of the Water of Leith associated with Raeburn, and in June Dr. James S. Richardson, President of the Club, led a visit to Kinnell House, Linlithgow Palace and St. Michael's Church.

During the winter one lecture meeting was held. On the evening of Wednesday, 16th January 1957, in the Royal College of Surgeons. Dr. Douglas Guthrie gave an illustrated lecture on 'Early Medical Education in Edinburgh.'

The Club suffered the loss through death of several valued members including that of Councillor Robert E. Douglas, O.B.E., D.L., Vice-President of the Club, who had given long and distinguished service both to the City and to the Club.

Representatives of the Club joined with those of other interested bodies to view Merchiston Castle and make suggestions for the appropriate use of the building.

Volume XXIX of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club was issued to members in August. Its main contents are :—The Minutes of the Merchant Maiden Hospital by Rev. Edwin S. Towill; The Tron Church by the late Dr. Marguerite Wood; Notes on Rebuilding in Edinburgh in the last quarter of the Seventeenth Century by Miss Helen Armet; Extracts from an Edinburgh Journal, 1823-1833: Part I, by D. G. Moir.

Eight members died during 1956, six resigned and eight new members were added to the roll which now stands at 342.

The Account of Income and Expenditure, duly audited, is appended.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

as at 31st December 1956

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Balance in Bank 31/12/55	£993 3 0	Printing, Postages, Stationery and Expenses of Meetings.	£62 11 7
Subscriptions received :—		Printing and Expenses—Volume 29	617 5 9
267 Members at £1, 1/-	£280 7 0	Schedule "D" Income Tax	1 14 0
38 Libraries at £1, 1/-	39 18 0	Balance in Bank :—	
		Current Account	£372 17 1
Legacy from Late Dr. Angus	320 5 0	Savings Account	368 0 9
Bank Interest	100 0 0		
	9 1 2		
	<u>£1,422 9 2</u>		<u>740 17 10</u>
			<u>£1,422 9 2</u>

W. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

*Edinburgh, 16th January, 1957.*—I have examined the Intrusions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1956, 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.

CHARLES H. BURROWS, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the OLD COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY CHAMBERS, on the afternoon of *Thursday, 20th March 1958.*

BAILIE D. M. WEATHERSTONE, presided.

At this meeting the report for the year 1957-58 was presented as follows :—

Two lecture meetings were held after the Annual Meeting in February 1957. The first lecture was delivered by Professor W. Croft Dickinson, M.C., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., in the University on 26th February, his subject being 'Life in the Scottish Burghs in the 15th and 16th Centuries.' The Hon. Lord Cameron, D.S.C., gave the second lecture in the Merchant Company Hall on 'The Streets of Edinburgh' on 29th March.

Two summer outings took place. On 24th May, through the courtesy of D. Forbes Mackintosh, Esq., M.A., A.M., headmaster of Loretto School, the Club visited Pinkie House and thereafter the Town Hall, Musselburgh. On 8th June, through the courtesy of the Ministry of Works, members visited Holyrood Abbey and Palace, where Dr. James Richardson described the history and the main architectural features of the buildings. Continuing the excursion into the Queen's Park, Dr. C. A. Malcolm outlined the story of St. Margaret's Well and St. Anthony's Chapel, with additional comments on historical and literary associations in the immediate neighbourhood. A proposed visit to Arniston House in September was postponed.

In December three films depicting life and scenes in Edinburgh were shown by Mr. James Hossack. The Singing Street illustrated street games and their accompanying songs, The Grey Metropolis showed familiar Edinburgh scenes with spoken excerpts from R. L. Stevenson, and The Honours of Scotland presented in colour the Royal Procession in which the Honours of Scotland were carried on 24th June 1953 after a long lapse of the picturesque ceremony.

During 1957 the Club suffered the loss through death of five valued members, including Mr. Charles H. Burrows, C.A., Honorary Auditor

of the Club. Eight members resigned and twenty-one new individual members and the Royal College of Surgeons and the University of Edinburgh School of Scottish Studies were added to the roll which now stands at 343.

An Account of Income and Expenditure, duly audited, is appended.

# Old Edinburgh Club

## ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

as at 31st December 1957

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Balance in Bank 31/12/56 . . . . .	£740 17 10	Printing, Postages, Stationery and Expenses of Meetings . . . . .	£83 18 4
Subscriptions received :-			
279 Members at £1, 1/- . . . . .	£292 19 0		
41 Libraries at £1, 1/- . . . . .	43 1 0	Schedule "D" Income Tax . . . . .	3 16 6
Sale of Volumes . . . . .	336 0 0	Balance in Bank :-	
Bank Interest . . . . .	1 12 6	Current Account . . . . .	£240 15 6
	19 12 5	Savings Account . . . . .	769 12 5
	<u>£1,098 2 9</u>		<u>1,010 7 11</u>
			<u>£1,098 2 9</u>

W. CROWN HODGE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

*Edinburgh, 14th January, 1958.*—I have examined the Intromissions of the Honorary Treasurer of the Old Edinburgh Club for the year ended 31st December 1957, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, and have found them to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed. The sums shown as Subscriptions received include arrears collected and payments in advance.

J. H. N. WILSON, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

# Old Edinburgh Club

1959

*Honorary Patrons*

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

*Honorary President*

The Right Honourable THE EARL OF ROSEBERRY, K.T., D.S.O., M.C.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents*

SIR WILLIAM Y. DARLING, C.B.E., M.C., LL.D.  
C. A. MALCOLM, O.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.

*President*

JAMES S. RICHARDSON, LL.D.

*Vice-Presidents*

EVAN W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE, D.Litt.  
R. BUTCHART, M.A., F.L.A.  
The Rev. R. W. V. SELBY WRIGHT, T.D., M.A., D.D., F.R.S.A.,  
Hon. C.F.

*Honorary Secretary*

JAMES HOSSACK, M.A., B.Com.

*Honorary Treasurer*

W. CROWN HODGE

*Joint Honorary Editors*

R. J. F. CARNON, M.A.  
STUART MAXWELL, M.A.

*Council*

MISS MARIE BALFOUR, A.L.A.  
DR. G. J. R. CARRUTHERS  
J. B. HUME, M.A.  
IAN G. LINDSAY, O.B.E., B.A., A.R.S.A.,  
F.R.I.B.A.  
W. H. MARWICK, M.A.  
PAUL SHILLABEER, F.R.P.S.  
D. C. SIMPSON, B.Sc., Ph.D.  
MISS MARGARET TAIT  
The Rev. C. H. WHITLEY, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.  
MISS ISOBEL T. YOUNG  
R. MAXWELL YOUNG, T.D., B.L., S.S.C.

*Honorary Auditor*

J. H. N. WILSON, B.Com., C.A.

## Old Edinburgh Club

### LIST OF MEMBERS

- ADAM, Dr. H. M., 84 Lasswade Road.  
Aitken, Mrs. Mary, 75 Whitehouse Road, Barnton.  
Aitken, Mrs. M. M. C., 32 Kirkhill Road.  
Alexander, Dr. W. A., 9 Randolph Crescent.  
Allan, Eric, 10 Russell Place.  
Anderson, Alexander H., M.A., Leny House, Muthill.  
Anderson, Ian, 93 Easter Drylaw Drive.  
Archer, John M., 24 Stanley Road.  
Armet, Miss Helen, 8 Eton Terrace.  
Atkinson, John J., 12 Viewforth Square.
- BAILLIE, Miss AILEEN B., 52 Strathearn Road.  
Balfour Miss Marie, A.L.A., 20 Dick Place.  
Balfour-Melville, E. W. M., D.Litt., 2 South Learmonth Gardens.  
Barnson, Sydney, 90 Inverleith Place.  
Barrie, John A., 11 Lady Road.  
Bartholomew, John, M.C., M.A., Manor House, Inveresk, Musselburgh.
- Bell, Tom Wilson, 11 Elliot Place.  
Binns, John D., F.I.A., 6 Wilton Road.  
Bird, George, 40 Saughton Road.  
Blair, Hugh A., C.A., New Club, 85 Princes Street.  
Bonar, John J., W.S., 15 Hill Street.  
Boyes, Dr. John, 41 Clayton Road, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
Brebner, Miss A. J., 4 Ainslie Place.  
Brown, Mrs. Jean H., 71 Newark Street, Greenock, Renfrewshire.  
Brown, Harry, 61 Ashley Terrace.  
Burnside, Rev. John W., M.A., 19 Carriagehill Drive, Paisley.  
Butchart, R., F.L.A., 84 Gilmore Place.
- CAMERON, WAVERLEY B., 22 Coates Gardens.  
Campbell, Mrs. A. D., Brucefield Cottage, George Street, Dumfermline.  
Carnon, R. J. F., M.A., 13 Warrender Park Crescent.

### LIST OF MEMBERS

209

- Carruthers, Miss Donna, 5 Carlton Terrace.  
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street.  
Catford, Edwin Francis, 59 Learmonth Grove.  
Cavaye, J. Stanley, 40 Durham Terrace, Portobello.  
Clarke, Miss Mary Douglas, c/o Davie, 23 Lauriston Gardens.  
Cochrane, Alexander, 6 Bruntsfield Gardens.  
Cochrane, James Dean, 47 Hanover Street.  
Cochrane, J. Douglas, W.S., 5 Abercromby Place.  
Collier, T. L., 4 Pearce Road, Corstorphine.  
Considine, W. D., Linwood, The Ridges, Finchampstead, Berks.  
Cormack, Dr. E.A., 199 St. John's Road, Corstorphine.  
Cousland, Charles J., 26 Kinnear Road.  
Cowan, A. Wallace, 1 St. Margaret's Road.  
Cramond, Ronald D., M.A., 21 Swanston Drive.  
Crerar, Miss Annie Hamilton, Craigard, 15 Ettrick Road.  
Crichton, Mrs. Lilian M., M.A., 30 Blakett Place.  
Crombie, Miss F., 11 Cluny Terrace.  
Cruikshanks, A., 2 Craighleith Crescent.  
Cumming, Dr. Alexander, F.R.C.S.(Edin.), 193 Dominion Road, Auckland, S. 2, New Zealand.
- DARLING, Sir Wm. Y., C.B.E., M.C., LL.D., Juniper Bank, Walkerburn, Peeblesshire.  
Dey, William G., F.R.I.B.A., 20 Dovecot Road Corstorphine.  
Denman, Harold Edward, c/o Stock Department, National Provincial Bank Ltd., 18 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2.  
Dickie, Miss K. M., J.P., 37 Lauriston Place.  
Dickinson, Professor W. Croft, M.C., D.Lit., The University, South Bridge.  
Dickson, Walter, 5A Elcho Terrace, Portobello.  
Donaldson, Gordon, M.A., Ph.D., 24 East Hermitage Place, Leith.  
Douglas, D. M., 21 St. Ninians Road, Corstorphine.  
Douglas, Mrs. A. D., 45 Merchiston Crescent,  
Doull, A. Clark, 10 Alexandria Drive, Alloa.  
Dow, Joseph A., M.A., 18 Duddingston Crescent, Joppa.  
Drummond, James, 8 Viewforth Gardens.
- EAVES-WALTON, Mrs. P. M., 55 Manor Place.  
Eggeling, H. F., 95 Comiston Drive.  
Elliott, Dr. W. A., 55 Liberton Gardens.

Erskine, Sir John M., C.B.E., D.L., F.R.S.E., Cairnsmore,  
71 Braid Avenue.

FAIRLEY, Miss J. GRAHAM, 140 Braid Road.

Fairley, Miss J. H., 69 Inverleith Row.

Farr, James H., 32 Inverleith Gardens.

Forbes, Mrs. S. A. C., 6 Howden Hall Road, Liberton.

Forgie, A. G., M.M., A.R.I.B.A., 67 Falcon Road.

Fraser, D. G., 19 Liberton Brae.

Frizell, J. B., C.B.E., 22 Thorburn Road, Colinton.

GAULD, H. DRUMMOND, Whitehills, Banffshire.

Geddes, D., Northfield, Glebe Road, Cramond.

Geddie, Mrs. Hannah E., Ellicot, Eskbank.

Gent, Frank, 13 Coates Gardens.

Gibb, Miss Hilda, c/o Messrs. Lovelock & Lewis, C.A., Lyons  
Range, Calcutta, India.

Goddard, Mrs., Shian, Rosemount, Blairgowrie.

Gordon, A. E., A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., 11 Greenhill  
Gardens.

Graham, D., 115 Colinton Mains Grove, Colinton.

Gray, Mrs. Christina E., 4 Argyle Crescent, Joppa.

Gray, John G., S.S.C., 90 South Clerk Street.

Gray, Rev. Joseph, 106 Thirlestane Road.

Gray, Dr. William, 4 Argyle Crescent, Joppa.

Green, A. McWatt, C.A., 17 Great Stuart Street.

Greig, Professor J. Russell, Ph.D., M.R.C.V.S., Wedderlie, Kirk-  
brae, Liberton.

Guthrie, Douglas, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 21 Clarendon Crescent.

HALDANE, W. P., 21 Cumlodden Avenue.

Hardie, Miss J. S., 15 Hillview, Blackhall.

Hayhoe, John H., 124 Findhorn Place.

Heddle, R. G., M.A., B.Sc., 9 Moston Terrace.

Hemming, Mrs. G., 18 Queensferry Street.

Henderson, Professor Emeritus R. Candlish, Q.C., Littledean,  
422 Lanark Road, Colinton.

Herdman, Nicholas, 23 Murrayfield Gardens.

Hislop, W. B., F.R.P.S., 9 Albany Street.

Hodge, W. Crown, 88 Princes Street.

Holmes, Commander R. Gerard, C.M.G., O.B.E., D.Sc., Kerfield  
Cottage, Peebles.

Hopkirk, The Rev. Professor D. S., M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., 2 Ormonde  
College, Carlton, N. 3, Melbourne, Australia.

Horne, F. W., Marchfield, Davidsons Mains.

Hossack, James, M.A., B.Com., 10 Wardie Avenue.

Howie, Mrs. Nancy, 8 Middleby Street.

Hume, J. B., M.A., 15 Craigs Road.

Humphrey, Mrs. E. I., 2 Grierson Square.

Hutchison, John R., 26 Charterhall Road.

IMRIE, Sir JOHN, O.B.E., M.A., F.R.S.E., Benarty, 4 Marchfield  
Grove, Davidson's Mains.

Irvine, Miss Catherine, 17 Hillside Street.

JAMIESON, Miss MENIE M., 18 Napier Road.

Jamieson, William, 2 St. Peter's Buildings, Gilmore Place.

Johnstone, John, Hillwoodlea, Seafield, Roslin.

KELLY, F. N. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.B., S.S.C., 16 Heriot Row.

Kelly, Miss Lillian E. M., Ward 47, Royal Infirmary.

Kerr, Rev. T. Angus, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.Scot., Hon. C.F., 13  
Lady Road.

Kilpatrick, P. J. W., Slipperfield House, West Linton, Peebles-  
shire.

Knoblauch, Mrs. D. M., 48 Murrayfield Avenue.

Knox, John, B.Sc., 43 Dalhousie Terrace.

LAIDLAW, Rev. R. F. S., M.A., Whitehills, Banff.

Lamb, J. Edwin, 4 Rankin Road.

Lawrie, R. D., 'Ravensdown,' 248 Ferry Road.

Lawrie, W. P., 1 Corstorphine Hill Road.

Leach, Mrs. Agnes M. M., 25 India Street.

Leckie, Rev. R. W., The Manse, Davidson's Mains.

Lee, William J., 21 Merchiston Crescent.

Letham, J. S., 3 Zetland Place.

Lindsay, Ian G., B.A., A.R.I.A.S., Houston House, Uphall.

Logan, Miss C. S. E., The Dam House, Faladam, Blackshiels.

Logan, J. I., 12 Longformacus Road.

Logan, Dr. William Russell, O.B.E., T.D., 6 Garscube Terrace.

- Lownie, J. H. W., 8 Polwarth Grove.  
 Lyall, George, 6 Cluny Gardens.
- McCRAE, THOMAS, F.R.I.B.A., 4 St. Vincent Street.  
 McCrostie, H. C., D.S.O., T.D., B.Com., C.A., Balerno Cottage,  
 Balerno.
- McDermid, J. S., Kyebi, Gamekeepers' Road, Barnton.  
 McDonald, Miss Margaret R., 19 Dean Bank Lane.  
 Macdonald, Mrs. Mary, 52 Grange Loan.  
 Macdonald, Norman, 91 Netherby Road.  
 McDougall, Miss Jane C., 24 Grange Road.  
 MacGillivray, Mrs. Katherine L., 29 Heriot Row.  
 Macintosh, R. H., The Old Schoolhouse, Glebe Road, Cramond.  
 Mackay, Miss Margaret, 3 Braid Mount.  
 McKay, J. R., A.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 8 Clarendon Crescent.  
 Mackie, S. M., 2 Greenbank Rise.  
 Mackintosh, Eric B., C.A., 1 Hill Street, Arbroath.  
 McKelvie, Alexander K., C.A., 29 Charlotte Square.  
 Mackenzie, Mrs. F. C. H., 51 Leamington Terrace.  
 Mackenzie, Miss Mary E., 51 Leamington Terrace.  
 M'Laren, R. M., 15 Magdala Crescent.  
 M'Lellan, J. H., 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.  
 M'Lellan, Kenneth Archibald, W.S., 16 St. Andrew Square.  
 MacLeod, Lady, 22 George Square.  
 M'Murtrie, Miss B. S. B., 13 Eildon Street.  
 M'Pherson, Miss E. J., 23 Fairmile Avenue.  
 Macpherson, Miss J., 24 Barnton Gardens.  
 M'Vie, John, 13 Hillside Crescent.  
 Malcolm, C. A., O.B.E., M.A., Ph.D., Signet Library, Parliament  
 Square.
- Marin, Thomas, 45 Mayfield Road.  
 Martin, Miss Katherine M., 5 Atholl Place.  
 Martin, Wm. Gibson, St. Alban's Hotel, 9 Rutland Square.  
 Marwick, W. H., M.A., 5 Northfield Crescent.  
 Mason, John, M.A., Ph.D., Mayfield, South Queensferry.  
 Mathams, Mrs. A. M., 147 Dalkeith Road.  
 Maxwell, Stuart, M.A., 23 Dick Place.  
 Melville, Miss Frances H., LL.D., 16 Merchiston Place.  
 Mercer, Professor Walter, F.R.C.S.E., Bidston, 7 Easter Belmont  
 Road.

- Miller, Lawrence S., LL.B., S.S.C., 16 Heriot Row.  
 Miller, Miss M. R., 12 Orchardfield Avenue.  
 Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row.  
 Milne, Charles, Q.C., 9 Howe Street.  
 Milroy, Miss J. G., 16 Abbotsford Park.  
 Mitchell, Mrs. Catherine S. B., 27 Manor Place.  
 Mitchell, Mrs. Vera M., 57 Ladysmith Road.  
 Mitchelhill, James, 44 Dick Place.  
 Moir, D. G., 2 Pentland Gardens.  
 Moncrieff, Major R. H. F., T.D., 1 Cambridge Street.  
 Moore, C. H., 6 Lonsdale Terrace.  
 Morrison, H. P., M.C., LL.D., F.R.S.E., Shawpark, Selkirk.  
 Morrison, Mrs. Jane C., 69 Merchiston Crescent.  
 Mort, J. W., c/o Clydesdale & North of Scotland Bank Ltd.,  
 24 High Street, Dundee.  
 Moss, Mrs., 63 Colinton Road.  
 Mozar, Mrs. Florence W., 31 Dundas Street.  
 Murray, Miss Elizabeth A. P., 11 Murrayfield Gardens.  
 Murray, Gilbert J., 40 Ravelston Dykes.
- NIGHTINGALE, CHARLES T., S.S.C., 8 North St. David Street.
- PATTERSON, ANDREW, B.Com., 51 Montpelier Park.  
 Paterson, Miss Elizabeth C., M.A., 42 Murrayfield Gardens.  
 Pattullo, Miss A. J., 27 Ormidale Terrace.  
 Philip, Miss J. D., 14 Greenhill Gardens.  
 Phillipps, Mrs. J. Noel, M. St.J., Merchiston Cottage, 16 Colinton  
 Road.  
 Porter, David, W.S., 16 St. Ninian's Road, Corstorphine.  
 Pritchard, H. R., 18 Woodhall Terrace, Juniper Green.  
 Purves, Brigadier J. J., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 6 Pall Mall, London,  
 S.W. 1.
- RAE, Miss J., 14 Stewart Road, Currie.  
 Reekie, J. Ferguson, S.S.C., 69 Great King Street.  
 Reid, C. T., W.S., 1 Thistle Court.  
 Reid, R. J., Midbrae House, 36 Murrayfield Avenue.  
 Rice, Professor D. Talbot, M.B.E., M.A., B.Sc., D.Litt., 20 Nelson  
 Street.

- Richardson, J. H., W.S., c/o Messrs. Dundas & Wilson, C.S.,  
16 St. Andrew Square.
- Richardson, James S., LL.D., 7 Tantallon Terrace, North Berwick.
- Riddell, P. F., 18 Greenbank Loan.
- Ritchie, J., 6 Blantyre Terrace.
- Robertson, W. H., 4 Fingal Place.
- Robertson, A. Niven, M.D., M.R.C.P., 22 Buckingham Terrace.
- Robertson, E. B., W.S., 15 Great Stuart Street.
- Robertson, Giles Henry, 4 Saxe-Coburg Place.
- Robertson, John L., L.D.S., B.D.S., 5 Dalkeith Street, Joppa,  
Portobello.
- Robertson, Thomas, 22 Atholl Crescent.
- Robertson, Thomas, 8 Corstorphine Bank Avenue, Corstorphine.
- Rodger, Miss G. B., 11 Cluny Terrace.
- Rosebery, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.T., D.S.O., M.C.,  
Dalmeny House.
- Ross, Miss Elizabeth H., 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
- Ross, Miss Johanna C., 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
- Ross, Dr. Marion A. S., M.A., Ph.D., 24 Belford Gardens.
- Ross, William C. A., M.A., The Cumberland Guest House, 2  
Osbourne Terrace.
- Russell, Arthur W., O.B.E., W.S., 25 Hope Terrace.
- SALVESEN, Miss DOROTHY, 47 Cluny Drive.
- Sanderson, Miss Elizabeth M.C., 8 East Fettes Avenue.
- Saunders, Basil, Appleton House, Lower Largo, Fife.
- Scott, Dr. G. I., 20 Heriot Row.
- Scott, James C., 110 Comiston Road.
- Shaw, The Rev. Duncan, 6 Parkside Terrace.
- Sheriff, C. A., Arnsheen, Peebles.
- Sheriff, Miss Jean K., Arnsheen, Peebles.
- Shillabeer, Paul, F.R.P.S., 10 Windmill Street.
- Shimmins, Charles J., 39 Gordon Road, Mannofield, Aberdeen.
- Simpson, D. C., B.Sc., Ph.D., 51 Craiglockhart Road.
- Skelton, Harold, 29 Thirlestane Road.
- Skinner, Basil C., M.A., 10 Randolph Cliff.
- Smart, Mrs. Ethel, 29 Midmar Gardens.
- Smart, Mrs. J. A., Bellfield, Eskbank.
- Smith, Dr. G. L. Malcolm, 52 Northumberland Street.
- Somerville, Mrs. P. C., Redheugh, 2 Priestfield Road North.

- Souter, Mrs. J. R., 38 Grange Road.
- Speedy, Miss Jean M., 11 Riselaw Road.
- Stephen, A. Brodie, 39 Lixmount Avenue.
- Stevenson, Alan, M.I.W.E., 25 Lygon Road.
- Stevenson, Miss A. R. Ross, 23 Lauder Road.
- Stevenson, Peter, C.A., 16 Greenbank Rise.
- Stirling, K. J., 1 South Inverleith Avenue.
- Strachan, The Hon. Lord, Woodville, Canaan Lane.
- TAINSH, Dr. J. CAMPBELL, 20 Kaimes Road.
- Tait, Haldane P., M.D., F.R.C.P.Ed., D.P.H., 26 Cluny Drive.
- Tait, Miss Margaret, 38 George Square.
- Tait, P. G., c/o Miss Tait, 38 George Square.
- Taylor, Mrs. R., 51 Northumberland Street.
- Taylor, Miss Janice Macrae, 6 Great Stuart Street.
- Taylor, William C., C.A., 6 Forres Street.
- Tedcastle, John G., 7 Coltbridge Terrace.
- Thain, Mrs. G., 26 Seaview Terrace, Joppa.
- Thin, J. Ainslie, 1B Oswald Road.
- Thin, R. Traquair, M.A., F.R.C.S.E., 31 Heriot Row.
- Thomson, Mrs. K. E., Callando, West Linton, Peeblesshire.
- Thompson, Miss Ruth D'Arcy, 18 Frederick Street.
- Tod, Henry, Ph.D., F.R.S.E., Carnethy, Seafeld, Roslin.
- Todd, W. M., M.C., Messrs. T. & A. Constable Ltd., Hopetoun  
Street.
- Towill, Rev. Edwin S., B.D., 7 Dewar Street, Dollar, Clackmann-  
shire.
- Turcan, Patrick Watson, W.S., 16 St. Andrew Square.
- URMSON, Mrs. B. W. G., 56 Sandyloge Way, North Wood,  
Middlesex.
- Urquhart, Miss M. H. M., 11 Lonsdale Terrace.
- VILLIERS, Mrs. M. G. DE., 44 Belgrave Road.
- WALLACE, Mrs. MARGARET B., M.A., 15 Corrennie Gardens.
- Waterston, Robert, 27 Inverleith Terrace.
- Watson, Mrs. I., 37 Summerside Place, Leith.
- Watson, Robert S., 81 Great King Street.
- Watson, The Hon. Mrs. Ronald B., 20 Lynedoch Place.

- Watt, William, B.L., W.S., 28 Charlotte Square.  
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 Webster, Miss Jessie B., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Queen's University,  
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 Wells, Miss, 11 Mountcastle Grove.  
 Whitley, Rev. Dr. H. C., 63 Northumberland Street.  
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 Whyte, James F., S.S.C., 10 Albyn Place.  
 Wigham, J., Martin's Cottage Nyetimber, Bognor, Sussex.  
 Williamson, John, 22 Hailes Gardens.  
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 Young, Thomas, M.A., 106 Comiston Drive.

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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 £1, 1s. 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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