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THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

VOL. XXXIII



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THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

VOL. XXIII



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James Hossack

JAMES HOSSACK

Honorary Secretary of the Old Edinburgh Club, 1953-1965

Few who met James Hossack but were struck by his friendly and winning manner. This was especially so with new friends and in the Old Edinburgh Club with new members.

In the first world war he was caught up in the Royal Navy and then proceeded to the University of Edinburgh where he specialised in geography and laid the foundation of that wealth of world knowledge that made him a sought-after guide and courier on school-boy cruises and excursions and on the holiday journeys of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

He was a schoolmaster by profession and taught with distinction in Trinity Academy and the Royal High School before becoming headmaster of Portobello School. During the war he extended his interest in current affairs and international problems and was much in demand as a lecturer at lectures organised by the Ministry of Information. He was a lecturer in the evening to extra-mural classes at the University and there he introduced the study of Edinburgh through geography.

He realised the great latent interest in local history and when later he became the University's first full-time Director of Extra-Mural Studies local history came to take a place in each year's syllabus. He favoured the type of class which invited a different lecturer to teach each week on an aspect of the subject in which he was expert.

This in turn led him to become a member and then honorary secretary of the Old Edinburgh Club. Here he continued to develop the lecture programme by inviting each year a number of specialists to address the Club, while in the summer time he not only arranged but took a considerable part in conducting excursions to notable parts of both old and new Edinburgh.

He was a champion of causes and represented the Club's views on a number of important issues during his time in office. He visited New Zealand twice and fostered the link between Dunedin and our own city.

In his last years he was afflicted with recurring illness but maintained to the end his interest in the Club and in Edinburgh and even during his final illness he asked questions of his visitors about the activities of the Club.

James Hossack served the Old Edinburgh Club with the spirit of the founders, maintaining its traditions and respect in the eyes of the community of our city.

J. B. B.

THE TOWER OF MERCHISTON

—A SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

by STUART HARRIS

The account of the structure of Merchiston Tower published in volume thirty one of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club was an interim report written in 1961, at the midway point in the six-year task of restoring the Tower. The present article is a supplementary report following the completion of the work in the early autumn of 1964, amending and amplifying the earlier report. For convenience these notes are set out under separate headings with page references to the previous article. The information gained since 1960 has for the most part supported and confirmed the previous analysis of the building, with certain exceptions which are noted below. The plans printed herewith may be taken as definitive of the results of the whole investigation. Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the previous article.

The barmkin—pp. 16 and 21 to 23.

The discovery of the entrance drawbridge raised the question of the form of forework or barmkin wall which must have been associated with it. The extensive excavation for the foundations of the surrounding College buildings offered a rare opportunity to recover any remains of this kind, and every effort was made to take advantage of it. To assist the identification of finds, all available documents were intensively studied in order to create a reference plan upon which the finds could be plotted and related to recorded structures. The various views of the Tower dating from the late eighteenth century onwards were examined, and the estimated position of the features appearing in them plotted on a series of sketch plans. These were then collated with Kirkwood's map of 1817, the Ordnance Survey map of 1853 and later revisions, together with some plans and surveys of Merchiston Castle School buildings filed in the Department of the City Architect. Careful watch was kept on all excavations, and when any remains were uncovered work was stopped until they had been examined, measured, plotted on the composite plan and identified. The four garden walls shown by Drummond in his reconstructed view of the south of the Tower (p. 32) were uncovered on the very first day, each within a few feet of its estimated position. A wall bounding the complex of outbuildings to the north of the Tower (or a raised mound of the same shape) is a persistent feature in early views and maps, and might possibly represent a medieval enclosure. Several portions of a single-sided retaining wall on this line were found, but the well-preserved facework was too small and too lightly-built for a medieval defensive wall, and could not be dated much earlier than the eighteenth century. Numerous nineteenth and twentieth century footings were also discovered, but in the end the search for a medieval barmkin wall drew a blank. This was not altogether surprising, for the ground over a large area round the Tower had been reduced in level within comparatively recent times, was extensively disturbed and full of rubble, and in the critical areas close to the east, south and west faces of the Tower it had been previously excavated

very nearly to the rock surface. Thus while the absence of remains threw no light on the possible form of the barmkin, it equally did nothing to disprove its existence.

The only find of any consequence in these excavations was a culverin ball, exactly similar to that found in the east wall of the Tower (p. 23), which was discovered on the site of the Printing Department, 200 feet west of the Tower, and about 5 feet below ground. The site of the well (under the roadway immediately at the entrance to the north quadrangle from Mardale Crescent) was one of the few areas not excavated in the course of the College works.

The mural stairs—p. 16.

Shortly after the previous article went to press it was discovered that the mural stair in the north wall of the main Tower ran continuously from the ground floor to the screens passage on the second floor. Four steps of the upper flight were found *in situ*, enabling this part of the stair to be restored with confidence.

The course of the mural stair in the west wall presents the only unsolved puzzle in the analysis of the building. Until the wall was completely opened up, this stair seemed to be stopped in mid flight by a curved wall which turned it sharply to the right, to cross—apparently to block—an indubitably fifteenth century door opening in the flat below. It was assumed that this was a later diversion of a stair which had originally carried straight down in the thickness of the west wall until it reached first floor level. This assumption fell to the ground when the work was opened up, for a complete set of wheel steps was found, bearing every mark of being original, which carried the stair round in front of the curved wall and out of the thickness of the wall at a mezzanine level. The curved wall face was also found to be well built and properly bonded to the main walling, and no trace of a stairway could be found in the masonry behind it. Furthermore the arrangement of the bridging slabs over the stairway (again indubitably original) was not only consistent with this sharp turn to the east but positively suggestive of it. It must therefore be concluded that the stair turned to the east, but its relationship to the first-floor doorway (the only access between main Tower and wing at this level) is very odd and remains a mystery. The stair has now been rebuilt to run straight within the wall, and this reconstruction therefore does not represent the original arrangement.

Slit windows—p. 19.

The ingoes of a second window in the wing of the Tower at first floor level were found in the east wall. The masonry of one of these ingoes has been incorporated in the north ingo of the large slapping at this part of the College foyer.

The hall fireplace—p. 19.

In 1960 only the two massive corbels of the fireplace had been discovered, still in position. Some time later three moulded fragments were found nearby, having been used as rubble in various pinning works carried out in the same level of the Tower in the seventeenth century. As a guide to the assembly of the fireplace, the original builders had inscribed the profile of the shafts, on which the corbels were seated, upon the soffits of the corbels themselves, and it was therefore possible to compare the moulded fragments with these profiles, and to identify them as parts of the shafting. When in 1963 it became safe to

take down the chimney breast above the corbels, three stones forming part of the upper left-hand quoin of the original chimney breast were discovered *in situ*. The lowest of the three (3 feet 5 inches above the top of the corbels) bore a large moulding, while the stones above it were plain; and all three stones showed a splayed return dying against the main wall of the room.

This discovery completely upset the previous notion of the form of the fireplace above corbel level (p. 19). It showed that the relieving arch over the opening had been a later construction, and established that the face of the upper part of the chimney breast was originally set back some seven and a half inches behind the face of the corbels. Thus it was virtually certain that the lower part of the breast had incorporated some sort of hood projecting out to the line of the corbels. Such hooded fireplaces were quite common in the period, but all known examples differ from the fragments at Merchiston in one important respect: in every case the ornament (if any) is concentrated at or below the base of the hood, and the hood itself slopes upwards and backwards in plain ashlar, dying into the wall above without any embellishment at the junction, whereas at Merchiston the fireplace undoubtedly had a bold cornice moulding at a high level above any hood. In the fireplace as reconstructed, the corbels and shafts and the cornice and breast above are directly derived from the original, but the hearth, the shaft bases and the lintel and hood between corbels and cornice are modern inventions, based as far as possible on traditional details but controlled by a purely architectural judgment of appropriate forms.

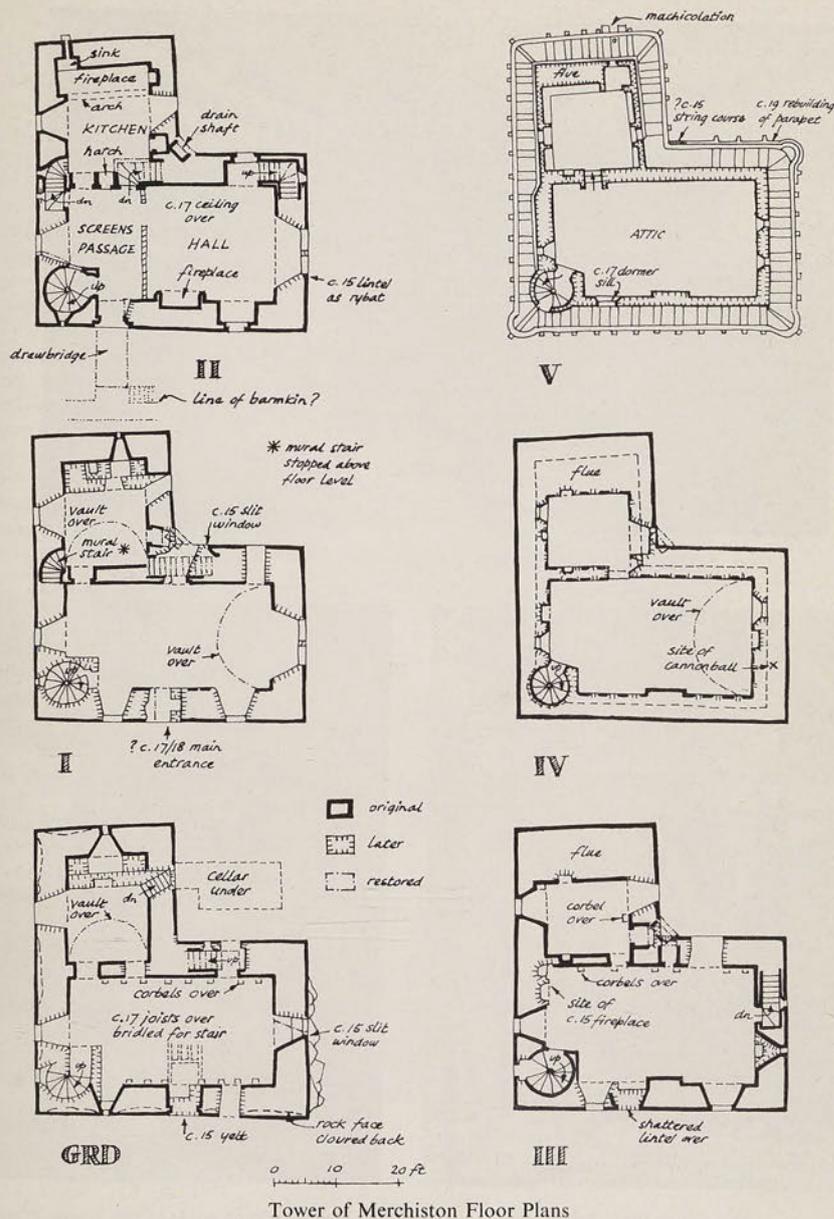
Note: The illustration of the moulded corbel (opposite p. 25) was printed upside down.

The garderobe shaft—p. 20.

In 1962 a large shaft was discovered in the re-entrant angle of the Tower, set diagonally across the corner so that its outer wall would have shown as a splayed face. This outer wall had been demolished, and the angle of the Tower pinned up in rubble; when the pinnings were taken out the back and sides of the shaft were found intact. Since the pinnings had been worked against undisturbed fifteenth century facework on either side, the thickness of the outer wall of the shaft could be inferred with fair accuracy, and this wall face has been restored. The top of the shaft was certainly above fourth-floor level, but apparently not as high as the battlement, for the parapet corbels above are both original and normal. The shaft presumably discharged over a drain or (more probably) a dung-heap at the base of the Tower, but some rebuilding and a later slapping at ground and first floor levels respectively had effectively removed all traces of the original construction. Nor was it possible to find any connections between the shaft and the various closets so closely grouped about it in the height of the Tower, although it must be presumed that they existed.

The kitchen sink—p. 20.

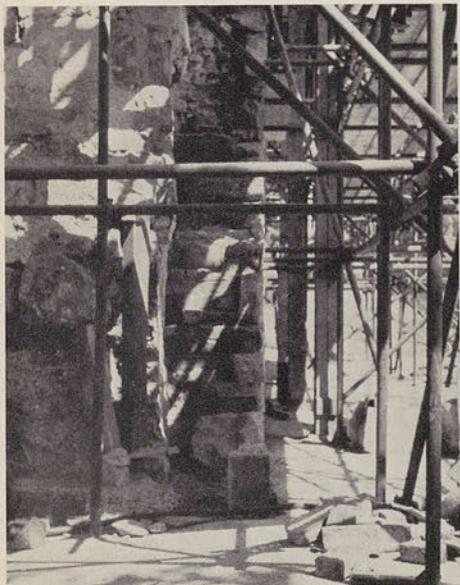
The recess in the east wall of the kitchen, on the second floor, had been provisionally noted as probably containing a slop sink, but when it was opened up it was found to have a plain sill. If there had ever been a connection to the garderobe drain shaft it had disappeared without trace, and since the recess has a door check in its dressed surround, it is more probably a simple aumry.



Tower of Merchiston Floor Plans



The Tower and the South quadrangle of Napier College



The South West corner



The re-entrant angle of the North Wing



The Boardroom of Napier College, with the Prestongrange ceiling

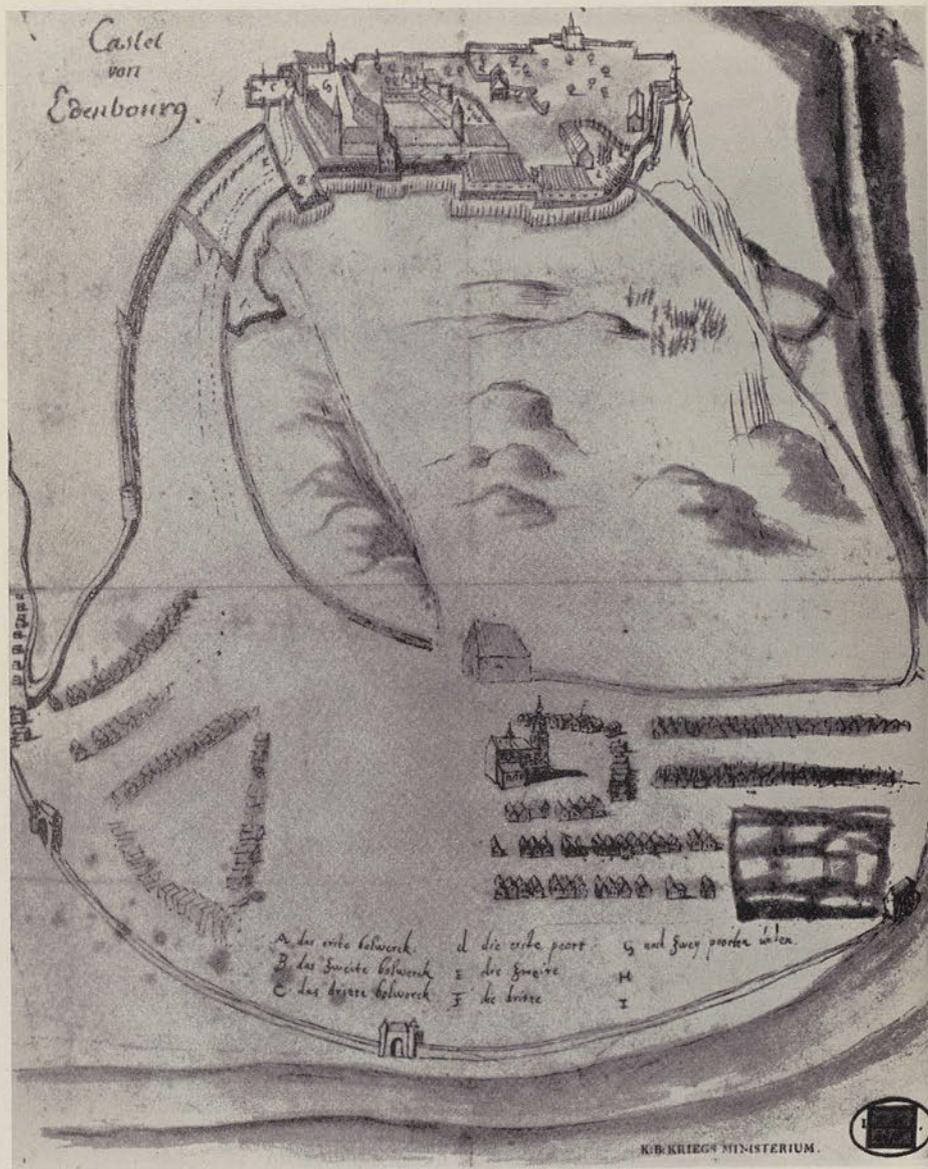


Plate I

Castel von Edenbourg

The repair of the north wall of the kitchen, however, brought to light a stone slop sink in excellent preservation, set in a well-built recess at the back of the great fireplace, and fitted with a dressed stone channel discharging to the outside. The spout of this channel had been cloured off, and has now been restored with a stone modelled on the battlement parapet spouts.

The parapet—pp. 22 and 24.

Although the greater part of the string-course to the parapet at the north face of the re-entrant angle is nineteenth century work the parts of the moulding nearest the re-entrant angle are earlier work, and may be original. Since there is abundant evidence that some parts of the parapet have been rebuilt, and no positive evidence that the remainder is undisturbed medieval work, the possibility that the whole of the original battlement was ornamented with a moulded string-course of this kind cannot be excluded.

The main entrance—p. 24.

It was previously reported that two of the rybats of the entrance doorway were not in the local stone. This observation was wrong. In the course of restoration these stones were withdrawn and were found to be the same as the rest, except that they exhibited a freak colour and texture which is now known to occur in this rock.

A series of slappings carried out in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and extending almost continuously from the first floor to the fourth floor, resulted in the demolition of the central parts of the entrance and the drawbridge gear-chamber (plate facing p. 25) and the restoration had to be based upon the evidence of remaining work at the sides of the slappings. The existence of an arch over the doorway was inferred from the facts that only the lower rybats and the doorway remained, that the level of the top rybat on either side was consistent with the bedding of a springer stone, and that the mortared cavities left by the withdrawal of the stones immediately above these rybats were shaped in such a way as to suggest springer stones. If the missing stones had been vertical rybats it is hard to see why they might not have been left cloured like those below them; on the other hand, if they were springers it might well have been easier to take them out than to clour off their massive overhanging heads. The curious irregularity in the placing of the weathered hood over the drawbridge recess (it is some inches off centre) is original. The chain slots are conjectural in detail, but something of the kind existed, for the sides of the inband rybats near the top of the drawbridge recess were 24 inches long and dressed all the way, with pairs of sinkings for pulley fixings set back some 8 inches behind the line of the back of the main recess. The sculptured panel between the slots is a modern invention, and bears the coat of arms of the Napier family.

The plaster ceiling—p. 26.

When the job began in 1958 the seventeenth century plaster ceiling on the second floor was found to be intact, save for a length of cornice at the chimney breast which had been replaced in Victorian alterations, and a damaged centre pendant, which had been broken and clumsily repaired after a gasolier fitting had been inserted in it. One of the first operations was to protect the ceiling by shoring it on bags of padding and by laying a polythene sheeting and a strong temporary floor above the third floor. Later, the need to reinstate

the masonry of the surrounding walls made it necessary to cut off the cornice; and later still, when the chimney breast was being taken down, the supporting floor joists were kept in position by suspending them from a steel beam temporarily fixed in the room above. Thus the ceiling remained *in situ* for nearly six years while work was going on above and below and around it, until the restoration of the plasterwork was put in hand in the summer of 1964.

The ceiling was carried on split boards nailed across very light bearers which spanned the width of the room with surprisingly little support from the heavier floor members above. The floor proper consisted of heavy oak beams at 3 foot centres, with Victorian joists in the interspaces. Dry rot was found in the timbers near the north-east corner. The principal task was to replace the split board backing and to form a new fire-resistant floor. Working from above, the joists and split boards were progressively cut away to expose the top of the plasterwork, which was then bonded to a new backing of fibrous plaster. Steel joists were inserted one by one at 3 foot centres above the ceiling, and fibrous plaster hangers were drawn from the backing up and over short timber bearers spanning between the lower flanges of the steelwork. In this way the weight of the ceiling was gradually transferred to the new structure. The structural floor was then completed by casting concrete slabs on permanent shuttering between the steel joists.

A new cornice, the profile carefully copied from the original, was formed in lengths of fibrous plaster. Since the ceiling had now to fit a new plaster line, particularly at the remodelled chimney-breast, it was slightly extended at the edges, and the position of some of the ornaments was adjusted to suit. Cleaning the ceiling revealed that the background in some ornaments had been painted green, and that the lettering, crowns, harps, stars and other heraldic details had been gilded—two varieties of gold leaf being visible. Since there was no means of determining whether this decoration was integral with the original design, the final treatment of the ceiling was a matter of aesthetic choice, and it was decided not to renew the colour and gilt work.

The 'Lion' gateway—p. 28.

This gateway was taken down in 1964 and re-erected (with some re-arrangement of the stones at cornice level) as the entrance to the College garden. It is reasonably certain that this curious composite structure was first put together in the early nineteenth century. The large rusticated outer piers were found to be properly bonded to the garden wall and are probably remains of an earlier and wider entrance gateway—as they are shown, indeed, in Drummond's conjectural sketch of the south of the Tower in the eighteenth century (p. 32). The style of masonry would not rule out the possibility that these piers were put up as early as the seventeenth century. The shape of the arch stones of the Lion gate shows that they were quite certainly borrowed from an arch of appreciably wider span. The lion sculptures are of a kind commonly found as garden ornaments, and were obviously not designed to fit the improvised cornice upon which they were seated. The large inscribed stone which had been added to the gateway in recent times (it is not shown in the sketch in McGibbon & Ross) has now been built into a wall near the Tower.

The seventeenth century gate-pillars, which until last century stood to the north of the Tower and were subsequently removed to a position near the Lion gate, are stored at Stanfield Street, Leith, pending a decision on their future.

The adaptation of the Tower—p. 29.

In the course of the restoration work the masonry of the Tower was thoroughly consolidated throughout, almost every medieval feature discovered was preserved, many later alterations were suppressed, and new alterations were kept to a minimum. The roofs were replaced, the interior (with the sole exception of the Charles II plaster ceiling) was gutted, and new structural floors, finishings and services constructed.

As previously mentioned, the planning of the Tower as part of the College was held off until the original organisation of the building was clearly understood, so that the new plan might fit the old structure as neatly and sympathetically as possible. In the end, the new organisation of the Tower became basically the same as the old, for the principal "living rooms" are on the second and third floors, and the two lowest floors are given over to services and office stores. The only major violence done is in the wing at first floor level, where the broad College foyer passes through the Tower.

On the ground floor, the main part of the Tower contains the internal telephone exchange and an equipment store, while the main College gas meter is housed in the wing. The office store on the first floor is connected to the College office and the main foyer by modern openings in the west and north walls respectively. The entrance hall on the second floor is on the site of the old screens passage, and its dropped ceiling is only 7 inches higher than the original one; a new opening in the west wall leads to the College administrative offices. The Principal occupies the former hall of the Tower, and the Vice-principal's office used to be the kitchen. The third floor, formerly containing the laird's private apartments, is given over to the boardroom, with a cloakroom suite in the wing. The fourth floor, which in medieval times was little better than a loft under the roof vault, has been largely suppressed, being reduced to a gallery across the end of the boardroom and a plant room in the wing. Thus the boardroom is a double height apartment, which is quite at variance with the original scheme, but which is perhaps justified by its use, and by the magnificent painted timber ceiling from Prestongrange House which is now displayed in it. The lobby and penthouse on the fifth and last floor are to be used as a museum.

Above the ground floor the walls are coated in plaster, following the irregularities of the masonry and finished in a close approximation to old plasterwork. The timber finishings range from cross-clad oak doors with wrought iron furniture to frankly modern details, mostly carried out in oak. Some of the joinerwork associated with the windows and the Charles II ceiling is in yellow pine, designed in a free version of late seventeenth century work. The lighting fittings are modern stock fittings, except in the boardroom, where the larger units have been specially designed to perform the dual function of lighting the room and floodlighting the painted ceiling. The roofs have been rebuilt exactly as they were, and are covered in Ballachulish slates, with the valleys swept in the traditional manner to accentuate the unity of the whole.

The College building and the Tower

The relationship between the Tower and the very large new building (it is over sixty times the bulk of the Tower) was a capital question in the design of the College. Direct competition between the two would have been hopelessly one-sided. The generating idea of the final plan was to avoid this competition by relating both the old and the new buildings to a third element—a large open space, comprising two quadrangles north and south of

the Tower. This space forms the heart of the College building and a setting for the Tower, which indeed is its dominating feature. The ranges of buildings north and south of the quadrangles are an essential part of the conception, defining the open space and preventing the long views which would bring the Tower and the main mass of the College into the same picture. It is in fact difficult to find any view which sets the Tower against the main mass. At the same time these screen buildings were raised upon columns, to afford glimpses of the Tower from the streets and to give a free, flowing and exciting quality to the central space. This freedom was enhanced by the use of a flying bridge between the Tower and the College foyer, completing an open pedestrian way through the quadrangles. The links between the Tower and the College were made subordinate to the Tower and as light and insubstantial as possible, in order to preserve something of the Tower's essentially free-standing character.

The Prestongrange painted ceiling

In 1962 a painted timber ceiling was discovered in the old part of Prestongrange House, near Prestonpans. For various reasons it was impossible to preserve it *in situ*, and a year later, upon the suggestion of the Historic Buildings Council, Edinburgh Corporation acquired it for erection at Merchiston, on the understanding that the Corporation would pay for the erection of a substitute floor and ceiling at Prestongrange House. The Ministry of Public Building and Works made a special grant towards the expense of dismantling, treating and re-erecting the painted ceiling, and this work was done on behalf of the Corporation by a joint team of experts from the Ministry and the National Trust for Scotland, headed by William Adams and Ian Hodkinson. The conservation treatment was carried out over a period of five months in a special workshop set up for the purpose at Links Place, Leith. Erection at Merchiston was completed in September 1964. A special plant has been installed to ensure that the timbers are kept at a constant optimum humidity.

The ceiling is constructed of Scots pine boards over oak beams, and the painting is in tempera, in a restricted palette of red lead, white, grey and black. But for the fading of the brilliant orange-red background to a dull russet hue, the paintings on the boards are very well preserved. The paintings on the beams have been attacked by some substance in the oak. The original painting appears to have been disfigured quite soon after it was applied, for a chevron design carried out in the same pigments as the board paintings was found to be overpainted with a much inferior decoration—which has in turn deteriorated almost to the point of vanishing. The beams suffered further damage round about 1700, when their soffits were adzed level to receive the lathing for a plaster ceiling.

The ceiling is now the principal feature of the Boardroom on the third floor of the Tower, and is remarkable in two respects. Being inscribed with the date 1581, it is the earliest dated example of a type of ceiling which was fashionable in Scotland during a few decades either side of the year 1600. It is also a very elegant example of the type, being painted with masterly assurance in a free and flowing style. The designs are graceful, and boldly and skilfully modelled. The numerous motifs follow no particular theme or order; many of them occur in other painted ceilings, and in book illustrations of the period. The ceiling is illustrated in M. R. Apted's *'The Painted Ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650'* (H.M.S.O., 1966—plates 41, 42 and 74).

Since the room at Merchiston is smaller than the room at Prestongrange, only about

four-fifths of the ceiling has been erected. The order of beams and panels has been adjusted in order to exclude some missing or damaged pieces, and to include the best or most interesting sections. The remainder of the ceiling is being preserved in store until a suitable opportunity for its display occurs.

The heraldic decorations

The achievement carved over the main entrance is the arms of the Napier family—argent, four roses gules barbed vert cantoned between a saltire engrailed gules: crest, hand grasping a crescent of the first: supported by two eagles segreant. It appears that these arms—a differenced version of the Lennox coat—were adopted by Alexander Napier, first of Merchiston, on the occasion of the betrothal of his grandson John Napier to Elizabeth Menteith, co-heiress of the Earldom of Lennox, shortly before Alexander's death. The arms have been placed above the doorway to commemorate the connection of the Napiers with the building and ownership of the Tower.

The shields incorporated in the painted ceiling of the entrance hall comprise the Napier College arms surrounded by the arms of the principal past and present owners of the Tower. Reading from the doorway these are—the old paternal arms of Napier (argent, 3 crescents azure on a bend gules); the Napier family (as in the sculptured coat); Lewis of Merchiston (or, 3 laurel leaves proper); Merchiston Castle School (the Napier coat differenced by a book in place of a rose in chief); and the City of Edinburgh (argent, a castle triple-towered sable upon a rock proper). The arms of the Napier College are a combination of those of the City of Edinburgh (for the Education Authority), the paternal arms of Napier (for John Napier) and the Napier family arms (for Merchiston), and the motto, *Nisi sapientia frustra*, is a variation of the City motto.

The heraldic emblems on the seventeenth-century plaster ceiling on the second floor do not appear to have any particular relationship to the Tower or its owners. Moulds of this kind were part of the stock-in-trade of plasterers and frequently recur in different ceilings.

The people involved

The work was carried out for Edinburgh Corporation under the direction of the Department of the City Architect, Alexander Steele. The architect in charge was Stuart Harris, and the Clerk of Works was John Train.

The quantity surveyors were H. A. Brechin & Co, the structural consultants, Kinnear & Gordon, and the electrical consultants, Ian Hunter & Partners. The architects and technical officers of the Ministry of Public Building and Works gave technical advice on restoration work, and Iain MacIvor of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and John Dunbar and Geoffrey Hay of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments guided the interpretation of the building. Miss Helen Armet investigated its history.

The restoration work was carried out by Messrs. J. Turner & Co. until April, 1963, and was completed, together with the finishing works, by Messrs. Crudens of Musselburgh. The electrical work was executed by Messrs. Wm. Allan Smith, the heating and ventilation by Messrs. Andrews-Weatherfoil and the painter work by Messrs. J. & T. Harvey. Specialist work was carried out by Albert Cramb (plaster restoration), Thomas Hadden (wrought iron work), J. G. Brown (stone carving) and Margaret Ferguson (heraldic painting).

THREE LITTLE-KNOWN EARLY DRAWINGS OF EDINBURGH CASTLE

by JOHN G. DUNBAR

SINCE there are so few surviving views of Edinburgh prior to the reign of William II it is perhaps worth considering the authenticity and significance of three early drawings of the castle that have so far escaped general notice.

The first (Pl. 1) is a pen-and-ink and wash drawing formerly preserved in the archives of the Königlich Bayerisches Krieg-Ministerium, but now lost or mislaid.¹ Credit for the discovery of this drawing belongs to Professor Bodo Ebhardt, who published it as *Tafel X* of the first volume of his *Der Wehrbau Europas im Mittelalter* (1939), but due to the almost complete destruction of the publisher's stock during the Second World War very few copies of this work ever reached this country.²

In the absence of any information concerning the identity of the artist, or of the circumstances that led to its production and eventual deposition in the Bavarian State Archives, the drawing must be assessed on the evidence of content alone. If its authenticity can be established the drawing is clearly of some historical importance, since it purports to depict both castle and town in considerable detail.

The castle is apparently drawn in "bird's eye view" from the north and comprises two main courtyards surrounded by buildings, together with an open tree-studded area to the west, around the perimeter of which there appear a number of freestanding buildings. From the town below, a track winds up towards the east front of the castle, traversing in its ascent three gateways, each of which is flanked by a defensive outwork. A fourth gateway, placed towards the south end of the east range of the outer courtyard, gives access to the castle itself, while a fifth penetrates the west range of the outer courtyard to emerge a little to the south of the smaller inner court. All these gateways and outworks are indicated by letters corresponding to a written key placed within the lower portion of the drawing. This key, which is in German, appears to be written in a contemporary hand.³

The town lies beneath, and apparently to the north of, the castle. It is surrounded by a wall which incorporates two arched gatehouses and a watermill, this last being driven by a river which flows past the west side of the castle mount and thence along the north section of the town wall. The principal building in the town is a church, but there are also several streets of houses, as well as a prominent freestanding structure situated close to the south section of the town wall, which itself returns at each end in the direction of the castle, thus enclosing the greater part of the north side of the castle mount.

So far as the castle is concerned, the representation accords fairly well with what is known of the appearance of the fortress prior to the restoration carried out after the siege of 1573. Thus the east front incorporates the principal flanking towers seen in the views of 1544⁴, 1560⁵ and 1573-4,⁶ while the north-east (or Constable's) tower is correctly shown to be of circular plan. Moreover, the arrangement of the two main courtyards bears a general resemblance to that depicted (albeit somewhat loosely) in Braun and Hogenburg's view of c. 1574.⁷

Some doubt arises, however, as to the lay-out of the west portion of the enceinte, for

many more buildings are shown than appear either in the views already mentioned or in Gordon of Rothiemay's manifestly accurate "bird's eye view" of 1647.⁸ More serious difficulties are presented by the gateways and outworks, which bear little resemblance to those depicted in other views of the period and described in some detail in Johnson and Fleming's siege report of January 1573.⁹ Nor can the disposition of the approach road and the lay-out of the town below be easily reconciled with the natural configuration of the site. Since the gateways and outworks alone are the subjects of verbal description, it is clear that particular importance attached to the accuracy with which these features were represented, but when every allowance has been made for artistic license and lack of skill it is difficult to believe that the outer defences of the castle ever existed in the form in which they are shown. Likewise, while the street-plan of the town might be accepted as a simplified version of that depicted in the two views of 1573-4, the actual situation of the town in relation to the castle, and the representation of the town wall and its closely encircling river are all far removed from reality.

In short it is not easy to accept that this is a contemporary, eye-witness drawing of Edinburgh Castle as it existed about the third quarter of the 16th century. If the drawing does indeed represent Edinburgh then it must surely derive largely from secondary sources, but it is hard to resist the suspicion that it is the caption rather than the drawing that is in error, and that the artist is in fact depicting some other European castle of the period.¹⁰

The two remaining drawings, which are preserved in the Public Record Office, in London,¹¹ relate to a scheme for remodelling the outer defences of the castle on its eastern side. The first (Pl. 2) shows the plan of a bastioned forework pierced by a central gateway, beyond which the approach path winds beneath the Half Moon Battery and passes through two inner gates before reaching Morton's Gateway. The key makes it clear that the drawing is exactly contemporary with the construction of these two inner gateways, of which the lower (B) is "all neast finised allredie," while the upper (C) is "finesed in the stone work." There is nothing to indicate whether or not work had begun upon the forework itself. The second drawing (Pl. 3), although in a different hand, is closely related to the first, but in place of the bastioned forework there is a large V-shaped outwork, evidently the Spur Battery, whose appearance is familiar from the views of 1573-4 and 1647 already mentioned. The two inner gateways are described in the accompanying key as "the two new gates," while certain portions of the outer walls are indicated as being in need of repair. Superimposed upon the main plan by means of dotted lines there is the outline of a forework generally similar in size and disposition to the one shown in the first drawing. In this case, however, half-bastions are employed, and these are of rounded rather than of polygonal plan.

In the absence of any detailed account of the architectural development of Edinburgh Castle during the late 16th and 17th centuries it is not possible to determine the precise date and significance of these drawings, but it is perhaps worth voicing a doubt as to the validity of their present attribution to the year 1573.¹²

In the first place both drawings clearly depict the Half Moon Battery which, it is generally agreed, was not erected until after the siege of 1573¹³. Moreover, Morton's Gateway, which belongs to the same period, is described in the key to the first drawing as the "old iner zet howis," while the site of the Palace Block on the east side of Crown Square is referred to as "the ples quher the old and new work stands," terms that are unlikely to

have been used before the erection of the new King's Lodging in 1615-17.¹⁴ Nor do the dispositions of the inner gateways and of the adjacent stretches of curtain wall agree with those shown in Gordon's view of 1647. There is a considerable measure of correspondence, however, with the arrangement depicted in Slezer's plan of the castle dated 1674,¹⁵ which also illustrates a forework in the same position as those in the two drawings now under discussion. It seems possible, therefore, that these drawings belong to the Cromwellian or early Caroline period, an attribution not inconsistent with their palaeography. The Spur Battery is known to have been seriously damaged during the siege of 1640, and orders for its demolition were given in 1649.¹⁶ Less than a year later, and perhaps before the removal of the Spur had been completed,¹⁷ the castle was again besieged and captured, this time by Cromwell. It is not unlikely that proposals for a new forework and associated gateways were drawn up at this time.

NOTES and REFERENCES

¹ Information from Dr Jaeger of the Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich.

² I am most grateful to the late Dr W. Douglas Simpson for kindly directing my attention to the contents of this volume.

³ This may be summarized in translation as follows: A, B, C, the first, second and third bastions; D, E, F, the first, second and third gateways; G, another two gateways below.

⁴ Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, *Inventory of the City of Edinburgh* (1951), Fig. 59.

⁵ Donaldson, Gordon, "Map of the Siege of Leith, 1560," in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxxii (1966), plate facing p. 4.

⁶ Simpson, David C., *Edinburgh Displayed* (1962).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Inventory of the City of Edinburgh*, p. 6.

¹⁰ But evidently not either of the two German castles of the same name noted by Curt Tillman in his *Lexikon der Deutschen Burgen und Schlösser* (1958-61).

¹¹ *Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office*, vol. i (1967), No. 4020.

¹² In *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, iv (1571-1574), p. 636, nos. 745 and 746. Only one of the drawings is endorsed.

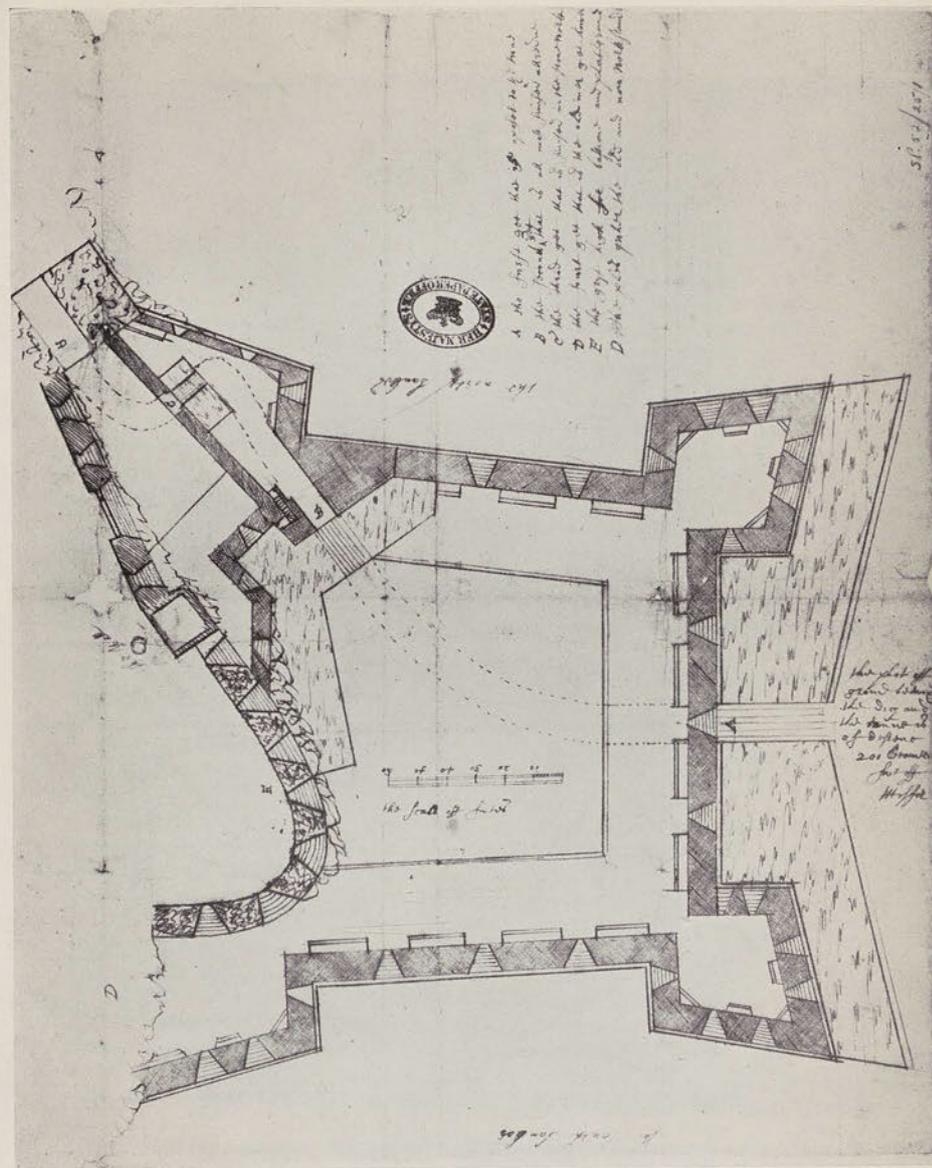
¹³ *Inventory of the City of Edinburgh*, p. 7.

¹⁴ cf. the use of the terms "auld wark" and "new wark" in the building accounts of this period—Works Accounts (E36), Scottish Record Office.

¹⁵ Public Record Office, Works 31/18.

¹⁶ *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (1844-75), VI, ii, pp. 484 and 517; *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642-55*, xlvi, pp. 206, 207-9, 237, 241 and 248-9.

¹⁷ Douglas, W. S., *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns, 1650-51* (1898), p. 200.



The outworks, showing gateways and proposed forework

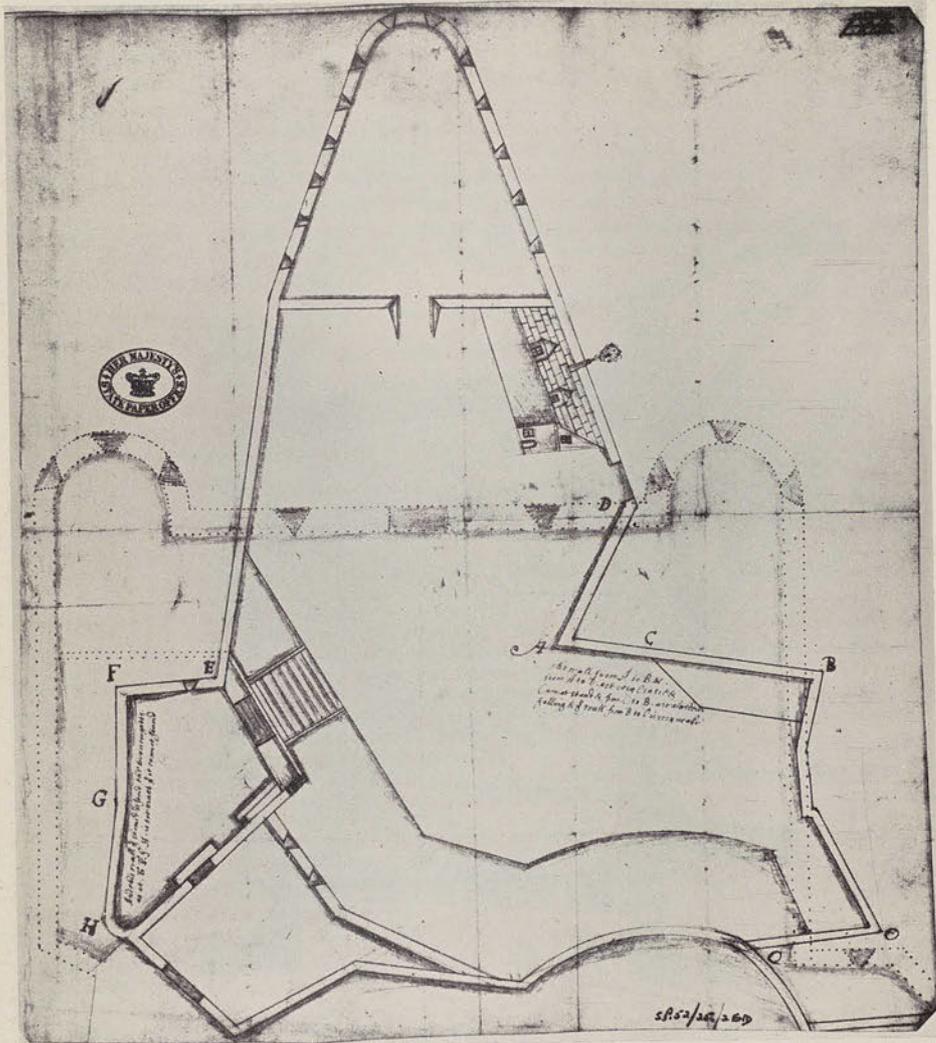


Plate III The outworks showing gateways, Spur Battery and proposed forework

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF LINDSAY RAE

Bowmaker to the Royal Company of Archers

by SIR JAMES FERGUSSON

SIR James Balfour Paul's *History of the Royal Company of Archers* (1875) and the more recent account by Ian Hay¹ have much to tell about the dinners, formal and informal, held by the Royal Company in Archers' Hall. Naturally their narratives are restricted to the dinners and the diners: they are not concerned with the world below stairs from which the dishes and decanters emerged. Of that world, as it existed in the age described in Lord Cockburn's *Memorials*, the following paper² gives a probably unique glimpse. It is in the form of a letter, without address or signature, evidently meant for the Secretary or some other member of the Council of the Royal Company, written by Lindsay Rae, who served as bowmaker from 1801 to 1818 and as officer for a further period into the reign of King William IV.

In modern times the officer of the Royal Company combines the duties of marker in the field and butler in the Hall, and Rae's reminiscences show this combination of duties to be several generations old. In his time they were further combined with those of bowmaker, which is not the case today.

Lindsay Rae's connection with the Royal Company began on 11 November, 1789, when he was bound apprentice to John McIntosh, bowyer and fletcher in Edinburgh, to learn "the art and trade of bowyer and fletcher" for seven years.³ He was then 12 years old, having been born on 6 March, 1777, the son of an Edinburgh mason, David Rae, by his wife Isobel Buchanan.⁴ In the articles of indenture he is described as lawful son of David Rae, mason in Quarryholes in the parish of Leith. His father was cautioner for him and the articles were written and witnessed by Alexander Brown, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, a prominent member of the Royal Company.

McIntosh died in 1793, and young Rae became assistant to his successor as the Royal Company's bowmaker, William Buchanan, who was, as it happened, his uncle. Buchanan, however, was dismissed after a few years "for neglect of duty."⁵ Rae, then newly returned, as he tells us, from service in the Army, was appointed bowmaker and marker to the Royal Company in his uncle's place in May, 1801. He had just married, on 26 April, Jessie Dick, the daughter of Alexander Dick, the gardener at Archers' Hall.⁶

Among Rae's terms of agreement with the Royal Company was included an obligation that he should "have a properly instructed assistant marker," and that both were to be dressed "at all public days" in "a green frock, with white lining and white metal buttons, white vest, breeches and stockings, with a round hat and cockade of white and green ribbon, all furnished at the said Lindsay Rae's expence." His emoluments were to be the fees paid, according to a given scale, by every member attending on a shooting day "in the field or at dinner."⁷

Archers' Hall, from the time of its building in 1776-7, had been let as a tavern, subject to the members' right to dine there whenever they chose. None of the tenants seems to

have found the lease profitable, and they changed frequently. The first landlord mentioned by Rae, Colin Young, retired in 1800, having served the Royal Company, as he said, for 13 years.⁸ Charles Oman, his successor, lasted for only two years, and John Jardine, who came next, for only one. But after the brief tenancy of Mrs Gordon, also mentioned by Rae, a certain Rintoul kept the Hall till 1823. John Brand, an officer of the Royal Company, then had it till 1826, after which it ceased to be a tavern.⁹

The regular dinners in Archers' Hall, formerly held once a week, were reduced in 1797 to once a fortnight, and during the next few years became fixed at once a month, as today.¹⁰

Rae gave up his work as bowmaker and fletcher in 1818, when he was succeeded by John Brand;¹¹ but he was still styled "officer and bowmaker to the Royal Company of Archers" and moreover "gown keeper to the Writers to the Signet" on 3rd February, 1826, on which date he was admitted to be a Burgess of Edinburgh.¹² It seems evident that he was still in the Royal Company's service when he set down this account of his experiences which dwells almost entirely on his work inside the Hall. He died, of "palpitations in the heart," at 41 Buccleuch Place on 7 October, 1836, aged 59, and was buried on the 11th in the Canongate Kirkyard "in a rig four feet east of Brown's ground and four feet north-east of Hunter's pillar."¹³

THE LETTER

(No date or address).

Sir,

I believe I omitted to mention in the duties of the officers of the Company to say that they were to attend all dinners in the Hall connected with Archery in the uniform given them.—Perhaps it will be of some amusement if not information were I to give you a sketch of the different orders issued by the Council as far as regards the officers and dinners.

When I came to my apprenticeship in 1789 I found John Mackintosh and James Campbell were officers and Bowmakers to the Company. Mackintosh my master lived in the Cannongate, and the other was a clockmaker in the Links and when the shooters wanted a marker they generally sent for Mackintosh, when after I had learned to mark I was always dispatched to the feild, and as the Company dined every Saturday then the officers of the company, along with Colin Young who was then Landlord, was the only persons allowed to wait after dinner. There was no occasion for waiters except on Prize days, and the bargain with the parties at that time was, that the Landlord gave the officers their dinner for their services and the Company gave them the small beer, ale or porter that was left after dinner and if any wine was left at the finale they got it also.

Shortly after this Campbell who was neither a good bowmaker, marker nor waiter was dismissed and I supplied his place as marker but was not suffer'd to partake of the good things mentioned as I was sent home to his shop in the Cannongate immediately after the shooting was over, and my master consumed all. Things went on in this way for some years when my master fell into bad health, and was unable to attend, when I sometimes got my dinner in the kitchen along with the other Scogies¹⁴ and assisted to carry up the dinner to the Room Door until I ventured to come inside and even to take away a used plate at the dinner and had the courage to put down a clean one in its place, until I became pretty

expert in these nightly matters and was taken by Colin Young to assist him after dinner, and as the number seldom exceeded ten or twelve we easily managed it.

We continued in this way until Mackintosh died and as I was too young then to take charge of the bowmaking, an uncle of my own was appointed officer and I was deposited to his custody and learn him the bussiness for which I was to receive two shillings a week and victuals, but as he was bred a carpenter and was rather too late in life before he was appointed he did not succeed in pleasing the gentlemen. But as this was about the beginning of the late War there was a kind of Innteregnum took place both in shooting and dining and his service were not much required, and as he used me ill and no work to be had I went into the Army and was near three years in England until Archery again came round, and hearing that Buchanan did not please I sold out, or rather bought out having paid 60 guineas for two substitutes. I was discharged and came home and was appointed officer in 1800.

Some time before this Colin Young having got into dissipated habits left the Hall and it was taken by the late Charles Oman, when a total revolution took place with regard to the officer, as Mr Oman would allow no person to attend the Company after dinner except himself or his partner Mr Williamson. The moment the cloth was of the the table, the officers, servants and waiters were all shuff'd out of the room, shov'd down stairs, squeez'd into the parlour, our dinner stuff'd down our throats as fast as possible, turn'd again out of the parlour and if any grumbling took place kick'd down stairs and the devil take the hindmost. The waiters claimed and drank all the porter &c left up stairs and Mrs Oman claimed the left wine for her tarts and puddings and not a drop for Pilgarlick,¹⁵ and Charles charged in the bill for the servants' dinner including the officers'.

This continued as long as Oman remain'd in the Hall, when he was succeeded by Mr Jardine who was almost unfit for any thing, when I was again brought to the scratch and was allowed a bottle of porter for myself and another for my assistant after dinner, attended however by this slight inconvenience that from attending the Company up stairs and the interest of Jardine down stairs I got no dinner at all and the servants and waiters drank the porter, and to mend the matter, as neither the Company nor the house allowed the servants any thing after dinner, I was obliged for the honour of the Corps to give them something out of my own pocket while they were waiting for orders from their masters, so that every dinner that took place cost me from three to five shillings and on Prize Days much more.

This continued for some time but as I was seconded only by drunken thieves of waiters Jardine was obliged to give in, and was succeeded by Mrs Gordon¹⁶ in whose time almost the same routine went on. But as she had run away from her husband he in due time run after her and carried her off, when Mr Rintoul took possession, but as he never enter'd the Room neither at nor after dinner and altho' there were plenty of waiters the one half of them were drunken vagabonds and the other half thieves I had enough ado with all parties but contrived to get on pretty well during the many years he remained in the Hall.

When Mr Brand was in the Hall the officers, servants and waiters dined altogether and I believe the same charge [was] made in the bill, only I contrived to make Brand [pay] the half of the expence I was at in attending the dinners. I have brought this up to your own time when you must know all the circumstances connected with the bussiness. I think it proper to ment/on that all the time I was Bowmaker I was obliged to find the uniform worn by the officer and his assistant at my own expence and I never received any from the

Company until his Majesty's late visit to Scotland when I got a suit, the same which I now have.

If there are any thing else that occurs to you that is wanted by way of information I an in omnis promptis to give it in any way that may be of use in that modus operandi.

Note in another hand at foot: Written by George Lindsay Rae about 1833.—P.M.

REFERENCES

- ¹ I. Hay, *The Royal Company of Archers, 1676-1951*. Edinburgh, 1951.
- ² Royal Company Papers, 440. This and quotations from other papers are printed by kind permission of the Council of the Queen's Body Guard for Scotland (Royal Company of Archers).
- ³ *Ibid.*, 439.
- ⁴ Edinburgh Register of Births, in New Register House.
- ⁵ Balfour Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 and 120.
- ⁶ St. Cuthbert's Register of Marriages, in New Register House. Here Rae's name is given as George Lindsay Rea (*sic*), though George was not his baptismal name.
- ⁷ Royal Company Papers, 439.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 341/8, 341/9.
- ⁹ Balfour Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-1.
- ¹¹ Royal Company Papers, 441.
- ¹² Scottish Record Society, no. 68, *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren, 1761-1841*.
- ¹³ Canongate Register of Burials, in New Register House. His name is given as George Lindsay Rae.
- ¹⁴ Kitchen drudges.—Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.
- ¹⁵ Originally "peeled garlick"—a poor creature; used by a speaker of himself to mean "poor I," "poor me."—*O.E.D.*
- ¹⁶ Margaret Gordon took over the Hall in 1805 (Royal Company Papers, 341/12 and 341/13).

THE EDINBURGH BRANCH OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL
UNION OF CABINET AND CHAIR MAKERS, 1833-1837

by IAN MACDOUGALL

AMONG the few surviving records of early trade unions in Scotland are the manuscript minutes and financial records, and the printed laws of the Edinburgh Branch of the Scottish National Union of Cabinet and Chair Makers. The Branch existed from 1833 until 1837. Preserved with these records are the manuscript minutes and accounts for 1836 to 1872 of the Branch's successor, the Edinburgh Society of Cabinet and Chair Makers. Formed in 1836, this Society was almost certainly one of several local unions which amalgamated in 1874 to become the United Operative Cabinet and Chairmakers' Association of Scotland, and later amalgamations involving this and English unions resulted in the formation of the present National Union of Furniture Trades Operatives. That these Edinburgh records have survived the holocaust of Scottish nineteenth century trade union documents is due to the alertness of a municipal dustman, who saved them from incineration. They passed into the hands of the Scottish Labour History Society, and are to be presented by the Society to the National Library of Scotland.

It is with the history of the Edinburgh Branch of the Scottish National Union, not that of its successor the Edinburgh Society, that the present article is concerned. The surviving records of the Branch are contained in one foolscap volume, whose centre pages are occupied by minutes of the later Society, which bought up the Branch books and other possessions. Though their lack of detail makes them unsatisfactory sources, the minutes, along with the accounts and laws, do throw some light upon aspects of trade unionism in Edinburgh, and even in other towns in Scotland, in the mid-1830s.

The circumstances in which the Branch was formed are somewhat obscure. The accounts show that a general meeting of cabinet and chair makers had been held in the city on 5th March 1833, at which it was evidently decided to form a Branch of the Scottish National Union. The Branch appears to have succeeded, or perhaps superseded, an earlier Union of cabinet and chair makers in Edinburgh, for in October 1834 it was agreed that "the Box belonging to the Old Society, together with the plates, tickets, etc., should be bought for the sum agreed . . . £1 10s." The number of price books possessed by the old Society was to be ascertained and the sum for which the Branch might buy them. The only other reference to this earlier society is an entry in the minutes in 1835 that a request from Greenock for copies of price books was refused on the grounds that Greenock was "indebted to the Old Society for Books already sent." Presumably this older union is the one which the Webbs showed in their *History of Trade Unionism* (2nd edition, 1901. London.) had issued in 1805 and again in 1825 a book of prices mutually agreed with the employers. The prices concerned were the piece rates paid to journeymen.

The reason for the eclipse of this earlier union is unknown, and a similar obscurity envelops the origins and history of the Scottish National Union of which the Edinburgh Branch formed part. There is no evidence of the Union's existence before 1833. Probably

its formation, and that of the Edinburgh Branch too, was in part a consequence of the general expansion of trade unionism that took place in Britain in 1833-1834. The formation of the Scottish Union may have stimulated, or been stimulated by, the formation in 1833 of an English National Union of Cabinetmakers, subsequently known as the Amalgamated Union, with headquarters in Liverpool. A feature of the trade union boom of the period was the attempt not only to group local societies in one trade into one union, but also to bring together unions of several trades into one great trades union, the outstanding example of which was the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, founded under the influence of Robert Owen in October 1833. A contemporary newspaper refers to certain journeymen cabinetmakers in the West of Scotland as "members of the Trades' Unions," and the Webbs imply that these cabinetmakers, who were certainly members of the Scottish National Union, were associated with the Grand National Union. The Edinburgh Branch of the Cabinet Makers spent more money in 1833 on delegates' expenses to destinations unspecified than on any other single item. It may be that these anonymous meetings had some connection with attempts to form one grand union of trades such as the Grand National, or the Owenite Union formed by Alexander Campbell in Glasgow in the autumn of 1831—the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for the Protection of Labour. The sheer lack of evidence makes all this, however, pure speculation. Neither the Branch records nor the contemporary press give any indication whatever that the Edinburgh Cabinet Makers themselves ever went on strike, an action to which Unions that were sections of the Grand National Union were certainly prone.

In the earlier period of its existence the Edinburgh Branch had numerous contacts with Glasgow. A letter from that city was received at the foundation meeting of the Branch in March 1833, and in May it was agreed to take a loan from the Glasgow Branch of the Union "until such time as the finances of this Branch was able to repay them." The Branch corresponded frequently with Glasgow until the middle of 1834; thereafter the correspondence declined, and none seems to have taken place after February 1836. It was with the Glasgow Branch of the Union that most, and perhaps all, of these exchanges took place. Whether there was any kind of national executive committee of the Union is uncertain, but unlikely. Only one or two references suggest the existence of such a committee. In April 1834 the Edinburgh Branch appointed George Pratt, William Craig and James Wright "for the Central Committee," with 2s. 6d. per month to defray their expenses for meetings; and the accounts for the following month show that 6s. 6d. was "Paid Central Committee." If the Central Committee was in fact a national executive committee, and if, as would seem probable, it met in Glasgow rather than elsewhere, expenses of 2s. 6d. to three members from Edinburgh seem distinctly meagre, especially since in September 1833 £2 12s. 2d. was paid to two delegates sent by the Branch to attend a rules conference in Glasgow of all Branches of the Union. The Central Committee referred to may have been merely the committee of the Branch itself, or the committee of the Edinburgh Trades Delegates, forerunner of the trades council. If, however, it was a national executive committee, then it probably ceased to function after the last reference to it in May 1834. By that time a dispute with the employers in Glasgow had ended in defeat for the Union. It is likely that the National Union was in fact a federation of more or less autonomous local societies of cabinet and chair makers following a common policy, or at any rate observing common or similar rules, and rendering mutual support.

Support from the Edinburgh Branch for their Glasgow brethren became necessary from the latter part of 1833, when the cabinet and chair makers there began a lengthy dispute with their employers. There is conflicting evidence as to whether the dispute was a strike or a lock-out, but it seems to have arisen from the insistence of the employers that the men abandon their Union. In September, the Edinburgh Branch opened a subscription list to help the Glasgow members. During the following few months exhortations to pay the subscription were frequently made at Branch meetings. One effect was to increase the number of members in arrears with their ordinary contributions. Despite an attempt at mediation by the committee of the Glasgow Trades Delegates, the dispute dragged on into the spring of 1834. After the Edinburgh Branch had been addressed by two delegates from Glasgow, it was agreed in April to send a letter to each shop in arrears with the Glasgow subscription and the Branch monthly dues. By May, when the Branch was being forced to consider whether it should continue to support Glasgow, the end of the dispute was announced. On 8th May, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* quoted from a West of Scotland newspaper a report that "the journeymen cabinetmakers' combination in Glasgow, one of the most powerful and united in that city, is completely broken up, and the men are now coming forward in great numbers, offering to work on written conditions involving a complete renunciation of the Union, and in fact reverting to the good old rational system when each workman sold his labour to the best advantage, and allowed no man nor body of men to interfere between him and his employer. In this case, as at Derby and elsewhere, the lowness of the exchequer had an effect in bringing the workmen to their senses." When four days after the publication of this report, Mr McFarlane, a delegate from Glasgow, addressed the Edinburgh Branch on how and why the dispute had ended, he was given a friendly reception. But a motion critical of one aspect was moved by George Boyd and seconded by W. Clark: "That the struggle in Glasgow has throughout been conducted with spirit and that the conclusion they have come to is the most expedient course that could be adopted. But in admitting the necessity of this we are decidedly opposed to the system of sending lines declaring themselves non-unionists." This was a reference to "the Document," an anti-union declaration which many employers at that period sought to make their employees sign as a condition of employment. Boyd's motion was carried by 27 votes to 23 for an amendment that it lie over till the following meeting. The *Courant's* assertion that the Glasgow union had collapsed seems, however, to have been premature. In July a letter was received by the Edinburgh Branch from Glasgow "soliciting our pecuniary assistance," and it was unanimously agreed that a voluntary subscription be raised immediately. Again in January 1835 the Branch was asked by Glasgow for help in liquidating the debt incurred during the dispute. A final appeal for help was received in November, but the Edinburgh Branch soon afterwards agreed that "nothing more was to be done [sic] for them at present." As late as 1844 the Glasgow union was said by a witness at the Poor Law Commission enquiry to be still in existence, though its function was limited to insurance of members' tools.

One other point is perhaps worth noting in the exchanges between the Edinburgh Branch and Glasgow. At a Branch meeting in December 1833, a Mr Summers from Glasgow urged "the advantages derived from being initiated." An initiation ceremony, intended to ensure the loyalty of members, was the practice in some Unions at this period. Mr Summers' suggestion gave rise at the Branch to "a long and animated discussion,"

which it was agreed to continue at the following meeting. But the minutes contain no further reference to the subject. Three months later, the six Tolpuddle labourers were convicted and transported for seven years for administering illegal oaths during a union initiation ceremony.

Correspondence was carried on by the Edinburgh Branch with half a dozen other towns in Scotland. Though the correspondents are not identified, except in one case, scraps of evidence in the minutes and accounts make it safe to assume that they were in fact other branches of the Cabinet Makers' Union. In May 1833 it was agreed to send a deputation "to meet Dundee and Aberdeen." Whether one went is uncertain. The nearest entry in the accounts is not until 8th July, when the considerable sum of £8 was "paid to delegates," but their destination is not given. There is no further reference in the minutes to either Dundee or Aberdeen, but the accounts show that the correspondence was carried on with the former until November 1833, and with the latter until March 1834. Until early in 1834 the Branch also corresponded with Montrose, Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline, and as late as April 1835 with Greenock, whose request then for price books has already been mentioned. A report in the contemporary press confirms the existence at Greenock of a union of cabinetmakers. In December 1833 the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* reported that all the Greenock journeymen cabinetmakers had gone on strike against their employers' ultimatum that they would be dismissed unless they ceased "being members of the Trades' Unions." The request for price books sixteen months later suggests that either the union at Greenock survived the strike, or that a successor soon sprang up. A branch of the National Union, or at least a local society of journeymen, seems also to have existed at Dumfries. Two men, presumably tramping journeymen cabinetmakers, from that town were paid 2s. 6d. by the Edinburgh Branch in July 1833. It is unlikely that relief would have been given without the production of credentials from a union at Dumfries.

The Edinburgh Branch had some contact too, even if mainly indirect, with societies in Belfast, Manchester, Liverpool and London, of which the first three were almost certainly branches of the English National Union of Cabinet Makers. In May 1833 it was unanimously agreed by the Branch "to publish Bills so as to acquaint those unaware of the strike in Liverpool." A year later, four shillings were given to a tramping journeyman from Manchester, and shortly afterwards two shillings to one from Belfast. Finally, in April 1835 a letter was received from London "acquainting us with the villinous [sic] conduct of their late treasurer who had purloined at different times to the amount of about £500, and warning us to beware of him and treat him as he deserves should he come in our way." This letter was one of only three from any source that the Branch appears to have received during the whole of 1835. After 1834 indeed it virtually ceased to have contact with organisations outside Edinburgh, no doubt because of the collapse of other branches of the Union, and the general decline of trade unionist activity throughout the country. The Branch's expenditures on postages reflect the isolation of its later years: £2 14s. 11d. in the two years 1833-1834, a mere 1s. 2½d. in 1835, and nothing at all in 1836-1837.

The Branch's relations with organisations outside Edinburgh raise many questions to which the minutes and other sources fail to provide answers. Its activities and relations with other trade unionists within the city are, however, somewhat better documented, and so are its own internal affairs. The Branch met monthly, at least until September 1836, when its declining fortunes resulted in quarterly meetings only. The meetings were held

in the Skinners' Hall, High Street, for which the rent proposed in May 1833 was £2 per annum "including gass [sic]." The members' subscription to the Union, according to the printed Laws issued in April 1835, was 2d. each per week. A collector appointed by the members in each workshop took the money and forwarded it to the Branch Treasurer. Collectors who failed to perform their duties punctually were liable to a fine of twopence and so were members who transferred to another workshop without notifying the Branch secretary. Any member who fell more than six months in arrears with his weekly subscription was liable to expulsion from the Union, though readmittance, on terms, might be granted by the monthly meeting. Entry to the Branch was dealt with in Clause 1 of the Laws: "All regular Cabinet or Chair Makers may be admitted upon payment of 5s. as Entry Money, but if applying within one month after the completion of an apprenticeship, or if coming from a place where there is no branch of the Union, and applying within one month after having obtained employment, he shall be admitted a member upon payment of 1s. as entry money." Though entry monies paid were not always separately entered in the records, the evidence suggests that in practice a smaller sum than 5s. or even 1s. was taken from new members.

Since the enrolment book is one of the Branch records that has not survived, the number of members is not known. In December 1836 it is stated that there were 26 members, but by that date the Branch was definitely moribund. The membership during its more active years is suggested by an entry in the accounts for September 1835 which refers to John Neasham as No. 91. An inference may also be drawn from the membership of the later Edinburgh Society of Cabinet and Chair Makers, which was evidently a larger organisation than the Branch, and which enrolled in its first year in 1836 some 144 members. Figures of attendance, or rather of voting, at Branch meetings are given on two occasions only, and are not particularly helpful in establishing the size of membership. In May 1833 59 members voted on a motion, and in May a year later 50. These scraps of evidence suggest that the membership of the Branch, at least until the middle of 1836, was not less than 60; including members in arrears it may have been about a hundred. But whatever the precise number of its members, it is certain that the Branch never enrolled more than a minority of the journeymen cabinet and chair makers in Edinburgh. An address was drawn up by a special sub-committee in August 1833 "for to try to convince those who have not taking [sic] into consideration the advantages of Union and what may be derived when firmly united." The address was published in October that year in the first issue of an Edinburgh trade union periodical, *The Trades Monthly Journal*. The response was unsatisfactory, as a year later the Branch agreed to consider "the most efficient mean [sic] that can be adopted by this Union so as to receive the support of a great majority of the Trade who are still unconnected." A meeting of cabinet and chair makers summoned on 6th January 1835 decided that "for the purpose of the more consolidating our members," a Committee be appointed to work out a system of unemployment benefit.

The outcome of the Committee's work on this and other problems was reflected in the new printed Laws of the Branch, issued in April. Clause III provided that any member who had been enrolled at least three months and was not more than that in arrears with his weekly dues, would if unemployed receive 5s. per week for not more than two months. Arrears due at the beginning of his period of unemployment were to be deducted from the first week of benefit. Clause IV of the Laws prescribed that members thrown out of

employment must immediately notify the Branch secretary. The latter was to prepare by the following Friday a statement of the number of days of unemployment already undergone, and after he and the member had signed it, it was presented to the Treasurer for payment. The same procedure was to be followed each week until the member resumed employment. Any member receiving benefit who was found simultaneously to have taken paid employment was liable to expulsion from the Union. The scheme was begun by the Branch in August 1835, but only two members appear to have received benefit under it. John Neasham, No. 91, received 5s. 10d. in September, and 5s. in December 1835, for a total of 13 days' unemployment; and William Tait, No. 30, received 5s. in September 1835 and a similar sum in April 1836 for a total of 12 days' unemployment. There had, however, also been payments of 8s. 6d. from the general Branch funds in 1833-1834 to tramping cabinetmakers from Dumfries, Belfast, and Manchester. For any member of the Branch who decided to go on tramp, conditions were prescribed in Clause VI of the Laws: "Any member who is clear of the Union books, and wishing to leave the town, after being out of employment for not less than one month, shall be entitled to receive a clear ticket, and a sum of money to defray his travelling expenses, of not less than 5s., nor more than £1, in proportion to the distance of the place of his destination." But the accounts record no expenditures of this kind.

Another form of benefit which the Branch provided was that of fire insurance upon members' tools and tool chests. An annual policy of £600, or £10 per insured member, was taken out until 1836. Because of the decline of membership by then, the policy was reduced to £300. There is no record of any claim by members for benefit under the insurance policy.

The financial resources of the Branch were slender. Its income, in round figures, was evidently £28 in 1833, £14 in 1834, £18 in 1835, £12 in 1836, and 5s. 9d. in 1837. The greater part of these sums came from membership dues, the remainder from the sale of journals and copies of the Laws, and from insurance payments by members. In 1833, as has already been seen, a loan of £3 was received from the Glasgow Branch. In each year the rate of expenditure left only a small balance in the Branch funds, and in 1834 there appears to have been a deficit of over £4, no doubt because of subsidies sent to Glasgow during the dispute there. The Branch's total expenditures, in descending order of magnitude, during the four years of its existence were: delegates' expenses £13 17s., payments to the officer (who acted as steward at meetings) £10 16s., rent of hall and other costs of meetings £9 15s., insurance £8 2s., printing £6 1s., journals £3 15s., postages £2 16s., payments to Branch unemployed £1 10s., payments to the "Old Society" £1 10s., stationery £1 8s., auditors' expenses 18s. 10d., payments to tramping journeymen from other areas 8s. 6d., and miscellaneous outlays £1 6s. Except for payments to the officer and to the auditors, and unemployment benefits and insurances, expenditures were much higher in 1833-1834 than in 1835-1836, and this of course reflected the rise and fall of the Branch. Some expenditures indeed—on delegations, journals, and tramping journeymen—were entirely absent from the second period. Expenditure on meetings in 1833-1834 was £7 7s., in 1835-1836 only £2 8s. The almost complete decline in postages has already been remarked. Of the largest single item of expenditure, the £13 17s. on delegations, all but 3s. was expended in 1833. Only two items of expenditure remained fairly constant throughout the life of the Branch: payments to the officer (£2 in 1833, and thereafter £3 per annum), and to the auditors.

Of the four journals mentioned in the minutes or accounts, one was the Glasgow

working class radical weekly *The Liberator*, edited by John Tait; it was published from 1832 to 1836, but only one copy is known to have survived. It was agreed in December 1833 to take the paper for a quarter "for usefull [sic] information for this branch of the Union." It was to be put in the committee room on Saturdays and Mondays. The Branch seems not to have continued to take *The Liberator* after that quarter, as the last recorded expenditure on journals was in April 1834. A second newspaper with which the Branch had some dealings was *The Patriot*. It was agreed in July 1835 to insert in it a Branch resolution supporting the Operative Masons' Union in a dispute with their employers. The identity of *The Patriot* is obscure. R. M. W. Cowan in *The Newspaper in Scotland, 1815-60* states that the Glasgow Chartist *Scottish Patriot* did not begin publication until 1839; the only other newspaper of that name listed was a short-lived Edinburgh publication of the 18th century. To a third periodical there is only one reference in the Branch records. The accounts for 13 January 1834 show that 7d. was expended on "Gazite from Glasgow." This was probably the *Scottish Trade Union Gazette* or *Trades Advocate*, issued by the Glasgow Trades Delegates, and edited by either John Tait or Alexander Campbell. No copies of this publication are known to survive.

The fourth journal referred to in the minutes was published in Edinburgh. It was in August 1833 that a deputation from the operative painters proposed to the Branch that a monthly journal, giving "a [sic] detail of the progress of the different Trade Unions" should be published in Edinburgh under the direction of the various trades. The Branch unanimously approved the proposal, and two members were appointed "to meet with the different Trades Delegates" to arrange publication. The first number of the *Trades Monthly Journal*, as the publication was named, duly appeared in October 1833. No copies of this journal either appear to have survived. It probably ran for about a year. It must have been to the *Journal* that John Wright, an Edinburgh Town Councillor, referred in his evidence to the Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland in 1844. Wright, who had been a vice-president of the Masons' Union in Edinburgh in 1834, described how in that year or in 1833 "the various trades had appointed delegates to conduct a journal . . . It made considerable progress, till once a division took place among ourselves as to editing the journal. There was a lad named Biggar who was our editor, who revised all the articles. He insisted on putting in one article of his own upon Mr Abercromby's election for the City. He printed it, and we got into difficulty, for whenever the journal was circulated, parties refused to pay us, political articles not being allowed. We then fell on Biggar, and Biggar left the town." The *Trades Monthly Journal* would seem also to be the anonymous subject of an editorial in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 21 April 1834. ". . . many active leaders," the *Courant* warned, "are endeavouring to organise the workmen [of Britain] into one general confederacy, into which those who live by labour will be compelled to enter, and whose mandates it is expected that the masters will be forced to obey. These unionists now publish a monthly journal in this city, which gives an account of all their proceedings. We have seen one number of this journal which, though not deficient in talent, breathes throughout a violent and malignant spirit, and is calculated to set masters and men at the most deadly variance. In its columns the masters and the higher classes generally are reviled as oppressors and tyrants; and other inflammatory views are disclosed which are highly offensive and even alarming . . . The workmen are desired to 'emancipate themselves from the fetters of oppression, which have for so long a time held them the subservient slaves of their

oppressors'." Finally the *Courant* quoted from the journal a statement that of the two Parliaments then sitting in London (the other was the "Builders' Parliament," or general conference of the Operative Builders' Union), "we have no hesitation in saying that the trades parliament is by far the most important, and will in the course of a year or two, be the most influential." If the *Trades Monthly Journal* was indeed the subject of the *Courant's* editorial, then it appears to have been strongly imbued with the revolutionary trade union doctrines that marked the years 1833-1834 and which lay at the foundation of the Operative Builders' Union and the Owenite Grand National Consolidated.

According to the Branch minutes of August 1833, the *Trades Monthly Journal* was published by the Edinburgh Trades Delegates. These were evidently an early form of Trades Council. The Delegates had played a leading part in the great Reform Bill Jubilee procession in Edinburgh on 10th August 1832, and on similar public occasions in the years immediately after 1832. It is not certain whether they met regularly during these years, or were an ad hoc body. But there is some evidence that the Delegates held meetings throughout the 1830s, and possibly may have continued to do so until the formation of the Edinburgh Trades Council in the middle of the century.

Apart from that of the operative painters, only one other Edinburgh trade union is specifically mentioned in the Branch records. This was the Operative Masons' Union, from whom a deputation was received at the Branch meeting in July 1835. The masons, at that time engaged in a wages dispute with their employers, reported that the latter were willing to concede their demands, but upon one condition. This was that the men should sign "the Document" and abandon their Union. The following resolution was thereupon passed by the Cabinet and Chair Makers: "That this meeting view with the utmost detestation and abhorrence the tyrannical conduct of those Master Masons of Edinburgh who are attempting to coerce their workmen into signing a declaration that they are not connected with any Union, and thereby to deprive them of the Right to dispose of their labour in the way they may think most conducive to their interests; And that this meeting also cordially approve of the way the Journeymen Masons have conducted themselves throughout the whole proceedings, and resolve to afford them their entire confidence and warmest support to resist this unjust conduct." It was agreed to publish this resolution in *The Patriot* newspaper, and to collect voluntary subscriptions for the support of the masons. Some £2 16s. 5d. was accordingly collected. The masons' dispute evidently came to an end shortly afterwards, though whether favourably for the journeymen is not known.

Though there was a Political Union of Cabinet and Chair Makers in Edinburgh, the Branch itself took part in some political activities. It favoured radicalism, and when Earl Grey was given the Freedom of Edinburgh in September 1834, the Branch, like a number of other unions in the city, appears not to have turned out in the trades' procession to honour him. George Pratt, an active member of the Branch, seems to have been the Mr Pratt who, *The Scotsman* reported, had seconded a resolution at a meeting of Trades Delegates "expressing a determination to present no address to Earl Grey, and to have no procession, and expressing hostility to Earl Grey's Government and a desire for a further extension of the franchise." The motion was carried, and those who had voted against it, complained *The Scotsman* "were saluted with exclamations which we cannot defile our columns by repeating." It was possibly as a result of the dissension concerning Grey's visit that in the following month the Branch agreed "to call together the Committee

of our Political Union to consider the propriety of calling a General Meeting of that Body with a view to depositing the Regalia of the Trade in the hands of this body." At the consequent general meeting on 22 October, two proposals were moved. The first was, "That the Trades Union be in future the custodian of the Cabinet and Chair Makers' Regalia, and that any thirty of the above trades who have subscribed for them shall have the liberty to request a meeting to consider the propriety of either disposing of or using them, and that the said thirty individuals be held liable for any expense that may be incurred." The other motion urged "That the Edinburgh Cabinet and Chair Makers' Political Union and the Edinburgh Cabinet and Chair Makers' Trade Union shall henceforth form one Union, and all property belonging to both Unions shall be under the Management of one Sett [sic] of Managers, viz., the Office bearers of the Trades Union." The latter motion was carried by thirteen votes against two for the first. Two weeks later the Branch unanimously agreed to display the flags and banners "in countenance of . . . the Liberal interest" at a dinner held by the Edinburgh Radicals in the Waterloo Hotel, with Robert Wallace of Kelly, M.P. in the chair. The object of the dinner was to promote an extension of the franchise. In September of the following year the Branch agreed to parade the regalia in the procession of trades in honour of Daniel O'Connell's visit to the city. The welcome accorded O'Connell included the presentation of an address from the trades, urging the introduction of household suffrage, secret ballot, and triennial Parliamentary elections. There was, however, disagreement among some of the trades on whether or not to turn out in the procession in honour of O'Connell, as there had been in the case of Grey's visit the previous year. By early 1836 at least one member of the Branch seems to have undergone a change of opinion about its political activity. George Pratt, presumably the same who had urged radical reform at the meeting of Trades Delegates in September 1834, moved at the Branch meeting in January 1836, "That this union not being a political Body do not interfere in politics either directly or indirectly, that they retain the charge of the Regalia of the Trade, and that it be allowed to go out at any time under such arrangements as may be agreed upon at a General Meeting of the whole Trade." The motion was "warmly discuss" but evidently lost by a majority of twelve votes.

From 1835 the Branch was in decline. Income fell almost by half. Communication with organisations outside Edinburgh virtually ceased. From May 1836 the roll was called at the end instead of at the opening of meetings, since "so many of our members of late has been in the practice of leaving the Room before the choosing of office bearers and the business of the Union was over." Because of a decline in membership the insurance policy for members' tools was reduced in 1836 from £600 to £300, and at the end of that year unemployment benefit was cancelled. The basic reason for the decline seems to have been the Branch's inability to prevent a fall, or alternatively to secure a rise, in the wages of cabinet and chair makers. Discontent resulted in a meeting of journeymen in the trade on 10 August 1836, when it was resolved "that a General Meeting of the whole trade be held in the Skinners' Hall on 16th inst. to take into their consideration the present favourable aspect of Trade generally and the depressed rate of Wages at which they have for a number of years been employed, being at the least £10 per [?annum] below the present Standard as originally agreed to by the Employers and their Workmen in this City, and Whether it were prudent at the present or a future time to request of our Employers the restoration of the above mentioned Standard." The outcome of the meeting on 16 August was the formation

of a new union, the Edinburgh Society of Cabinet and Chair Makers. The Branch seems to have accepted its supersession with equanimity. At its meeting early in September a motion was unanimously approved "that the Cabinet and Chair Makers of Edinburgh having formed a New Trades Society which is likely to embrace the greater part of the Trade, the members of this Union, in Order that they may be enabled to join that Society, deem it expedient to suspend for Three months the present rate of weekly payments, Monthly Meetings, and the admission of New Members, and that the Members pay one penny per Month as insurance money. . . ." Thereafter quarterly meetings only were held, the last being in September 1837. Shortly after that date, with the expiration of the annual insurance policy, the Branch sold off its box, copper plates, and books to the new Society, shared its total funds, amounting to £9 12s. 10d., equally among its remaining 26 members, and dissolved.

APPENDICES

I An extract from the Minutes

Edinburgh,
3rd December 1833

This being the Ordinary General Monthly Meeting for the receiving of Monthly payments and for the enrolment of Members, the Meeting being opened By the President and several important communications read, A Proposition was made by John Donaldson that a Meeting be held on Wednesday the 18th Inst. for the purpose of Discussion the Laws of the Union and was agreed too unanimously. A Motion was then made by Henry Horn and Seconded by James Shaw that the Glasgow Weekly Liberator news paper be taken for a quarter for its usefull information for this Branch of the Union, the paper to be in the Committee room Saturdays and Mondays, and was agreed to unanimously.

II An extract from the Accounts

Expenditure	£	s	d
March 5th, 1833: Expenses of General Meeting	11	7	½
Ditto of Committee	2		
Postage from Glasgow		7	½
9th, Room rent and candle	1	2	
16th, Ditto Do.	1		
21st, Ditto Do of General Meeting	10		
Printing	4	6	
Delivering bills and posting	2	6	
Postage from Glasgow		7	½

JAMES McLAREN, SCHOOLMASTER

by The late Miss ELIZABETH HUME ROSS

We are indebted to Dr Jean Durrant of London for permission to publish this family memoir. The author and her late sister, Miss Johanna C. Ross, were well-known figures at meetings and excursions of the Club for many, many years; their father, Dr Thomas Ross, was an original Council member and a contributor to several of the early Books. Terrestrial and celestial globes, by Kirkwood of Edinburgh, which were used by James McLaren in his school were presented by Miss Ross to the National Museum of Antiquities.

I think my maternal grandfather, James McLaren, must have spent all his working life in Stockbridge, Edinburgh—in Hamilton Place on the south bank of the Water of Leith. He was a red-headed Scottish Highlander, born in Perthshire in 1805. I do not know who his father was, but he evidently was able to give his son some education and James McLaren wanted more, so he came to Edinburgh University and took a teacher's degree.

James McLaren was not tall, he carried himself well, and would, I think, in spite of having a big nose, been considered good-looking. He was very particular about his dress, always was professionally dressed in black broad cloth, a white tucked shirt, a white muslin tie tied in front, elastic-sided boots, and I remember him having sore feet; I don't know if chiropodists had begun their kindly work in his day.

He had two stone houses in Hamilton Place—three-storied houses with areas, numbers ten and eleven. Number ten was his dwelling house, eleven the school. The school had a playing field to the back with such big stones as foundation that boys who played there would have their boots worn out. I should have said children, not boys, for girls went to that school too. Number ten had a coloured tiled passage from the front door to the dining room past the foot of the stair. The dining room was a long room with a fireplace at the upper end and a big sideboard at the lower, with a horsehair sofa and chairs and windows to the south. My Grandmother's portrait hung over the fireplace. She was Elizabeth Hume from the Borders. Her portrait was painted by an artist whose name I have forgotten, but my father painted the name so firmly on the back that we will see it when we take the picture off the wall. I believe he painted it for pleasure as a gift. He also painted a portrait of the Duke of Atholl of his day, it now hangs in Blair Castle. My sister saw it when she was north and was delighted to see it was painted by the same artist who painted our grandmother "Elizabeth Hume."

In number ten the big front room was called the "study." There was a big bookcase in it ordered by my grandfather but not taken into his house until he had every penny ready to pay for it, a handsome writing table, books that were what teachers needed (all bound in calf), three big volumes of "Universal Biography," twenty volumes of Dr Johnston's Lives of the Poets, two volumes of Scottish "Domestic Tales" and one of "Uncle Tom's

Cabin." This is the one book that is lost and is the one I would like to have. Fancy "Uncle Tom" in calf with very fine illustrations. When any of the Ross children were ill or "no just that well" Mother got "Uncle Tom's Cabin" from her father to read aloud. I don't know if it was curative or just very interesting. There was a modern glass window in the study, but there was no modern hot water system. A big room downstairs had basins down one side with a cold water tap. I wonder if on a chilly night a pail of hot water might be handed in from the kitchen, for I remember the kitchen was a cosy place with a good fire, two wooden lug chairs, and a 8-day clock (now in this house) and two maids Mary and Janet Liberton. Mary McLaren (my mother) was very fond of them and has told me about them. She, Mary McLaren, had crocheted a collar for one of them, had washed it and put it to dry in the oven (why in the oven?) and it was burnt to a cinder to the great sorrow of little Mary who took some time to get over it.

I don't know the date of my grandfather's wedding day, but I know he had a school in which to teach, some pupils ready to be taught, and a house in which to live, and what he needed now was a wife to be mistress of his house and a companion to himself. He got a lovely one in Elizabeth Hume from the Borders. Her portrait shows a comely young woman in a fluffy muslin cap which shows her dark hair in front. Now that she was a married woman it was correct that she should wear a cap. She wears a fitting bodice cut open at the neck, a white collar and chemisette and for a modern touch a crimson shawl thrown over her shoulders. My mother's aunt though married, never wore a cap. I think they must have gone out of fashion about this time. My Mother's aunt would come to see her niece in a bonnet and if she was making a call would sit in her bonnet all the time, but if she was invited to a meal she brought her cap in a little basket, took off the bonnet, put on the cap, and was dressed for dinner!

James McLaren and Elizabeth Hume had seven children who grew up, two girls and five sons. The two girls married and had children, my mother four, Aunt Kate five. The sons went to the University, two took teachers' degrees and two medical. The oldest of my uncles was John McLaren. He was a writing master in Glasgow Academy. One of his predecessors could not keep order in his class, and some one asked "Could John McLaren keep order?" "Oh yes, he was called the Bulldog." I expect he kept order but not by bulldog methods. That was his job for which he was paid his salary. But what was his job 'con amore' for which he was paid no salary? A Singing Boys' Choir. So on Saturday mornings John McLaren met the singing boys of Glasgow Academy. Every season they gave a concert in the Queen's Rooms. I have been told that it was in those days an Event. Boys in the kilt wearing button-holes. "Ask your mother to give you a button-hole" said John McLaren to the boys the day before the Great Day. Old Academy boys came back to sing bass and tenor and the school boys sang as only boys can sing. John McLaren's wife was accompanist, and a very good one she was.

The next brother was James McLaren, jun. He was the best teacher my sister and I ever met. When we were beginning to grow up we would meet girls who would say "I can't read a Shakespeare play now—it was spoiled at school." That was never the case with Uncle James's class. Interest was kept up all through, other books were brought in, Carlyle's "French Revolution" was not thought to be above us. We had heard of the "Beautiful Charlotte" and the squalid Murat. The lesson was a peg on which to hang something else.

Willie had a country practice and died young. Peter was the more successful, began in Lasswade, came to work in Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, had wards there, and eventually an Edinburgh practice. He had the most valuable medical gift of making patients feel better by simply meeting them—a kind of personal magic a great asset.

At this period in Scotland marriages were not celebrated in church but in the drawing-room or guest chamber of the bride's father's house. I think that was so for "gentle" and "simple" alike. So on this wintry day, 28th December 1869, James McLaren was free to give his daughter away. Mary McLaren, my mother, was married to my father, Thomas Ross, an architect, who later, with his partner Mr David McGibbon, was joint author of the "Castellated Architecture of Scotland" and of the "Ecclesiastical Architecture."

James McLaren's second daughter married John Young and lived with him in Glasgow. She is dead but a son and daughter are still living in Glasgow and several grandchildren. All my Mother's children are dead except me and as I am 95 I hardly count. She has a granddaughter living in London, a medical doctor married to an engineer.

We Ross children went to our Grandfather's school for some years till the boys went to the Academy and the girls to a private school. As children we liked our grandfather. He often came to see our mother in our flat in East Claremont Street, always bringing with him the biggest orange he could get. It had first to do duty as a geography lesson—the earth was round like this orange, flattened at the poles, and it had the equator put round it, latitude and longitude marked on it; it was peeled and divided up, and the first geography lesson was happily over!

The little shop next to ten Hamilton Place was a dairy, and next to that was the Stockbridge Market separated from the street by pillars. There is still a light lane there running south to Saunders Street with steps at the end. The Market had several stalls, and there was room for a cart to get in. At the top was the Butcher's Stall, open to the sky. I am sorry that I have forgotten the butcher's name for he was one of the most courteous men I have ever met. Most of his sons went to the University and I expect had responsible posts in the city. The fish stall was kept by Mrs. Young. All I remember about her was that she wore fishwife's dress. The vegetable stall was kept by a Miss Doig, a character who could speak her mind. My mother once went to Glasgow to visit her sister Mrs. Young. On her first meeting with Miss Doig after her return she said "There were fine oranges in Glasgow, Miss Doig, not so dear as yours," "Oh" said Miss Doig "they'll eat anything in Glaskey." The most easterly shop in the street was the Bake House. In my grandfather's time it was served by Mr. Johnston the baker, with all the necessary tools of his trade. His children all had their education at James McLaren's school. I remember some of the girls—there were several. When they were done with school James McLaren wrote them a letter wishing them well in life and thanking them for their kindness to him; these letters were much appreciated, I believe. Johnston the baker sent a man from the shop every forenoon with a basket over his arm and in the basket were biscuits and cookies, 'parlies' were my favourite. If you were lucky enough to have a few pennies you could have a treat. It's wonderful how far a penny or even a ha'penny would go. Parleys were delicious. The sun always shone and we never thought of going to the moon or back to the ice age!

My grandfather thought the Merchant Company Schools ruined him. Perhaps they did anyway his type of school was a thing of the past. The Merchant Company Schools had come to stay, and changes in education are always going on.

James McLaren, for long a widower, was beginning to grow old, and his house was not so comfortable as it once was. Both his daughters were married and Mary and Elizabeth Liberton were away too, and their successors not so good, so my parents decided to leave their flat in East Claremont Street and come, bag and baggage, to ten Hamilton Place and look for a house to take their own family and my grandfather and Uncle James which they eventually did. My grandfather died in my father's house.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS IN VICTORIAN EDINBURGH

by W. H. MARWICK

WHILE much has been published regarding the legal and administrative aspects of local government,¹ both in Scotland generally and in Edinburgh in particular, the history of its practice, especially of the political and other controversial issues that affected it, appears to have been little studied. This paper seeks to explore some of these, during the period that may be roughly defined as the Victorian Age. The period considered commences with the election of the first reformed Council in 1833, as constituted by the Burgh Reform Act of that year. It concludes with the 'general election' of 1900. This also marks an epoch, in the return of the first official 'Labour' candidate, following on the establishment in January 1900, of the Scottish Workers' Representation Committee—officially supported by Edinburgh Trades Council—which has evolved into the Scottish Council of the Labour Party. This emergence or revival of party politics constitutes one main theme of contemporary interest. Other issues, such as charges of apathy, dilatoriness, vandalism, parsimony—whether justified or not—will be examined; and it will be sought to demonstrate how far they are novel or recurrent phenomena.

Sources of information are inadequate, hence gaps and errors are probable. Most of the data have been derived from files of *The Scotsman*, which, happily for the historian, then gave full reports of Town Council and Ward meetings, and devoted space to editorials and correspondence on municipal matters, despite a fear, expressed in 1834, that "readers might be bored with lengthy Town Council reports."² Allowance must be made for the bias of the newspaper. Originally, under the guidance of its founders, John Ritchie (1778-1870) and Charles Maclaren (1782-1866), editor from 1820 to 1845, it was a strong supporter of reform, as illustrated by its editorial at the first election: "We recommend electors to commit the new system during the period of nonage exclusively to its friends, we mean Whigs and Radicals, who will do everything to promote its success. The first Council will be a sort of constituent assembly; it will have to form a new system as well as administer it. We are opposed to all principles of exclusion, but after the Tories have packed the Council at their pleasure for half a century, we see no want of charity in keeping them out for two or three years. After our ship is launched, we shall have no objection to take passengers of all descriptions aboard, but when she is undergoing a thorough repair, we would not employ as carpenters those who have an interest in scuttling her." Five years later, it spoke of the "sly underhand plotting peculiar to that party." From 1849 to 1876, on the other hand, under the editorship of Alexander Russel (1814-76),⁴ *The Scotsman* tended to a conservative Whiggism, in opposition to the "disorderly elements" of radicalism as voiced by Duncan McLaren, especially in the 'sixties. Russel was primarily an erastian and anti-clerical in his attitude to the ecclesiastical controversies of the period. In 1886 *The Scotsman* became Unionist, and inclined towards Conservatism, though professing support for non-intrusion of party politics in local government.

Further details have been drawn from such books as the biographies of Adam Black

and Duncan McLaren, and the reminiscences of William Chambers, Charles Cooper and James D. Marwick.⁵

A few preliminary remarks may be made with regard to the extension of the burgh and of the franchise. In 1833 there were five wards, with from four to six representatives each, a total of thirty-one councillors. Wards Three, Four and Five were in the New Town proper and its extensions. In 1856 Canongate and Portsburgh were absorbed, and the older 'municipal' functions combined with the 'police' powers of the later Police Commissions, though separate rates were retained until the present century. The wards were rearranged in 1883 after a minor extension of bounds. In 1896 Portobello was annexed; there were now sixteen wards, each with three councillors, one of whom retired every three years. In 1900 wards were again redistributed, hence the 'general election' of that year.⁶

By the 1833 Act, the vote was given to ten pound ratepayers, numbering about seven thousand five hundred. By the Reform Act of 1867, household suffrage was established, and by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1869, the franchise was extended to women thus qualified. This may be regarded as one achievement of the contemporary feminist movement, represented in Edinburgh by the formation of a Women's Suffrage Society in 1867, and the attempt of the 'Seven Against Edinburgh' to obtain admission to medical study. A facetious comment of 1882 illustrates an attitude of the time: "To female voters much of the fun was due. The gallantry of young men was unwearied in driving them to the poll."⁷

It may be noted that there was an open ballot until the Act of 1872. Polling closed at 4 p.m. and the total votes of each candidate were sometime announced each hour, occasionally inciting the withdrawal of hopeless candidatures. The Election (Hours of Poll) Act of 1884 extended these to 8 a.m. until 8 p.m. The Corrupt Practices Act of 1890 limited expenditure on carriages, handbills etc. In earlier days, ward nominating committees were common; they were sometimes criticised as "packed juntas," and it was insisted that they could only recommend not dictate. Pledge taking by candidates was frowned on.⁸

The prominence of party politics may first be examined. Writing in 1904 Mabel Atkinson declared "In Edinburgh, unfortunately, imperial politics have considerable influence, but this is now altering for the better."⁹ During the half century 1837-86, the Liberal party predominated in local as well as in Parliamentary representation. Gladstone, a Scot indeed by descent from Biggar farmers and Leith merchants, but Liverpoolian by birth, Oxonian by education, and High Church Anglican by religion, yet latterly enjoyed a cult which vied with that of John Knox. It was a common jest that Tory M.P.'s could travel to London in a single first class compartment. That was certainly true of their Edinburgh councillors; for example in 1841, there were 4 Tories to 29 Liberals. This ascendancy was broken by the Home Rule split and the rise of Labour, though the latter threat matured a quarter of a century later. The Liberal party, however, included varied elements, roughly distinguishable as Whig and Radical. The Chartists did not in Edinburgh, as they did elsewhere—e.g. Dundee and Paisley—nominate municipal candidates, but a few ex-Chartists who later formed an advanced element in the Liberal party—e.g. Cranston, Wallace, perhaps Lorimer, Stott and Waterston—were subsequently elected. 'Advanced' or 'Independent' Liberals were criticised by *The Scotsman* as "disorderly, extremist"; this was said of an 'Advanced Liberal Committee', in which Duncan McLaren was a prime mover. There was a personal feud between him and Russel, culminating in a notorious libel action. For a few years

about 1870, their organ was the weekly *Reformer*, edited by David Lewis; it avowed hostility to "the Tory-Whig phalanx."¹⁰ Sometimes there was a preliminary ballot of electors by rival candidates in the party. The rise of the caucus in the 'eighties tended to stereotype party lines and discipline.

The 'temperance' movement, which obtained much support in mid century, also occasioned ephemeral political repercussions. A Liberal faction, nicknamed the "P.B.'s," advocated the policy of the Permissive Bill Association—Local Option on the sale of alcoholic liquor. An Edinburgh Temperance Electoral Association was formed, with Bailie David Lewis as leader. *The Scotsman* in 1875 censured the "effrontery" of the International Order of Good Templars, and in 1900 the "radical temperance wirepullers" of the British Women's Temperance Association."¹¹

The claim for working class representation was stimulated by the agitation which culminated in the 1867 Act, which extended the franchise to many urban workers. The inconvenience of the early closing of the polls and a demand for evening meetings of the council were, as indicated above, among the points stressed. An abortive and premature effort was made when the Trades Council formed a Municipal Committee in 1869 and unsuccessfully contested seats in that and the following year.¹² In 1869 John McWhinnie gained 269 votes in Canongate Ward against a Moderate and an Independent Liberal; the latter faction were designated "enemies of the working man." In 1870, however, William Paterson, the Joiners' Secretary—afterwards a Factory Inspector and Firemaster of Glasgow—had the support of Independent Liberals, but was defeated by 872 votes to 923 by Younger of the brewing family. J. H. Waterston polled less than half the votes cast in St. Cuthberts Ward.

The tendency during the following twenty to thirty years was for 'Lib.-Lab.' candidates, workers under Liberal auspices. Only one M.P. in that category appeared in Scotland—John G. Holburn, (1843-99) ex-President of Edinburgh Trades Council, Leith town councillor 1890-95 and M.P. for Lanarkshire, N.W., 1895-99.

In 1888 a "Labour Electoral Association" was formed, stigmatised as "a Gladstonian organisation in disguise."¹³ In the same year, Keir Hardie founded the Scottish Labour Party for 'independent' working class representation, which merged in the Independent Labour Party in 1893. It does not seem then to have affected Edinburgh municipal politics; the Trades Council declined to affiliate. The rival Scottish Trades Council Labour Party, which the Trades Council supported, was short-lived—from 1891 to 1892; it contested a Parliamentary seat in Edinburgh in 1892.

In 1889 Andrew Telfer, a "so-called working man" won St. Cuthberts by 1,612 votes to 1,448, but Neil McLean, the Tailors' Secretary, was defeated in Calton. According to *The Scotsman* he was "repudiated by working men" because as a director of St. Cuthbert's Cooperative he was involved in a dispute with bakers in their employment.¹⁴ Conversely in 1891 *The Scotsman* approved the candidature of John Cubie "associated with many working men questions." He had been briefly secretary of the Trades Council twenty years earlier and was suspected of being a Liberal Unionist. He was elected in Canongate. Next year, Waterston, despite the stigma of being a 'Parnellite' won Canongate, and Telfer was returned unopposed for St. Cuthberts. These three were recognised by the Trades Council as "Labour representatives."¹⁵ In 1893, John Mallinson, who "should be relegated to obscurity," was defeated by the veteran Colston. David Blackburn, President of the Trades

Council, gained 516 votes in Canongate, and Fred Hamilton of the I.L.P. 208 in George Square. In 1894 Mallinson was unopposed in St. George's, while James Connolly (a leader of the Dublin Revolt in 1916, then employed in the Refuse Collection Department of the city), was Independent Socialist candidate in St. Giles. In 1895 William Gall of the I.L.P. unsuccessfully propounded "extraordinary and mischievous views, repudiated by most working men," polling less than a third of the votes. In October 1896 the Trades Council declined to cooperate with the I.L.P. and the Social Democratic Federation in running candidates; Thomas Blaikie, "of a class which no respectable working man cares to support" polled 572 votes against 862 as a Socialist in Canongate. In 1897 George Doull of the S.D.F. polled 636 against Councillor Cubie, commended for his "quiet undemonstrative useful record"; and William Gall of the I.L.P. 467 in St. Leonard's against George McCrae the Liberal stalwart. In 1898 Doull made another attempt on Canongate, challenging Councillor Waterston, an "atheist against a Christian Socialist." In 1899 a Workers' Municipal Committee was formed, which sponsored four candidates in the 'general election' of 1900, of whom only Hugh Stewart, corresponding secretary of the Trades Council, was successful, in Dalry. Curiously, he was approved by *The Scotsman* as an instance of the "non-intrusion of party politics," along with Mallinson, now elected for Gorgie, and Cubie, who lost his seat in Canongate.¹⁶

Complaints of apathy were made almost from the beginning. At the 1833 election, 31 seats were contested by 50 candidates; only about 1,500 voted, less than half the electorate. Proceedings were conducted with "the greatest decorum and good humour."¹⁷ Sometimes few seats were contested; in 1849—two; 1859—one; 1864—two; 1870—none; 1880, 1883, 1884—one; and in 1889—none. *The Scotsman* in 1839 censured the "deplorable apathy or Liberal electors"; in that and the following year it noted the difficulty of finding candidates. In 1860 it was estimated that only about one-fifth attended ward meetings.

Dilatoriness in settling civic affairs was also alleged—for example in the re-building of Trinity College Church, providing a better water supply and finding a site for the Usher Hall. This last was first projected in 1896; the foundation stone was laid in 1911.

The cry of 'economy' was so frequently raised as to incur the gibe that Edinburgh residents, unlike the Apostle Paul, could not claim to be "citizens of no mean city." The demand came then rather from the 'Left' than the 'Right'; retrenchment vied with peace and reform as their trinity of slogans. It centred on criticism of municipal salaries, the cost of water supply and civic improvement schemes (1867) and, primarily, the civic debt which was the legacy of the unreformed Council. Its settlement was mainly the work of Adam Black, the first Treasurer, though it was not fully discharged until 1926.¹⁸ In 1891 *The Scotsman* criticised an addition of threepence on the rates, and called for the clearing of "Augean stables"!

The *locus classicus* of vandalism is Henry Cockburn's *Letter to the Lord Provost on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh*, (1849). The most quoted instance is the demolition of the medieval Trinity College Church for the construction of Waverley Station in 1848. Thanks to the twenty years procrastination already mentioned, many of the stones were lost before the apse was re-erected in 1869, to become nearly a century later a newsroom of the Public Library.

A variety of ephemeral issues were on occasion prominent. Sometimes a national or international question was the main preoccupation; for example, the Year of Revolution

(1848), the coincidence of Parliamentary and municipal elections in 1868 and 1885, the Franco-German War in 1870, the Boer War in 1899, the fall of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878.

The influence of the "Irish Vote," especially in Canongate Ward, was deplored, particularly in 1873 and 1875. The Home Rule Bill of 1886 does not seem to have immediately affected municipal politics, but in 1889 the award of the freedom of the city to Parnell, regarded by many, even before the divorce case, as a bad character, evoked violent opposition. Its repercussions included the failure, though only by 20 votes to 19, of Sir J. A. Russell, as a 'Parnellite leader' to obtain re-election as Lord Provost.

Sometimes contests turned mainly on personalities in the invidious sense of the word. In 1859, 1875 and 1877, support of rival candidates for the Lord Provostship was apparently the main criterion for voters. *The Scotsman* in 1852 described one candidate as "dragged into the field by injudicious friends" despite his "eminent personal unfitness", and in 1860 another a retired naval officer, as a "piece of ordnance fitted only to discharge blank cartridge."¹⁹

Ecclesiastical disputes were prominent in early days, largely because until the Act of 1874 the Council held the patronage of the city churches. The growth of 'Dissent' was expressed in attempts to reduce the numbers of the city clergy from the normal fifteen and to curtail their stipends. The most bitter struggle was that against the Annuity Tax,²⁰ originally imposed for that purpose in 1633 and extended with the Royalty in 1767 and 1809, at the rate of 6 per cent on rents; privileged exemption, e.g. of advocates, was an additional grievance. Prominent citizens, including councillors William Tait and Joseph Stott suffered restraint or imprisonment for refusal to pay. An Act of 1860 achieved a compromise which satisfied some objectors. It handed over responsibility for the levy to Commissioners, but agitation did not cease until arrangements for its redemption were made in 1870.

The 'Ten Years Conflict' culminating in the Disruption of 1843 intensified sectarianism. The 'pretended cry of danger to the church' was responsible for the rejection of Adam Black, as a dissenter, for the Lord Provostship in 1840, though this was repaired by his unanimous appointment three years later. John Ritchie of *The Scotsman* as a dissenter was unsuccessful in 1842, when "the old party struggles were almost entirely discarded and contests took the form either of ecclesiastical struggles or fighting out personal disputes." The emergence of the Free Church in 1843 won the reluctant admiration of Russel, who credited those who came out with "conscientious motives," though utterly opposed to their objective. Edward Cruickshanks of the drapery family, a former Quaker now a dissenter, was allowed to 'affirm' on taking his seat. In 1843 Councillors were classified as 24 dissenters and 9 churchmen; in 1856, as 17 Free Churchmen, 14 dissenters, 7 Established Churchmen, and one Episcopalian.²¹

As regards education, the administration and patronage of the University, the 'Tounis College', was vested in the Council until the University Act of 1858, which it opposed. The opening of the University session then coincided with municipal elections and vied with them in public interest. Political and latterly ecclesiastical considerations influenced the appointment of Professors. The most notorious case under the old regime was the appointment of the Tory journalist John Wilson (Christopher North) to the chair of Moral Philosophy, in preference to the Whig Sir William Hamilton, despite Wilson's admitted ignorance of the subject. The most notable contest thereafter was for the Chair of Greek, to which John Stuart Blackie was appointed in 1852 by the casting vote, in spite of his

eccentricities of garb and manner and the "sectarian prepossessions of those for whom the decent externals of broadcloth and rigorous observance of Presbyterian formulas represented the whole duty of man." Free Church predominance ensured the appointment of P. C. Macdougall to the Moral Philosophy Chair in 1850, and of Sir David Brewster to the Principalship in 1859. Two doctors on the Council were criticised "for making it their special business to meddle with medical Chairs."²²

The Council also controlled the High School until it was transferred to the School Board established by the Education Act of 1872.

After the most notable achievement of the unreformed Council, the 'planning' of the New Town, the whole conception was ignored in the age of *laissezfaire* until revived by Patrick Geddes at the end of the nineteenth century. The main exception was the relatively small City Improvement Scheme (1867) for which Lord Provost William Chambers has the main credit. This does not seem to have aroused opposition such as occasioned, about the same time, the defeat of his fellow publisher Lord Provost Blackie in Glasgow.

The growth of municipalisation seems not to have been an acute issue. Though rather naively hailed by the Fabians as a first instalment of municipal socialisation, it was regarded, in Edinburgh as elsewhere, merely as an expedient for the administration of recognised public utilities, and most of its champions would have been horrified to be regarded as Socialists.

The question of water supply was indeed a 'burning' one for some years, but rather because of controversy about sources of supply than regarding the principle of municipal control. This is fully described in the books of two protagonists, Colston and Lewis.²³ Probably the prominence of the 'sanitary idea', with its concern for a public health service, was a chief incentive. Epidemics of typhus in 1832 and cholera in 1848, vying with the political agitation of these years for public attention, emphasised the necessity for a pure and adequate water supply for both internal and external use. Consequently the first Medical Officer of Health was appointed in 1862, and obligations on Local Authorities consolidated in the Public Health Act of 1867. A local Water Company had been formed in 1819; exactly half a century later, a Trust to which Edinburgh Town Council appointed a majority of members, was substituted. A scheme to obtain supplies from St. Mary's Loch was submitted, supported by the advanced liberals. A strenuous campaign was waged at the 1871 election. Placards were exhibited, one with a magnified flea alleged to affect St. Mary's Loch. The opposition was successful in gaining eleven seats against two. A Bill promoting the scheme was rejected by the House of Lords in July 1871 and a plebiscite in 1873, in which over half the electorate voted, resulted in a majority of over 80 per cent in favour of a rival Moorfoots scheme. By next year, "the water question was defunct." Reservoirs in the Moorfoots were established in 1879, and at Talla in 1895.

A gas company was formed in 1817, with Sir Walter Scott as chairman. The example of Manchester in successful municipal ownership was commended in 1839,²⁴ but it was not until 1888 that a public Commission took control of gas supply. In the 1887 election, "opponents of the purchase of the gas supply were heavily beaten" by twelve to four.²⁵ Electricity supply was similarly municipalised in 1895.

Public transport did not constitute so apparently insoluble a problem as has been occasioned today by the growth of the private car, an invention of the 1890's—according to a contemporary economist, "one of the greatest disasters to have befallen the human

race"; to others, like a famous Edinburgh product, 'a boon and a blessing to men.' Even in Victorian days, however, there were occasional complaints of noise and of the dangers of speeding by horse drawn vehicles. Private horse buses were operated by the mid century. A Tramways Act of 1870 legalised municipal establishment of horse trams, to be leased to a private company for operation. Confirmation by a Private Act was requisite. In several cases this was accomplished by the American financier, G. F. Train—an early example of American enterprise. In Edinburgh however, a locally supported Company was founded under Dr Alexander Wood, a medical man turned social reformer and financier. The first service began on 6 March, 1871. Extensions in other parts of the city were authorised—e.g. Northern Tramways Co. (1888). Municipal ownership was partially achieved in 1893 when cable traction was substituted, but running powers were leased, to a new Company, until after the First World War.²⁶

Finally, internal procedure sometimes occasioned controversy. Evening meetings were rejected by 12 to 6 in 1837, and by 20 to 8 in 1868, and by a majority of two in 1870, when they were advocated as facilitating working class membership. Public admission to Council meetings was refused in January and October, 1834, though reporters were allowed.²⁷ Extension of polling hours was for the same reason demanded in the '70's, though apparently not conceded until the already mentioned Act of 1884.

APPENDIX

Observations on and biographical details of some councillors of the period.

THERE seems some warrant for the view that citizens more prominent in other respects, in business or professions, took a larger part in public life than has been the case later; a probable explanation is that municipal duties then demanded less time than now, particularly in attendance at committees. At a ward meeting in 1833, it was urged that electors should fix the standard of qualifications as high as possible "... beyond seeking office place or emolument."

Among the members of the first elected Council were James Spittal, Lord Provost, founder of the drapery firm long known as J. and R. Allan; William Chambers, Adam Black and Duncan McLaren—all subsequent Lord Provosts, probably the most noted holders of that office; Gillespie Graham the architect, the surgeons, Professor Lizars and Dr Alex. Macaulay; and William Tait, founder of the magazine which bore his name.

Bernard Shaw once said that the system of local government led to rule by shopkeepers. Certainly many such, though usually bearing the more honorific designation of merchants, became councillors. Among Lord Provosts, besides those already mentioned, were Sir William Johnston, printer, Charles Lawson, seed merchant, William Law, coffee merchant, Jams Cowan, paper manufacturer, Sir James Falshaw, Chairman of North British Railway, Sir Thomas Boyd and Sir Thomas Clark, publishers, Sir Andrew Macdonald, clothier, Sir Mitchell Thomson, timber merchant, Sir George Harrison, woollen merchant and Sir James Steel, builder. Four may be classed as professional—Sir James Forrest and Francis Brown Douglas, advocates; Sir John Melville, w.s.; and Sir James Russell, physician, though latterly rather company director.²⁸

Among prominent Councillors, those in business included: David Lewis, shoemaker, Robert Cranston, hotel proprietor, David Redpath, confectioner, Charles Alexander, John Clapperton and George McCrae, drapers, James Gowans, builder, James Colston, printer. W. J. Kinloch Anderson, clothier and Stephen Wellstood, stove manufacturer. Those identifiable as professional (in a period when the modern professions were being defined) included John Hope, w.s., George Lorimer, architect and builder, George Cousin, architect, Andrew Fyffe, s.s.c., Dr Thomas Murray, lecturer (afterwards printer) and Captain Peat, r.n.

Professor Baldwin Brown seems to have been the only academic aspirant, unsuccessfully, in

1890.²⁹ Principal William Williams of the Veterinary College followed its founder into the Council as a non-political candidate, in 1892.³⁰

Alexander Macaulay (1783-1868), M.D. (1807), M.R.C.S. (Eng.) (1811) and F.R.C.S.E. (1820), was first elected in 1833 as a 'moderate churchman' for the Third Ward, later for the Fifth Ward, and defeated there in 1842. A Whig of the stamp of his historian namesake, he became Treasurer of the Edinburgh College. He was Physician to the New Town Dispensary, and in later life practised in Brompton, London. He was author of a frequently re-issued Medical Dictionary.³¹

His fellow surgeon John Lizars (1787-1860) also sat in the first Council. Son of a publisher, and an alumnus of Edinburgh High School and University, he served as a naval surgeon in the Peninsular War. He became F.R.C.S. in 1811, lectured on Anatomy at the College from 1823, and was promoted to a Chair of Surgery against his rival Syme; the chair was abolished in 1839. He was author of *A System of Practical Surgery*, (1833).³²

William Dick (1793-1866), unsuccessful in 1842 as a 'moderate churchman' was elected for the First Ward in 1849 and sat for Calton from 1856 to 1863. The son of a Canongate blacksmith, he attended lectures in Edinburgh and at the Veterinary College in London, securing a diploma in 1818. He lectured on veterinary science at a short-lived College in Edinburgh, 1819-21, later at the Edinburgh School of Arts and elsewhere. With the support of the Highland and Agricultural Society he established in 1839 the Veterinary College which continued under his name and which he bequeathed to the Town Council. He was Convener of Trades in 1839 and a Justice of the Peace. He was a Radical, to *The Scotsman* a "disorderly extremist"; its obituary concedes that he "had strong natural abilities."³³

Thomas Murray (1792-1872) sat for Broughton from 1854 to 1860 and St. Andrews from 1864 to 1866 as a Whig. He was a fellow student and intimate of Thomas Carlyle, whom he later visited at Chelsea. The Sage in his *Reminiscences* damns him as "egoistic, small vain with perhaps some remnant of better instincts." Murray professed that "their sentiments were unchanged" but subsequently dubbed Carlyle "a social dog in the manger." A 'stickit minister' he became a teacher and writer, contributing to Encyclopedias and writing *A Literary History of Galloway* and *The Annals of Colinton*. He acquired repute as an itinerant "sensible good plain lecturer" on Economics, and published a booklet on the subject. He became secretary of the School of Arts, its "autocrat and presiding genius." While in the U.S.A. he received an LL.D. from a College. In later life he became a partner in the firm of printers subsequently known as Morrison and Gibb, and so "crowned a youth of labour with an age of ease."³⁴

Joseph Hood Stott (1803-75) was Councillor from 1842 to 1849 when he retired; he was re-elected from 1864 to 1869, and twice served as a Bailie; he was also on the Parochial Board. He was active in the Complete Suffrage movement, which sought to unite Chartists and Free Traders, and had an ephemeral vogue in Scotland in the early 1840's. He became notorious by his refusal to pay the Annuity Tax; he was imprisoned for a fortnight in 1848, until sympathisers paid his dues. A native of Brechin, he set up as a leather merchant in Edinburgh in the 1820's.³⁵

George Lorimer became Councillor for Newington in 1861 and Dean of Guild in 1864. He was a Governor of Heriot's and Trinity Hospitals, and a director of the Water Company, an architect and builder, Master of the Merchant Company, director of the Chamber of Commerce and the Watt Institution. He was a Conservative but supported the Cooperative Building Society formed in 1861 by masons on strike, and is alleged by Tom Johnston to have been formerly a Chartist. He was killed while conducting operations at a fire which destroyed the Theatre Royal in January, 1865, aged 52.³⁶ George Cousin (1807-90), his colleague in Newington Ward, was a surveyor. He became a Bailie, and was a Conservative and Free Churchman.³⁷

Sir James Gowans (1821-90) was a railway engineer and building contractor, responsible for the Highland Railway and part of the Edinburgh Tramway system, for the Synod Hall (1875) and the famous mansion Rockville (1858), both recently demolished, and for blocks of working class houses. A Councillor from 1868 to 1880 and Dean of Guild, he promoted the International Exhibition in the Meadows in 1886 and was rewarded with a knighthood, but became bankrupt.³⁸

John Hope (1807-93), elected for St. Georges in 1857, sat for 32 years. He was of a well-known family who owned Dalry House, and became a w.s. He was a Conservative, but had close associations with political opponents as a strong Evangelical, anti-Romanist, social reformer and advocate

of Temperance. He founded the British League of Juvenile Abstainers—the name "Band of Hope," first adopted in Leeds in the same year, seems a coincidence. He was active in the Evangelical Alliance and the Protestant Tract Association, and in the agitation for shorter hours and working class housing.³⁹

Stephen Wellstood (1811-86) elected for St. Leonards in 1873 was defeated in 1876. He lived for some time in the United States, and is said to have introduced an American type of stove which he manufactured as a partner in Smith and Wellstood of Falkirk. A Radical, and advocate of Temperance and of Women's Suffrage, he latterly joined the Society of Friends with which he had long been associated in such concerns. He was Secretary of the Lancasterian School and a Governor of Heriot's Hospital.⁴⁰

Gabriel Hamilton Wallace (1816-91), a cabinet maker, employed by his one time municipal opponent Councillor Charles J. Alexander, was a trade unionist nominee for Canongate in 1874, but withdrew. Best known as a Temperance agitator, he had been a Chartist and was a Home Ruler, and also a popular singer and reciter. At the age of 75 he was elected for St. Giles in 1891, but died a fortnight later, apparently as a result of his exertions in the campaign.⁴¹

Robert Cranston (1815-92), Councillor for Canongate from 1868 to 1874 and St. Giles from 1874 to 1890, appointed a Bailie in 1875, was originally a tailor but founded Temperance Hotels in Edinburgh (Old Waverley, 1848) and London (1851). An active Chartist he was arrested in 1848 for his share in conducting *The North British Express*, but acquitted. Temperance was a feature of some Chartist agitation, and other Chartists also started hotels and coffee houses. As a Councillor he was prominent in re-organising the Police and Fire Brigade and in providing public baths and wash-houses. He collaborated with the Rev. Dr Begg in the erection of model dwellings at Abbeyhill, named after the latter. His son of the same name was Lord Provost early in the twentieth century.⁴²

David Lewis (1828-1909) was Councillor for St. Leonards from 1863 to 1873, a Bailie in 1869; as Convener of the Water Trust he was a protagonist in the controversy, supporting the St. Mary's Loch scheme; he published a book on the subject (1908). He was Secretary of the Permissive Bill Association (1858) and had his goods impounded for refusing to pay the Annuity Tax. He resigned from the Council on becoming Treasurer of the Heriot Trust in 1873. A shoemaker by trade, he was one of the first to establish retail chain stores. A member of the Evangelical Union, he edited *The Reformer*, the Radical Weekly of the early 'seventies, but became a Unionist in 1886.⁴³

James Colston (1830-97) was Councillor for Newington from 1865 to 1882 and St. Andrews from 1880 to 1897; he became City Treasurer in 1870, and was thrice an unsuccessful candidate for the Lord Provostship (1877, -82, -88), though recognised as a foremost authority on Council procedure. He was a printer and director of finance companies, and author of several books on local history, including Incorporations and Trades, the Guildry of Edinburgh and the Water Supply.⁴⁴

Joseph H. Waterston (1837-1904) was first a candidate of the Trades Council Municipal Committee in 1870; over twenty years later he was elected for Canongate. He is dubbed a Chartist, but must have been a precocious one; he was later known as a 'Parnellite' and a spokesman of Temperance, becoming district superintendent of the Permissive Bill Association. In 1904 he became a director of the Scottish Legal Life Assurance Company.⁴⁵

Andrew Cowan Telfer (1845-1916), originally a joiner, afterwards a house agent, was President of Edinburgh Trades Council from 1883 to 1886; as a nominee of the Labour Electoral Association he was elected for St. Cuthberts in 1889 and became a Bailie. He also sat on the School Board, and was a promoter of the Public Library.⁴⁶

John Cubie (1840-1903) was a cabinetmaker and president of a local trade union branch; he was Secretary of the Trades Council from July 1873 to January 1874. Elected for Canongate as a non-political candidate, 1891, though a Liberal Unionist, he was opposed by a Socialist in 1897 and defeated in 1900.⁴⁷

John C. Mallinson (died 1929), a shoemaker, was assistant secretary of his Union, the Cordwainers, President of the Trades Council in 1891 and of the British Trades Union Congress in 1896. He was President of St. Cuthberts Cooperative Association from 1903 to 1906. He was for a time a Labour Commissioner of the Board of Trade and became Superintending Attendance Officer of Edinburgh School Board in 1908. He was elected unopposed for St. Georges at a by-election in 1894, and sat until 1908; he became a Bailie and a Justice of the Peace.⁴⁸

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THE EDINBURGH LITERARY INSTITUTE

by W. H. MARWICK

THE Edinburgh Literary Institute was founded as a supplement rather than a rival to the older and longer-lived Edinburgh Philosophical Institution (1846-1950).¹ It had much the same aim in providing "popular lectures on science literature and art," and appealed to much the same type of audience; some speakers appeared on the platforms of both. The Philosophical Institution was established in the New Town at number four Queen Street. It was as a result of the southward expansion of the residential parts of the city that the new Institution was started; it was indeed "specially dedicated to the south side."² About fifty years earlier, as was also stated at the opening ceremony, an attempt "of a very humble character" had been made, whose "existence was very brief." That now successfully achieved was the outcome of "demands from residents in Newington and Grange." George Harrison, a director of the Philosophical Institution, assured the members that his organisation would always be glad to co-operate.

A few odd copies of its programmes are preserved in the Edinburgh Room of the Public Library. Otherwise, the press has to be relied on for information; the syllabus for the coming session was printed in full in *The Scotsman* and its activities usually reported.

A limited liability company was formed early in 1871; Duncan McLaren was a chief shareholder and promoter, as of so many Victorian enterprises; he gave a handsome donation.³ A site was found in South Clerk Street, and the foundation stone laid by Lord Justice-Clerk Moncrieff on 4th April.⁴ The building was completed within a year, and formally opened with a *conversazione* on 10th January 1872 and an address by the same dignitary. Accommodation, extended five years later, comprised a hall for lectures and concerts, a reading room, newsroom, ladies' room, billiard room, and a library of ultimately 20,000 volumes.⁴ There were rooms for "Evening classes for gentlemen" in English Literature, French, German, Latin and Mathematics at fees of fifteen shillings each; The Institute was controlled by a President and 24 Directors, with finance, lecture and library committees.⁵ Sir John McNeill⁶ (1795-1883) a former diplomat who was now Chairman of the Board of Supervision (Poor Law) was Honorary President, succeeded by Lord Rosebery; the first Chairman was Councillor Mossman; that office was long held (1873-96) by Josiah Livingston,⁷ (1823-96) Master of the Merchant Company and well-known as author of "Some Edinburgh Shops" and "Our Street" (Buccleuch Place). Archibald Craig (1808-90), woollen merchant, was for a time Treasurer;⁸ Alex. Greig was "superintendent" and librarian throughout.

The first of a lecture series was given by Thomas Kerr on "The Spiritualising Influence of Literature" and the music programme commenced with a concert on 17th January by Newington Choral Association; admission was by member's ticket and evening dress was requisite. For subsequent functions, a "limited number of tickets" were usually available for non-members. Subscriptions ranged from Life Membership; ten pounds for men, five guineas for ladies, to annual payments of a guinea for men and fourteen shillings for ladies and for men under twenty. Lecture season tickets cost ten shillings, use of the library

and reading room ten shillings per annum.⁹ Additional classes were soon offered in piano-forte, singing, harmony and drawing.

Lecturers during the first session included Professor John Stuart Blackie, on "Lessons of the Franco-Prussian War"; his asides on topical matters such as women medical students, evoked "considerable amusement." George Grossmith, for many years a noted entertainer, gave "a Humorous Lecture on Lecturing," for which no extra tickets were offered. An American Professor from Chicago spoke on "The Human Tongue" with "much humorous description." Other lectures were mainly scientific—for example "Vegetation of the Coal Period" and "The Electric Telegraph." The concluding lectures were by the feminist Emily Faithfull, who was frequent in later programmes, on "The Best Society—our Bookshelf," and George Macdonald the novelist on "Songs of Tennyson."¹⁰

This pattern was generally followed, as is shown by the following examples. The third session was inaugurated on 5th November 1873, by Lord Gifford, and for the main concert, that by Glasgow Festival Orchestra, the Music Hall was hired. A class in Elocution was held. A detailed syllabus was offered at one shilling. In January 1875 an (annual) *conversazione* was held. There were now about 1,300 members. Professor John Caird on "Bhuddism" [*sic*], R. M. Ballantyne on "Lighthouses" and George Grossmith on "The Works of Dickens" were the best-known lecturers. A talk on Sir David Wilkie was "illustrated by oxy-hydrogen light." Professor W. F. Barrett of Dublin and Dr Stevenson Macadam were regular speakers on scientific subjects. Hon. Dudley Campbell from U.S.A. dealt with Social and Political Questions in that country.

The Hall, after improvements which gave it "perfect acoustic properties" was advertised to let for public meetings, including evangelistic services on Sundays, for example, in 1877 by "South Side U.P. Church Extension." "Walter Bentley," the actor son of Rev. Dr Begg, gave a "Dramatic Recital"—a favourite entertainment—in November 1875 and February 1880. Principal John Tulloch, of St. Andrews University, on "St. Francis," Joseph Anderson, Curator of the National Museum of Antiquities, on "Archaeology" and the Rev. David Macrae are the most familiar names on the programme for 1877; the popular vocalists the David Kennedy family also appeared.

In the 1880's Dramatic Readings and Recitals were frequent. In January 1886 a Bachelors' Dance was held. Among the relatively few "highbrow" features were the Bishop of Ripon on "Dante," Professor Max Müller on "Sacred Books of the East" and Professor John Veitch on "Wordsworth." The trend towards entertainment rather than edification seems to have continued in the 'nineties, varied by a Centenary lecture on Thomas Carlyle (1895) by James Sime, who next year succeeded Livingston in the Chair. Under the auspices of the Institute, "Ian Maclaren" spoke in the Synod Hall (26th November) on "Traits in Scottish Character," with the Lord Provost in the Chair (admission, one shilling). A "Popular Lecture on Switzerland," with limelight views, was given (20th November) to raise funds for St. Michael's Church, and a concert on 11th December, for Argyle Place Church Building Fund. In January 1900, Blind Asylum pupils presented the Kinderspiel, "The Sleeping Beauty."¹¹ During the New Year holiday period (1900-01) there was a twice daily display of "Animated Pictures" by the Modern Marvel Company, and in February a performance by the Southern Light Opera Company. The Marvel Co. gave three additional exhibits of "cinematograms" of Queen Victoria's funeral.¹²

The Institute did not long survive the Queen. On 9th October 1900, an Extraordinary

General Meeting considered a motion that, owing to a financial deficit, the owning Company be wound up. It was agreed to negotiate with a bookseller, H. G. Robinson, who offered to hire the premises at a yearly rental of £100-120, and to continue the library and reading-room.¹³ Meanwhile a winter programme was advertised, offering season tickets at seven shillings and sixpence to non-members. On 14th November, James Sime delivered the opening lecture on the South African War, "with limelight illustrations;" a large audience approved his denunciation of the Boer "corrupt oligarchy." The final items were dramatic recitals at the end of February 1901.¹⁴ At a meeting on 5th February, liquidation was approved, and the properties advertised for sale at Dowell's Rooms, as "central convenient and extensive premises suitable for a retail drapery or general business, or conversion into shops with a separate large hall; feu duty £65. 5/-, upset price £10,500." It was purchased at that figure by the Primitive Methodist Church, the hall to be converted into a church and the ground floor let.¹⁵ As "the Livingstone Hall" (1901-25) it was well-known for the next generation. In May 1902 the Philosophical Institution rented part of the premises for a branch reading room and library, but this proved financially unsuccessful and was abandoned a year later.¹⁶

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THE BIBLE LAND MANUSCRIPT

When Robert Hurd and Partners, Architects, were reconstructing Bible Land in 1954 a manuscript was found in one of the walls. It was in a metal container and many of the last pages were badly damaged by rust. It was reburied in the building after it had been transcribed. We are indebted to Mr Ian Begg, of Robert Hurd and Partners, for a typescript of the document. It has been edited because there are a few tedious and uninformative passages, but the flavour of the old man's reminiscences remains. Spelling and punctuation are as in the original, as is the division into "No. 1" and "No. 2." Omissions are indicated by - - -, damaged and illegible passages by [. . .] A full typescript is in the Edinburgh Room of the Public Library.

NO. 1.

WHOSOEVER may come upon this paper and the other things that I have placed here in this wall will wish to know how they were putt there And for what purpose I have placed them whare they have been found. Now it is this as follows, I, Alexander Prophet Profit being heiratable owner of these lands and this part of this Great tenement being the Bible Close, only with the building or dwelling in the said Close on the West side from the street to the boundry wall of the Gas work and on the East side that small room in the close at the foot of the front stair leading from the street to the Close, Having been engaged for the last two years repairing, rebuilding and altering the subjects according to plans passed in the Dean of Guild Court, and making the place so that it can be turned to account, because the place was for many years closed up as unfit to be occupied and while removing an old oak beam end that was projecting out from the line of the wall at this part, I discovered that several papers and small peaces of lead was in the hole, regarding the papers or parchment, all persons that has looked at them agree that they must have been there for a very long period but nothing could be made out what was written on them except one or two words written at the end and near the bottom which I have been informed is Latin, and is written in the stile that was used before and up to 1600 unfortunately the parchment when dried gave way and fell into small peaces and Mr. Johnston that took in hand to get them putt together failed to do so, the small peaces of lead has been found to be printing types from the number of them it is supposed that one of the hand printing machines stood here at this place and the oak beam was part of it and that the types had been placed on the beam and the shaking when working had caused them to fall through a crack or opening, most people who have seen them say that they must have been out of use for 200 years and more. As the work is all but finished I have kept the hole open so that I could putt in Newspapers and any other paper that may be worth reading, along with this one I am a builder to my trade and has worked at the reconstructing this old building, that is to say my portion of it - - - Mason Joiner Plumber and Plaster work has all been done with my own hands, At what date or period this place was used for Printing I cannot say because there is no notice taken about that in the titles one thing I know that one of the tenants that resided in

this house fought at the Nile war and was discharged with a pension and died in this house in 1858 or 9, his wife was taken to the Canongate Poor House, and Grant McDonald got it closed for some time and again got different persons to occupy it, from time to time some sold coal and sticks, some kept a sheabeen and when the last person who occupied died he was seldom sober, and allowed any person to do as they liked he and a man called McLean did all in there power to hurt me and employed a law agent to claim a portion but when the case was tried they lost completely and they had nothing to take so that I had heavy law expenses to pay, which amounted to some pounds. I could relate many strange things that has happened in this property, one is that the part rebuilt by me and where the lindle dated 1513 is Was burned down and that the brother of an adjoining owner was killed there that in 17 [sic] his name was Sim, the walls of the old ruin was 3 feet 6 thick at the back or west side and the front or close side 2 feet 6". I had to take them down and sink the foundations lower to get in three floars the old pump well was also in that part next the back wall in the center and part of the pump stone and lindle is rebuilt in the present new building. The whole first flat before the alterations was layed with pavement which was taken up and replaced with cement, nothing was found under the old pavement except at the place where the entrance door went into the front appartment now a cellar for the shop above, at this place refered to the men working along with me taking up the old floor came upon what was the remains of two bodies one of an old and the other a young or short person, among the decayed bones we got nothing to take notice, some teath was got that could be lifted and handled but the rest was so decayed that they fell to peaces one thing was I could not find the sculs but some hollow flat bits may have been that part the boadys had been layed there with the head to the south as the teath was shoved up at that corner a portion of bon I showed to a man who knows said that they must have been there a very long time as the clay round about would preserve them for a long time when first placed there, no doubt this strange find was the work of some persons which are themselves assleep long ago, I was afraid to report about it for fear the place will never let and what of the remains I could get was tied up in a cement bag and buried in the Canongate Churchyard over against the poor house by old Symon the gravedigger, the old pump was made of wood, and had just been part of a tree bored out, when left to dry in the close it crumbled into small peaces at the bottom or reather where the well was filled up to measured 41 feet 4 inches I putt a long iron rod down about 12 feet and did not find a bottom, after turning over some of the rubbish nothing was found except three coins so much destroyed that after cleaning them I could not make out any date Mr. Johnston the antiquarian said that one was King Robert's and the other two Queen Mary's reighns he has kept them along with some pieces of delf which was also got I may also state that a hammer head was also got below the cover at the side of the well, which had been much used as both faces was bashed. In the over-flow or drain that was for taking away the water from the pump which was built of rough stones but not covered over we found what was parts of two old shoes I gave to Mr. Young boot maker next door to Bible Close they are sowed together with strips of leather and not with hemp, the toes was not rounded but square I am told the size is what is termed 9s by bootmakers. Mr. Young has them in his west end shop. I may state that no water is in the well but everything is very damp. I picked up a good many small things at different times but nothing of value some broken tobacco pipes with very small heads buttons spoons broken dishes &c, near the door of the old house in the close I got an old iron thing with a handle on it. Mr.

Johnston said it was an old lamp. Now I have told and writen down everything that I can remember from the commencement of the alterations in May 1901 up to this present date on which I have writen this namely the 5th of August 1905 - - - Now my dear friend I must draw to a close I do not know you and you will not likely know me But I trust that both of us will be safe in heaven.

ALEXANDER P. PROFIT.

(The following paragraph was written along the side of the first page)

The original level of the Canongate at this part of the street from St. Johns Street to near the Canongate was raised to its present hight with what was taken off the Lawnmarket to make steps on each side of the street. The Canongate was first layed with Causeway stones some years after this about 1808-10, contractor Alex. Watt, Abbeyhill.

NO. 2.

I will now describe some of the things that are going on at present. The 4lb loaf is 5 pence, sugar is 2½, potatoes 8 pence, meal 1/- per peck, flour 1/2, coal 9 pence per cwt., cheese 8d per lb., ham 10d., milk 10d. per gallon, tea 2/- per lb. tobacco 4/-, eggs 1/- per dozen, butter 1/2 pence, whiskie 6d per gill, ale 3d. per pint, boots for men and women from 3/- to 16/-, suites of cloathes ready made from £1.16 to £3.10, rent of room and kitchen houses 3/- to 4/2 per week, single houses 1/6 to 2/-. Masons wages 8 pence per hour, joiners 9, plasterers 9, plumbers 9, moulders 8, lathers 9, painters 8, causeway layers 8, scavengers £1:2 per week, carters £1:5, labours from 5 to 6 pence, shoemakers—peacework, tailors £1:10, cartwrights and smiths 8, gardeners 18/- and £1 per week, Doctors 1/6 to 2/6 per visit. This is the rates in the neighbourhood. Drunkenness is very common with the working class, every Saturday many old as well as young persons fall out and fight till farr into Sunday mornings. Poverty is a constant neighbour with thousands through drink, women are not what our grandmothers were they never save anything, sly drinkers taking on debt dressing by instalments deceiving their husbands and many of there offspring are rickety, ill bread brats growing up to fill there mothers places and act like them many men have died that I knew were killed by the conduct of there wives towards them, hundreds of children are murdered sloly with neglect and the ranks of sin and whores filled up through there want of doing the right and just thing. Most of the married women are ignirent and shameless, a Papist and a Protestants offspring generally turn infidels and whores, the carelessness of married women as a rule in this part is the main cause of most of the distress. The men young and old are like small boys and easily pleased. Kick ball shows games drinking and idle company is there must and best divle friends. Sundays is there feild day, to go to Church is a toil, to teach their children good is past their power, for there women they get the Lisencate breed which rules them and the Divel rules the women, therefore what can it be but Hell on earth, in hundreds of homes. The working man of today around this part has fallen down to a low ebb at present, I do not know one that is free of debt or could help one another in the smallest form. There daily conversation proves there state so well that beyond knowing where a kick ball is to take place and when or where some free charity is to be given or a jobb of work where subb pay can be got is all I can notice a person talk about. The Bible they cannot answer, to look up a chapter there thum is licked bare turning the leaves over again and again there heisend women are worse they attend church

meetings for coal food and cloaths some I know attend more than one Demonation, for that purpose all for money to drink, several nay numbers of working people are compelled to go into the poor house because that they have adopted this way of living, there children will not support them but marrie young and follow in the path they were brought up in, and retire to the poor house in due course quite content with what they term there fate. A very great and important thing that has been neglected with Christian churches, in fact all kinds and fashions Employers Corporation companys and thouse employing men and women, they never think or try to know if the wages is putt to a good use and that wheather the worker is a drunkard living with a whore, or got the license to breed with a villan of a woman called his wife or what kind of a home he has and many other things which I could mention all in connection with breeding crime and sin. The Employers wink at such kind of talk they would not form a society to see into such things, they care not for the well being of there fellow being, they pay him and say he is left to the freedom of his will, and they are not responcible DO such thinkers they are deceived for God winks not at what they let pass them, And if some thing is not done to prevent and hinder such kind of ways going on This great Nation will become a byword to the rest of the world. Please do not pass this over in haste but consider about what I mean you to understand, for it is already growing from a root well planted, which before 300 years it will be difficult to find a Scotsman of blood residing in the country. - - - you will say after reading this much is there no good people near to whare this man resides that he has said so much about the bad ones or are they all bad that he has had dealings with, My reply is NO NO for there are several good God fearing people that do all in there mentle power to follow the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, some who have never failed to serve Him, and likewise some redeemed out of the bad life of sin, who are fighting the good battle of life here waiting to be relieved by His call for them when there time comes, some women and young persons are among this Company But not large numbers. It is them and them alone that stop the rath of God from desending on us and destroying us. As I never do expect to see this paper again after I build it in the wall, as I am well advanced in years, I hereby grant power and freedom to the person who may find them to keep them safe and let all persons know regarding them, let no spite or malace hinder you from doing so - - - Permitt me to mention that I have been engaged at many of the Great buildings, alterations and improvements &c all over Edinburgh during the last 50 years. I can remember all the principle buildings being erected that is of any importance except the National Gallery or antiquarian Museum at the foot of the Mound. - - - I may here mention that when I was a young man it was quite common for me to walk night and morning from Musselburgh, Dalkeith and other places to Edinburgh and work ten hours per day for 5 pence per hour. I have seen and spoken to a joiner one Andrew Sime who I was told walked from Seaton Village near Ternent to the High School and part of the Royal Terrace. I also lodged with a man George Bailey residing on the Esk side near the iron bridge from Fisherrow to Millhill who walked from there to Leith East pear when it was being extended to past the Mortillo Tower and also he [. . .] Granton Harbour when it was being built, he belong to and was born in the village of Leith whare the Deen Bridge end at Queensferry St. is reconstructed, but he is now resting in old Inveresk. In reference to the Canongate from St. Mary's Street to the Palace there has not been any very considerable change in my day Watsons close, next Plainstimes has been built up Milnes Close rebuilt the sugarhouse is now a brewery, Murray house is a school, where the old Tower of Bible land was opsite

Panmuir close is replaced by a new building of only three flats, Milton House is away and turned into a public school. Nothing has changed until past Queensberry House whare a new erection of Youngers Brewery has taken up the suits of some old houses, the Palace Square has been greatly improved from our old water gate corner up the whole length of the Canongate. No change has taken place worth noteing except at the top whare Leith wynd was now Jeffrey St. and Cranston St. - - - I worked at building part of Black Friars St. next the church - - - Today I was talking to Mr. Cameron Painter 212 Canongate opsite New St. He is an old Canongate man and from the time I last talked with him he has come to the conclusion that there is not one name above any shop or place of business in the Canongate that was occupied by any of the same family 60 years ago and he is of the opinion that Clephan was the next oldest to the Profits, the last Clephan died in Lochend Close in 1881 or 2 and he was out of business in the Canongate 30 years before that date, the Camerons have only been in busness since 1820 therefore he has agreed to settle the matter that we are the oldest known family still in busness in the district. - - - Saturday 19th August 1905. I have now received from good sourse the information that when Cordwainers corporation built the present dwellings at this place, there was buildings erected on the Ground with the End to the Canongate that is to say running north and south the same as the old close And that it was roofed with stone which might have been some of them that was layed on the floars I remember that a number of thouse we lifted were cheked in a strange fashon and was thiner at one end, there had been a stair on the west side and a gateway to the street at the period refered to, the person occupying or owner was [. . .] Preston, and thereafter one Seaton this was in 15 hundred and odds, the close or wynd did not go through to the north back Canongate at that period there is a mention of a close or passage leading to some place in the Tolbooth wynd which was closed up at the time, some kind of a bouling green was made at or near Tolbooth Wynd in 16 odds and after that time at the beginning of 1700 the close went down to the North Back Canongate [. . .]

[. . .] Regarding my portion having been occupied as Free masons Lodge, which several respectable people declaim and Guides inform strangers that such was the case, I have been talking the matter over with some Brethren of the Craft and they could give no information, therefore the membership of the Lodge that was held there must not have been large as 60 persons would be enough to fill the place and if it has been used for only a short time for temporary purposes in any case it has kept or left a record behind to the present day. One Brother told some gentlemen in my hearing that it was No. 12 Kilwinning. I was long acquainted and a craftman with John Middleton Master of No 2 and I never heard him say that the Lodge was in any other place than whare it is. Herein ends all I can relate. This is now Sunday the 3rd day of September 1905. I may again mention that after making enquiry at all the oldest resedenters living they all agree in saying the same about what I have related, altho many have told me some strange like tales that may have been right to a certain extent, but of no great importance I have been informed that the place was once a smithy and nail-makers [. . .] September 1905 between 11 and 12.

ALEXANDER PROPHET PROFIT.

THE SCOTTISH MARINE STATION FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH,
GRANTON, 1884 TO 1903

by W. N. BOOG WATSON

It has been said that twice in the second half of the nineteenth century Edinburgh seemed likely to become a major centre for oceanic research and twice that hope came to nothing. The first opportunity came with the appointment of Edward Forbes¹ in 1854 to the Chair of Natural History in the University and withered with the death of that brilliant young scientist some months later. After thirty years had passed, hope rose again. By that time the enormous and unique collection of specimens and material gathered by H.M.S. *Challenger* during her three and a half years of oceanic research was housed in Edinburgh, the Challenger Commission under John Murray² was in full activity in the city and in 1884 Murray opened the Granton Marine Station. Once more the hope came to nothing with the decline into obscurity of the Granton Station; its rise and fall is briefly described in this paper.

During the earlier years of the nineteenth century the shores and waters of the Firth of Forth in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh saw considerable activity on the part of scientists and naturalists. Indeed it has been claimed that the foundations of modern oceanography in Britain were laid there by Robert Jameson,³ Professor of Natural History in Edinburgh in the first half of the century, and his successor, Edward Forbes. In 1816 a series of researches on sea water collected at Trinity was made by Dr John Murray⁴ (not to be confused with John Murray of the *Challenger*); these established facts of permanent importance in theoretical chemistry. Charles Darwin studied marine life along the Granton shore when a student at Edinburgh, as did Sir Wyville Thomson.⁵ For their researches these men lacked a proper base ashore, since previous to 1884 no permanent marine observation station existed in the British Isles.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period when much scientific research was concerned with the oceans of the world, of which the depths were as yet wholly unexplored. The temperature and pressure of the water, the presence or absence of living organisms, the constitution and configuration of the ocean floor were matters on which there was complete ignorance and much erroneous theorising. These were not the concern of the natural scientist alone; navigators, meteorologists, those concerned with deep sea fisheries and with the laying of submarine telegraph cables had a practical interest in the waters of the oceans. New equipment and new methods of research were therefore invented and maritime nations began to organise scientific expeditions to explore the depths of the sea. By far the most famous of these was the expedition despatched by the British Government in 1872. H.M.S. *Challenger*, a sailing ship with a small auxiliary steam engine, was commissioned and equipped with laboratories and scientific apparatus; a staff of scientists was appointed under Professor Wyville Thomson and in December the vessel sailed from Plymouth. During the next three and a half years the Expedition travelled some 90,000 miles in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, its course as far south as the Antarctic Ice Barrier.

At distances of about two hundred miles on the vessel's course dredging and sounding stations, numbering three hundred and sixty two, had been plotted, at which enormous collections were made of recordings and of marine organisms, samples of bottom deposits and water from all depths. When H.M.S. *Challenger* reached Spithead in May 1876 all the records of observations and the marine material were sent to Edinburgh where they were to be sorted, studied and described, and a full report prepared. Sir Wyville Thomson became Director of the *Challenger* Commission appointed for this work and his principal assistant was John Murray who had been naturalist on the expedition. When Sir Wyville died in 1882, Murray took over the Directorship, and in 1895 the *Challenger* Report, consisting of fifty large volumes, was published. Seventy-six scientists in Great Britain, Western Europe and the United States had compiled the Report under the control of Murray, who was largely or entirely the author of seven of the volumes. The completed work was justly described as "the greatest advance in the knowledge of our planet since the celebrated geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries."

The researches of the *Challenger* Expedition had been concerned with the deep waters of the oceans. Soon after preparation of the Report began Murray realised that if comparisons were to be made with conditions in shallow seas he must have a base from which to make investigations in the coastal waters of Scotland. He found an ally in the Scottish Meteorological Society which for long had been conducting research into the circumstances of the North Sea herring and salmon fisheries. The importance of that Society's work was recognised when the Fisheries Exhibition was held in Edinburgh in 1882, for at its close the organisers resolved to hand over to the Scottish Meteorological Society all their surplus funds to found a research station, with a recommendation that the Government be asked to provide a grant for the project. The money handed over was insufficient and an application to the Government for help was refused. At this point John Murray took action. On condition that the Society made the money available to him, he offered to establish the station himself and he set about raising the necessary funds from his personal friends and other members of the public. At the same time he found a suitable site for the Station, near Granton. An immediate response to this appeal came in the shape of £1,000 from a donor who made two stipulations—that he himself should remain anonymous and that Murray should take general direction of the Station for three or four years.

The history of the site⁶ of the Station is interesting. In 1835 construction of the harbour at Granton was begun by the Duke of Buccleuch, who owned the ground. Material was ready to hand, for Granton had long been noted for the quality of its freestone. A quarry was therefore opened close to the beach at Granton Point, a mile to the west of the position chosen for the harbour. By 1855 the quarry was eight acres in extent, second in size only to Craighleith quarry, and the bottom of the cavity lay many feet below the level of the Firth of Forth, from the waters of which it was separated by a narrow barrier of unexcavated rock. On this stood the house of the quarry overseer, Robert Muir. The pumping engine, working day and night to keep down the level of the water, was in the basement.

In the autumn of 1855 a very fine stratum of sandstone in the barrier of rock was followed until the men, apprehensive of a break in by the sea, refused to go farther. On 26 October there was a strong wind and a high tide, and at three o'clock in the morning the sea broke through the wall of rock and within ten minutes the quarry was flooded to a depth of sixty feet. The keeper's house split in two and half of it fell into the water. There



had been no warning of the danger but the keeper happened to be awake and saw his ceiling parting across. He found the door of his room jammed but was able to escape through a window with his niece and two small children, his servant and the engineman. During the years following the inundation sand and mud deposited by the tide reduced the depth to forty-five feet at low water; marine animals and seaweeds covered the rocks and the derelict quarry became a natural aquarium to which the original breach formed a tidal entrance with about ten feet of water over it at high tide. For many years the quarry was used only as a bathing place in summer and for the laying up of oyster boats in winter.

In 1883 a lease was granted at a nominal rent by the Duke of Buccleuch, and the work of organising and preparing the marine station began. The centre for administration was the office of the *Challenger* Commission in Edinburgh. The original scheme⁷ for the Station provided for two lines of activity. Scientific exploration of the Firth of Forth and the adjacent part of the North Sea was to be undertaken, and this was to include a study of the temperature and specific gravity of the water; of the fauna and flora; and of the constitution of the sea bottom. Under the second part of the scheme experiments were to be made at the Station and elsewhere in the Firth in the hatching and breeding of fish. It was planned to erect beside the quarry a building of six rooms including laboratories, and an iron cottage and shed for the keeper of the Station and for housing trawls, dredges and nets; to acquire a steam launch similar in construction to the steam pinnace which accompanied H.M.S. *Challenger*; to provide a floating laboratory able to be moved about the Firth; and to buy a small, portable house which could be erected according to need on Inchkeith, Inchcolm, Inchmickery or the May Island. To cover the cost of this scheme it was estimated that in addition to the thousand pounds given anonymously one thousand five hundred pounds more must be raised from other supporters. In the event this sum was never forthcoming; indeed it seems from the records that only a further three hundred and twenty-one pounds had been subscribed when the Station opened. The scheme, therefore, had to be modified. At the quarry itself, except for the keeper's house and shed, no shore installations were provided at first. Instead a floating laboratory called the *Ark* made its appearance. This consisted of an iron hull formerly used as a lighter, which floated at the centre of the quarry and was secured by four strong mooring chains. On the deck a wooden laboratory was erected for chemical and physical studies and for biological and microscopical investigations. The *Ark* was sixty-four feet long and thirteen and a half feet in breadth. Around her were placed a number of floating cages of ironwork in which sea animals and plants could be kept alive for long periods of study. One large wire cage, a nine foot cube, was intended on occasion to house porpoises, seals and large fish. It was unfortunate that the glass globes which supported these cages in the water had a strong attraction for stone-throwing youths from Granton.

John Murray was usually successful in stimulating public interest in his scientific projects and in obtaining help in money, gifts or personal service. At Granton much of the equipment was provided by his friends. From Murray himself came the scientific library of Sir Wyville Thomson which had passed into his possession on the death of the latter. The apparatus for chemical and physical research was that which had been used on H.M.S. *Challenger*. It was presented by John Young Buchanan⁸ who had been a colleague of Murray's on that vessel's voyage of circumnavigation and who came forward as an unpaid volunteer to work at the Marine Station.

In their comings and goings between laboratory and shore and for other short passages the staff used two Norwegian skiffs. On the opening day the physicist chose the name *Asymptote* for his skiff while the biologist called his vessel the *Appendicularis*. Bluff John Murray ridiculed these pretentious titles and within a few days they had been cut down to the *Simmie* and the *Dick*. Two sailing dinghies known as the *Raven* and the *Dove* were available for exploration locally along the coast. On longer expeditions the staff employed the *Medusa*, 51 feet long, of 30 tons burthen. This steam vessel, built at Govan, had been presented by Laurence Pullar, an old friend of Murray's and an amateur scientist. Pullar, a prosperous weaver and dyer whose mills were at Bridge of Allan, later collaborated with John Murray in the Bathymetrical Survey of Scottish Fresh-Water Lochs. The *Medusa* contained a small laboratory and up-to-date apparatus for sounding, dredging, trawling and temperature work, but she did not resemble the *Challenger's* pinnace.

A small advisory committee was appointed by the Meteorological Society but it existed only in name. Complete control of the Station and its destiny lay in the hands of John Murray who assumed the title of Director. Under him J. T. Cunningham⁹ became naturalist in charge, Hugh R. Mill¹⁰ chemist and physicist, and J. R. Henderson¹¹ zoologist. An oyster fisherman having the not inappropriate name of Turbyne was appointed keeper and acted as handyman afloat. An illustrated booklet describing the Station was prepared and circulated.

On 15 April 1884 the Marine Station for Scientific Research was opened during the festivities for the University of Edinburgh's tercentenary. For that occasion men of learning from all over the world were the University's guests and an invitation was extended to all to inspect the new station. One of the most eminent of those guests, Professor Ernst Heinrich Haeckel of Jena, had agreed to carry out the opening ceremony but because of illness he was unable to attend. Instead, on the appointed day a party of distinguished guests and their wives visited Inchcolm in the *Medusa*, and on their return to Granton in the afternoon John Murray formally declared the Station open for work. Among the visitors were two well-known scientists from Belgium, Professor Pierre-Joseph van Beneden¹² of Louvain and the Abbé Alphonse-François Renard¹³ of Brussels, who later published an enthusiastic account of "this vast plan" in the Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique. Clearly, great things were expected of the Granton Marine Station.

As an annexe to the Station John Murray had rented from the Earl of Moray the island of Inchcolm, with its ruined abbey, four miles from Granton. It was intended that work complementary to that done at the quarry should be conducted on the island. The two Belgian visitors described the accommodation provided as follows: "The interior of the ruin has been transformed into apartments where nothing is lacking even by English standards; the rooms have been equipped to welcome and house a whole colony of naturalists. This island . . . cannot fail to become in a short time the favourite rendezvous of those who wish to study the fauna of the shores of Scotland."

At Granton the Station went immediately into full activity as was to be expected under John Murray's leadership. Indeed even before the official opening day the staff had begun their researches, one of which, a survey of the oyster beds of the Firth of Forth, was of immediate practical interest. From the start, too, Granton was a regular observing station for the Scottish Meteorological Society. Later in the summer investigation began of herring shoals off the coasts of Berwickshire and Northumberland and almost at once an

unexpected obstacle was revealed. The *Medusa* proved too light a craft for the heavy swells of the North Sea and had to take shelter in the harbour of Berwick and return to Granton. It was evident that the vessel was suitable for use only in the less exposed waters of estuaries and that for expeditions on the open sea fishing boats or, on occasion, steam tugs must be employed.

At this point it was resolved to extend investigations to the Clyde and the western sea lochs. There in more sheltered waterways the *Medusa* would be seaworthy and work could continue throughout most of the year. The *Medusa*, therefore, passed through the Forth and Clyde Canal and made reconnaissances of possible sites for a marine laboratory to serve the western region. At first Murray looked with favour on the island of Arran, but early in 1885, dredging off the Ayrshire coast, he landed on the Great Cumbræ to visit David Robertson.¹⁴ It was largely on the advice of the latter that Millport was chosen. Meanwhile at Granton a start was made on a plan to build a home on shore for the Station, which would accommodate five or six whole-time scientific workers and where British and foreign observers with some definite object in view would be invited to use the facilities free of charge. Close to the sea beside the quarry stood a deserted building which was made available through the generosity of one of John Murray's friends, Robert Irvine.¹⁵ This building had formerly been used as a tannery and contained a number of large, watertight tanks built into the ground. There was also a steam pumping engine, and a simple modification of the existing pipes secured an abundant supply of sea water. Within the enclosure of the old tannery it was proposed to erect a two-storey building with aquaria and many tanks, an office, laboratories, library, luncheon room and bedrooms. How much of this building was in fact constructed and used it is impossible to say. Neither the maps of the day nor the references to the Association in biographies and scientific journals give any detailed information. All we know with certainty is that by the summer of 1885 an aquarium had been installed and one laboratory was in use by the physicist, who had found the *Ark* unsuitable for sedentary work in winter. This allowed the *Ark* to be towed through the canal and beached at Millport to form the nucleus of a new station. There the *Ark* lay until she was destroyed in a violent storm in November 1900.

No use appears to have been made at any time of the abbey on Inchcolm. By the end of the century it had reverted to the Earl of Moray and a resident custodian occupied the rooms so much admired by Murray's Belgian visitors.

From Granton itself research was pursued in waters stretching from Tynemouth to the mouth of the Spey. Considerable collections of specimens were made, some of which were welcomed by the British Museum. Papers on a variety of subjects were published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* and other scientific periodicals. At the same time valuable work was done in the teaching and training of students, many of whom later rose to eminence in the world of science. Among those who taught or studied at Granton in the early years were Sir Patrick Geddes,¹⁶ who afterwards turned from science to sociology and became a pioneer in the field of town and country planning; Sir William Herdman,¹⁷ who successfully established the first British professorship of oceanography; and William Speirs Bruce,¹⁸ who not long after his period of study at Granton turned to Polar exploration and achieved fame as leader of the *Scotia* expedition to the Antarctic. Most closely associated of all with Granton was Hugh Robert Mill, who spent three fruitful years there. In later life Mill became one of the most eminent geographers in Britain.

Nevertheless, the passage of the *Medusa* through the canal within five months of the start of the Station, followed quickly by the establishment of a permanent base at Millport, brought about a revolution in policy. It was followed by the rise of the west and the decline and eventual eclipse of the east. It is true that throughout his whole life Murray was strongly attracted by west coast waters. In 1857, on his first transatlantic crossing, when still in his 'teens he sailed from Canada to Scotland, he had been fascinated by the great tides of the Clyde estuary and by the rocks and weeds exposed at the ebb; as a student at Edinburgh University he had spent long summer vacations dredging and trawling round Mull and Skye; and at the time of his death in 1914 his mind was occupied with a projected survey of all the western sea lochs. Small wonder that he was happy in 1884 to take the *Medusa* westwards through the canal. Nevertheless it is certain that Murray's original intention had been that the work of the Granton Station should be prosecuted in the main on the eastern side of Scotland where it would be concerned not only with biology but with every aspect of marine research. It is equally clear that he quickly realised the limited usefulness of east coast waters for his purposes except where the *Challenger* Reports were concerned. The waters of the west, on the other hand, were more sheltered, and the configuration of the coast and the nature and contours of the seabed made marine study especially interesting.

From the start, as has already been shown, there was constant difficulty in financing the Granton Station. Because of this, indeed, the three gifted young scientists first appointed to the salaried staff were lost to Granton within four years. It was the policy of the Treasury to give annual grants to the laboratory constructed by the Fishery Board, at St. Andrews in 1884, a few months after the Granton Station was opened, and to the Marine Station at Plymouth, founded in 1888 by the Marine Biological Association. The Granton Station, on the other hand, was wholly dependent on voluntary support. We read that in 1887 the sea itself brought a donation of an unusual kind to the very doorway of the institution. An adult Greenland whale (*Balaena Mysticetus*) came ashore in the narrow entrance to the quarry and was speedily killed by the dwellers in the neighbourhood. It was then towed to Granton Harbour, hoisted on a railway truck and conveyed within the walls of the Marine Station, where it attracted many visitors and where, in the end, an anatomical dissection was undertaken by Sir William Turner, Professor of Anatomy in the University. But not even gifts from the sea could save the Station from death by inanition. Public support decreased, and the lack of money which had hampered the Station at its inception became an even more serious problem when the Cumbræ Station acquired independence and supporters in Glasgow and its neighbourhood diverted their interest from Granton to Millport. Until the *Challenger* Reports were completed work continued in the east, but with diminishing activity. In 1893 the last paper concerned with east coast research was published—a report¹⁹ by Murray himself and Irvine on the seabed of the estuary of the Forth. The Station in the quarry at Granton then passed into obscurity.

On the other side of Scotland, however, developments took a different course. For several years almost all the *Medusa's* work was conducted in the west, during which a detailed oceanographic survey of the Clyde area was completed. The results, published by H. R. Mill, are still quoted in the literature of marine research. It was in the course of that survey that Murray first took the *Medusa* into the fresh water lochs on the line of the Caledonian canal. The result of that experience was that Murray some ten years later

undertook one of his greatest enterprises, the Bathymetrical Survey of the Scottish Fresh Water Lochs. Five hundred and sixty-two lochs were investigated in detail, and when the scientific results were finally published in 1910 they presented the most comprehensive limnographic description of any country in the world.

In 1903 the establishment at the quarry, already dead except in name, was formally closed and the Marine Station for Scientific Research at Granton came to an end. It was the first permanent marine station founded in the British Isles; it had had its successes in local marine research and in the training and inspiring of scientists; there was vigorous health in its offspring, the Bathymetrical Survey and the Millport Station, the latter still flourishing today. But the great future foretold explicitly by Van Beneden and Renard and implicitly by other early visitors had not been realised. Poverty resulting from the lack of Government aid, the inadequacy of the *Medusa*, the greater attractions of the West coast, Murray's preoccupation with the Challenger Report and the Bathymetrical Survey, these were the forces which caused the enterprise to wither away, and the most powerful of them was poverty.

In 1927 an area of thirty thousand acres of land and foreshore at Granton including Granton Point, which belonged to the Duke of Buccleuch was acquired by the Corporation of Edinburgh. The water-logged quarry was filled up with waste from Granton Gasworks. A sea wall was built, behind which over four hundred thousand tons of screened dust and contractors' rubbish was deposited. Finally the surface was levelled and the whole area in course of time was laid out as a place of recreation and relaxation for the citizens. Today the Granton Marine Station lies buried and forgotten beneath the paths and greensward of a public park.

The writer's thanks are expressed to the Director of the Marine Station, Millport, Isle of Cumbrae, the Director of the Marine Biological Association's Laboratory, Plymouth and the Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique for providing information, and to the library staff of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for their help.

NOTES

¹ Edward Forbes: born in the Isle of Man, 1815; studied medicine and science for nine years at Edinburgh University without taking a degree; Professor of Botany, King's College, London; took part in scientific voyages in British, Scandinavian and Mediterranean waters; 1854, Professor of Natural History, Edinburgh University; died the same year.

² John Murray, ("Murray of the Challenger"): born in Coburg, Canada, 1841; at school in Canada; further education at Stirling High School; studied science, medicine and arts at Edinburgh University without taking a degree; 1872-1876, Naturalist on the *Challenger* Expedition; 1876-1895, Assistant Director, later Director of the *Challenger* Commission; 1880-1882, Leader of the *Triton* and *Knight Errant* scientific expeditions in the Atlantic; 1882-1903, Director of the Granton Marine Station; 1898, K.C.B.; 1897-1910, Director of the Bathymetrical Survey of Scottish Fresh-Water Lochs; 1910, Leader with Johan Hjört of the *Michael Sars* expedition to the North Sea and Atlantic; 1914, killed in a motor accident.

³ Robert Jameson: geologist and zoologist; born in Leith, 1772. Studied at Edinburgh University for eight years and at Freiberg for two years without taking a degree; 1804-1854, Professor of Natural History, Edinburgh University; died 1854.

⁴ John Murray: chemist and physicist; native of Scotland; educated in Edinburgh; lecturer in Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Pharmacy; M.D., St. Andrews, 1814; F.R.C.P.E.D., 1815; died 1820.

⁵ Sir Wyville Thomson: born in Linlithgow, 1830; studied medicine and science at Edinburgh University without taking a degree; Lecturer in Botany at Aberdeen; Professor of Natural History at Cork; Professor of Geology and later of Zoology and Botany at Belfast; led the *Lightning* and *Porcupine* survey expeditions in the Atlantic; 1870-1882, Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh University; 1872-1876, Director of the *Challenger* Expedition; 1876-1882, Director of the *Challenger* Commission; died 1882.

⁶ *The Scotsman*, May 10, 1884, "The Old Granton Quarry."

⁷ *The Scotsman*, September 8, 1883, "The Granton Biological Station."

⁸ John Young Buchanan: born 1884; M.A., Glasgow; Assistant to Professor Crum Brown, Edinburgh; in charge of Physics, Chemistry and Geology on *Challenger* Expedition; Lecturer in Geology, Cambridge; accompanied Prince of Monaco on oceanographic expeditions; died 1925.

⁹ Joseph Thomas Cunningham: born in London, 1859; M.A. Oxon.; Naturalist, Granton Marine Station; Lecturer in Zoology, London University; died 1935.

¹⁰ Hugh Robert Mill: born in Thurso, 1861; B.Sc. Edin.; Chemist and Physicist, Granton Marine Station; Lecturer, Heriot-Watt College; Librarian, R.G.S. London; Director, British Rainfall Association; a leading authority on Antarctica, died 1950.

¹¹ John Robertson Henderson: born in Melrose, 1863; M.B. Edin.; Zoologist, Granton Marine Station; Professor of Zoology, Madras; died 1925.

¹² Pierre-Joseph van Beneden: born in Malines, 1809; Zoologist; Professor in the Universities of Ghent and Louvain; died 1894.

¹³ Abbé Alphonse-François Renard: born in Renaix, Belgium, 1842; educated in Jesuit schools, ordained priest 1877; Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy, Jesuit College, Louvain; Director of Museum of Natural History, Brussels; Professor of Geology, University of Ghent; largely responsible for *Challenger* Reports on Deep Water Deposits; left the Roman Church, announced adherence to Spiritualism, joined a Humanist Society and was married at a civil ceremony in London; died 1906.

¹⁴ David Robertson, Naturalist, F.L.S., F.G.S.; born 1806 in poor circumstances; youth spent in herding and horse-breaking; attended medical classes at Anderson College, Glasgow, without taking a degree; became a china and earthenware merchant; retired early from business to Millport, Great Cumbrae, where he spent the rest of his life in scientific study; died 1896.

¹⁵ Robert Irvine, F.R.S.E.: born in Edinburgh, 1839; assistant to Professor of Technology, Edinburgh University; for 50 years Chemical Director and Consulting Chemist with Messrs. A. B. Fleming, Ink Manufacturers, Granton; studied microbiology and founded Chair of Bacteriology, Edinburgh University; died 1902.

¹⁶ Sir Patrick Geddes: born in Ballater, 1854; studied at London and Edinburgh; Professor of Botany, University College, Dundee; Professor of Civics and Sociology, Bombay; established the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh; died 1932.

¹⁷ Sir William A. Herdman: born in Edinburgh, 1858; D.Sc. Edin.; Professor of Natural History and later first Professor of Oceanography, Liverpool University; died 1924.

¹⁸ William Speirs Bruce: Zoologist; born in Edinburgh, 1867; studied science at Edinburgh University without taking a degree; worked in the Ben Nevis observatory; Leader of the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition; died 1921.

¹⁹ Murray, J. & Irvine, R., *Trans. R. Soc. Edin.* (1893) 57. 481. "On the Chemical Changes which take place in the composition of the Sea Water associated with Blue Muds on the Floor of the Ocean."

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MISCELLANY

39. EDINBURGH IN THE PITCALNIE PAPERS AGAIN

In Miscellany 37 (Volume XXXII), the late Miss R. R. Williamson Ross of Pitcalnie described her family papers and a bill for furniture was printed. Here are two more bills, the first for more furniture from the Brodies. Alexander Ross, Munro's father, furnished their first Edinburgh house; Schaw and Son appear to have carried on a comprehensive house-furnishing and decorating business.

(a)

Monro Ross of Pitcalnie Esqr To Francis and Willm. Brodie.		L	Sh	d
1774				
May 8	To a planetree Bookcase with Chinese doors Glased with Crown Glass	2	15	-
	To a Wainscott Chest with Lock and Hinges the inside lined with green frees (for holding Swords &c)	-	10	-
	To a Mahogany Shaving table	3	3	-
				£6 8 -

(b)

1755 Mr Ross of Pitcanny To John Schaw & Son

Augt 27th	To 12 Neat Elm fan Backd Chairs Stuffd over the Raill & Brass Nailld @ 12/6	£7	10	-
	To Elbow ditto @ 15/6	1	11	-
	To 4½ yds Green Camblet for the Roof of ye Bed @ 1/3	-	5	3¼
	To 6½ yds Green English Bukram 11d	-	5	11½
	To 6½ yds Green Silk binding for ye head panes @ 3½d	-	1	10¾
	To 16 yds Silk & worsted ditto for ye inner Do @ 1½d	0	2	0
	To 16 yds tape for the Curtain Tops & latchetts to ye ft panes	-	-	8
	To 6 dozen large Brass polleshed Curtain Rings @ 4½d	-	2	3
	To 6½ yds hessian Canvas @ 10d	-	5	5
	To 7 dozn Iron tinnd Studds	-	-	7
	To furnishing Sowing Silk threed & tax	-	1	6
	To an Upper Taster Roof furnished for ye Bed	-	3	-
	To Workmanship Making up Your Bed Lining & payholling [?] Roof and head Curtain	-	9	6
	To a Wool Mattress in Scotts Tyke	1	5	-
30	To 16 yards Croccas @ 4½	-	6	-
	To 2 piece Green and white Cloath paper 9/	-	18	-

	To 14 yds Bords to Ditto 2d	- 2 4
	To workmanship putting up a piece of hanging on Canvas & furg. sowing Silk threed paste & tax	- 3 8
	To 17½ yds Black & yellow yard wid dambroad Carpeting @ 2/4	2 - 10
	To furnishing yellow Broad Binding & Girthweb	- 1 2
	To Making a Sarge Carpet & furnishing threed	- 2 2
	To 3 yds do Ellwide Carpeting @ 2/4	- 7 -
	To 2¾ yds Do ¾ wide @ 1/6	- 4 1½
	To 8½ yds Matting @ 5d	- 3 6½
	To Works. Binding yo Ends of 2 Mats & furg. Black 1---- & threed	- - - 6
	To An Iron hook for hanging a Glass	- - 1½
	To an Neat Mohogony Table	1 15 -
	To a Small Do	1 10 -
	To a Beech Closs Stool with pan	- 8 -
	To a Mohogony Trea [tray]	- 13 -
Sept 12th	To 2¾ yds ¾ wide Green Baze @ 2/2	- 5 11½
	To 7½ yds Green shade Binding @ 1d	- - 7½
	To Works. Making 2 Table Covers & furnishing threed	1 - -
18	To Blue paper	- 6 -
	To Lads time & furnishing Batter	1 1 -
	To 2 Brass hooks for hanging a Glass	- 10 -
		<hr/>
		£20 19 7½

Edinburgh 20th Septem. 1755

- - - - - Margreat Schaw

S. M.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF
THE REV. DAVID AITKEN, D.D. 1864-1875

by R. G. HEDDLE

DAVID AITKEN was born on 17th August, 1797, in Midcalder parish, to Allan Aitken and his wife Margaret Law. His mother's name suggests a possible family connection with another Midcalder man, William ("Coffee") Law,¹ Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1869 to 1872. Whether or not they were in fact related, they were close friends and Law's name appears frequently in the Diary.

Aitken was educated at the High School of Edinburgh where, according to a contemporary who was with him in Mr Pillans's² class he "did not at all distinguish himself." The same reporter, however, encountered him again three years later at the University of Edinburgh in a debating society "where he soon surpassed many young men of great talent for the energy, the imagination and the taste with which he spoke." This doubtless refers to the Dialectic Society to which Aitken was admitted on 14th January, 1815 and of which he was elected an honorary member on 3rd March, 1821.

On 28th March, 1821, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh and for the next few years he spent much of his time abroad. He mentions in the Diary that his first visit to the Continent was to Holland in 1823, but thereafter he spent three years in Hamburg, in the family of a Mr Parish, no doubt as tutor. During his residence in Germany he took the opportunity not only to improve his knowledge of the language but also to pursue his studies in metaphysics and theology. He visited many of the savants of Germany, including Hegel. A rough journal which he kept during his travels in Germany in 1826 was printed after his death by D. G. Ritchie.

In 1826 the parish of Minto in Roxburghshire became vacant, and the patron, the Earl of Minto, offered the living to the Rev. William Menzies, who had apparently been tutor in his family. Menzies was the fellow student who had known Aitken in his High School and University days. Since he had already accepted a living in the parish of Keir he found himself unable to accept the Earl's offer. He therefore recommended Aitken as a suitable candidate for the vacancy. His candidature was further supported by Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Constitutional History, (later of Logic and Metaphysics) in Edinburgh, as well as by Thomas Carlyle, and he was appointed to the vacant charge, being ordained on 14th September, 1827.

He had not long been settled in Minto, however, when a series of events occurred which were to cause him considerable distress.³ On 12th June, 1831, the death occurred of Dr Hugh Meiklejohn, minister of Abercorn and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Edinburgh University. His death must have been anticipated by his fellow clergymen, for before it occurred pressure was being brought upon Aitken to become a candidate for the chair. It appears that, while sincerely regarding him as an outstandingly suitable candidate, his friends in Edinburgh were acting from mixed motives in pressing him to apply. The name of Dr Lee, minister of Lady Yester's Church, was being freely canvassed as a likely successor to the chair, which was in Crown patronage. Lee had previously held a similar chair in St.

Andrews and his scholarship was hardly in dispute. He did not intend, however, if appointed, to resign his ministerial charge, and this was enough to damn his candidature utterly in the eyes of those churchmen, prominent among them Dr Thomas Chalmers, who opposed pluralities.

Aitken was not particularly keen to become a candidate. He was happy at Minto, his health was not very good and he took a rather modest view of his own attainments. Moreover the salary attached to the chair was only £100 plus students' fees, although Dr Meiklejohn had been paid an extra £100 *ex gratia* by the Government, in addition to his emoluments as parish minister of Abercorn. Chalmers, however, was confident that the Government would continue to pay the extra £100 and that, with fees, the emoluments of the chair were over £300 and could easily be raised to £450. *The Scotsman* also intervened with an attack on pluralities, in particular those enjoyed by Dr Lee, and a strong recommendation of Aitken's candidature. Under this continued pressure he eventually applied for the chair.

At this stage, however, an unlooked-for event occurred. Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, offered Aitken the chair at a salary of £100. Aitken forthwith declined the offer and no doubt thought the affair at an end as far as he was concerned. He reckoned without Chalmers and his friends. At some stage in the transaction he seems to have given them the impression, or they had simply assumed, that he would be prepared to accept the chair if the extra £100 was continued. Steps were therefore taken to induce the Home Secretary to renew his offer at a salary of £200, and in due course Aitken received another offer of the chair at the higher salary. He was in a dilemma. He had reason to believe that Chalmers's estimate of fees was wildly optimistic and that his total emoluments, should he accept the chair, would not be likely to average more than £250 a year, a sum he felt was quite inadequate to support the dignity of a professor. On the other hand, he felt that the question of pluralities had been conceded by the Government, and that he was no longer under any obligation from this point of view. After a few days' hesitation he again declined the appointment.

The fat was now in the fire. Chalmers's indignation knew no bounds: he charged Aitken with "broken faith," "dishonour," etc. *The Scotsman* added a charge of "inconsistency." Aitken had "refused what he himself had sought." It is pleasant to record that throughout this unfortunate affair Lord Minto gave Aitken his consistent and generous support. We can only suppose that, when all was over, poor Mr Aitken was glad to retire into the comparative obscurity of his Minto parish. A few years later, in 1836, when the chair of Logic fell vacant, he was urged to apply for it, but he refused to become a candidate in opposition to Sir William Hamilton. Perhaps the burned child feared the fire!

In July, 1836, Aitken married Eliza Stodart,⁴ daughter of the late David Stodart, of Easton near Biggar. The wedding took place at 22 George Square, the home of John Bradfute, the bride's uncle, with whom she had lived for some time. Eliza was a friend and correspondent of Jane Welsh Carlyle and most of the letters in *The Early Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle*⁵ are addressed to her. Bradfute was a partner in the firm of Bell and Bradfute, booksellers and publishers, and was a man of considerable wealth and unmarried. He died in 1837, and it was to his will that Aitken owed his subsequent comparatively comfortable circumstances; by his own account he was, in 1831, entirely dependent on his parochial income.

Eliza's sister, Margaret, married John Dudgeon of Almondhill, and their daughter married, in 1845, the Rev. George Ritchie, minister of Jedburgh. The Ritchies' three

children, Margaret, David and Elizabeth were favourites of the Aitkens who had no children of their own, and after Mrs Aitken's death in 1869, Maggie (usually contracted to "Mie" in the Diary) came to live with Dr Aitken at Charlotte Square.

Aitken's whole ministerial life was spent at Minto. In November, 1864, he resigned the charge and retired to live in Edinburgh, where he had bought No. 4 Charlotte Square in the previous March. This was his home for the rest of his life.

His possession of an independent income enabled him to indulge a taste for foreign travel, and he sometimes wintered abroad even during his ministry in Minto, being able to afford to pay a *locum tenens* in his absence. He was the more inclined to do this because he suffered from attacks of bronchitis and asthma which frequently confined him to bed.

In spite of his learning, Dr Aitken was not himself a writer. His only published work appears to have been the account of the parish of Minto in the "New Statistical Account of Scotland." Nevertheless his scholarship must have been widely recognized by his contemporaries. He was awarded the degree of D.D. by Edinburgh University in 1843; in 1868 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in 1873 a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

He was a keen gardener, and while at Minto had ample opportunity to exercise his interest in this sphere. Charlotte Square offered less scope but he made up for any lack of active participation by frequent visits to the Botanic Garden. His interest in horticulture did not, however, end with production; he also enjoyed consuming the produce he had grown. He was, indeed, something of a *gourmet*, in spite of the fact that he suffered from more or less chronic dyspepsia. The Diary contains constant complaints of nocturnal "gnawings" for which, from time to time, he used a variety of medicines. It is perhaps typical of the period that the one remedy which he never appears to have used is the, to us, obvious one of diet.

In spite of these ailments, however, he was a man of great physical energy. An enthusiastic walker, he frequently walked from Charlotte Square to Portobello and back, while Leith, Granton and other suburbs of the city were regular objects of his perambulations. In October, 1871, at the age of seventy-four, he set off on a nine months tour which took him to Palestine, Syria, the Lebanon, Greece, Turkey and Italy. Three years later, in June, 1874, he reluctantly gave up the idea of visiting Moscow and St. Petersburg, but compromised on an extensive tour in the Netherlands, Germany, and France!

Dr Aitken died on 27th March, 1875, and was buried in the Dean Cemetery. By his will he left a legacy to the University of Edinburgh to found a fellowship in the Faculty of Divinity. The Aitken Fellowship is awarded to a Master of Arts of the University who is attending classes in the Faculty of Divinity, to enable him to pursue theological studies at Universities in Germany or elsewhere furth of Scotland.

Whatever his shortcomings as an author, Dr Aitken was an indefatigable diarist. By his own account, in starting a new volume (the tenth) on 1st October, 1868, his Diary began in the autumn of 1838. Volume ten was completed in 1873 and the last entry in volume eleven was made on 19th March, 1875, eight days before his death, when he was already ill. These two, with volume nine, started in September, 1861, have survived and are now in the possession of Mrs Margaret Ross, who has kindly made them available for publication. The extracts given below are taken from the period of his residence in Edinburgh following his retirement.

There is, of course, much in the Diary that is of little or no interest now. In part it may

have served as an *aide-memoire*, useful to the diarist in observance of the somewhat elaborate social protocol of mid-nineteenth century Edinburgh. He records his own and his wife's callers and his own calls and similar social activities. But even when such *trivia* are discarded, the mass of a diary kept over a period of ten years is too great for publication in full and a certain repetitiveness soon becomes apparent to the reader. A great deal has therefore been omitted and what appears below is a selection. In choosing the extracts an attempt has been made to pick those which illustrate something of the quality of life in Edinburgh as lived by a cultured and well-to-do retired gentleman a hundred years ago. Certain themes which recur at intervals are quoted fairly fully—the controversy about the medical education of women, and the tribulations attending the erection of the Prince Consort Memorial are two of them. Other extracts are perhaps of greater interest as showing something of the personality and attitudes of the diarist himself: some of his comments on his fellow-ecclesiastics are not without a certain acerbity.

Editing has been minimal. It was felt that the flavour of the original could be best conveyed by retaining the peculiarities of punctuation and the occasional idiosyncrasy of spelling.

1864

FEBRUARY

Monday, 1. After breakfast Eliza & I to Edr., I having business at Coml. Bank Caln. In Coy. [Commercial Bank, Caledonian Insurance Company], & looking about for a house—one in Chester St. struck my fancy.

Tuesday, 2. With Eliza looking at the house Chester St. which she fancies as much as I do; at Laws & Stodarts⁶ I had much talk about it.

Wednesday, 3. Ground white with snow this morning, & heavy blasts of flakey snow all day—most disagreeable. The house we had taken a fancy to was sold last night—a sort of disappointment, tho' our minds were not quite made up about it.

Friday, 5. Our errand to Edinr. has failed—not a house to suit us can be found. With Mr Law at Phin's W.S.⁷ to see the ground plan of feus for Chester St.—not a stance left which admits the arrangement of the house designed by Binning Monroe⁸ which we regret not getting. Looked at 14 Heriot Row—a poor affair for the sum asked £3800. Went together on to Chester St. examining 2 houses still for sale at 2450 but they are not what I would like. Dined with our kind hosts, & left for the 6.35 P.M. train.

MARCH

Tuesday, 15. Clear frosty day. To Edr. by forenoon train on anxious errand about a house. Looked at the Stance of Matthieson's feus then at 4 Charlotte Square. A short while in the Exhibition. Drove out to Hermitage & dined with the Laws—much talk with him on my perplexing business. Only my hosts & 2 boys at home.

Wednesday, 16. After breakfast drove with Law to Chester Street; nothing there to suit. So after consulting with G. T. Stodart went with him at 1 P.M. to Cay and Blacks⁹ & bought the house 4 Charlotte Sq. for £4220! an extravagant price. It was put up at £4200

& there was only 1 offer against us of £10. Law was there and congratulated me, but condolence would have been fitter. Felt depressed and saddened all day after, at the thought of leaving a home with so many attractions where I have spent upwards of 36 years.

Dr Aitken left Minto for Edinburgh on 19th November, 1864

1865

JANUARY

Thursday, 12. Out for the first time since the 30th ult. Went to the Institution to see the competing designs for the Albert Memorial—none of preeminent merit—liked best those by Calder Marshall,¹⁰ Noel Paton¹¹ and Steel.¹²

Friday, 13. Terrific fire in the afternoon; theatre burned down; loss of life.¹³

Saturday, 14. Went to the scene of yesterday's disaster; among those who perished was Dean of Guild Lorimer¹⁴ attempting to save another.

Wednesday, 18. Sleety day. Went to the Club and saw the long funeral procession of poor Lorimer pass to the West Church burial ground.

MARCH

Wednesday, 8. With Law went to see the Provost's plan for a Town hall &c. at the Waverley Station.¹⁵

Saturday, 25. Inauguration of the Wilson and Ramsay statues—attracting a large crowd; from the glance I got liked old Allan most.

MAY

Sunday, 21. A namesake—James Aitken of Kilmarnock¹⁶—preached to us forenoon, the noted Dr Cumming¹⁷ afternoon to a crowded & very miscellaneous audience—the sermon lasted nearly an hour in parts colloquial,—& introducing the pronoun I; both in thought & style more emphasized than emphatic.

JUNE

Sunday, 11. Heard Dr Lee¹⁸ preach a sermon on humility—the magistrates present—the innovations most unobjectionable & no doubt the organ adds to the solemnity. Came home by Wt. Princes St. Gardens—where numbers of well dressed, well conducted people were walking or reclining on the grass—a sight to offend none but the most bigoted.

SEPTEMBER

Saturday, 30. With Law went to see, at the Corn Exchange, plans for a Poor's House at Craig Locart.

NOVEMBER

Friday, 3. Pleasant seasonable day. Heard Gladstone's¹⁹ valedictory address—able but discursive—a great physical as well as intellectual effort for he spoke upwards of 2 hours, with full distinct voice heard in every corner of the crowded Musical Hall—subject ancient Greece & its place & use in World history. There was frequent applause tho' there was not much of what is usually called eloquence.

DECEMBER

Saturday, 30. If winter weather was long in coming it has now set in suddenly & seriously, boisterous blasts of flaky snow all day—yet ventured out paying bills. Yesterday Dr Begbie's²⁰ carriage was blown over in our Square, when standing at a door, Coachman hurt. A cab in Princes St. turned on to the horse. Young Ramsay of Barnton²¹ dead, last of the race—speculation as to the succession.

In the late gale part of a house was blown down in the high street not far from the site of the destructive accident a few years ago,—in this instance no life lost.²²

1866

JANUARY

Saturday, 13. I at Charles Hallé's²³ morning piano recital—well attended & worthy of being so. A plain looking unpretending man—simple & chaste in execution.

Monday, 22. I called on Miss Simpson Portobello, still suffering but cheery—walked by Jock's Lodge going, returned by Duddingston—the new road under Samson's ribs—not at all tired.

Saturday, 27. A forenoon concert. Grisi,²⁴ Mario, Foli,²⁵ Demeris-Lablache, Arditi:²⁶—thronged. Gi. looks older, Mo. not; both in their several ways still first rate.

MARCH

Friday, 2. Sinclair called about a site for a monument to his sister at the foot of the back green No. 1.²⁷

Saturday, 17. E. & I dined at Lord Neaves²⁸ at 7, a large party including Prof. Fraser²⁹ & Mrs F. Prof. Lushington³⁰ & Mrs L. Prof. Kelland³¹ & Mrs K. whom I took to dinner, a most agreeable person. Sheriff Dundas³¹ & Erskine of Linlathen³³ a nice old gentleman, friend of the Carlyles, & seemed to be an universal favourite, & others whom I did not know. In the Drawing room Mrs L. repeated in a sort of *recitative* her brother Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade" & another of his poems—given with great feeling standing apart in the doorway. An amusing contrast was Lord Ns. singing a song of his own "Philology," very droll. Altogether a delightful evening.

Saturday, 24. With E. dined at the Bennet's³⁴ at 7 meeting Sir David & Lady Brewster,³⁵ Profs. Blackie³⁶ and Lorimer,³⁷ & a French savant from Paris Monsr. Mantenci, tho' his birthplace Berlin as he told me. He has come over to inquire into the Scotch University system—a mission connected with the Parisian students Liege affair. He speaks english admirably, joining in a highly animated after-dinner debate on Greek teaching, when B[lack]ie. & the Principal waxed divertingly hot rising from their seats & gesticulating; B[enne]t. also warm in another fashion—all in good humour. Songs from Mrs Bt., Blie. & Maggie who had come to tea.

Saturday, 31. To Queen St. Hall at 2 to hear Readings by Miss Siddons (Mrs Chaunter)³⁸ from Shakespeare—the Merchant of Venice, King John, Macbeth, Much Ado about Nothing, also from Marmion with Ivry & the Queen of the May. She is very interesting in look & person with some resemblance to her great ancestress by cast of features, but is small,—of fragile build, while the other was colossal. with a sweet not powerful voice her style is graceful & pleasing—more suited to archness in light characters, & pathos in tragic,

than to energetic passion. She is very young—under 20—married to a youthful naval officer her public appearances to help the "res angusta domi." She was well received by a large audience & could not fail to be, were it only from her delicately beautiful & prepossessing countenance & figure.

APRIL

Monday, 2. An early call from Sir David Brewster kindly & attentively offering admission to hear Carlyle today if I had not got a ticket. The meeting—very crowded—at 2 in the Music Hall. I was placed off at the side & heard imperfectly. The Rector's address was spoken in a conversational style, throughout *Carlylish* alike in thought & language & tho' lasting an hour & a half, eagerly listened to by the dense throng of students, who behaved unusually well, & were most enthusiastic in their applauses. I met him again at dinner at Erskine's of Linlathen when his talk was equally good. Sir Wm. Stirling of Keir³⁹ & Constable⁴⁰ with 2 ladies, our host's sister, all who were present at table, but Dr Carlyle⁴¹ came in the evg. Erskine had been made LLD at the forenoon proceedings along with Tyndall,⁴² Huxley,⁴³ Ramsay⁴⁴ & Rae⁴⁵ the Artic traveller. A choice day of which this poor note is unworthy.

Saturday, 21. At the Queen's Street Hall with E. & My. hearing Dickens read David Copperfield, condensed—excellently, alike in the Comic & pathetic parts, & both in voice & look. Crowded attendance.

Sunday, 22. On coming out [of church] a note from Dr Carlyle with the stunning announcement of the sudden death of Mrs Carlyle yesterday afternoon in her carriage in the park! Her husband at Dumfries—poor man—it will be a trial, & loss to him more than to most men similarly bereaved. Had she survived to July she would have been 66. Dr C. & Mr Erskine had called to make the sad communication.

MAY

Saturday, 19. Opening of the Industrial Museum by Prince Alfred.⁴⁶ saw him in the great Hall of the Library dubbed LLD in full Highland costume! Streets crowded with gay holiday folks & of all classes.

JUNE

Thursday, 14. Looked at D. O. Hill's⁴⁷ first Free Assembly—an agglomeration of heads in a gray clay tone of colour—a work of painstaking labour nothing as a work of Art. Worshipped by devout women & men zealous in the Cause, for which it is to serve as an instrument. At the Club, overheard Dr Ch. say that £3000 would not be adequate remuneration for the Artist—knew of several £100 men clubbing to buy it for "The Church", after it has gone the round of Exhibition thro' the Country.

SEPTEMBER

Tuesday, 11. Announcement of the death yesterday of Charles Maclaren⁴⁸ aged 84—distinguished by naive simplicity of character & scientific talent. I used to meet him at Pillars', the last time on the 31st March 1864 at the Professor's funeral at the age of 86. Mn. then told me, when in the same carriage with him, that he was 4 years younger.

NOVEMBER

Saturday, 10. E. ventured (tho' colded & rather out of sorts of late) to attend Hallé's Piano Forte Recital at 2 P.M.—delighted with it. A full audience was held for upwards of 2 hours in silent wonder & enjoyment! Cabbed both going & coming.

Saturday, 17. Sharp winter day, clear sky, with frosty rook in the distance. Auspicious for a big Reform display of the working classes—assembled in the Links & walking in a long procession to the Queen's Park, we saw them pass from our windows taking fully an hour. I afterwards went down to the place of meeting—there were 4 stands whence speakers were holding forth & gesticulating but rousing no enthusiasm, for the cheers were of the feeblest. The huge gathering were most orderly & in good humour—evidently enjoying it as a gala day, with sisters, sweethearts, & wives:—papas might be seen with an infant on each shoulder, playing with the decorations & ribands. Some of the devices on the banners were droll enough—brooms to sweep out the Cave of Adullam &c., implements of trade were on poles, with no end of flags & emblems—bands of music—all striking as seen in the hazy sunshine spread out under Arthur's seat & Salisbury Craigs. The streets thronged & had a holiday look & stir all day.

A most variable season—never two days alike. Changes often even in one day;—dull, blustering & wet. frost at times, but no continuance of it. The harvest was tedious, potatoes late in being lifted—injured in consequence, & all markets high. Much ill health chiefly bowel complaints. Sporadic Cholera widely dispersed—in some places severe & fatal such as Leven & Methil-hill in Fife. Edinburgh has as yet been only slightly visited, tho' it has been found needful to open a Cholera hospital. It has at last been resolved to make sanitary reforms so long & much required in the old town. Another reform less salutary is being agitated up & down under the League, & over that unprofitable subject there is again to be a party & parliamentary struggle. Fenianism seems to increase, & relations with America are ticklish. Neither E. nor I have had any illness to confine, but she suffers both from rheumatism & dyspepsia, I in the old old way. We have no Doctor yet.

1867

FEBRUARY

Tuesday, 5. Four & half mortal hours from 12 to 4.30 spent at a Poor Board meeting of St. Cuthbert's in the West Church issuing in a resolution by an overwhelming majority to erect a separate Poor's House at Craighleith; with about 70 of a minority. Law & I voted against.⁴⁹

Wednesday, 13. A Reid concert, at which I had never been before, immense audience—seats on the wings raised. Spoke to Dr R. Lee & his family—his not harmonious business was before the Pby. today as he told me. Besides instrumental music from Paur⁵⁰ pianist & Sainston⁵¹ violinist & an orchestra of 50 select—there were vocalists Madme. Sainston Dolby,⁵² Mdlle. Enequist & Mr Cummings.⁵³ Some of the songs composed by Prof. Oakley⁵⁴ skilful & graceful more than marked by genius or power—quite a contrast to Beethoven's Adelaide. Herr Manns⁵⁵ a first rate enthusiastic Condr. Performance as usual much too long—not over till past 11 though begg. at 7.30.

Friday, 15. For 2 hours & $\frac{1}{2}$, at the most uproarious public meeting in Q[uee]n. St. Hall

I ever attended, on the Combination poorhouse proposal—a packed crowded assemblage headed & guided—or misguided—by the bull headed Sir Jn. Gr. Baird—carrying it all their own way against, & with a high hand—listening to none on the opposite side. Dr A. Wood in vain attempting.

Friday, 22. I had met at the Exn. forenoon Mrs D[udgeon]. & Mrs R[itichie].—took them in the evg. to M[usi]c. hall when Dickens read "Dr Marigold" and "Pickwick Trial" a great treat greatly enjoyed by a pretty large audience among whom were the Rn. Cathc. Bp. Strain⁵⁶ seated between 2 of his priests!

MARCH

Sunday, 3. E. out forenoon & heard Stevenson.⁵⁷ I afternoon Prophet⁵⁸ from Shetland, strange in aspect & speech—like some unshaven Methodist.

APRIL

Tuesday, 16. At Fraser about alterations to 22 George Sqre. to prove very expensive. Afterwards attended University Council meeting. A petition to Parliament for a representative in the House of Commons unanimously carried, followed by a discussion, not merely animated but acrimonious, on a Report presented by Prof. Blackie suggesting changes in the Curriculum for M.A. Dr A. Wood & Professors Stevenson,⁵⁹ Masson⁶⁰ & Fraser fierce in attack on the Report & Reporter.

JUNE

Tuesday, 25. Death of Macculloch⁶¹ landscape painter yesterday only 62. How many, in quick succession, of eminent Scotch Artists have died lately, Roberts,⁶² Philip,⁶³ Greig,⁶⁴ Ge. Graham.⁶⁵

Sunday, 30. Walker,⁶⁶ of Kirkwall, Orkney, preached afternoon—naive, almost amusingly so—in tone of voice, familiarity & emphasis of delivery blended—and the homely cast of some of his remarks. he has an air of complacent bonhomie, not devoid of a quaint self conceit, but withal I doubt not a good, kind pious man.

JULY

Thursday, 4. Walked by Dalry & Canal to Craig Lockhart & saw the foundation stone laid of the new Poor House, returned by Morningside in time to hear the first music in Wt. Ps. street garden by the band of the 6th Royal.

Thursday, 11. Early call from Nasmyth⁶⁷ anent a proposal for the Ross fountain in our square!⁶⁸

Friday, 12. Attended a thin meeting of Charlotte Square Proprietors regarding the Ross Fountain—to my regret no chance of our accepting it—the more shame to us, & the whole affair a discredit to the town.

SEPTEMBER

Sunday, 8. I heard in Hopton rooms Cranbrook,⁶⁹ the rejected by the Independents, his prayers read, studied compositions, prose hymns of Adoration & praise. The sermon or address unlike any preachment I ever heard. Nature glorified—"immanency" of God in it—

sounding Pantheistic, if not, then Transcendental. in no part of the service was the name of the Saviour introduced; he contrasted with the modern view that of the old Hebrews as to the relations of God to Creation, he said nothing of the Christian view, nor was there any reference whatever to Christianity, even the prayers were not presented in the name of Christ. Still the strain of sentiment & feeling was earnest & devout. Hymns were chaunted to a Harmonion, so also the Lord's prayer. On each side of the desk stood a bouquet of flowers in a taper glass vas. Altogether a curious exhibition—the slender, swarthy, weird-like figure—delicately chizzled features & forehead—the keen eye rapt at times, giving fitting embodiment to a discourse intellectual & ideal.

OCTOBER

Thursday, 10. A destructive fire yesterday in Chessel's Court Canongate—originating in a pyrotechnist's shop. went to the spot. thrilling account in *The Scotsman* of the catastrophe—loss of life & rescue of women & children.

Friday, 11. More fires!!! a serious one last night in a tannery, North Gray's close, High Street—went to look at the blackened walls of the miserable houses.

Wednesday, 30. Beautiful, clear, sharp day. With Maggie R. went at 1 to the Music Hall & after a sore crush got a good place & witnessed the presentation of the Freedom of the City to Disraeli. His speech short well delivered, shewing mastery of expression. What a strange countenance it is? Sphinx-like—shaded with sadness too. at times an anxious side glance accompanied by a heaving of the chest. The hall thronged in every corner & the reception jubilant.

NOVEMBER

Saturday, 2. Went at 6 to Slaney's⁷⁰ to Ph[ilosophica]. Institution dinner given to R. Lowe⁷¹—a large party, 150, & a pleasant. well placed near the chair, & between Dr J. Brown⁷² & Dr Hanna.⁷³ Smith did the duties of chairman cleverly, & besides speeches from the guest, Js. Moncreiff,⁷⁴ Black,⁷⁵ Lord Dunfermline⁷⁶ &c. Lord Neaves sang or said two of his comic songs—one of them the "Permissive Bill". First time I was in the new Ding-room, handsomely decorated, tho' neither it, nor the fare comparable to the "Grand." Close upon 12 when we broke up—serving of dinner too long.

Friday, 15. Dined, first time, at Prof. Blackie's—a gentleman's party—meeting Cosmo Innes,⁷⁷ Dr Stirling⁷⁸ translator of German Metaphysics, a Mr Jn. Stuart:—one of the Trl. survey engineers &c. besides hosts & Miss A. Wyld.

Monday, 25. Mild & moist. Attended in Free-Mason's Hall a public meeting for improving North College St.⁷⁹ Adam Black in the chair—the principal resolutions well moved by Dr Begg.⁸⁰

DECEMBER

Sunday, 15. Heard Stevenson & Mathieson⁸¹ of Buccleuch Church—such a display of foolishness in the would be picturesque line.

Monday, 16. At the Royal Society heard from Piazzi Smyth⁸² an address on the "Antiquity of Intellectual Man." chiefly in connexion with the Great Pyramid of Egypt:—2 hours long, but never flagging in interest—spoken with singular precision of diction, & stretching over a vast range of details—all thoroughly under command—a wonderful effort, & so ready.

Still with the array of facts & figures only an Astronomer's dream, or Mathematical poetry. With his red Turkish Calotte & swarthy thin countenance, he looked like some Egyptian sage or Hierophant. Sir Jas. Y. Simpson⁸³ controverted the views. Prof. L. Playfair⁸⁴ in the Chair—a large attendance.

Friday, 20. Attended Phil. Inst. Concert crowded, but fortunately found a good seat. Very successful. Haydn's quart. in G minor admirably given by Straus, Mackenzie,⁸⁵ Zerbini⁸⁶ & Piatti.⁸⁷ Other performers Made. Arabella Goddard⁸⁸ pianist, & Santley⁸⁹ & Miss Ceca. Westbrook vocalists. Male Chorus of Edr. Chorl. Union. Odious walk home, wet, with slushy streets.

1868

JANUARY

Wednesday, 8. Learned at the R[oyal]. S[ociety]'s. rooms that I was ball[ot]ted. on Monday evg.

Monday, 20. Took my seat, & subscribed my name at the Roysl. Socy. admitted by Prof. Kelland vice-pres. Crowded attendance to hear Sir Jas. Simpson's reply to Smyth on the pyramids—lasted 2 hours—clever, & teathy—as Smyth seemed to feel.

Friday, 24. A day to be long remembered for a terrific gale from S.S.W. amounting indeed at times to hurricane, & lasting from 5 to 6 hours, accompanied with rain, hail, & snow. Its greatest fury was from 1 to near 6. The water was driven in at our sth. bedrooms, drawing room, & parlour windows, the sky light in the old bath room, broken but all that is trifling. When looking out I saw the Cupola & lead of our neighbour Mr Nasmyth's house blown into the back green with a swirl as if it had been a light blanket. But that too is inconsiderable. 4 people were crushed to death at No. 10 Duke Street by the fall of part of a house, other casualties also with loss of life, Cabs overturned, foot passengers dashed to the ground, many buildings injured both in new & old town &c. the most awful & destructive tempest any one remembers—thankful we are to have suffered so little.

Saturday, 25. High wind all night tho' nothing to that of yesterday, *Scotsman* filled with notices of its devastations far & near—North trains stopped by snow drifts 12 ft. deep—losses at sea as well as on land—telegraph communications interrupted &c. On the streets I found traces of yesterday's havock every where.

FEBRUARY

Tuesday, 4. Cross put up on the Sinclair Memorial—the progress of which we have watched with interest thro' the winter. to be a joy to us as a thing of beauty in daily view—a credit to Bryce the Architect.⁹⁰

Tuesday, 11. Alas! Announcement of the death at half past seven last night of Sir David Brewster in the 87th year of his age—a man of rare original & inventive genius. To him I was indebted for my F.R.S.E. his last recommendation, I believe, except one.

Thursday, 13. Were at the Reid Concert. well seated B. 15., every quarter full. Manns a most energetic conductor, Carrodus⁹¹ violinist. Vocalists Madm. Lemmens Sherrington,⁹² Miss L. Franklein, Mr Nelson Varley; Madme. Schumann⁹³ a wonderful violinist, excelling in her husband's compositions. Among the best things Mendelsohn's Reformation Symphony, Beethoven's Concerto in E flat, Carrodus violin Phantasia (by Ernst): Oakley's

"Blow Bugles Blow" more to my liking than what of his I heard before, or than the "Evening Star". The whole a great success—began at $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8, not over till near $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11.

Monday, 17. At the Royal Society tributes paid to the late Sir Dd. Brewster by Lyon Playfair in the chair: resolution moved by Sir Js. Simpson, & seconded by Dd. Stevenson,⁹⁴ Engr. A paper read by Sir Js. Alexander⁹⁵ on transporting the prostrate Obelisk from Alexandria, savagely opposed by Piazzi. Smyth.

MARCH

Sunday, 15. Walked to the Dean Cemetery—leaves opening & spring flowers decking the graves. spring returning, but not to them who rest beneath. Alas! an other not quickened by its influence, but has gone down to the dust, for on my way home heard from Dr Jas. Simpson that a telegram had today been received announcing the death of poor Dr Robert Lee! A release to him in his hopeless state, but a sad affliction to the widow & his only daughter. I saw him last on the 18th October of the past year, just before his leaving for Torquay.

Thursday, 19. Scaffolding of the "Sinclair Memorial" taken down—the progress of the work has been an interest to us, & now that it is finished we shall have a permanent object of great taste & beauty within near view. it does much credit to its Archt. Bryce.

APRIL

Friday, 17. Great meeting for rebuilding the Infirmary.⁹⁶

Monday, 20. A crowded attendance at the last Ordinary meeting of the Roysl. Socy. to hear Pi. Smyth's reply to Sir J. Y. Simpson's attack—very trenchant & sarcastic, to the amusement of the hearers. S. made a short defence. It has been a very pretty quarrel—now to rest I suppose.

Friday, 24. First day of Military Band Music in the usual place—weather most favourable for it—bright & sunny tho' with e. wind. A gay spectacle, such smart ladies, gossamer head dresses—long trailing trains—& umbrella parasols—colour varying from Mazarin blue to Magenta.

A squabble between Town Council & N. British, ending in the former thrusting a Vegetable Market between the Station & Princes St.

MAY

Sunday, 10. Walk to the P.O. came back by W. Pr. St. garden, where well dressed people were decently sauntering along the grass, enjoying themselves, I think, innocently,—& it might even be profitably—to mind as well as body.

Monday, 18. An uproariously disorderly meeting in the Music Hall on the subject of a Free Library—a chaos of bawling & shouting—no one heard, whether for, or against—speakers gesticulating in dumb show. The Provost was in the chair, but he was as little attended to. This tumultuous mass was against the proposal in overwhelming numbers, & shrieked & yelled over their disgraceful victory. I among the very few who voted in favour, having been one of the requisitionists. When the names of these were read over including Judges, clergymen, medical & other professional men, there were outbursts of scorn & derision. The "Shoptocracy" of Edr. have inflicted a discreditable stain on themselves.⁹⁷

Tuesday, 19. *The Scotsman* comments with great severity on the "Vandalic disorder" of yesterday's proceedings. The scrutiny of the voting cards shewed 1106 against, only 71 for the Act—but there must have been a greater number present.

JUNE

Tuesday, 30. Great & general dissatisfaction at the election of U. P. Calderwood⁹⁸ for Morl. Phily. Chair.

JULY

Saturday, 4. Great Review Day of Volunteers in Queen's Park, & splendid weather for it, sunny & clear, with cooling e. wind. A sham fight—truly sham, there being no defending force. I went by St. Leonards to the height above St. Anthony's well—the grass slippery as glass, many tumbles—every thing parched & dry—whins set on fire, raising smoke so as to obscure the view of the movements. Got down, & took a look at the "march past." But the finest sight that of the clustering masses on the ridges & slopes of Arthur Seat & Salisbury Craigs—like bees swarming on a hive.

Monday, 6. Election of Principal. Sir J. Y. Simpson *not* the successful candidate as apprehended—a boon to the University, & a satisfaction to most of the educated community. Sir Alexr. Grant⁹⁹ carried by the turning vote of Adm. Black.

Tuesday, 14. Scandalous business in the Town Council yesterday in the appointment to Old Greyfriars.¹⁰⁰

Sunday, 19. Two miserable exhibitions from Stevenson, bigoted, narrow minded & uncharitable—a tirade against episcopacy popery liberalism—ill expressed & stutteringly delivered from what seemed bitter passion.

OCTOBER

Sunday, 18. Stevenson officiated forenoon, & announced that in the afternoon his pulpit was to be filled by an episcopal clergyman of the Irish establishment. well—it may be, but how to be reconciled with his tirade of 19th July last? Dr Foley (I believe that is his name) Prebendary of Cashel is a vigorous man with rather low forehead & large ruddy face. His voice is husky & his speech does not flow, but rises & falls in jerks. He is not what one would call eloquent, yet fixes attention by rough energy, quaint homely allusions, & palpable good hits. His subject the woman taken in adultery, treated in evangelical style, also with home thrusts at pharisaic uncharitableness. Of course there were some passing slaps at the Pope & popery. He spoke holding a small bible in his hand, sometimes impressive, sometimes almost amusing—for 50 min. & yet it seemed a short while.

Friday, 30. University Council Meeting. Election of Chancellor. D. Maclagan¹⁰¹ proposed & Phin seconded John Inglis;¹⁰² Simpson & Guthrie Gladstone.¹⁰³ M's. speech the best—the others but so so. Shew of hands nearly equal, but given by the Chairman (Christison)¹⁰⁴ in favour of Inglis. A poll demanded. Attendance very full.

NOVEMBER

Tuesday, 3. Mr & Miss Law called with a beautiful bouquet, & drove me to the Music Hall—getting admission by Rose St. thro' Mr L. to reserved seats without any inconvenience.

We were well placed in front of the Orchestra both to see Mr Bright¹⁰⁵ & to hear him. Tho' the hair is white his complexion is still fresh & ruddy, features well formed. He spoke for 3 quarters of an hour in a deliberate collected manner—no flow of language but always distinct & precise—less eloquent than intellectual, summarising past political events—energetic but unimpassioned. He was listened to attentively, without enthusiasm, probably because there was no attempt at the higher flights of oratory. His reception indeed throughout was by no means fervid however respectful. His enunciation was clear only touched with a slight hoarseness. The Provost read from a printed paper his speech which was well put together. there was a full not overcrowded & not aristocratic audience. On the whole the display might be less successful than on the similar compliment being paid last year to Disraeli.

Wednesday, 4. Cabbed to the College & heard Calderwood's Introductory on Moral Philosophy sensible & respectable—nothing more or better: his appearance is gentlemanlike, & there is nothing of the preacher in his reading clear & cool. He looked quite at his ease, not put about by noise at times from the students being overcrowded, tho' in the large Chemistry Class. He was supported by Dissenting Ministers—Dr Candlish¹⁰⁶ seated on his right hand, & afterwards in close talk with him. Saw first time Principal Grant—what of his face, not hid by a bushy beard, bronzed by an Indian sun.

Monday, 16. Duncan Maclaren¹⁰⁷ & John Miller¹⁰⁸ unanimously elected M.P.s for Edr. Proh Pudor!

Tuesday, 17. At the Universities M.P. nomination, full attendance, Christison presiding. Syme¹⁰⁹ proposed, Tulloch¹¹⁰ seconded Lyon Playfair: Campbell Swinton¹¹¹ was proposed & seconded by Sir Jn. Macnicol¹¹² & Shairp¹¹³—no shew of hands. The most successful speaker was Tulloch, the least Shairp.

Friday, 20. Attended a meeting of George Square proprietors approving the recent successful improvements. On the subject of the opening of the Meadow Walk being mooted I said a few words in its favour. Stir & going to & fro' on the streets—polling for the County gained by Sir Alexr. Gibson Maitland¹¹⁴ over the Earl of Dalkeith¹¹⁵ by a majority of 241.

Saturday, 21. The Lord Justice General Chancellor of our University—one regrets not that Gladstone loses but that the other wins—from Henry Brougham to John Inglis—what a descent!

DECEMBER

Saturday, 5. Yesterday Playfair elected M.P. for Edr. & St. Andrews. Universities by a majority of 255.

Friday, 11. By invitation attended in the College a preliminary meeting for raising a subscription for purchases in Nth. College St. In the absence of the Provost, Baillie Miller in the Chair—statements made by him, Christison, Boyd,¹¹⁶ Playfair &c. . . . the result—all present constituted a provisional Committee, & a small acting Comtte. named to organise procedure.

Monday, 21. Attended a meeting of George Square Proprietors to memorialise against removing the Infirmary to the grounds of George Watson's hospital. Dr Paul in the Chair. resolutions moved & supported by Drs Balfour & Ziegler, Dr Begg (ably) Col. Geddes & myself (imperfectly).¹¹⁷

1869

JANUARY

Friday, 1. A pleasant day to begin the year—moderate frost with southerly wind boding change, which came at night—rain & wind. Enjoyed a long walk by Holyrood & round the Victoria drive. Kilted Shinty players in the Park, sliding & skating—chiefly boys—on St. Margarets, Dunsapie, & Duddingston lochs ice thin. The fine weather taking numbers out of town, yet the streets not perceptibly thinned. The customary sights of tipsiness, of stalls, & shows—very few shops open. At the Gymnasium¹¹⁸ found a great gathering inside & out to see foot races.

Saturday, 9. A lovely day—air soft & springlike—sweet sunshine—all enjoyed in a long delightful walk—by Inverleith row to Granton—along the beach to Cramond & back by the Queensferry road—a stretch of 3 hours & more without halt,—timed the 2 last miles by the stones, done each in 15 min. so that having kept the same pace I must have gone over 12 miles of ground at least. Not fatigued only a little footsore.

Monday, 18. Got a comfortless seat in the Orchestra at Moncrief's Installation as Lord Rector—students conducting themselves even worse than their usual—drowning Oakley's Organ performance—"ruffing" parts of Crawford's¹¹⁹ prayer, as if it had been a speech! still more & worse at its close a voice called out "encore"!! At times attempts were made to stamp down the Rector—for this there was the excuse that his Address was prosy & long (1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ hour) never rising above Common Sense, & not infrequently sinking to common place. At the close he told them to be decent during the benediction!!!

FEBRUARY

Tuesday, 9. Heard in Queen St. Hall Miss Emily Faithful¹²⁰ on Woman's Rights—her lecture lasted an hour & qr. fixing attention—was neatly composed & well read, with soft distinct voice & good accent—she is swarthy & rather mannish in look—to which the crop of her dark hair contributes, as also her stout figure. She came to the platform unattended, & left it without any recognition, except applause from a not numerous or demonstrative audience—a rather ungracious reception.

Saturday, 13. Exhibition opened—spent there some hours, of average merit—perhaps not up to last year's. Recognized at once Law's "Willie"¹²¹ a pretty little bit of innocent childhood. "The Minuet" by Millais I had seen before in London. N. Paton's "Fairy Raid" in his fanciful if not fantastic style.

Friday, 26. Took M.R. to the Exhibition, giving her a season ticket, & in the evg. to Dickens last reading in Edr.—well placed in Music Hall both to hear & see the flexibility of voice not being more remarkable than mobility of features. Read or rather acted "Nancy & Bill Sykes", with the "Christmas Carol"—a great effort admirably sustained to the close. A large & appreciating audience—not the most select.

MARCH

Friday, 19. At an Infirmary Site meeting nearly 4 hours—packed for Ge. Watson ground—carried by a large majority but such voting a farce.

Wednesday, 24. Signed at Moinet's¹²² a paper objecting to removal of the Infirmary site.

SEPTEMBER

Tuesday, 21. Heard an alarming rumour regarding Lord Justice Clerk Patton's¹²³ mysterious disappearance!

Wednesday, 22. Nothing further known of the Glen Almond mystery—the worst apprehensions entertained—very sad!

Thursday, 23. Still no clue to the mysterious disappearance.

Friday, 24. The Ross Fountain is at length to become a fact—the “dissecta membra” are laid down in Wt. P. St. Garden.

Saturday, 25. At last the body of poor Patton is found—he had cut his throat—not mortally is supposed, but falling into the river, death caused by drowning—alas! a sad tragedy.

OCTOBER

Mrs Aitken died on 5th October, 1869.

Saturday, 30. At the Unity. Council yesterday Phin defeated in his motion to exclude Ladies from medical study & degrees.

NOVEMBER

Friday, 5. Mr Law elected Lord Provost—may it bring happiness as well as honour!

DECEMBER

Tuesday, 7. Out for a very short while looking at the debris of the new Station in Lothian Road, a large portion of which fell yesterday afternoon—fortunately the workmen had left.¹²⁴

1870

FEBRUARY

Thursday, 3. Call from Miller, S.S.C. George Sqr. asking me to join the opposition to the removal of the Infirmary—declined. I think resistance unavailing.

MARCH

Thursday, 10. At the late hour of 10 Doctors Ths. A. G. Balfour & Wm. Ziegler called urging me to join the opposition to the change of the Infirmary site—the former spokesman. I declined from the conviction that opposition would be bootless.

Sunday, 13. Forenoon Stevenson officiated: in the interval we had Lizzie & Susan Ritchie—with the Provost, he talking of the attempt to make a coachmaker's establishment in No. 21 Charlotte Square!

Tuesday, 15. A meeting of Proprietors of Chtte. Sqre. anent a project of the Croalls¹²⁵ to convert No. 21 into a shop! I did not attend but signed a paper for opposing brought by Mr Mylne.¹²⁶ “Vandalism” if ever there was.

APRIL

Tuesday, 19. Looked into the Uny. Council meeting in Free Mason's Hall for a short time, Prof. Masson vehemently eloquent in behalf of Ladies' Admission to University study.

MAY

Monday, 2. The new Caledonian station opened.

Saturday, 7. Death yesterday of Sir James Simpson aged 58.

Friday, 13. The public funeral of Sir Jas. Simpson, immense attendance, streets crowded—stood over an hour with Mie. at the corner of Abercromby Place to see the long procession pass—occupied 30 mtes. at any one place.

JULY

Tuesday, 5. Election yesterday to the Midwifery chair—a scandal of town councillors.¹²⁷

AUGUST

Saturday, 13. At the Botc. Garn. drought telling—down to Granton—out to the end of the breakwater—fresh air off the sea so enjoyable. Upwards of 20 German ships war-bound in the harbour, not venturing out for fear of capture, came back by Fettes College—finishing the spire.

Sunday, 21. Thinking this a favourable time to hear some of the dissenting Clergy, I went forenoon to I. Pulsford's¹²⁸—he is quite unique in peculiarity & quaintness every way—manner & matter; afternoon to W. Arnot's¹²⁹—another of the would be originals—picture drawing & not always correctly—the familiar & sensational is the style of the day. What a contrast between the pure taste of Playfair's architecture & the ornaments of the preacher's eloquence! What a change too has come over the popular pulpit since the days of Thomson, Chalmers, Hall &c!

Sunday, 28. At the Grange heard Dr Bonar¹³⁰—an evangelizing Messianic Commentary on the 98th Psm. with allusions to the war, some rather feeble poetic touches—no pith of thought—extempore, slow delivery, with an unctuous tone: Audience lower middle class. The church timber roofed—a canopied pulpit, all this wood work varnished—has a specious shiny effect.

OCTOBER

Thursday, 13. Had a restless bad night, listening to the tempest of wind & rain. Happily it settled, & tho' dull & lowering, was fair all day, & so far favourable for the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the new infirmary by the Prince of Wales, the Princess also present. Great muster of Masons—about 4000—in Charlotte Square—immense crowds & barricades in the streets, with bunting in profuse display. Got a passing glimpse of their Highnesses from the grassy slope below Ramsay Gardens, but what interested me most was the sight of the Royal Children in the forenoon looking out of a window in the Douglas hotel. Poor attempt at fireworks at night yet drawing out a dense throng of people, collected also to see the Royal personages leave.

Saturday, 15. There has been more malicious vandalism than on the [Ross] Fountain—the statues of Wilson & Scott blotched with oil paint—the hair on the latter blackened. A £20 reward offered by the magistrates for the discovery of the blackguards.

NOVEMBER

Wednesday, 2. Great row at the opening of the Midwifery class.

Wednesday, 9. Call from Miss Nasmyth with the news that No. 5 was sold yesterday for £6000 to Geo. Ramsay Manager of Scottish Union Insurce. Coy. At a pretty numerous meeting of proprietors & agents of Ch. Sqre. a large majority agreed to appeal the Croall case to the Court of Session.

Sunday, 13. Went to Free St. George's afternoon—densely crowded, numbers coming out again; yet after a squeeze I got a seat. A missionary sermon preached by Dr Cairns of Berwick¹³¹—in popular, highly evangelical style—able & telling in its way—fluent & verbose—spoken with the old Seceder twang & drawl, & rocking ungainly gesture. He is evidently a sincerely pious man, & the impression he makes is mainly by transferring his own convictions to others. His tall muscular figure & massive countenance lends weight; hair close & gray, head well shaped but looks small from the bulk of the body. He gives the idea of considerable intellectual power, & absence of culture & taste.

DECEMBER

Wednesday, 21. Had a call from Miss S. Jex Blake¹³² & a long talk with her, chiefly on the exclusion of Lady students from the Infirmary. She is an energetic person—not unfeminine—fresh looking, with slight dark moustache, altogether prepossessing in appearance.

Decision in favour of the Croal's, so that now Charlotte Sq. may be put to whatsoever vile uses.

1871

JANUARY

Monday, 2. The seeming thaw of yesterday has only been a change to sleet & snow,—got much exposed to it from attending an interesting & excited meeting of Infirmary Contributors on the vexed question of Lady students in medicine. The Council Chamber being found too small there was an adjournment to the High Church, where the animated discussion lasted upwards of 3 hours—some ladies boldly taking part, Miss Jex Blake rousing the *dander* of Dr Christison, they lost only by a majority of 4—96 for, 100 against.

Saturday, 14. Gave the German brass band a treat of beer & cake in the lobby; a less agreeable matter at the time was the handing to me of a Warrant anent our neighbour Ramsay's alteration on his house—the uniformity of Charlotte Square Architecture will not any longer be preserved.¹³³

Monday, 16. A turbulent crowded Infirmary meeting at which 2 votes, the first 226 to 217, second 211 to 193 against admission of Lady students. In the gallery the students behaved ill throughout, & at last had to be expelled by the police.

Tuesday, 17. With Fraser at the Dean of Guild court to see the plan of alterations on No. 5—vandalism worse even than I could have expected. Saw Cousin City Archt. & the Provost on the subject but it seems there is no help for it.

Monday, 23. At 3 hours Infirmary meeting, Dn. McLaren striving, with adroit plausibility, to upset the sale made by the managers to the University, but, to his disgust, defeated by the large majority of 159 to 32.

Thursday, 26. At a meeting in the Council Chamber in favour of Female Medical Education an Executive Committee appointed.

FEBRUARY

Saturday, 11. A stroll by the castle down thro' the Canongate—old houses tumbling at Blackfriars wind.¹³⁴

Monday, 13. The Reid Concert & a very successful one under Hallé's leadership with his well trained Orchestra of 64. Artistes Herr Stockhausen baritone,¹³⁵ Madme. Norman Neruda¹³⁶ violin, Miss E. Armstrong in room of Madme. Lemmens Sherrington ailing. Among most notable things were Mendelsohn's Serenade in D major, Beethoven's Symphony in C minr. No. 5, & his overture to Lenora, Weber's *ouvtr.* Jubilee & Scena & Aria from Euryanthe. Stockhausen sang these admirably as also the Recce. & Aria from Handel's Susanna. The most fervent applause greeted the fair violinist, tho' almost equally Hallé—little less also Stockhausen. Miss A's. sweet voice & taste well appreciated. The Hall completely filled in every part.

Tuesday, 14. I went to Steell's Studio—he gentle & genial as ever—shewn bronze relievos for the Albert Memorial.

Wednesday, 15. Opening of the Exhibition, twice there—second time with Mic. giving her a season ticket—the only thing like an approach to high art Maclise's¹³⁷ "Sleeping Beauty," & that a fancy price. S. Bough¹³⁸ not up to last year, G. Harvey¹³⁹ better—the whole average—perhaps more. No. 3 Chte. Sqre. sold to Couper,¹⁴⁰ Advte. for £5000—cheap.

Friday, 17. Large dinner party at the Bennetts—luxuries of the season—lamb & sal[mo]n.—a new arrangement of names placed where people are to sit.

Monday, 27. All attempts having failed to keep our new neighbour from following out his *malice prepense* of deliberate Vandalism, the worst part of the bad job, lowering & altering the front drawing room windows, began today, increasing the horrid din which has been such a nuisance for the last six weeks.

MARCH

Saturday, 4. A gentleman's dinner party—7 o'clock—at Prof. Masson's to meet Macmillan¹⁴¹ publisher—the two St. Andrews Principals, Chairp & Tulloch, Lindsay, Russel¹⁴² of the *Scotsman*, Geikie,¹⁴³ Douglas—stout talk & much of it—on Scotch history &c. Lindesay is a young man versant in German. Mrs M. pretty & clever, nice children—a racy enjoyable evg. Blackie came after dinner, drove back with me.

Monday, 13. Annoyance at No. 5 continues.

APRIL

Saturday, 8. Frost in the night, ice in back green, followed by a bright sunny, magnificent day; enjoyed it in a walk to Portobello; the new pier nearly finished, children playing in the sand & promenaders perambulating as in summer. came back by Duddingston—the early hedge there still the most forward. Fishers edging the loch, & youths sporting on the grass!

Wednesday, 19. Having been waited on forenoon by Miss Stevenson¹⁴⁴ 13 Randolph Crescent & another lady, at their request I moved the approval of the Acting Comtee's. report for securing complete Medl. educan. for Women. Prof. Masson gave in the report. Other speakers Prof. Calderwood, Revd. T. M. Lindsay,¹⁴⁵ & Dr J. Muir. Mr A. Coventry¹⁴⁶ in the chair. The meeting in Council Chamrs. not a large one, probably owing to the wretched weather.

Friday, 21. Waverley service bridge opened.

MAY

Monday, 15. Talk with Steell regarding an important movement for placing the Prince Consort Memorial in Charlotte Sqre.

Wednesday, 17. Went to the Dog Show the first in Edr.—a number of noble creatures, St. Bernards, Bloodhounds, New Foundlands, Mastiffs, Deerhounds & of pretty little things, Terriers, poodles & the din something fearful, & the throng disagreeable. The show held at the Gymnasium. Call from Jas. Mylne W.S. with a paper for proprietors' signatures to offer Charlotte Sqre. to the Queen for the Prince Consort Memorial. it is in Lord Ardmillan's¹⁴⁷ handwriting & is already signed by him, Lord Neaves, & others.

Monday, 22. Annoyance begun at No. 3—vandalism to be there also.

Thursday, 25. Pd. Js. Mylne £5-5-8 Law Expenses in the Croal opposition—Chtte. Sqr.

JUNE

Wednesday, 7. Walked to Portobello—first time on new pier. An Aberdour steamer on coming in split one of the piles. Came back by Duddingston.

Thursday, 15. Horrid nuisance & noise at No. 3.

Saturday, 17. Walked to Portobello, gala day on the pier, band of Scots Greys playing.

Saturday, 24. Told by Mylne that there are 2, & only 2 objectors to placing the Consort Memorial in Chtte. Sqr.—Australian Watson, & Dr Pat Watson.

Monday, 26. Talk with Steel today about the Ct. Monument.

Friday, 30. Meeting of Ctte. Sq. proprietors numerously attended—plans produced. Lord Ardmillan chairman & made a good statement, supplemented by Steell, all present approving except John Watson, but Dr P. Watson,¹⁴⁸ & R. Haldane¹⁴⁹ objected by letter—small committee to confer with these—to little purpose it is to be feared.

JULY

Tuesday, 25. The ground round the Ross Fountain at last levelled & laid out.

AUGUST

Wednesday, 2. With Mie. at Sir Wm. Thomson's¹⁵⁰ opening address [to the British Association]. it commanded attention for nearly 2 hours—a wonderful effort—made with ease & simplicity. The Music Hall crowded in every corner. Among distinguished personages the Emperor of Brazil,¹⁵¹ with bushy beard & marked forehead.

Friday, 4. "Doing" the Association dutifully & diligently in Sections "Geology," "Geography," "Anthropology," "Economic Science." In the evg. at the College Conversazione—going in a long string of carriages up the Mound, down towards the Canongate, back to George 4th. Bridge, Lothian St. &c. but the weather being fine it was pleasant, & the streets amusing from the groups of lively children & other eager onlookers. It was a gay sight in the beautiful Library Hall brilliantly lighted along the cornice; moving thro' the crowd, or rather with it, was at a slow pace & often a stand still, it presented the curious view of a sea of heads from the gallery above—especially when seen looking along the length of the hall from its ends. There must have been from 3000 to 4000 present.

Sunday, 6. In the afternoon took Mrs R. to St. Giles'—admitted by ticket—not at all necessary as attendance very moderate. Lang¹⁵² of Morningside officiated, & gave a discourse

meant to be suitable for savants of the Association—fortunately few or none were present to listen to a pretentious rhapsody of big sounding words & little in them lasting 50 mtes. *Wednesday, 9.* The winding up of the whole in the Music Hall when it was stated that the total number attending was 2463, & the money received £2575. The Meeting declared a success every way. But this not the chief event of the day, here & elsewhere its crowning interest among all classes centred in the Celebration of the Scott Centenary—business was suspended, & holiday crowds thronged the streets looking at the decorations of flags & evergreens both in the old & new towns, including the house in Castle Street, & site of the birth place. In the evg. there was a banquet in the Corn Exchange fitted up with excellent taste & beauty, the Earl of Dalkeith in the chair; Sir Wm. S. Maxwell gave the toast of the occasion admirably, there were speeches from Lord Justice Clerk,¹⁵³ Dean Stanley,¹⁵⁴ Lords Lawrence,¹⁵⁵ Houghton,¹⁵⁶ & Dalhousie.¹⁵⁷ C. Field¹⁵⁸ from America, Beek¹⁵⁹ from Holland, & Tourgueneff¹⁶⁰ from Russia &c.—all very successful. About 2000 were present—Ladies seated along with the gentlemen—a gay & splendid sight. Nothing could have gone off better, & none present can ever forget it—the only drawback the terribly close air & heat.

SEPTEMBER

Wednesday, 6. Changes, as yet not much for the better, at Nth. British. Station; confusion in Princes St. from laying down the tramway.

Monday, 25. Went with Watherston¹⁶¹ to see the effects of the windows being lowered in Lord Ardmillan's Drg. room—something may be said both *pro* & *con*.

OCTOBER

Monday, 9. Attended at the Council Chamber a meeting presenting Miss Jex Blake with £1060 to defray law expenses of her trial¹⁵²—the Provost in the Chair; afterwards got his Passport for me & Mie.(3/-)

On 17th October, 1871 Dr Aitken left Edinburgh, accompanied by Maggie Ritchie, on a nine months' visit to the Middle East—returning on 9th July, 1872. His Diary did not accompany him on his travels.

JULY

Tuesday, 16. Attended Finance Committee for Prince Consort Memorial—upwards of £2800 subscribed of the £3000 required.

Monday, 22. Saw at the Council Chambers Matheson's¹⁶³ design for alterations in Charlotte Square as site of the Consort Memorial.

Thursday, 25. Being invited attended the Distribution of prizes at the High School. In absence of the Provost Baillie Lewis presided & delivered quite an Oration, elaborately prepared. Other speakers were Dr Wallace,¹⁶⁴ Councr. Colston,¹⁶⁵ Dr Hodgson—very ready & felicitous—&c. There were recitations in English, Latin, French, German—the last the least successful. Three pleasant hours were spent.

Monday, 29. Pd. at Coml. Bank £5 subscription for Prince Consort Memorial.

AUGUST

Saturday, 10. Strike of *Scotsman* Compositors.

Tuesday, 13. Gas burning in the streets all day, caused by lamp-lighters' strike.

Wednesday, 14. The Queen arrived at Holyrood at 8.55 A.M. bringing Queen's Weather with her—the Castle cannon had no sooner announced her arrival than the clouds opened & the sun came out shining all day, only with white vapour in the distance. The streets had a holiday appearance. On coming with Prinl. Tulloch from the Club before 6 the Queen passed close by us on the south side of Charlotte Sqre. evidently looking intently at the Memorial Site.

Monday, 19. Looked at Cathedral plans.¹⁶⁶

Wednesday, 21. Walked to Leith & out to the end of east pier—returning had first trial of the tramway, certainly an improvement on the bus.

Friday, 30. Looked again at the Cathedral plans—Ross's highly commended by some, Lessels' has local support.¹⁶⁷

There is to be a late harvest always a critical thing, & now more so in these ticklish times of dear markets & strikes every where. The chief rise is in coals & butcher meat; should there be a severe winter it will be hard on families with limited income. In the meantime there is a prosperity which may be omenous like the pride which goes before a fall. Employment being in demand, trades unions combine for long wages & short hours. In London there has been a strike in the building business, & the bakers are threatening the same. Here printers of *The Scotsman* struck, ostensibly for some grievances, but egged on to it because the paper did not support the unionist working men's cause. It is not a cheering time.

SEPTEMBER

Monday, 2. Only out to take a last view of the competing Cathedral plans. "Fidelity," "Auld Langsyne" mark the 2 I like most—a 3rd might be "Essayez moi," their exhibition closes today.

Thursday, 5. Coals now 24/6 per ton, a year ago only 13/6.

OCTOBER

Friday, 11. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 dined at Hanna's—a gentleman's party. Sir Rt. Christison, Sir Nl. Paton, his brother Waller,¹⁶⁸ Prof. Innes, Ivory advocate,¹⁶⁹ Dr John Brown, Dr Stewart, Mr Young English Clergyman—son of the great Tragedian Young¹⁷⁰ whom it was to me in youth an intellectual treat to hear & see. The son inherits no ordinary histrionic talent, which he displayed in a number of anecdotes & stories told to the life in voice & feature. Others entertained in the same style—even the grave iron-visaged Christison. It was more like the evenings long ago which I remember, than the formal meetings nowadays. First time also of becoming acquainted with Mrs Hanna¹⁷¹—she looks delicate & subject to bronchitis—an allusion she made to her father wishing me as colleague gratifying. The pleasantest party I have been at for a very long while.

NOVEMBER

Tuesday, 5. At the *First Ballot* in Scotland I voted for Jas. Falshaw¹⁷² as Town Councillor—a short & simple process.

DECEMBER

Friday, 13. Call from Miss Stevenson on the admission of lady students to the Infirmary. At half past 6 a *dinner party*. Drs Hanna, Robertson, Carlyle, Profs. Fraser, Lorimer, Artists Drummond,¹⁷³ Steell, Messrs. J. Gordon, Coventry, J. T. Brown, Kilpatrick, Douglas, 14 of us in all. 1 sp.,¹⁷⁴ 2 fsh., 3 ene., Ty., sle. mn., chse. stks., 2 ices. 2 Hk., 3 Che., 2 Clt., 1 Shy., 1 Pt., Cu., Kl. No lack of talk. In the evg. Misses Robertson, Smith, & Leslie came. M[usi]c. from the 2 latter—broke up at 10. We had Michael & another waiter—all going off smoothly.

Saturday, 28. Death last night in his 80th year of Dean Ramsay¹⁷⁵—a truly genial, large hearted, philanthropic man.—a void in Edr. society which cannot be filled up.

JANUARY

Thursday, 2. Another clear agreeable day, very favourable for the funeral procession accompanying to St. John's Cemetery the Mortal Remains of the good & kindly Dean Ramsay, A public funeral largely attended. Judges, Magistrates, Clergy of different denominations, the latter by the Dean's express request. A very long train of private Carriages. Saw the whole pass from near St. Thomas' Church. Streets lined by a respectful crowd—several shops shut. Afterwards at a meeting of the General Committee on Female Medical Education I moved Prof. Masson as Chairman who made an energetic statement. Hugh Rose,¹⁷⁶ Profs. Campbell¹⁷⁷ St. Andrews, Hodgson¹⁷⁸ Edr. Mr Carment,¹⁷⁹ Sheriff Nicholson¹⁸⁰, W. Law &c. spoke—ladies also, Miss Jex Blake, Miss Louisa Stevenson, Miss Agnes McLaren¹⁸¹ &c. a resolution carried to have no compromise.

Monday, 6. Crowded Annual Infirmary Meeting—vote on the 6 to be elected Managers. 279 to 272 adverse to the Ladies Cause. Charles Cowan¹⁸² proposed Mr Auldjo Jamieson seconded the former, Prof. Charteris¹⁸³ & Mr A. Coventry the latter—much eagerness without disorder.

Monday, 13. At the Annual Meeting of Charlotte Square proprietors, Messrs Haldane, Campbell,¹⁸⁴ Milne &c. present rate to be continued at £1-5/- talk about the Memorial plans—differences will arise.

Wednesday, 15. A dinner party 16. meant to partake of a family gathering. Mrs Dudgeon, Alex. Dn., John & his wife, Mrs D. Ritchie & Susan, Mrs Ross & her son, Messrs Walker, Fraser, Leckie, & young F. Russell with Miss Hislop & Bessie. In the forenoon a *meeting winding up & closing the Bradefute Trust* which led me to propose after dinner *The Memory of John Bradefute* adverting to the circumstance of several being present who had benefited by his testamentary bounty, & that we were met on the day of the month preceding his decease, 16th Jany. 1837 36 years ago. I also read the tribute paid to his character by a notice soon after inserted by Robert Paul in the Courant newspaper. Another departure from customary usage was Mr Fraser proposing my health. (2 sps. 2 fsh. Tky. rt. Bf. pht., 2 Hk. 3 Che. 2 Clt. 2 Shy. 1 Pt. Cur. Kmel. &c.)

FEBRUARY

Thursday, 6. Saw crowds waiting for the opening of the New Waverley Bridge.

MAY

Friday, 2. Attended Albert Memorial Financial Committee. £400 advanced for the pedestal—it will be delivered in August or September—what to do if the statue is not ready as is feared thro' Steell's offputting? Prov[os]t. Cowan,¹⁸⁵ Law, Fletcher, Harrison,¹⁸⁶ Boyd present.

Sunday, 4. Mr Law in the interval gave vexing & perplexing accounts of poor Steell anent the Prince Consort Memorial.

Thursday, 15. At ½ past 4 a meeting of Committee of Charlotte Sqre. proprietors attended by Lord Ardmillan, Messrs Leslie,¹⁸⁷ Mylne, Oliphant¹⁸⁸ Bryce¹⁸⁹ & Steell also present—alteration of the form of the Sqr. to an octagon approved—no definite information when the statue would be ready could be obtained—no prospect of it being within a year.

Saturday, 24. On my Saturday walk had the fortune to see in the Queen's Park a review of 91st Highlanders, 1st Dragoons, & Artillery. Among the notables present were the Lord High Commissioner Earl Airlie,¹⁹⁰ his Lady & party in 2 state carriages, embroidered cream coloured liveries &c.

JUNE

Sunday, 1. Forenoon in St. George's. Rankin¹⁹¹ of Muthill preached in a style of "sweetness" & liberal tolerance; the discourse in the afternoon by Dr Macfarlane¹⁹² of Troqueer was a contrast inclining to mawkishness & namby-pamby.

Monday, 9. At 4 attended a conjoint meeting of the General & Financial Committees on the Albert Memorial—the state of matters an imbroglio—when or how to end no one can say.

AUGUST

Monday, 18. Boarding begun to be put up round the square—first indication of the Memorial being to be proceeded with.

Friday, 22. From Cockn. & Caml.¹⁹³ got 5 doz Clt. at 19/-, 3 Bury. 26/- 1 Mada. 70/-.

Thursday, 28. At the W. P. St. garden music the Ross Fountain flowed for a time.

OCTOBER

Monday, 6. At an afternoon tea at Dr Hanna's besides others met Brodie¹⁹⁴ sculptor, a Mr Agnew—bias of the family strongly marked, Constable printer, Dr & Mrs Macgregor¹⁹⁵ had talk with him—frank, affable, full of conversation, Revd. John Mackenzie¹⁹⁶ with his wife—he kindly promising to call for me—introduced also to Bishop Cotterill,¹⁹⁷ & to the Baroness Burdett Coutts¹⁹⁸ for whom the party was made. I have seen no one more ladylike, quiet, & unassuming—Comely in countenance at the age of nearly 60. Two hours very agreeably spent—Mrs Hanna most friendly.

Monday, 20. Twenty mtes. before 12 last night, after its being daily expected for some time, Dr Candlish died—aged 67—the main spring of the Disruption—be it for good or evil. A superstitious age might have connected with the departure of a Spirit so vehement, a violent wind in the night. At length rest & repose have come. "After Life's Fitful Fever he sleeps well."

Wednesday, 29. Result of the Water Plebiscite is in favor of the Muirfoot Scheme—doubtful if it is to end the strife.¹⁹⁹

NOVEMBER

Monday, 17. The Baroness B. Coutts has erected a memorial fountain designed by Brodie in honor of (mythic?) Greyfriar's Bobbie whose figure in bronze surmounts it.

Thursday, 20. At 6.30 dined at Dr J. Muir's, met Sir G. Harvey—talked of the delay of the Prince Consort Memorial.

Monday, 24. At 11 A.M. a meeting of Prince Consort Memorial Finance Committee at 10 Waterloo Place—present the Prov. Cowan Messrs Law, Boyd, Harrison, Cols[t]on, D. Maclaren, A. Fletcher—voting payments for work done for Charlotte Sqre. Much talk of Steell's vexing delays—still most doubtful when his work may be finished, & perplexing what to do with him.

DECEMBER

Wednesday, 3. Received intimation of being, on 1st curt. elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, paid thereant £3-3/- to D. Douglas Secy.²⁰⁰

Thursday, 18. Pedestal granite stones for the Consort Memorial begun to be placed by steam—large blocks fine in colour polished like a mirror.

JANUARY

Tuesday, 6. The pedestal of the Consort Memorial erected—a superb piece of work.

Saturday, 10. This day closes what has been called a week of prayer—daily meetings in various churches—among others West St. Giles & St. Georges—revival addresses also from American Moody & Sankey—largely attended, & patronized, by several who might have been thought the most unlikely—not a sound or healthy state of things surely, at this time of day & among an educated community, for the movement seems chiefly to be in the well-to-do classes.

Wednesday, 14. Annual meeting of Charlotte Sqre. proprietors—neither of the objecting Watsons present—all the business agreed to—the rate continued at £1-5/-.

Friday, 16. Startled by an immense fire in Leith seen from the upper windows shooting into the sky & spreading a red glow over the clouds—such its fury that it rushed in against the wind.

Saturday, 17. The fire last night was in the Tod's flour mills—the most destructive in Scotland for some years—estimated loss at £150,000 or £200,000. An other fire at 20 S. Bridge St., Middlemass' stock greatly injured—a shoe shop still more so. Looked at them, & went to Leith—the sight there appalling—3 huge blocks of buildings in ruins—fire engines still playing on the smoking fallen masses—large fragments rushing down like an avalanche—a wide scene of complete desolation.

Monday, 19. Walked again to Leith—found the ruins still smoking & engines playing; since Saturday parts of the walls have fallen—some still threaten.

Monday, 26. On Saturday morning Adam Black died in his 90th year: no worthier citizen left—few, if any, as worthy. A telegram reports Dr Livingston's death from dysentery—as yet not believed.

Wednesday, 28. Dr Livingstone's death is confirmed—alas! it took place on the 15th August.

FEBRUARY

Tuesday, 3. Dinner party 16 Prof. & Mrs Fraser, Prof. & Mrs Masson, Prof. & Mrs Lorimer, Dr & Mrs Hanna, Mr & Mrs R. Lee, Mr & Mrs Duncan, Miss Paton; Prof. Blackie sent an excuse as the company were about to arrive, Bessie was put in his place. There were 2 waiters Michael & Mill—carving on the side table. 2sps. 2 fsh. turt. 3 ents. tury. sade. mn. 1 shy. 1 pt. 2 hk. 2 ch. 1 clt. 3 liqrs. ices &c. All lively & chatty; Mrs H. next me very agreeable & catholic in talk: Miss Paton on my other hand also very pleasant—songs from her & Mie. in the evg. Of course at such a time much of the conversation was Political—Toryish, or rather Anti-Gladstone & Lowe.

Saturday, 14. Opening day of the *Exhibition*—Faed,²⁰¹ Erskine Nichol,²⁰² Drummond, Herdman,²⁰³ Sam Bough among the best. Harvey too smooth. Noel Paton too fancifully allegoric. Perigal²⁰⁴ better this year—has struck out a new line in streets of Rome with figures—nothing particular in the sculpture. Brodie's bust of Candlish rather exaggerates the massiveness of the forehead & stern projection of the under lip. Rooms crowded—air stifling.

Monday, 16. Preparations for new laying out of our square begun—2 trees cut down—the corners being filled up with soil & outside the paviers work resumed.

MARCH

Monday, 2. At a meeting on Female Medical Education speeches by Masson, Hodgson, Narayan Sheshadri &c. I seconded the adoption of the report—uncomfortably.

Tuesday, 3. By Steell's invitation at the Casting of a large portion of the Prince Consort Equestrian Statue—a number present both ladies & gentlemen—among them Sir Wm. M. Stirling [Stirling-Maxwell], Maclaren M.P. & his wife, Messrs Law, Moinet, Horne,²⁰⁵ Walker of Bowland &c. We were kept waiting more than an hour in the hot stifling atmosphere, the liquid metal poured out like water put me in mind of Schiller's "Glocke". The sight curious but regretted that it made me lose Tait's²⁰⁶ lecture.

Monday, 9. Operations commenced for widening the north bridge.

APRIL

Monday, 6. At a large & important meeting in Queen St. Hall for University Buildings Extension. Prov. Falshaw in the chair, Speakers Duke of Buckleuch,²⁰⁷ Lyon Playfair, elaborate & able, the Lord President, clear & distinct, Dn. McLaren, Campbell of Swinton,²⁰⁸ Bp. Cotterill &c. &c.—already upwards of £50,000 subscribed, £100,000 required.

MAY

Tuesday, 26. An unfortunate failure in "casting" will still further retard the P. C. memorial statue.

Thursday, 28. Shewed Dr R. the Memorial pedestal, afterwards saw Steel in his studio, confirms the report of the rupture of the mould in a casting.

AUGUST

Vandalism spreads in the town, nowhere worse than in our square—raising the roofs—less to be wondered at in Kerr a Hotel keeper, than in an educated & would be tasteful man like Dr P. H. Watson.

SEPTEMBER

Friday, 25. Was first to sign a guarantee—£5 each—to turf the ground in the Square—told that already 17 signatures have been put down, sum required £100.²⁰⁹

OCTOBER

Tuesday, 6. New turfing begun. got from Braid hill.

Thursday, 22. I noticed with regret commencement of buildings opposite Buckingham terrace.

Friday, 23. East side of north bridge opened—from it went down Canongate—a new George Heriot school & new U.P. church near Norton Place. imposing buildings, but not so striking as the strange structure rising for the Catholic Apostolic body—made a round to see all these.

The outlook to the Sqre. much enlivened by the new turfing; provoking dilatoriness in other alterations of causewaying & lighting. others disfiguring by vile erections only too rapid. The architectural symmetry to be more & more marred.

NOVEMBER

Saturday, 14. Lord Derby²¹⁰ elected Rector large majority over Lyon Playfair 770 to 583, the students rollicking along the streets.

JANUARY

Saturday, 2. The storm yesterday in the country recalls severe winters long ago—roads & railways drifted to a great depth—no communication between Galashiels & Edr. holiday travellers blocked up in the snow near Tynehead—also at Longniddry, & Midcalder to Carstairs, with several other localities to the north. Nothing like it for many a day.

Tuesday, 5. Stormy Infirmary meeting yesterday—2 ladies proposed for the Board—& rejected.²¹¹

Monday, 11. At last the causewaying of our Square is set about.

Wednesday, 20. Pavement on both sides Nth. bridge now open. lamp posts begun to be set up in our square.

FEBRUARY

Tuesday, 2. By Mr Bruce's request I called at his office to look at the plans for alterations on No. 1 Ch. Sqr. dont appear to do any harm.

Saturday, 6. In the afternoon the catastrophe of the Theatre Royal being again burnt down, it occurred before 13 Jany. 1865.

Monday, 8. Looked at the ruined Theatre Royal—outer walls left standing, entirely gutted within.

Saturday, 13. *Opening of the Exhibition* an improvement this year in the handy form of the catalogue. The pictures of average quality—a preponderance of landscape as usual. Tadema's Cleopatra reminds of the old masters—exquisite morbidezza of arm & shoulder. The presidents [Sir George Harvey] landscapes more solidly painted—an early work of his Covenanters Communion. Sir N. Patons Christ & Mary at the Sepulchre one of his best

sacred pieces; his brother's contributions less in the peculiar tints of colour. Sam Bough at last an Academician hardly so successful as his wont in Peel harbour the water on the stones of the pier glassy like ice. Other landscapes noteworthy by P. Graham, Perigal &c. *Saturday, 20.* Looked into the New Exhibition of the "Rejected" opened in Castle St. the great majority are poor things, only a few better by S. Edmonston, Everdingen, Potter of London, Guillon french &c. but there is a set off of old pictures by Gainsborough, Raeburn, Macculloch, Sir J. Paton, Drumond &c.

The causewaying of our square proceeds slowly, blocking the thoroughfare when most frequented. lampposts up, but no lamps—the way of doing things under our Civic Aediles.

MARCH

Sunday, 14. On going up to my room after 10 was struck by a fiery blaze towering high & reddening the heavens from a conflagration in a direction behind the Assembly Hall spire, but distant from it. Along with the fierce bright flashing flames, large fiery sparks shot out far & wide. A truly grand tho' appalling spectacle!

Monday, 15. Last night's fire was at South Minster Theatre²¹²—utterly destroyed along with workshops & buildings adjacent. College St. U.P. Church made a narrow escape. No one hurt except Lieut. Braidwood by the fall of a chimney stack.

Tuesday, 16. The Industrial Museum had been in some risk, blazing brands falling on the roof; sparks flew as far as our Square where they alighted & were trodden out.

NOTES and REFERENCES

¹ William Law, 1799-1878; of William and George Law, tea and coffee merchants, 31 St. Andrew Square.

² James Pillans, 1778-1864; Rector of the High School, 1810-20 and later Professor of Humanity; teacher and friend of David Aitken, who held him in high esteem.

³ This account of the troubles attending the appointment to the Chair is based upon letters written by Aitken and others to the Earl of Minto which are in the *Minto Papers* in the National Library.

⁴ See *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XXVI, pp. 69-70.

⁵ D. G. Ritchie (ed.); London, 1889.

⁶ G. T. Stodart, w.s., of Jardine, Stodart and Fraser; probably a relative of Mrs Aitken.

⁷ Probably John Phin, s.s.c., of 13 Heriot Row.

⁸ Alexander Binning Monroe of Auchenbowie; he was a W.S. but did not practise.

⁹ Cay and Black, 65A George Street, Advertising and Newspaper Agents.

¹⁰ William Calder Marshall, A.R.S.A., 1813-94.

¹¹ Sir Joseph Noel Paton, R.S.A., 1821-1901.

¹² Sir John Steel, R.S.A., 1804-91; sculptor of the monument to the Prince Consort, in Charlotte Square, in which Aitken took a great deal of interest.

¹³ The Theatre Royal, in Broughton Street; six lives were lost owing to the collapse of a wall.

¹⁴ George Lorimer, 1812-65; a master builder, he had recently become Dean of Guild.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Mr W. H. Makey, City Archivist, for the information that the Town Council minutes, between 1861 and 1868, contain a number of references to a proposed Town Hall—although not to the exhibition of plans at Waverley Station. The final proposal seems to have envisaged a Town Hall and City Chambers on the north side of St. Andrew Square but the idea was abandoned on account of the expense.

¹⁶ Rev. James Aitken, 1802-81; Minister of Kilmarnock, 1843-81.

¹⁷ Probably the Rev. Dr John Cumming, 1807-81; minister of Crown Court Church, Covent Garden, London; he was a popular preacher and writer.

¹⁸ Rev. Dr Robert Lee, 1804-68; Minister of Old Greyfriars; created much controversy by his introduction of "innovations" in worship, including the use of a harmonium; the issue was to have been raised in the General Assembly of 1867, but Lee suffered a paralytic stroke shortly before this and the matter was not pursued.

¹⁹ W. E. Gladstone was Lord Rector of the University, 1859-65.

²⁰ Dr James Begbie, 1798-1869; physician in ordinary to Queen Victoria; lived at 10 Charlotte Square.

²¹ Charles William Ramsay Ramsay of Barnton, 1844-65; see note 114.

²² A chimney at the back of 129 High Street fell on the roof, carrying away almost the entire floor of three rooms and a lobby in each flat. The greater part of four dwellings was destroyed and several others damaged. Miraculously no lives were lost, although about sixty people were made homeless. The "destructive accident a few years ago" was the fall of the tenement at 99-103 High Street, in which 35 lives were lost.

²³ Charles Hallé, 1819-95; pianist, conductor and educationist; knighted in 1888.

²⁴ Giulia Grisi, 1812-69; considered to be one of the best sopranos of her time, she was the wife of the tenor, Giuseppe Mario, 1810-83.

²⁵ Signor Foli was the name adopted for professional purposes by the Irish bass, A. J. Foley, 1835-99.

²⁶ Mlle. Arditi, solo violinist.

²⁷ Miss Catherine Sinclair, 1800-64; authoress and philanthropist; daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster; see also pp. 71 and 72.

²⁸ Charles Neaves, 1800-76; raised to the Bench in 1854 as Lord Neaves; lived at 7 Charlotte Square.

²⁹ A. C. Fraser; Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, 1856-91.

³⁰ Edmund Lushington; Professor of Greek, University of Glasgow, 1838-75; his wife was Cecilia Tennyson, Alfred's sister.

³¹ Philip Kelland; Professor of Mathematics, 1838-79.

³² George Dundas, 1802-1869; Sheriff of Selkirkshire, 1844-68; raised to the Bench as Lord Manor, 1868; he lived at 9 Charlotte Square.

³³ Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, 1788-1870; advocate; scholar in classical and biblical literature.

³⁴ J. H. Bennett; Professor of Physiology, 1848-74.

³⁵ Sir David Brewster, 1781-1868; Principal of the University, 1859-68.

³⁶ J. S. Blackie; Professor of Greek, 1852-82.

³⁷ James Lorimer; Professor of Public Law, 1862-90.

³⁸ Great-grand-daughter of the famous actress, Mrs Siddons.

³⁹ Sir William Stirling of Keir, Bt., M.P., 1818-78; art historian and collector; changed his name to Stirling-Maxwell when he succeeded his maternal uncle, Sir John Maxwell of Pollock; Lord Rector of the University, 1871-4.

⁴⁰ Thomas Constable, 1812-81; printer and publisher.

⁴¹ Dr John Carlyle, M.D., 1801-79, younger brother of Thomas Carlyle.

⁴² John Tyndall, F.R.S., 1820-93, Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution.

⁴³ T. H. Huxley, F.R.S., 1825-95; Professor of Zoology at the Royal Institution.

⁴⁴ Sir A. C. Ramsay, F.R.S. 1814-91, Director of the Geological Survey.

⁴⁵ Dr John Rae, 1813-93, Arctic explorer.

⁴⁶ Afterwards Duke of Edinburgh. The Industrial Museum is now the Royal Scottish Museum.

⁴⁷ D. O. Hill, R.S.A., 1802-70, painter and pioneer of photography; the painting referred to is in the offices of the Free Church of Scotland.

⁴⁸ Charles Maclaren, 1782-1866; editor of *The Scotsman*, 1817-47.

⁴⁹ There was a proposal that the parishes of St. Cuthbert's, the City and Canongate should combine for the purpose of erecting a new poorhouse. The proposal was vehemently resisted by a number of heritors of St. Cuthbert's who attended the meeting of 15th February (see entry for that

date) in force and practically howled down the supporters of the proposal. The outcome was the erection of a separate poorhouse for St. Cuthbert's parish, at Craigmyle, now forming part of the Western General Hospital. Sir James Gardiner Baird, Bart. of Saughtonhall (1813-96), was Chairman of the St. Cuthbert's Parochial Board. Dr Alexander Wood was a prominent medical practitioner in Edinburgh.

- ⁵⁰ Ernst Pauer, 1826-1905; pianist.
⁵¹ Prosper Sainton, 1813-90; violinist.
⁵² Charlotte Helen, Mme. Sainton Dolby, 1821-85; contralto, wife of Sainton.
⁵³ W. H. Cummings, 1831-1915; tenor, later principal of the Guildhall School of Music.
⁵⁴ H. S. Oakeley, Professor of Music, 1865-91; knighted in 1876; remembered for his Church music.
⁵⁵ Sir August Friedrich Manns, 1825-1907.
⁵⁶ The Right Rev. Dr John Strain, 1810-83; Roman Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh.
⁵⁷ Rev. Dr R. H. Stevenson, 1812-86; Minister of St. George's Church, of which Dr Aitken was a member.
⁵⁸ Rev. James Prophit, M.A.; Minister of Dunrossness and Fair Isle, 1858-68.
⁵⁹ William Stevenson; Professor of Ecclesiastical History, 1861-72.
⁶⁰ David Masson; Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, 1865-95.
⁶¹ Horatio MacCulloch, R.S.A., 1805-67.
⁶² David Roberts, R.A., H.R.S.A., 1796-1864.
⁶³ John Philip, R.A., H.R.S.A., 1817-67.
⁶⁴ G. M. Greig, water colourist, died 1867; lived at 10 South Charlotte Street.
⁶⁵ Probably John Graham Gilbert, R.S.A., 1794-1866; portrait painter; he adopted the name Gilbert at his marriage in 1838.
⁶⁶ Rev. James Walker, 1825-1904; Minister of Kirkwall, 1859-1903.
⁶⁷ Robert Nasmyth, F.R.C.S., lived at 5 Charlotte Square. He was Surgeon dentist to the Queen.
⁶⁸ The Ross Fountain, which was designed by A. Durenne, was built in Paris for the Paris Exhibition and presented to Edinburgh in 1869 by Mr Daniel Ross, gunmaker. He died in 1871 before the fountain was erected. (see entries of 24 September, 1869; 25 July, 1871; 28 August, 1873).
⁶⁹ James Cranbrook, 1818-69; formerly a Unitarian minister, he became minister of Albany Street Congregational Church. His theological opinions, however, led to dissatisfaction on the part of many of his congregation and he resigned his pastorate in February, 1867. Thereafter he continued for a time to hold services in a public hall, but died a few years later.
⁷⁰ Thomas Slaney was proprietor of the Douglas Hotel, 34-35 St. Andrew Square.
⁷¹ Robert Lowe, 1811-92; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1868-73; Home Secretary, 1873-74. Edinburgh University conferred the degree of LL.D. on him in November, 1867.
⁷² Dr John Brown, M.D., F.R.C.P., 1810-82; author of "Horae Subsecivae," "Rab and his Friends," etc.; then living at 23 Rutland Street.
⁷³ Rev. Dr W. Hanna, 1808-82; Minister of St. John's Free Church, 1850-66.
⁷⁴ James Moncreiff, 1811-95; Lord Justice Clerk, created Baron, 1874; Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, 1868-71.
⁷⁵ Adam Black, 1784-1874; publisher; Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1843-48; M.P. for Edinburgh, 1856-65.
⁷⁶ James Abercromby, 1776-1858; first Baron Dunfermline; M.P. for Edinburgh, 1832; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1835-39.
⁷⁷ Cosmo Innes; Professor of Constitutional History, 1846-74.
⁷⁸ James Hutchison Stirling, 1820-1909; philosopher.
⁷⁹ North College Street was a narrow thoroughfare lying immediately north of the Old College. It was swept away in the formation of Chambers Street.
⁸⁰ Rev. Dr James Begg, 1808-83; Minister of Newington Free Church, 1843-83; well-known for his efforts in housing improvement.
⁸¹ Rev. Finlay Mathieson; Minister of Buccleuch Church, 1864-75.
⁸² Charles Piazz Smyth; Astronomer Royal for Scotland and Professor of Astronomy, 1846-89.

- ⁸³ Sir James Young Simpson, Bart.; Professor of Midwifery, 1840-70, and a prominent antiquary.
⁸⁴ Lyon Playfair; Professor of Chemistry, 1858-69; later M.P. for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews.
⁸⁵ Sir A. C. Mackenzie, 1847-1935; violinist.
⁸⁶ Zerbini; viola player.
⁸⁷ Alfredo Piatti, 1822-1901; cellist.
⁸⁸ Mme. Arabella Goddard (Mrs Davison), 1836-1922; pianist.
⁸⁹ Charles Santley, 1834-1922; baritone; knighted in 1907.
⁹⁰ David Bryce, R.S.A., 1803-76; architect.
⁹¹ John Tiplady Carrodus, 1836-95.
⁹² Mme. Lemmens Sherrington, *née* Helen Sherrington, 1834-1906.
⁹³ Mme. Schumann, *née* Clara Wieck, 1819-96; widow of Robert Schumann.
⁹⁴ David Stevenson, 1815-86; lighthouse engineer.
⁹⁵ Sir James Edward Alexander, 1803-85; soldier and author; saved Cleopatra's Needle from destruction and had much to do with its transport to London in 1877.
⁹⁶ A resolution was passed at this meeting that the Infirmary should be rebuilt on its existing site, between Drummond Street and Infirmary Street. The subsequent change of plan, which resulted in the acquisition of the present site from George Watson's Hospital, led to much controversy (see pp. 74-6).
⁹⁷ The meeting was called on the requisition of a number of prominent citizens to propose the adoption of the Free Libraries (Scotland) Act by the City. According to *The Scotsman*, Dr Aitken's account is not exaggerated. In a leading article on 19th May the paper said, "... the question was whether the general population of Edinburgh was in need of wider and more accessible culture, and both parties seem to have insensibly combined
 "To show, by one satiric touch
 No City needed it so much."
⁹⁸ Rev. Dr Henry Calderwood, 1830-97; Minister of Greyfriars Church, Glasgow; Professor of Moral Philosophy, 1868-97.
⁹⁹ Sir Alexander Grant, 1826-84; Principal of Edinburgh University, 1868-84.
¹⁰⁰ The Congregation had presented a memorial to the Town Council, patrons of the living, requesting the appointment of the Rev. Robert Wallace, of Trinity College Church, to the vacancy. His name was proposed by the Lord Provost, but an opposition group in the Council proposed Dr Gloag of Blantyre, previously an unsuccessful candidate for the Chair of Biblical Criticism in the University, and he was elected by 18 votes to 15. *The Scotsman*, in a leading article, roundly condemned the decision, which appears to have had its origin in the "innovations" practised in Old Greyfriars. These were strongly objected to, particularly by those members of the Council who did not adhere to the Church of Scotland. Ultimately Wallace was presented in December.
¹⁰¹ Douglas Maclagan, 1817-1900; Professor of Medical Jurisprudence and Public Health; later knighted.
¹⁰² John Inglis, 1810-91; Lord President of the Court of Session.
¹⁰³ Rev. Dr Thomas Guthrie, 1803-73; Minister of St. John's Free Church and founder of the "Ragged Schools."
¹⁰⁴ Sir Robert Christison, Bt., 1797-1882; Professor of Pharmacology, 1832-77.
¹⁰⁵ John Bright, M.P., 1811-89.
¹⁰⁶ Rev. Dr R. S. Candlish, 1807-73; Minister of St. George's Free Church and a leading figure in the Disruption.
¹⁰⁷ Duncan Maclaren, 1800-86; Lord Provost, 1851-5 and M.P. for Edinburgh, 1865-81.
¹⁰⁸ John Miller, of Leithen, 1805-83; M.P. for Edinburgh, 1868-74.
¹⁰⁹ James Syme; Professor of Clinical Surgery, 1833-69.
¹¹⁰ Rev. Dr J. T. Tulloch; Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, 1854-86.
¹¹¹ A. Campbell Swinton, Professor of Civil Law, 1842-62.
¹¹² "Sir Jn. Macnicol" has not been identified.
¹¹³ J. C. Shairp, Principal of United College, St. Andrews, 1868-85.

¹¹⁴ Sir Alexander Ramsay Gibson Maitland, 1820-76; M.P. for Midlothian, 1868-74; he assumed the name of Ramsay on succeeding Ramsay of Barnton. (see note 20).

¹¹⁵ Earl of Dalkeith, 1831-94; M.P. for Midlothian, 1853-68 and 1874-80; succeeded his father as 6th Duke of Buccleuch.

¹¹⁶ Possibly Sir Thomas J. Boyd, 1818-1902; publisher; Lord Provost, 1877-82.

¹¹⁷ Residents of George Square are listed in vol. XXVI of the *Book*.

¹¹⁸ The Royal Patent Gymnasium was opened in 1865.

¹¹⁹ Rev. T. J. Crawford; Professor of Divinity, 1859-76.

¹²⁰ Miss Faithfull's lecture was on "The Claims of Women." In 1884 she published "Three Visits to America," a collection of articles contributed to various periodicals.

¹²¹ No. 1000 in the 1869 R.S.A. catalogue is: "Posthumous Bust in marble of "Willie."—Wm. Brodie, R.S.A."

¹²² John Moinet was Manager of the Caledonian Insurance Company in 1870.

¹²³ The suicide of Lord Justice Clerk Patton (1803-69) caused a painful sensation in Edinburgh. He was to have given evidence before a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into corrupt practices in parliamentary elections in the constituency of Bridgewater. He had been elected Conservative M.P. for this notoriously corrupt constituency in June 1866 and, having been appointed Lord Advocate, had to seek re-election in the following month, when he was defeated. In both elections Patton had left arrangements in the hands of two friends, Frederick Pitman, w.s., and George Thompson, a non-practising member of the Scottish Bar. Both of these gentlemen declared that he was not a party to any corrupt practices in the two elections, but he had made good the sums expended on his behalf, amounting to £6,150 for the two elections—a sum far in excess of the published expenses. The Royal Commission began its hearings on 23rd August and the evidence given before it and reported in the press seems to have preyed on Patton's mind. The Report of the Commission, presented in December 1869, found, *inter alia*, that Patton "had been privy to and assenting to some of the corrupt practices extensively prevailing" at both elections.

¹²⁴ A timber-built shed to span the permanent way and the platforms at the new Caledonian Station collapsed about 5 o'clock in the afternoon of 6th December. The fall was due to a flaw in one of the iron castings which supported the building.

¹²⁵ Messrs Croall, coachbuilders, applied to the Dean of Guild Court for warrant to alter the frontage of 21 Charlotte Square, which they proposed to adapt as a shop. This was opposed by the Lord Provost and Magistrates and the case went to the Court of Session, which gave judgment in favour of Croall, on the ground that the feu charter contained no clause preventing the alteration of the frontages. For some reason, however, the plan was not pursued, and in 1871 and for some years afterwards No. 21 was occupied by James Kerr. The Court's decision was, however, of great importance in relation to subsequent alterations which took place in the Square.

¹²⁶ James Mylne, w.s., lived at 12 Charlotte Square.

¹²⁷ Dr A. R. Simpson was elected to the Chair of Midwifery by the four votes of the Town Council representatives on the appointing body against the three votes of the other curators in favour of Dr Matthews Duncan. The *Scotsman* of 5th July castigated the Town Council representatives for electing a "practically unknown" candidate in preference to one "familiar and authoritative among the profession all over Europe." The students also expressed their disapproval, both after the meeting and at the professor's inaugural address on 2nd November.

¹²⁸ Rev. Dr J. Pulsford, Minister of Albany Street Congregational Church, 1867-84.

¹²⁹ Rev. W. Arnot, 1808-75; Minister of Free High Church.

¹³⁰ Rev. Dr Horatius Bonnar, 1808-89; the well-known hymn writer, Minister of Chalmers Memorial Free Church—now St. Catherine's-in-Grange Church of Scotland, Grange Road.

¹³¹ Rev. Dr John Cairns, 1818-92; in 1870 Minister of Golden Square Church, Berwick-upon-Tweed; became principal of the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh in 1879.

¹³² Dr Sophia Jex-Blake, 1840-1912; pioneer of medical education for women.

¹³³ The external alterations to the facade proposed by Ramsay involved the lowering of the sills of the drawing room windows by 18 inches, with certain other alterations to the west window. The back drawing room windows were also to be lowered 16 inches and there were other internal alterations. As the Diary tells, this was but the first act of "vandalism" so scathingly denounced

by Dr Aitken. His neighbour in No. 3 followed Ramsay's example in May, and by September we find Lord Ardmillan at No. 18 joining in and Dr Aitken's resolution apparently beginning to weaken. On 16th November, 1871, the Dean of Guild Court granted warrant to Dr Aitken to lower his drawing room windows in No. 4 to the same level as those in Nos. 3 and 5!

¹³⁴ The beginning of the clearance of old buildings authorised under the Improvement Act of 1867.

¹³⁵ Julius Stockhausen, 1826-1906.

¹³⁶ Wilma Maria Francisca Neruda, (Mme. Norman Neruda), 1839-1911; married (1) Ludwig Norman (d. 1885) and (2) Sir Charles Hallé.

¹³⁷ Daniel Maclise, R.A., 1806-70.

¹³⁸ Sam Bough, R.S.A., 1822-78.

¹³⁹ Sir George Harvey, P.R.S.A., 1806-76.

¹⁴⁰ C. Tennant Couper, Advocate.

¹⁴¹ Alexander Macmillan, 1818-96; brother of Daniel, 1813-57, and associated with him in the publishing business.

¹⁴² Alexander Russel, 1814-76; editor of *The Scotsman*, 1847-76.

¹⁴³ Sir Archibald Geikie, F.R.S., 1835-1924, Director of the Geological Survey.

¹⁴⁴ Miss Louisa Stevenson, 1835-1908; one of Dr Jex-Blake's prominent supporters, and Honorary Secretary of the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women; the University gave her an LL.D. in 1906.

¹⁴⁵ Rev. Dr T. M. Lindsay, Professor of Church History in the Free Church College, Glasgow, 1872, and Principal, 1902-14.

¹⁴⁶ Andrew Coventry, Advocate.

¹⁴⁷ James Craufuird of Ardmillan, 1804-76; raised to the Bench, 1855; he lived at 18 Charlotte Square.

¹⁴⁸ Dr P. H. Watson lived at 16 Charlotte Square.

¹⁴⁹ Robert Haldane, w.s., 1805-77; he lived at 17 Charlotte Square and was the father of R. B. S. Haldane, first Viscount Haldane of Cloan, who was born there in 1856.

¹⁵⁰ Sir William Thomson, 1824-1907; created Baron Kelvin, 1892; Professor of Natural Philosophy, Glasgow University, 1846-99.

¹⁵¹ Pedro II, 1825-90; the liberal Emperor of Brazil from 1840 to 1889, was much interested in the arts and sciences and a member of many European learned societies.

¹⁵² Rev. Dr J. Marshall Lang, Minister of Morningside Church, 1868-73; father of Cosmo Gordon Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Marshall Lang, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

¹⁵³ Rt. Hon. James Moncrieff. (see note 74).

¹⁵⁴ Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, 1815-81; Dean of Westminster, 1864.

¹⁵⁵ John Lawrence, 1st Lord Lawrence, 1811-79; he had recently been Viceroy of India.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Monckton Milnes, 1st Baron Houghton, 1809-85.

¹⁵⁷ Fox Maule Ramsay, 1801-74; eleventh Earl of Dalhousie.

¹⁵⁸ Cyrus Field helped to finance the first Transatlantic cable; he had business interests in Europe.

¹⁵⁹ Dr Nicolaas Beets translated Scott's novels into Dutch.

¹⁶⁰ Ivan Turgenev, 1818-83, Russian novelist.

¹⁶¹ John Watherston, builder. The firm of J. Watherston and Son is still active.

¹⁶² The "trial" referred to was an action for damages for slander brought against Miss Jex-Blake by Edward Cunningham Craig. At a meeting of Infirmity Contributors on 2nd January she had referred to a disturbance at Surgeons' Hall in the previous November when an attempt was made to prevent her and other women students from entering. She asserted that Craig, who was class assistant to Professor Christison, was one of the leading rioters and that the foul language he used could only be excused on the supposition she had heard that he was intoxicated. The jury found in Craig's favour and awarded him damages of one farthing. Costs, however, were awarded against Miss Jex-Blake and these amounted to £915 11s. 1d. A fund was forthwith opened by her sym-

pathizers and within a few weeks a nett collection of £1,067 12s. had been received. This was presented to her at a public meeting on 9th October.

¹⁶³ Robert Matheson, architect to H.M. Office of Works.

¹⁶⁴ Probably Robert Wallace, 1831-99; minister, professor, editor of *The Scotsman* and M.P.; see note 100.

¹⁶⁵ James Colston, 1830-97. (see Part 1, p. 39).

¹⁶⁶ St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral. The winning design was that of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott.

¹⁶⁷ A. M. Ross, 1834-1925. John Lessels, 1809-83; architect to the City Improvements Trust.

¹⁶⁸ Waller Hugh Paton, R.S.A., 1828-95.

¹⁶⁹ Probably William Ivory, 1825-1915; Sheriff of Inverness, 1862-90.

¹⁷⁰ "The great tragedian" was Charles Mayne Young, 1777-1856, who presented Shakespearean plays in Edinburgh in 1826, 1830, and 1831. He was a friend of Sir Walter Scott. His son, the Rev. Julian Charles Young, wrote his biography.

¹⁷¹ Mrs Hanna was a daughter of Dr Chalmers, Aitken's old antagonist of 1831.

¹⁷² Sir James Falshaw, Lord Provost, 1874-77.

¹⁷³ James Drummond, R.S.A., 1816-77.

¹⁷⁴ Dr Aitken uses a kind of shorthand in his enumeration of foods and drinks. The menu on this occasion seems to have been: 1 soup, 2 fish, 3 entrees including turkey and saddle of mutton, ? cheese sticks, 2 ices, 2 bottles hock, 3 champagne, 2 claret, 1 sherry, 1 port, Curaçao, Kümmel.

¹⁷⁵ Dean Ramsay, 1793-1872; author of "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character."

¹⁷⁶ Hugh Rose, 1806-91; founder of Craig and Rose, paint manufacturers, a leading Baptist layman and interested in Free Libraries.

¹⁷⁷ Lewis Campbell, Professor of Greek, St. Andrews, 1863-92.

¹⁷⁸ W. B. Hodgson, Professor of Political Economy, 1871-80.

¹⁷⁹ John C. Carment, s.s.c., 1817-91; a leading Free Church layman.

¹⁸⁰ Alexander Nicolson, 1827-93; Sheriff Substitute of Kirkeudbright, 1872.

¹⁸¹ Dr Agnes Maclaren, daughter of Duncan Maclaren, M.P.

¹⁸² Charles Cowan, of Valleyfield, 1801-89; paper manufacturer and Liberal M.P. for Edinburgh, 1847-59.

¹⁸³ Rev. A. J. Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism, 1868-98.

¹⁸⁴ Alexander Campbell of Cammo, of 6 Charlotte Square.

¹⁸⁵ James Cowan, Lord Provost, 1872-74; M.P., 1874-82.

¹⁸⁶ George (later Sir George) Harrison, Lord Provost, 1882-85.

¹⁸⁷ James Leslie, civil engineer, of 2 Charlotte Square.

¹⁸⁸ Oliphant's School was at 33 Charlotte Square.

¹⁸⁹ Either A. H. Bryce, Rector of the Edinburgh Collegiate School, 27 and 28 Charlotte Square, or W. Bryce, M.D., 31 Charlotte Square.

¹⁹⁰ David Graham Drummond, 5th Earl of Airlie, 1826-81.

¹⁹¹ Rev. Dr James Rankin, Minister of Muthill, 1868-1902.

¹⁹² Rev. Dr Walter Macfarlane, Minister of Troqueer, 1843-76.

¹⁹³ Edinburgh readers will recognize the abbreviated name of the firm of Cockburn and Campbell, founded in 1831.

¹⁹⁴ William Brodie, R.S.A., 1815-81.

¹⁹⁵ Rev. Dr James Macgregor, Professor of Systematic Theology, New College, 1868-81.

¹⁹⁶ Rev. John Mackenzie, 1813-78; formerly Free Church minister at Ratho; his wife was a daughter of Dr Chalmers.

¹⁹⁷ Rt. Rev. Dr Henry Cotterill, Episcopal Bishop of Edinburgh, 1872-86.

¹⁹⁸ Angela Georgina, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, 1814-1906; philanthropist.

¹⁹⁹ The plebiscite was carried out in order to obtain the views of the citizens on rival schemes for improving the city's water supply. The main projects involved were the Moorfoots scheme and the St. Mary's Loch scheme. The former was ultimately adopted.

²⁰⁰ David Douglas, publisher, d. 1916. He was Treasurer, not Secretary of the Society, 1871-72.

²⁰¹ The Diary does not make it clear which of the brothers Faed is referred to: John, R.S.A., 1819-1902, or Thomas, R.A., 1826-1900.

²⁰² Erskine Nichol, R.S.A., 1805-1904.

²⁰³ Robert Herdman, R.S.A., 1829-88.

²⁰⁴ Arthur Perigal, R.S.A., 1816-84.

²⁰⁵ Possibly Robert Horn, advocate.

²⁰⁶ P. G. Tait, Professor of Natural Philosophy, 1860-1901.

²⁰⁷ Walter Francis, 5th Duke of Buccleuch, 1806-84.

²⁰⁸ Probably Archibald Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame, 1812-90; see note 111.

²⁰⁹ Dr Aitken was destined never to see the completed Albert Memorial which was unveiled in August, 1876.

²¹⁰ Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby, 1826-93; Lord Rector, 1875-80, part of which time he was Foreign Secretary.

²¹¹ The ladies in question were Mrs S. Raleigh and Miss Louisa Stevenson. The latter is mentioned elsewhere in the Diary (see note 144). She was, in fact, the first woman to be elected a manager of the Infirmary, but not till 1896.

²¹² The Southminster Theatre, Nicolson Street, was a timber building erected about 1863 and opened as a circus. It was converted to a theatre and music hall in 1867. The Empire Theatre, now a Bingo hall, is on its site.

THE EDINBURGH SKATING CLUB

1778-1966

by MARGARET ELLIOT

"The metropolis of Scotland has produced more instances of elegant skaters than perhaps any other country whatever; and the institution of a skating club . . . has contributed not a little to the improvement of this elegant amusement." So wrote a member of the Edinburgh Skating Club in the article on Skating in the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.¹ And in 1865 the Club's own History fills out the picture: "Their favourite place of rendezvous has always been the picturesque Loch at Duddingston. There can be few more animating sights than a meeting of the Skating-club there on a clear bright winter's day during a season of hard frost—enhanced as it is by the singular beauty of the locality, with the overhanging hill, the ancient church on the margin, and the fringing woods of the Marquis of Abercorn and Sir William Dick Cunyngham. The variety of occupation, too, adds to the excitement; the curlers, the shinty players, boys of all ages and in all states of delight—ladies walking or sliding or skating, admiring and being admired—and the occasional military band of music; while in some snug corner, with clear, black, smooth ice, away from the hurry of more violent performers, the members of the Skating-club enjoy their intricate evolutions, sometimes continuing far on in the short day, till the red glow of the frosty sunset is succeeded by the light of the rising moon."² Then there was the annual dinner, an occasion of "great glee and harmony," with the toasts traditionally including one to "John Frost" as patron saint of the Club. This pattern lasted for about a hundred and fifty years, until the outbreak of the Second World War finally brought the Club's activities to an end; it was formally wound up in 1966, and its minute books and other records and property were deposited in the National Library of Scotland and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (see Appendix V).

The Edinburgh Skating Club belonged to that proliferation of societies whose records make the social and intellectual life of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Edinburgh so vivid for a later generation. Some of its early members also belonged to the Poker Club, the Society of Antiquaries, the Musical Society, the Speculative Society and the New Club;³ like these, it ensured congenial society for gentlemen pursuing a common interest. The exact date of the foundation of the Skating Club is obscure, and is made more so by the claims of its nineteenth century members for a distinguished antiquity. When its records start, with the minutes of a meeting held on 30 January, 1784, it is clear that the Club had been in existence for some years. It already had a motto, a badge, some funds, and a list of members drawn up in 1778 (see Appendix I). In 1797 the writer of the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* dated the institution of the Club "some forty years ago"; he was likely to be right, as there were still several members alive in 1797 who had been old enough to join the Club in the seventeen fifties. By 1846, however, the Club was claiming to have been founded in 1744; this date is given in a little book on skating by James Whitelaw to which the Club's Secretary contributed information and for which he subscribed.⁴ And in the minutes of the Club for 11 January, 1841 the genesis of a yet

more ambitious tradition is revealed. "The Secretary stated for the information of the new members present that he had heard the late Mr Gilbert Innes, a distinguished member of the Club, say that he had seen a Minute Book of the Club in his early life which bore dates of the meetings of the Club early in the century previous to the last one, thereby establishing that the Club has had an existence for at least two hundred years. Mr Innes mentioned the names of various individuals in the hands of one or other of whom he thought it probable the lost Minute Book in question might be found, but on enquiry . . . no trace of it could be made out." Nevertheless in applying for Prince Albert's patronage in 1841 the Council claimed that the Club had "been in existence, as there is every reason to believe, for upwards of two hundred years." And the tradition had increased its momentum by 1865, when the history already quoted claimed "It is known, for example, that a minute of the Club in 1642, bore it was determined [sic] that it was unsuitable to meet on the ice that year, on account of the melancholy and disturbed state of the country." Finally 1642 was hallowed as the foundation date and emblazoned on the Club badge.

But so early a date is highly improbable, both because the age of Clubs in Edinburgh had not then dawned, and because skating as a recreation was apparently not known in Britain until 1662, when the 'Great Frost' brought out on the frozen Thames the first skaters seen in London, as recorded by Pepys and Evelyn.⁵ Possibly they were the returned exiles of the Restoration, showing their Dutch-acquired skill. Even in 1711 Swift wrote to Stella of "skates, if you know what those are?"⁶ There is no reason why the Scots should not have learned to skate before the English, having trade and academic connections with the Dutch, but there is no evidence that any returned medical or law student actually brought skates home with him. Possibly they saw no scope in Scotland for the fast, long-distance sport they had known in Holland. Alexander Carlyle recorded that in the hard frost of December, 1739 to March, 1740 "as there were no canals or rivers of extent enough in this part of the country [near Wallyford, East Lothian] to encourage the fine exercise of skating, we contented ourselves with the winter diversion of curling."⁷ He implies that skating was in fact practised in Scotland at this time; and such a long frost must have brought young men from Edinburgh out to skate on Duddingston Loch. There would follow naturally the formation of a club for mutual improvement in the art. We must conclude, however, that the exact date of the Club's foundation remains as uncertain as it was in 1831, when although oral tradition was still supported by living links with the mid-eighteenth century, no more precise formula could be found in urging the members to continue their support than that the Club "has now been in existence for so many generations."

The motto the Club had chosen was "Ociore Euro," translated as "Swifter than the East Wind."⁸ That it was Care whose speed and keenness Horace was characterising probably gave the members of the Club additional relish as they left their normal duties behind and struck attitudes on Duddingston Loch. There may be evidence for its having been chosen before 1774 in the publication in that year of "Scating: A Poetical Essay" on whose title page there appears the motto and "Inscribed to the Club."⁹ This is taken to refer to the Edinburgh Club, since there was no other skating club in Britain until one was founded in London in 1830, followed by others in Glasgow and Liverpool. There is no doubt that the Edinburgh Skating Club could maintain its claim to be the oldest in Britain.

The surviving records of the Club start in a manuscript book of unlined foolscap paper, bound in shabby, marbled paper-covered boards with a leather back. Four shillings were spent on repairing the book in 1855; the last entry in it was for 1 December, 1888. The first meeting recorded was on 30 January, 1784, when "It was unanimously resolved to appoint Mr John Rae Assistant Secretary to Mr Will. Anderson on account of Mr Anderson's bad state of health." John Rae, the surgeon-dentist described by Kay¹⁰ as possessing a "spirit of joviality and good-humour," had been admitted to the Club, of which his father James, the surgeon, was already a member, in 1780. On taking over the duties of Secretary he procured the new Minute Book and copied in at the back a "List of part of the Members of the Skating Society made up from memory by a quorum of the Society in January 1778 when Mr Wm. Anderson was at Bath." (see Appendix I). He followed this with the names of new members and the dates of their admission, and the list was kept regularly by his successors in office. Many of the thirty-nine members on the 1778 list were no longer active either as skaters or as diners, but the hard winters of the period brought in fifty new members by 1784, and another seventy had joined by 1816. Between then and 1850 the new members numbered thirty-four. The sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century brought new recruits in fair numbers, making the total two hundred by 1873; after that the admissions fluctuate, and with the last member to be admitted, in 1939, the full score is two hundred and ninety-nine. Over the years the number of members active at any one time, except in the very early days, was probably never more than twenty and often nearer ten.

The list of names supports the claim of the Secretary when he told Prince Albert that it "had enrolled among its members the names of many of the first Noblemen, Judges and Gentlemen of the land." But it is clear that the Club was not socially exclusive; its members belonged to the 'local aristocracy,' it is true, but in the small community of Edinburgh the real criterion was personal acceptability. The 1778 members comprised eight landed gentlemen, three army officers, nine Writers to the Signet and other 'Writers' or lawyers, and nine advocates, with four merchants or bankers, two civil servants, one surgeon, one bookseller, one architect, and one slater. Nearly all the members of the professions and trades were sons or relations of landed families, and many of the members were related to each other. Among the next fifty new members were thirteen landed gentlemen, twelve army officers, five advocates, ten lawyers (W.S. or writers), two merchants, two civil servants, three members of the medical profession, one minister of religion and two Members of Parliament, with in addition five young peers or sons of peers. The seventy new members who joined between 1784 and 1816 showed an even greater preponderance of lawyers, with fifteen advocates and fourteen Writers to the Signet to fifteen landed gentlemen, one naval and three army officers, seven merchants, three civil servants, two doctors, two ministers and three sons of peers (with four unscrubbed). From 1818 to the end of the nineteenth century it became a club mainly of Writers to the Signet: thirty of them joined in those years, with thirteen advocates and seven doctors. Only five members belonged to the landed gentry or peerage, and there were three army officers; but with thirteen merchants, three civil engineers, two chartered accountants, one printer and two artists, one professor and one schoolmaster, we have a very fair sample of Edinburgh social life. The twentieth century recruits with their wives and sisters, now admitted, were similarly representative of the law-dominated society of the city.

The 1778 list contains several well-known names. Among the senior members, though apparently no longer active, were three Clerk brothers: Sir James, the third baronet; George, then known as Commissioner Clerk-Maxwell, later the fourth baronet; and John Clerk of Eldin, the naval tactician. The ponds at Penicuik House must have provided convenient skating practice, and the next two generations of Clerks were also represented in the Club. The other family which inevitably played a leading part in Skating Club affairs, since their estate bordered on Duddingston Loch, was the Dicks of Prestonfield; Sir Alexander, though omitted from the 1778 list, was elected "Praeses" at the dinner in 1784 at the age of 81 and may be assumed to have been a member previously. His three sons were all admitted to the Club at early ages; Sir William was remembered as a fine skater by Lord Cockburn,¹¹ and in 1820 Sir Robert was thanked for his "polite attention in taking charge of the various articles belonging to the Club at Duddingston and accommodating them on all occasions when necessary with his carts." His son William, later Sir William Dick Cunyngham, kept on the tradition of the family's connection with the Club until near the end of his life. Another well-known Edinburgh family represented in the first list were the Balfours of Pilrig; John, the bookseller and publisher, was probably not skating by the 1770's, but four generations of Balfours followed him in the Club. The Tytlers of Woodhouselee, the Wauchopes of Niddry, and the Pringles of Torwoodlee all supported the Club for two generations. Skating and dining with this landed and legal society was "Mr Broughton of the Excise," one of the government officials who congregated near Fountainbridge,¹² followed by his two sons. James Brown, the builder of George Square and Buccleuch Street, is on the list, as well as "Mr Ramsay, Slater." Perhaps this was the man who was concerned in the building of the new Assembly Hall in Bell's Wynd in 1765;¹³ in any case he had a sufficiently solid reputation to be entrusted with the Club's funds as Treasurer in the 1770's. Another representative of Edinburgh's commercial life was John Forrest, son of the Lord Provost of that name. The most distinguished business men were Patrick Miller, later of Dalswinton, and Gilbert Innes of Stow, both bankers.

Between 1778 and 1790 numbers of young men with distinguished names or distinguished futures joined the Club, including William Adam, already a Member of Parliament, later the Lord Chief Commissioner of Jury Court for Scotland; Sir James Hall of Dunglass, scientist and historian and President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and some young noblemen including Lord Daer, son of the Earl of Selkirk. Well known to posterity as a skater because of his portrait by Raeburn is the Rev. Robert Walker, minister first of Cramond and then of the Canongate. Another famous skating picture, by Gilbert Stuart, now in the American National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., represents William Grant of Congalton skating in St. James's Park, London in 1782;¹⁴ he also was a member of the Club.

It was in December 1784, a month of prolonged frost, that the Skating Club had its greatest influx of new members; in the following five years only one dinner was held and it was feared that the organisation might again lapse. But one of the keen young members was Henry Jardine, already showing the character given him by Kay¹⁵ of a "public-spirited citizen, there being few institutions for the promotion of any useful or national object of which he was not a member." He was one of a group of members who in 1786 and again in 1789 "were of opinion that new laws and regulations were absolutely necessary for the future prosperity of the Club." The following Rules and Regulations were accordingly

adopted in February 1789 as "in all time coming the Standing Rules and Regulations of the Skating Club subject always to any addition or alteration they may afterwards judge proper:"

1. That a Council shall be elected from the Members for managing the affairs of the Club with full power of increasing or diminishing their own number as they may see proper.
2. That there shall be a General Meeting of the Club upon the second Monday of January annually.
3. That a President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer shall be annually elected at the said General Meeting and who shall ex officio be Members of the Council.
4. That two Cadies shall also be appointed to be changed however at any time by the Council if they shall see fit.
5. That at the said General Meeting, the Treasurer shall always present his Accounts to be inspected and settled by the whole Club.
6. That every Gentleman desirous of becoming a Member shall give in to the Secretary a Petition or letter signed by himself and by two Members of the Club recommending him.
7. That the Petitioner shall be regularly balloted for and one Black Ball shall reject.
8. That none but the Council shall be entitled to ballot of whom five shall be a quorum.
9. That the ballot shall on no pretence whatever be upon the ice, if so it shall be void.
10. That every Gentleman upon his admission shall pay to the Treasurer £2. 2/- and shall receive his medal gratis from the Society."

These regulations, which were little changed over the years, formed a constitution which had the desired effect of keeping the Club in existence despite periods of inactivity due to lack of ice. Henry Jardine was appointed Secretary, and the Club left their affairs in his hands for the next twenty years, during which time the momentum imparted by the reorganisation gradually slackened as some of the Councillors appointed in 1789 died and were not replaced. Several winters went by without a dinner meeting and presumably without ice. But by 1809 a younger generation of skaters was coming to the fore, among whom were Henry Cockburn and Walter Scott's brother, Thomas. Henry Jardine resigned; another of the new members, Charles Robison, took over as Secretary under a new Council; and he in his turn set about reform. The Club was in financial difficulties, since their only source of income was the entrance fee charged to new members, and in years when the ice needed frequent sweeping their expenditure might be high. Their first step was to agree that new members should be charged extra for their badges, and next they resolved that "in future every member should pay ten shillings and sixpence annually, and that every member who should be in Edinburgh upon the day of the Annual Meeting and did not attend should pay half a guinea in addition to his annual contribution." This last provision seems never to have been enforced, and even the annual "quota" as it was called was not

always paid, perhaps because Charles Robison's health was not good. He was assisted in the office of Treasurer from 1814 by James Simpson, who became the Club's moving spirit and who was made, on Robison's departure for India, both Secretary and Treasurer, although the Club had on record a motion of his own "separating the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, the respective office bearers to act in either capacity for each other when either of them may be prevented from giving that prompt attention to the concerns of the Club, which the precarious nature of their amusement renders absolutely necessary."

A letter circulated by the Treasurer in February 1814 made a moving appeal to members: "the annual quotas of half a guinea have been very irregularly paid; the funds have, in consequence, again become exhausted; and some further debt has been contracted; which has been considerably added to this winter in order to put the affairs of the Club on a more regular and vigorous footing. Some money has been advanced by Mr Charles Robison the Secretary. If the quotas were steadily paid, there can be no doubt that all inconvenience for the future would be removed. The late long frost having been of little avail from want of funds to clear the ice, a meeting of the Council was held on the 26th ulto. to enquire into the state of the Club." The plans made at that meeting bore fruit; by December 1814 the Treasurer was congratulated for "realising a considerable sum and clearing all the long-standing debts of the Club."

One of the arguments for establishing an annual subscription had been that reliance on an entry fee "would necessarily oblige them to admit persons as members who were not so perfectly qualified as could be wished." This probably referred to applicants' skating ability, as tested by "the usual trials" from 1795 onwards, and not to their social acceptability which the ballot box was designed to sift. In 1846 James Whitelaw wrote that all the candidates, "without distinction of rank, were required to go through regular trials of their qualifications on the ice before they could be admitted as members; no one being allowed to enter who is not a good skater, and able to take a part in all the movements and evolutions of the Club." By 1865 the tradition had been established of requiring the candidate, after he had skated a complete circle on each foot, to jump over "first one hat, then two, and then three, each on the top of the other." This last condition, however, may have been not so much a real test of skating prowess as a politer method of discouraging the unwanted applicant than recourse to the black ball. Certainly this was the view taken of the test at the end of the century, when three top hats were laid out in line for the candidate to jump over after he had performed a satisfactory set of figures. The provision that the ballot should never be on the ice was also a useful delaying tactic in case the exhilaration of the sport should cloud the Council's judgment; careful selection of members was important for the Club's harmony both on their social occasions and in their skating.

There is no record of what form the Club's skating took in the early years apart from the portraits of Mr Walker and Mr Grant, who are depicted in the "travelling" position with their arms folded in front, as recommended in 1797 for performing the outside edge. It is probable that the Club was also practising the style of skating described in 1772 by Lieut. Robert Jones, who wrote the earliest known text book on the subject in English,¹⁶ with the preamble "That noble exercise now reduced to an art and may be taught and learned by a regular method with both ease and safety. The whole illustrated with copper

plates representing the attitudes and graces." At that period skating was relatively undeveloped and the only figures known were the outside and inside edges and the 3-turn. The skater aimed at grace and elegance, and varied his performance by taking up a series of poses or attitudes, such as the Flying Mercury, which "is nothing more than the spiral line, except that the arms are not employed in the same manner," and which remained a classic of the skater's repertoire certainly as late as 1846. The engraving of a gentleman skating in this attitude shows (see pl. 1), if we discount the 1772 costume, that it is derived directly from the well-known Mercury of Giovanni da Bologna, which "has become an accepted symbol of victorious speed."¹⁷ Another attitude is the "fencing position;" and there is also a description of "The Salutation" in which two skaters approach each other, touch hands, bow and doff their hats, and with a turn take up their original positions. Further possibilities are outlined in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article: "There are few exercises but will afford hints of elegant and graceful attitudes. For example, nothing can be more beautiful than the attitude of drawing the bow and arrow whilst the skater is making a large circle on the outside; the manual exercise and military salutes have likewise a pretty effect when used by an expert skater." Another figure early performed by the Club was the spreadeagle, which required the ability to turn one's feet out at an angle of one hundred and eighty degrees. "It was frequently done with bent knees and no variation made from the straight line . . . but even in its old dress, when done with boldness and dash, it was a very effective figure."¹⁸

The skating style of the Club was exposed to a scurrilous attack in *Blackwood's Magazine*, in the "Noctes Ambrosianae" of February, 1826:¹⁹

Tickler. Try the anchovies. I forget if you skate, Hogg?

Shepherd. Yes, like a flounder. I was at Duddingston Loch on the great day. Two bands of music kept chearing the shade of King Arthur on his seat, and gave a martial character to the festivities. . . . It was quite Polar. Then a' the ten thousand people (there couldna' be fewer) were in perpetual motion. . . .

Tickler. Was the skating tolerable?

Shepherd. No; intolerable. Puir conceited whalps! Gin you except Mr Tory o' Prince's Street, wha's a handsome fallow, and as good a skaiter as ever spread-eagled; the lave a' deserved drowning. There was Henry Cowburn, like a dominie, or a sticket minister, puttin' himself into a number o' attitudes, every ane clumsier and mair ackward than the ither, and nae doubt flatterin himself that he was the object o' universal admiration. The hail loch was laughing at him. The cretur can skate nane. Jemmy Simpson is a feckless bodie on the ice, and canna keep his knees straught. I couldna look at him without wondering what induced the cretur to write about Waterloo. The Skatin' Club is indeed on its last legs.

The shepherd then describes how he himself skated, while impersonating an officer from the Castle, and concludes:

. . . and I finished with doing the 47th Proposition of Euclid, with mathematical precision. Jemmy Simpson, half an hour before, had fallen over the *Pons assinorum*.

Tickler. Mr Editor, I fear that if in your articles you follow the spirit that guides your conversation, you will be as personal as Mr North himself. No intrusion on private character.

Shepherd. Private character! If Mr James Simpson, or Mr Henry Cockburn, or myself, exhibit our figures or attitudes before ten thousand people, and cause all the horses in the adjacent pastures to half-die of laughter, may I not mention the disaster? Were not their feats celebrated in all the newspapers? There it was said that they were the most elegant and graceful of volant men. What if I say in the next Number of the Magazine, that they had the appearance of the most pitiful prigs that ever exposed themselves as public performers? Besides they are both upwards of fifty, and seem much older. At that time of life they should give their skates to their boys.

Hogg overestimates the ages of both Cockburn and Simpson, and it is feared that the fact that both gentlemen were Whigs may have had something to do with the comments in the *Tory Maga*.

Some amends were made for this attack in August of the same year²⁰ when a review appeared in the *Magazine* of a new book on gymnastic exercises.²¹ There is a quotation from the passage on skating: "This exercise surpasses all those of which we have hitherto spoken, as well with respect to the beauty of the movements as to the infinite variety and rapidity of graceful attitudes which the skilful skater knows how to assume and change instantaneously, without appearing to take the smallest trouble. Yes, of all pastimes skating is indeed that which makes us feel allied to the gods and believe in mythology. There goes an Edinburgh advocate in the character of Cupid—an accountant that would shame Apollo—and a W.S. more gracefully fleet than Mercury gathering the shore!" Nevertheless in the Winter Rhapsody of 1831²² the attack is resumed. "The florid style of skating shews that that fine art is degenerating; and, except in a Torry, we look in vain for the grand simplicity of the masters that spreadeagled in the age of its perfection."

A new discipline, however, was at hand. In 1828, Thomas Clay's *Instructions on the Art of Skating*²³ gave the first description of figure skating in combination. After explaining how to cut figures of eight, he goes on, "Should there be two gentlemen that can both make it, it has a beautiful effect for both to make it in the same circles and at the same time, the one going the circle in one part, while the other is going the circle in the other, and when they meet between the two circles, to appear to touch hands. . . . When this figure is done with two, they must meet each other. But three at once in the circle is much more curious and pleasing; for this purpose, all three must follow each other the same way round. . . . When three gentlemen meet upon the ice that can make this figure easily, it will have a very good effect and add much to the beauty of it by diverting from this figure to the figure of three, and again diverting to the spreadeagle."

Thus began seventy or eighty years during which combination figure skating dominated the sport. A club was formed in London in 1830 after correspondence with the Edinburgh Skating Club, and it was there that most of the subsequent developments were made, the Edinburgh skaters losing their pre-eminent position although they retained a respectable reputation considering the few days' skating they could expect, on average, each year.

In 1831, *The Skater's Manual*²⁴ described "the sets of quadrilles as skated on the Serpentine," by which was meant figures done by four skaters together, rather than dances. These were no doubt studied and performed in Edinburgh, but it is disappointing that for the years 1826 to 1831, although the minutes include more detailed records than usual of the numbers of days when skating was possible, no further account of the skating is given than that "the Club was out" or "the Club assembled." By the 1840's, however, as is shown by a song written for one of the dinners (see Appendix III), combined figures were the Club's established practice. They used oranges at this time to mark centres on the ice, like the skaters in du Maurier's cartoons in 1875;²⁵ later they provided themselves with wooden balls of about the same size as an orange, painted in different colours, some of which are preserved (see pl. 8, and Appendix V).

A Skating Club was also formed in Glasgow, and its president, George Anderson, writing in 1852 under the pen-name "Cyclos," gave a good explanation of "Figure Skating in Concert."²⁶ "The object is to combine various movements in any arrangement agreed on, so timed that all the skaters, working from one common centre, interweave the figures and circles without collision, and when this is skilfully done the effect is beautiful. The figures most used are figure 3s, and back and forward outside circles. They require to be executed with great precision, and the skater must have such perfect control of his movements, as to be able to make any change at any instant, or on any spot required." In the years following many more figures were invented, and rockers, counters and brackets were eventually incorporated in the combined skating figures; a whole literature grew up on the subject, and the terminology became as exact as the skating. Diagrams were used to illustrate the figures, and cards of these were printed for easy reference on the ice.

The Edinburgh Skating Club seems to have stood, at first, a little apart from the main stream of development, to judge by their own account of their style in the History, which stresses forward outside edge skating. "The principal object of the Club is to enable the members to skate together in concert. This is done in figures. . . . These are numerous and varied. Some of them are very graceful. . . . The effect is produced by slow and graceful motion rather than by rapid and wonderful execution. . . . The Edinburgh Skating Club having mostly confined themselves to forward outside rather than to backward skating, have had the character of skating the circle in a style peculiar to themselves, and only to be acquired by steady perseverance and constant practice whenever they meet together on the ice. . . . One of the great advantages in acquiring this mode of skating is that it enables several to skate in concert, and it is this skating in company which the Skating Club have always in view and hold in chief estimation. . . . Each movement of the skaters opposite each other should exactly correspond, each beginning and completing his respective circle, or portion of a circle, at precisely the same moment."

The figures which the Club used to perform at this period are listed as follows:

1. The Half and Whole, or a Quarter, a Half, Threequarters, a Whole.
2. Each the Whole.
3. Each his own circle.
4. The figure 8.
5. Sixes.

6. The Worm or Screw.
7. Crossing.
8. The Wild Goose.

The illustration, pl. 2, of members in top hats doing the "Half and Whole," forms the frontispiece of the 1865 History. This figure is also illustrated in the diagram —pl. 3. The basic formula was for four skaters to start simultaneously from points A, B, C and D on a circle round a mark. Each made a half circle on the outside edge round the mark, then a whole circle round the outer mark opposite his starting point, and then a half circle back to his place, thus completing two circles. The larger circles were added for variety.

There were also five Back Skating figures listed and illustrated in the History; they incorporated 3-turns as well as the backward outside edge. Figures I and II are illustrated see pl. 4. The list is as follows:

- "Fig. I. Cross over by 'Fig. 3' on the right foot, and back again on the left.
- "Fig. II. The Single back. 'Fig. 3' right foot, outside edge back, and 'Fig. 3' to place.
- "Fig. III. The Double Back. 'Fig. 3,' outside edge back; 'Fig. 3,' outside back again to place.
- "Fig. IV. 'Fig. 3,' outside edge back, and change to outside edge forward to place.
- "Fig. V. The Back Entire. 'Fig. 3,' outside edge, back to the starting place in the '3,' then outside edge back for a complete circle on the other foot."

In these figures the skaters started from and returned to the centre in consecutive pairs; the diagrams show the track of a single skater.

These Back Skating figures formed the nucleus of the whole later development of combined figure skating, but they were disregarded in Edinburgh at first, which led to stern words from "Cyclos" in 1868²⁷: "An old encyclopaedia, probably written in Edinburgh, gave that city the palm for skating accomplishment, and the reputation has clung to her ever since. I do not believe it ever was merited, or that at any time she could touch London. A few years ago, when I saw the performances of her club, I found them fifty years behind the day, doing nothing whatever beyond outside forward, and even that badly, and acting on the very conservative, but very mistaken, idea that nothing else was worth learning. Till they abandon that idea, there is no hope for them." These strictures may have been deserved from the skating point of view in 1868, but they ignore the fact that the Edinburgh skaters were out for company as well as good skating, and that the original article was written in 1797. The Club was small and the frost capricious, and the standard could vary greatly from generation to generation.

The type of skate used by the Edinburgh Club may have had something to do with their poor performance by George Anderson's standards. In the early days they had been somewhat in advance of their time in using a very flat blade. Lieut. Jones in 1772 recommended skates of such a small radius that no more than two inches of the blade should be in contact with the ice. This was a handicap, as the author of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article pointed out: "The English" he said, "are deficient in gracefulness; which is partly owing to the construction of the skates. They are too much curved in the surface which embraces the ice, consequently they involuntarily bring the users of them round on the

outside upon a quick and small circle; whereas the skater by using skates of a different construction, less curved, has the command of his stroke, and can enlarge or diminish the circle according to his own wish and desire." There was considerable experimentation until the ideal curvature of blade for each type of skating was discovered; even in the illustrations in his own book, Robert Jones shows quite a flat blade, though Gilbert Stuart supports him by showing Mr Grant using curved ones. Mr Walker in Raeburn's portrait is using the flat blade to which the Edinburgh Skating Club remained faithful, although a slight curve would have assisted their turns; in 1865 they were using skates "of the usual kind, fixed on wood, having the steel perfectly straight and level and flush at the toe with the wood. . . . They have the advantage of being . . . suitable for skating in figures, where the skaters are brought into very close contact"—unlike, it is implied, skates with the steel projecting at the toe. They bought their skates from the Club's official skatemaker, a title of some value to the tradesman concerned. Lord Cockburn does not record the name of the cutler from whom he bought his first pair of skates in the Parliament Close in 1792 or 1793²⁸; members of the Skating Club may have been among the "figures with black gowns and white wigs" he remembered "walking about among the cutlery." In 1811 James Bell, "Cutler in the Canongate," was appointed Skatemaker to the Club, and was succeeded in the post in 1814 by John McLeod, Cutler, whose shop was in College Street. In 1826, "it having been stated by several gentlemen that Mr McLeod the Skatemaker to the Club had not shewn in many instances proper attention to the members the Meeting were unanimously of opinion that another Skatemaker ought to be appointed in the place of Mr McLeod." He managed to hold on to the appointment, however, for at least the next three years and was eventually succeeded at some unknown date by Mr Simpson of South Bridge. In October 1846 "Mr Goldie read a letter from Mr Archd. Young, Cutler, 79 Princes Street, making application for the office of Skatemaker to the Club. . . . The Meeting upon the understanding that Mr Simpson was no longer to carry on business in Edinburgh authorised the appointment of Mr Young." An advertisement to this effect is in Whitelaw's booklet of 1846—*see* note 4. He was still holding the position in 1865, according to the Club's History, but there is no mention after that year of an official appointment.

In the following years the Club members applied themselves to combined figures, both forward and back, with enthusiasm, and kept up with the English lead. One of them, C. A. Stevenson, produced a booklet in 1881 in which he drew diagrams of a range of the current figures, and this immediately led to an improvement in skating standards. It was even made available to the Glasgow Skating Club on their request. In 1887 Robert Scott-Moncrieff introduced them to the "new style" of combined figures, and in 1889 the Club printed its own "Progressive Sets of Combined Figures," based on the standard text-book by the Monier-Williamses of the London club²⁹; in this the figures are no longer illustrated but described in a standardised terminology. C. A. Stevenson, who made his own contributions on the scientific side to the literature of skating,³⁰ served with Monier-Williams as British judge of international competitions on occasion. He and Robert Scott-Moncrieff are shown together on the ice in the silhouette reproduced on pl. 5.

In 1893 the London club recognised at least six hundred "Skating Club Figures"; many of them were so complicated that a caller was required, and in 1900, when the National Skating Association (founded 1879) was revising and standardising the system of calls, the Edinburgh Skating Club was invited to send suggestions; by this time, however,

combination skating was already in decline. By making severe demands on accuracy and timing the system had produced very accomplished skaters and had encouraged the technical development of skating, at the cost of losing the sense of freedom and easy grace which had characterised the pioneers of figure skating. A reaction against what was now called "the English style" set in, and the revival of a more natural and artistic style of individual skating was championed on the Continent. In 1882 the first international individual championship was held in Vienna, and after the World Championship in London in 1898, solo or pair skating became the style of the future for the young of this country. Combination skating rapidly died out; in 1927 a set of "Easy Combination Figures" was circulated to the Edinburgh Skating Club in the hope of reawakening enthusiasm, but in spite of one or two successful meets after that date the interest in combined figure skating tended to be antiquarian rather than practical. It had been an eminently sociable style, well adapted for groups of friends who skated together often and who knew each other's form intimately, but it had reached the limits of its development and attracted no new adherents.

It was early established that the members of the Skating Club, like the Duddingston Curling Club and other eighteenth century clubs, should wear a distinguishing badge when assembled either to dine or to skate. This was originally a thin oval silver medal, worn round the neck on a red ribbon; it was engraved on one side with the Club's name and that of the owner, sometimes with the date of his admission also, and on the other with a pair of crossed skates and the Club motto, "Ociore Euro." The form of the medal varied over the years, and the different tastes of succeeding generations are well illustrated in the successive designs—*see* pls. 7 and 8 and Appendix IV.

In 1815 the oval shape was abandoned for a round medal, with a design by William Thomson (1771-1845), a miniature painter. It consisted of "an infant Mercury with winged cap and feet, in the same attitude in his flight as that of the outedge skating, displaying a scroll over his head with the old motto of the Club. . . . The figure does not represent actual skating but only allegorises its qualities of swift easy and graceful movements. The natural unconstrained grace of infancy was considered as a more appropriate emblem of these qualities than the common figure of Mercury." This infant figure, and still more obviously the adult figure which was substituted for it in 1841 on a medal re-designed by John Ballantyne (1815-1897), a portrait painter, both refer to the same statue which gave the "attitude" of the Flying Mercury its name, although the image is much debased.

A new medal was required in 1841 because the Prince Consort had agreed to become the Club's Patron, and a presentation medal for him was struck in gold. This strained the Club's finances, but the members submitted to an extra levy of two guineas each with a good grace when they considered the "great additional distinction" the Club had acquired. The new medals were die-stamped and even the silver one worn by the ordinary member was much heavier than the old engraved disc; they were in use for thirty years, a slightly altered version being introduced on the death of Prince Albert, when the Prince and Princess of Wales agreed to become the Club's Patron and Patroness.

In 1871 it was admitted that the medals were "much too large to wear upon the ice," and a small blue enamelled badge was substituted, retaining the old motto and the name of the Club and reverting to the emblem of crossed skates while dropping the figure of Mercury. Prince of Wales feathers were also incorporated in the design. A further break with tradition, resisted by some of the older members, was the specification of a blue instead

of red ribbon to hang the badge on, as it was considered more appropriate to the colour of the enamel. The Secretary, Charles Cook, made a collection of such old medals as he could discover and it was displayed together with copies of the Club's traditional songs at the National Skating Association's anniversary exhibition in London in 1902. It now forms part of the collection of Edinburgh Skating Club medals in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, a collection which contains an example of every metamorphosis the silver medal underwent, as recorded in the Minutes of the Club. The 1871 enamelled badge is not represented, nor is the button form which was used from 1910 to 1928, but there is an example of the last form of the badge, which was a replica of the 1871 enamelled one with the addition of a miniature crown.

Although the Club was devoted to skating it must be admitted that for some members and in some periods the skating was merely a prelude to their dining together; while conversely in mild winters the dinners, even when as few as three members attended, served to keep the Club in existence. In its early years the annual general meeting was automatically a dinner, announced as in the following notice, which appeared both in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*: "SKATING CLUB. The Members of the Skating Club, Dine at Fortune's Tavern on Monday the 9th of January next. Dinner on the table at five o'clock. Edinburgh, 26th December 1808." Fortune's, both before and after its removal from the Old Town to Princes Street, was their regular dining place for many years, after their first two recorded dinners, in 1784 and 1785, which were at Walker's Tavern in the Old Town. They also dined once at Archers' Hall; and the Council met once at the Royal Exchange Coffee House in what is now the City Chambers. On 22 December 1814 "The Council agreed in consequence of the wish of many members of the Club that the wine at their future dinner meetings shall be port and sherry only, and that a bill shall be called and paid at eight o'clock when those who sit longer will pay extra." To such a pass had the war with France brought the claret-drinking Scots. The last dinner at Fortune's was in 1818, after which Oman's in the New Town was patronised for a few years. Two of their most successful dinners were at Mrs Frazer's Hotel, Duddingston, after good skating days in 1826 and 1828, when "the meeting were highly gratified by the appearance of eight sheep heads and trotters, the favourite food of skaters and the standing dish of the Club from time immemorial," and Mr Torry, the Club's best skater, proved himself also to be their best punch-maker. In 1831 another dinner was planned there but had to be cancelled because of a sudden heavy fall of snow, they went instead to Cook's Tavern in North College Street. In the next few years the Douglas Hotel in St. Andrew Square, Cooper's Tavern in Fleshmarket Close, and Rampling's Rainbow Tavern in Waterloo Place provided their infrequent dinners; in 1842 and 1843 they returned to Archers' Hall. They went to Greliche's Hotel, Princes Street, in 1854; in 1857 to Paterson's Tavern in Fleshmarket Close; and in 1860 to the Ship Tavern, Register Street. During the sixties they often dined at the Prince of Wales Tavern or Hotel in Register Street. In the seventies they seem to have met for Club business without dining, but in the eighties and nineties their dinners, of numerous courses, were grand social occasions at the Windsor Hotel or the Central Hotel, both in Princes Street, and the decorated menu cards which survive preserve some blurred photographs of the Club on the ice.

There was a tradition of music at Club dinners as well as while they were skating. On 15 December 1821 "the Treasurer was authorised to order the music and words of the

Skater's Song to be engraved and copies thrown off at the expense and for the sole use of Members of the Club." It is not clear whether Mr Simpson attended to this matter, or whether it was a different song that they spoke of on 14 January, 1826, when "a strong wish having been expressed that the Skater's March and Glee should be published for the use of all the members, directions were given to a Committee to procure a lithographed impression of the music and words, after having undergone a proper revision by Mr Innes and other musical members of the Club, the expense to be paid out of the funds of the Club; and Mr Thomas Thomson was requested to be prepared to sing a part in the Glee" at the next dinner meeting. Nothing of this date survives in the Club's archive, but there are two copies of the music and words of the 1841 revision, which effectually superseded the original version. On 12 March, 1841, "Mr Simpson produced to the meeting a copy of the original song of the Club with an altered version of the words by himself and the music also newly arranged and set as a German Glee by Professor John Thomson³¹ which had been very handsomely bound at the expense of the Club with the view of being presented to Prince Albert along with the Club medal." On 28 December they wrote to the Prince sending the medal and the music, and asked him "to honour, with a place in your music room, the accompanying copy of the unpublished new arrangement of the old air of the Club, which, as intended for your Royal Highness, derives a melancholy interest from having been the last work of the lamented Professor John Thomson, recently lost to the Music Chair of our University and to the Musical World. The air, performed by a Band, has often animated the cadenced movements of the Club upon the ice, and, sung, enlivened its convivial meetings." The words of two other songs sung in the 1840's survive (see Appendix III), written by Charles Kerr and full of Club references; and another musical phase in the '80's produced three more: "John Frost," by David Scott-Moncrieff, "A-Skating We Will Go," by John Kirkpatrick, after Fielding; and "The Lay of the Lost Minute Book," by W. Cleghorn Murray. At their dinner in 1885 seven members sang songs old and new, and resolved to have part-songs at the next one.

As well as organising the annual dinner it was the duty of the Club's Secretary and Treasurer to make all arrangements for the Club to skate on every possible opportunity. It was necessary to watch the ice at Duddingston and Lochend when a likely frost set in; to keep boys and other potentially damaging substances off it, and to sweep it if snow fell; to send word to members when all was ready; and to provide some facilities for them at the ice. The Club regularly employed an Officer (the term 'Cady' was dropped in 1810) and took on watchmen, and labourers to sweep the ice, as they were required. When James Simpson was Secretary he prepared directions for the Officer and watchmen, drew up a plan of the method for sweeping the lochs, and made an inventory of the Club's property—see Appendix II. His instructions remained the basis of the Club's method for many years. The Officer was to report every evening on the state of the ice to the Secretary or Treasurer, and if so instructed would inform the members that the Club was to meet, either by posting placards early in the morning at a number of stated places, or, at some periods, by taking notes round to members' houses. On skating days he would repair to the selected loch to organise the sweeping of snow if necessary and to take charge of the Club tent, which at Duddingston was pitched on the north-east shore of the loch, on the flat ground looking over the small bay to the church. He had further to be responsible for a box for the contributions which were expected from other skaters who used the ice the Club's men had swept.

He was provided with "a blue livery coat with red edging, a badge sewed on the breast" to keep him warm and denote his official position; it was suspected in later years that this garment, or its successor, had the "fatal effect on the man inside of making him take to the bottle," a risk to which the watchmen also were not surprisingly subject.

The cost of employing the Officer and hiring watchmen or sweepers by the day remained remarkably stable during the whole of the nineteenth century; and indeed until the outbreak of the First World War it was still possible to have a day's work done for five shillings. There is no record of how much the Club's first two Cadies, McDiarmid and Fisher, were paid, nor John Macpherson who was appointed when Charles Robison became Secretary in 1809. Macpherson was succeeded in 1812 by William Melville, who was issued with James Simpson's detailed Directions and Inventory; and at the meeting of 26 January, 1814 "The Officer of the Club having no stated allowance, the Council resolved that he shall in future be allowed five shillings each day he attends at the ice by order of the Secretary or Treasurer. Any extra allowance for service of an extraordinary kind to be in the discretion of these office bearers. He is to provide his own Assistants at the ice, any allowance to which last to be in the discretion of the Secretary and Treasurer, when they shall employ them. The Officer shall be at liberty to sell refreshments at the ice, but must be at the command of the office bearers." On 16 February, 1814 "the meeting agreed that whenever the Officer of the Club attends at the ice, every member shall not only produce to him his medal on putting on his skates, but shall wear the same when on the ice whatever may be the number of the Club present, under a forfeit of two shillings and sixpence to be levied by the Officer as a perquisite to himself." This provision must have been of considerable value to the Officer after the introduction of the heavy medal in 1841. At the beginning of the next season "the Treasurer reported that the Officer, William Melville, had merited his approbation for his zeal and activity." As for his payment, "the Treasurer was empowered to offer to the Officer an option of a fixed salary to cover all his demands not exceeding £5 or still to continue to receive 5/- every time the Club skates. The Treasurer was also empowered to employ an assistant to the Officer and to pay him not exceeding 2/6 or 3/- per day when employed." A year later, "Mr Simpson having notified that William Melville the late Officer had resigned his situation, recommended Thomas Wilson, Mason, to succeed him. Certificates of good character were read for Wilson and he was appointed. Mr Simpson further stated that Wilson had made choice of the stated salary of five pounds instead of a daily allowance, and undertook to find and pay an assistant from the profits of the refreshments which he has liberty to sell in the tent. The meeting approved of this arrangement and were of opinion that no allowance should in future be given the Officer for an assistant." These refreshments, however, gave trouble later on. On 2 February, 1831, Wilson still being Officer, "It was stated by several members that they had experienced much inconvenience this season in consequence of the Club's Officer having admitted too many persons not belonging to the Club into the Tent, whereby Members were frequently prevented from having advantage from such a privilege. And it was the opinion of the meeting that the practice of so admitting strangers ought to be discontinued, and that the Officer should be remunerated by the Club for any loss which he might sustain by being deprived of the power hitherto enjoyed by him of selling spirits etc. to the public. The Officer being called in was informed of their resolution to which he readily assented on the understanding that an additional allowance should be made to him from the Club the amount of which should be

determined at a future meeting of the Club." The amount, if any, is not recorded, and activities appear in any case to have lapsed with a series of mild winters. On 11 January, 1841, when frost was enlivening the Club again, "Frequent complaints having been made that Thomas Wilson the Officer of the Club is not now so efficient nor so attentive to his duties as is requisite, it was moved and carried that his services should be dispensed with at the end of the present season, but in consideration of his having been in the employment of the Club for the long period of twenty-five years, it was the unanimous opinion of the members of the Club present that he should enjoy a pension of one guinea a year during his life or good behaviour. Until a new Officer qualified for the duties of the situation could be found it was also moved and carried that John Reynolds who has for some years acted as assistant to Wilson should be employed but not at the same high salary which Wilson had hitherto received."

Reynolds and his successors continued to receive five shillings a day for their services to the Club throughout the century. The problem of the Officer's admitting strangers to the Tent for refreshments was perennial, and was no doubt touched on when, at the annual dinner, he was called in and, "in accordance with the ancient custom of the Club, was charged with his duties," the charge being "delivered with humorous gravity and received by the Officer with becoming seriousness. The ceremony was ended by the Officer drinking to the health of the Club in a bumper of Port."

The arrangements James Simpson made in 1814 included a system for safe-guarding life; the Club in general, and Simpson in particular, always took seriously the risks of skating on deep water, and they accepted a responsibility at this time for providing both men and equipment for lifesaving. On 20 February, 1813 the Club was visited by Captain Manby, R.N., a well-known lifesaving expert,³² who "submitted to the consideration of the Club various ingenious sets of apparatus for preserving the lives of persons who accidentally got under the ice. The Treasurer suggested the propriety of the Club giving a sum annually not exceeding 50/- along with the Duddingston Curling Club for procuring apparatus and keeping a person to watch the Loch and save the lives of boys and others who may accidentally fall through the ice. This was approved of." It is not recorded whether the Curling Club agreed to the plan but the indications are that the Skating Club were the sole owners of the equipment that was procured. "The ladder, with the noose ropes and grappling rod of Capt. Manby was agreed upon, the saver being further secured by a rope round his own waist held far behind him, and by one of the most approved patent life preservers such as the copper one made fast round him. It was likewise remarked that a buoyancy might be given to the traineau by some such means and even that air might be confined in so small a volume in membrane or prepared leather as to be worn round the waist; a complete life preserver, by every skater like a sash." Nothing, not surprisingly, came of this last suggestion.

The plan adopted by the Club for ensuring the safety of skaters at Duddingston and Lochend was ingeniously simple. It was publicised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in December, 1815, in an article explaining "the means provided by the skaters of Edinburgh to render their elegant amusement perfectly safe" and appealing for some financial support from members of the public, especially parents of boys. "When the ice bears, a rope is laid loose round the lake, fixed to a post on the opposite bank from where the watchman stands, the two ends coming round to his hands. By drawing either end he can pass the rope over the whole ice. On trial it was found to move very rapidly, warning being given by a

rattle to the skaters to run before it." The theory was that the moving rope "must be caught by a person in danger, if above the ice." Meanwhile the watchman would produce the ladder and the other equipment for retrieving and resuscitating any one who fell through or was caught under the ice.

It was distressing that in spite of the precautions taken a boy and a young naval officer who tried to save him were drowned at Lochend on 18 December, 1815. The columns of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* contain various accounts of the accident, views thereon, and recriminations against the Skating Club for being either neglectful or incompetent; but the Secretary was given space for a spirited and sarcastic defence.

"Once for all it may be stated that the means for saving can only act, and therefore are only present, when the ice at least partially bears, and may by a person of common sense be ventured upon (even after which there is risk enough); and that all that can and ought to be done, when it is freezing, is to hang up a board, and station a man, to prevent, if he can, persons from going on at all. It is therefore trusted, that in future, persons will not make their own experiments, but first go to the watchman, whom they will always find on his post, and implicitly follow his directions, if they mean to expect his aid. One thing is certain, viz. that no prudent person will dream of going to either lake, till after three days and nights of hard frost. . . . The Skating Club, while they deeply lament the melancholy accident, owe it to themselves as superintending the establishment for preventing accidents, to say, that every reasonable, nay every possible application of the new apparatus has been made on every occasion since it was first adopted; and that the attendance and activity of their watchman at both lochs has been unceasing. They have never pretended, however, that their arrangements are to supersede all care of their own persons in those gifted with reason who resort to the ice; or that the person they station at the latter, when it is weak, shall positively rescue every one who, at any point of a circumference of two miles chooses to destroy himself. They shall continue their plan in spite of illiberal and ignorant reflections, which it seems they have merited, *because* they have voluntarily come forward, as a permanent body, and taken a very great deal of thankless trouble, and incurred a great deal of yet unreturned expense, to prevent, to the utmost limits of *possibility*, such accidents as the public now deplore."

There is a note in the Minute Book following the newspaper cuttings which deal with this incident: "In the course of the winter there were two instances of the ice giving way with skaters; and it is most satisfactory to state, that the arrangements proved quite effectual; the one person being rescued in one minute, and the other in something less. One of them addressed a grateful letter to the Club."

James Simpson's life-saving system continued to be serviceable for many years. On 26 December, 1829 the minutes record that "Duddingston bore, but the ice was weak and bad. Numbers fell into holes in the ice but were saved by the apparatus belonging to the Club." The following winter, however, "a boy was drowned though every means were resorted to for his recovery." Perhaps as a result of this the minutes for 2 February, 1831 record "the meeting was of opinion that a cork dress as invented by a person in Liverpool should be procured for the use of the watchman of the ice, the present brass tube or circle worn by him having been found on more than one occasion during the present season unsuited for the purpose intended, and the Secretary was desired to procure one accordingly. It was also the opinion of the meeting that one or perhaps two of the safety life preservers as now in general



The Flying Mercury

Plate I



Plate II

The "Half and Whole"

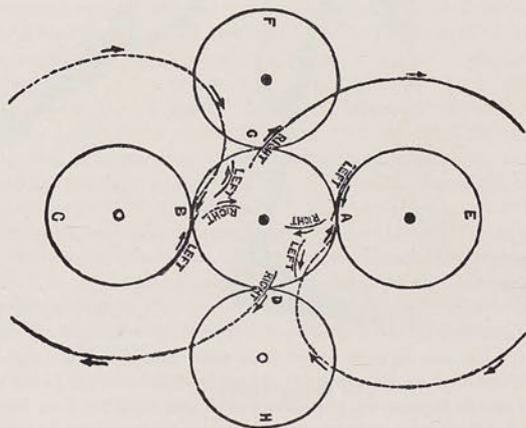
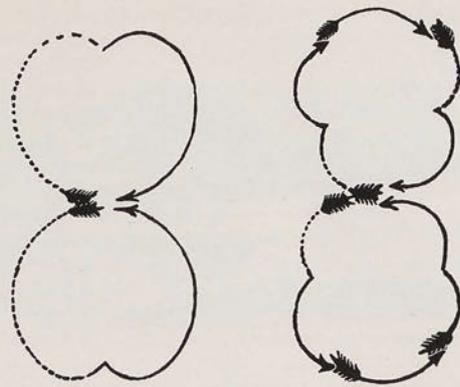


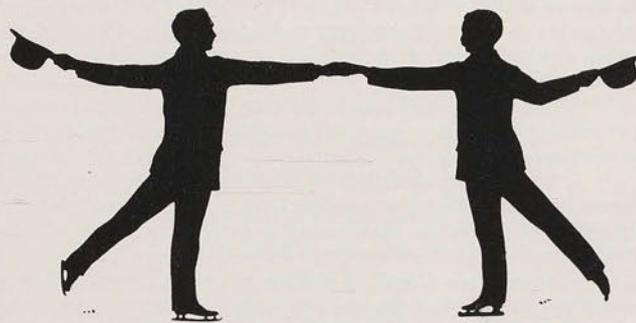
Plate III

The "Half and Whole" in diagram



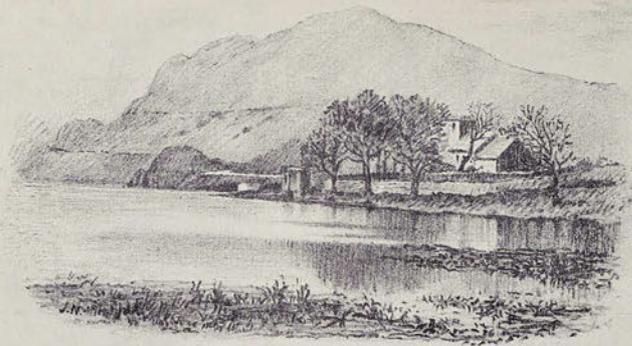
Two "Back Skating" figures

Plate IV



C. A. Stevenson and Robert Scott-Moncrieff

Plate V



Edinburgh Skating Club.

7th December 1889.

Menu.

Whitstable Oysters.

Clear Turtle.

Fillets of Grimsby Soles au gratin.

Bouchés of Chicken.

Canapes of Sweetbreads with Truffles.

Roast Turkey.

Cumberland Ham.

Fillet of Beef aux tomates forcées.

Devils on Horseback.

Mushrooms Grilled.

Baba au Rhum.

Ice. Dessert. Coffee.

use on board the Leith Smacks ought to be procured as in certain cases they might be found very useful in preserving the lives of individuals who may fall through the ice, and the President of the Club undertook to learn the expense of one of them and report the same to the next meeting of the Club."

Nothing more is heard of the cork dress or the safety life preservers, and as the minutes are scanty for the next few years the subject probably lapsed with lack of ice. The next mention of safety precautions in the minutes shows that the whole question had become too big for a small amateur society to handle. On 11 January, 1841 "The Club having now transferred all their saving apparatus to the Royal Humane Society and thereby relieved the members from much trouble and expense, it was moved and carried that an annual donation of £5.5/- should be paid to that Society out of the funds of the Club, on the distinct understanding however that the Society should assist the Officer and members of the Club in all their endeavours to protect the lives of persons while in danger on the ice and also that the Club should have the use of the Society's houses at Duddingston and Lochend for placing the tent and other furniture of the Club in a place of security during the nights that frost may continue."³³

The next year James Simpson, still as devoted to safety precautions as in his youth, "produced to the meeting patterns of the safety cape, cap etc. for preserving the lives of individuals in the event of the ice giving way which he had ordered at his own expense from London, and he expressed an anxious wish that the Club would patronise the invention. After a trial of the articles by Mr More, however, it appeared to the members present that some other improvements were requisite before the Club could give the sanction of its name to the measure." After an accident a fortnight later they accepted the urgency of the question, and a special meeting was called on 8 January, 1842 "for the purpose of considering whether some means can be devised to prevent the frequent loss of life occasioned by the breaking of the ice in skating—the attention of the Club having been drawn to the subject by the numerous fatal accidents which have recently occurred in England and more particularly at Lochend on the 29th of last month." There was nothing the special meeting could do but deplore the Humane Society's negligence in employing no one but an old and infirm watchman at Lochend, and urge them to be more vigilant in future; they also earnestly recommended the Society to investigate "what is the best safeguard against loss of life which skaters can wear on the ice, and to lose no time in recommending what is approved of to the public at large." James Simpson was no doubt still pressing his life-jacket's claims, to judge by a song written for the 1843 dinner—see Appendix III. Whether the invention was as well received by the public as was the song by the Club is not recorded.

By 1856 the Police were the responsible authority for life-saving, and though the Club was prepared to give moral support and leadership the members no longer felt their position required them to take a financial lead, as they had done in 1814. Then they had much less money as a Club, but the individual members felt more social obligations. On 1 February, 1856 "Communications from the Police Commissioners to the Secretary were read requesting the co-operation of the Club in measures for the prevention of loss of life at Duddingston Loch. The meeting having considered these communications agreed that these measures being for the public benefit and not for that of the Skating Club the latter could not as a Club by joining with the Police in any pecuniary co-operation, sanction the principle that these Commissioners are entitled to look to private bodies to assist them in discharging their

duties. The meeting however approved of the movement and requested their Secretary, Mr Scott Elliot and Mr MacKnight to have a conference with the Police Commissioners on the subject, and offer them their assistance on the ice in carrying out such proper methods as might be adopted."

The Police Commissioners seem to have had no further communication on life-saving with the Club, and it is not recorded what precautions if any were taken by individual members as long as they skated on natural ice. "Two immersions" are briefly noticed at Linlithgow when the Club persisted in skating on bad ice during a thaw, but the members were presumably soon reanimated with the liquid contents of the luncheon basket.

After carrying through his reorganisation of the Club's affairs James Simpson retired from the duties of Secretary and Treasurer in 1816. Adam Wylie was appointed to succeed him, but he was often "necessarily" out of town and sometimes ill, which meant that "some inconvenience had been experienced by the Club." The law separating the two offices was invoked and Simpson agreed to serve as Treasurer to Wylie's Secretary, "in order that one office bearer should be always on the spot to give directions with the promptness necessary to the institution." In 1820 Wylie resigned, and a new member, A. W. Goldie, offered to do the job *pro tempore*. He was duly confirmed in the appointment, which as usual involved him eventually in the duties of both Secretary and Treasurer, and he held office for thirty-seven years.

The changes in the composition of the Club during the years of his incumbency epitomise the changes in the composition of Edinburgh society which began at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The aristocrats had begun dropping out of the Club by 1820; by 1857 hardly a country gentleman was left, and the Club was almost entirely recruited from the professions. The invitation to Prince Albert to become their patron in 1841 was significant. He was known to be a keen skater, and the motion was carried with acclamation at a Club dinner; motives of loyalty must be supposed to have outweighed any of snobbery, sentimentality or interest, but the Club will have remembered that the only peer they had left was the Earl of Mar, and even his support for the project came by post. In former times they had demonstrated their respect for the framework of society by including all the titled members on their Council, whether they were active skaters or not; now, although they had such local names as Lord Cockburn and Admiral Sir David Milne, they wanted recognition by England as well.

On Prince Albert's death they successfully petitioned the Prince and Princess of Wales to become Patron and Patroness, and soon afterwards, when the nineteen-year-old Prince Alfred was sighted skating on Duddingston Loch, a deputation approached the Palace of Holyroodhouse and he became an honorary member and accepted a Club medal. In 1911 King George V agreed to continue his father's patronage, but firm official discouragement met the idea of applying to add the word "Royal" to the Club's title. The entry in the minutes of the dinner meeting in December, 1887 perhaps better illustrates the Club's sense of proportion in these matters. "After an excellent dinner the President proposed the usual loyal toasts, but was called to order by Sheriff Crichton, who stated that loyal as undoubtedly were all members of the Club, there was one toast which took precedence at their table even before the toast of Her Most Gracious Majesty, namely 'Jack Frost;' accordingly 'Jack Frost' was toasted with becoming solemnity, as Patron Saint of the Club."

Archibald Goldie's resignation from the active duties of the secretaryship was reluctantly

accepted by the Club in 1856, and William Scott Elliot was appointed Joint Secretary. Like all new Secretaries he refurbished the Club's rules and equipment, and also set in train the publication of the Club *History* in 1865, a lilac paper bound booklet, six by four and three quarter inches, with decorated margins, of which four hundred and fifty copies were printed at a cost of £15. 5s. to Mr Grant for printing and £5. 1s. to Messrs W. & R. Chambers for drawing and engraving diagrams. The title page bears a dedication to the Prince and Princess of Wales, and depicts both sides of the Club's medal. The contents include, as well as an outline of the Club's activities and history and the complete list of the members from 1778 to date, a sketch of the members in action in their top hats and an account, with diagrams, of their method of skating and their favourite figures.

There were twenty-seven active members of the Club in 1865, an increase of about ten since the mid-fifties; the interest the Club was showing in its past went with present prosperity. They had their marking balls repainted and bought a new coat for the Officer and a table with shelves for use in the tent at the ice. In 1869 Scott Elliot resigned from the position of Joint Secretary (Mr Goldie was still alive) and was thanked for "the kind gentlemanly and cheerful manner in which he has uniformly exerted himself to provide for the interest and comfort of the Club." He was succeeded by Thomas Paterson, whose eighteen years of "great services" were recognised on his resignation in 1887 by the presentation of a handsome silver cigar box; he remained an active skater, his style being specially mentioned in 1896 when he was sixty-two. His successor as Secretary, Charles Cook, whose interest in the Club's history had caused him to form the collection of medals, found after three years that he had to resign, since "owing to his other engagements he felt himself unable to overtake his duties when there was ice." He seems to have been justified in his plea of lack of time when we read the "charge" which the senior member present delivered to his successor, Charles Stewart. He said "Mr Stewart, in undertaking the important office of Secretary to this Club you have, I am sure, done so with some knowledge of the duties devolving on you and with an earnest and honest determination to fulfil these. It is however incumbent on me to say a few words to you that hereafter if you should be found wanting in attention to the affairs of the Club you may not plead ignorance. With your life in the summer season we have nothing to do, but as a friend I would recommend you to study for a few hours daily such standard works as Monier Williams on the Skate etc, etc. . . . The summer season will however at best be a season to you of dulness and depression. But at the fall of the leaf . . . when our Patron Saint Jack Frost—all honour to his name—appears and binds the earth with iron hand, then you will shake off dull sloth and swift as Mercury hurry hither and thither in quest of suitable ice for the members of this Club to skate on. To do this effectively you will make it a rule to rise during the winter months at say 5 a.m. You will throw open your casement and consult the thermometer placed there. If it indicates a keen frost you will at once dress and proceed to visit Duddingston, Lochend, Royal Gymnasium, Craiglockhart and other lochs and ponds in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh and test the ice. You will be back to your house by 8 a.m. to receive telegrams from Bathgate, Linlithgow, Cobbinshaw, Penicuik etc. at which several places you will have ice correspondents. At 9 a.m. you will send the Club's Officer to members resident in Edinburgh with notice of the place of meeting for the day, so that all may have the information by 10 a.m. at latest. These are the more active duties of the day. The evening you will devote to writing out postcards to members, keeping the Club accounts, arranging for the luncheon for members next day,

interviewing the Officer and such light duties. I may add that during the intervals of thaw you will be at liberty to attend to your professional business, if you so wish it, but this is not compulsory on you in any way."

Charles Stewart carried out these duties for four years, and handed them on in 1895 to David Sang, who was the last of the line of W.S. secretaries unbroken since Henry Jardine (if we except Adam Wylie, whose profession is not known). It was in Sang's period of office that the committee appointed "to investigate the Minutes to make up a history of the Club" reported that "there was nothing of such general interest in the old minutes as would justify the expense of putting them in print."

By the end of the nineteenth century the Club was devoting considerable thought to the question of where to skate. Duddingston they regarded as their true home, although Lochend was always an acceptable alternative; the smaller lochs, Dunsapie and "St. Anthony's" (the loch by St. Anthony's chapel now called St. Margaret's) sometimes provided ice when the larger lochs were unsafe, and in February, 1830 they were reduced to skating on "the ponds." By this time they were already considering improving on nature. At the meeting of 20 January, 1828 "it was suggested that it would be desirable to concert measures with the Curling Club for obtaining a piece of ground in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh which could be overflowed with such a quantity of water as would freeze in the course of one or two nights sufficiently strongly to admit of skating upon it." It was thought it might be possible to find such ground "in the vicinity of the Union Canal," but nothing more was heard of this idea. Again, on 11 January, 1841 "Mr Richardson and the Secretary were requested to enquire whether the field below Fettes Row belonging to Mrs Little Gilmour could be obtained on reasonable terms for the use of the Club as it was considered that the ground could be easily flooded with water of two or three inches depth from the mill lead leading to Canon Mills." No action was taken on this by the Club, and we find them again in 1867 "of opinion . . . that it would be desirable if the Club could procure some place proximate to the new town where a piece of water would readily freeze and be easily flooded." What they wanted was a "practising pond," since skating was becoming very popular and they felt they should keep up a standard appropriate to their name when they did have a chance to appear on Duddingston Loch.

The ground below Fettes Row was eventually developed by Mr Cox, who included in the lay-out of his Royal Patent Gymnasium a curling rink and a skating pond ninety feet long and seventy-five feet broad. In 1871 the Club arranged to rent this pond for their exclusive use at £15 a year, adding £5 to this in 1873 to include season tickets for their members at "Cox's new ponds at Craiglockhart." But the latter arrangement was not repeated the following year, and the lease of the Gymnasium pond was discontinued in 1876, "in consequence of the Club having had so little use of it last season." Cox's ponds, however, remained in operation and the Club continued to use them from time to time. They sometimes used a pond at Mount Vesuvius Grounds, Bonnington Road, for which one of their printed notices survives. In 1881 plans were drawn up for a limited company to construct and manage a skating pond at Roseburn, but nothing came of it.

By 1878 the Club had started making expeditions by train when there was ice on Linlithgow Loch or on flooded ground at Bathgate; telegrams were sent to enquire about the state of the ice from the local station porter or policeman, and a festive party would set out, attended or preceded by the Club Officer with a well-stocked luncheon-basket. Occasional

expeditions were also made to Penicuik, Larbert, Cobbinshaw and Loch Leven. By leaving their home ground the Club met the skating public in greater numbers than before, and their devotion to tradition gave rise to some embarrassment. In December, 1884 "It was stated by some of the older members present that it had been the invariable custom of the Club to appear in tall hats at such meetings [on the ice], and on the other hand it was represented by some of the younger members that tall hats were inconvenient and out of fashion for such exercise as skating, and subjected them to the jeering smiles of their friends and onlookers. After considerable discussion it was resolved that the present practice of wearing tall hats should be continued when the Club meets at Duddingston, but that at meetings elsewhere the members may wear any covering they choose." The illustration on the menu card for their dinner the next year shows that they took advantage of this concession to turn to that relatively informal headgear, the bowler.

The Club continued to skate at Duddingston whenever there was good ice, the last recorded occasion being in 1903; it became too difficult and expensive, especially after the outbreak of the First World War, to hire labour to sweep the ice if snow fell, as it so often does in Edinburgh after a few days of frost have raised the hopes of outdoor skaters. The records of Edinburgh weather in the nineteenth century show it to have been as variable as in this; many winters passed with no chance of skating, or during which the ice was watched without success. There was a period in the eighteen thirties and forties when skating was very infrequent, but in the second half of the century there was ice, even if only for a few days, nearly every winter, and from 1879 to 1881 there was skating for several weeks each season. It has been possible to skate out of doors near Edinburgh about as often in recent years as in the Skating Club's time, but not on Duddingston Loch since the bird sanctuary was instituted in 1923. In any case very few skaters go out to look for natural ice now that a perfect surface is available indoors, with the added advantage of perfect safety, though without the exhilaration of a fine frosty winter's day.

Artificially frozen ice in indoor rinks had begun to be a practical possibility in the 1880's when a 'Glaciarium' was opened at Southport. Members of the Club visited this, and also the one which was formed in Glasgow in 1896. But the opening of the Haymarket ice rink in Edinburgh in 1911 was not of much avail to the Club; it was impossible to reserve an area big enough to do the combined figures without interruption, since they required the whole breadth of the rink. The Club still pinned their faith on Jack Frost, and embarked on what turned out to be a financially disastrous undertaking at Craiglockhart. In order to have exclusive use of some ice they took over from the Curling Club the lease of the two upper ponds (which they threw into one) and thus became liable not only for the rent and such maintenance costs as cutting weeds and repairing the clubhouse, but also for rates, parish assessment and income tax. There was an unfortunate series of winters with no frost to speak of; new members were not attracted and the reserves of the Club became exhausted; finally in 1921 the members who had guaranteed the lease, and who had already made considerable contributions, were able to terminate it at a cost of about £10 each.

In spite of the decision to admit women to membership, taken in 1910, the Club began to decline even before 1914, and by 1924 when G. Buckland Green, a master at the Edinburgh Academy who had succeeded David Sang as Secretary in 1907, resigned, the Club was practically moribund. The cost and difficulty of finding a large enough area for the combined figures were partly the reason, but the real trouble was that the Club had identified itself so

closely for so many years with combined figure skating that it was doomed to extinction when that form of skating died. The Club's last Secretary, D. Alan Stevenson, worked hard to revive it, and in the 1920's and 1930's competitions for young skaters were sponsored; the fostering of talent up to modern competition standards, however, was beyond the scope of a Club whose charm lay in its small size, intimate atmosphere, and truly amateur approach. The Club was active to some extent when Mr Stevenson found a way to arrange meets of the Club to perform the figures on Sunday mornings at the Haymarket Rink before the Winter Club met, from 1927 until the war put a stop to it in 1939. In 1927 the decision had been taken that "in future in admitting new members . . . special consideration should be given to those who already had a tie or link with the Club. It was agreed that this would assist greatly in continuing such an historic Club." But such a measure contains in itself the seeds of decay. After the war the Club did not meet again.

APPENDIX I

Membership

This list of members of the Club has been compiled from the "List of part of the Members of the Skating Society made up from memory by a quorum of the Society in January 1778, when Mr Wm. Anderson was at Bath" (numbers one to thirty-nine), and from the admissions noted by successive secretaries from 1784 onwards. Names and designations are as given in the Minute Books; additional information, from various sources including the Minute Books, is in *italic*, and dates of admission are in square brackets.

- 1 Commissioner Clerk Maxwell. 1715-84; *Commissioner of Customs; see Dictionary of National Biography; brother of 33 and 36.*
- 2 Captain John Clerk. *d. 1798; son of 1.*
- 3 Mr fraser Scott of Beechwood. *Altered in pencil to 'Francis'; b. 1732; merchant in India.*
- 4 Mr William Waite of Castlelaw.
- 5 Mr John McKenzie of Dolphinstone. 1748-88; *advocate.*
- 6 Mr Gilbert Innes of Stow. 1751-1832; *Deputy Governor of the Royal Bank.*
- 7 Mr francis Anderson W. Signet. 1747-1823; *see John Kay, "Original Portraits" (1877) vol. II, pp. 241-2.*
- 8 Mr Willm. Grant Advocate. *Of Congalton; advocate, 1773; d. 1821.*
- 9 Mr Matthew Sandilands W.S. W.S. 1779; *d. 1821.*
- 10 Mr Adam Ogilvie Advocate. 1746-1809.
- 11 Mr Alexr. Anderson Merchant. *Burgess and Gild Brother, 1772; ? brother of 44.*
- 12 Mr John Pringle Advocate. 1741-1811; *see Kay, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 289-90.*
- 13 Mr Hugh Warrander Writer. W.S. 1798; *d. 1820.*
- 14 Mr Robt. Sinclair Advocate. *Advocate, 1762; d. 1802.*
- 15 Mr James Brown Architect. 1729-1807; *see Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vols. XIX, p. 79 and XXVI, passim.*
- 16 Mr John fforest Merchant. *Son of John Forest, Master of the Merchant Company; B. & G. B., 1767.*
- 17 Mr Joseph Baird Writer. *Not in W.S. list; James B., Writer, Nicolson's Square, appears in the 1777-8 Edinburgh Directory.*

- 18 Capt. Andw. Wauchop of Niddry. *b. after 1735; served at battle of Minden, 1759; father of 132.*
- 19 Mr Patrick Miller Banker. 1731-1815; *of Dalswinton after 1785; see D.N.B.*
- 20 Mr Alexr. McLeod of Moravonside. *Muiravonside; advocate, 1743; engaged in rising of 1745, pardoned, 1778; d. 1784.*
- 21 Mr James Rae Surgeon. 1716-91; *Kay, op. cit., vol I, p. 424.*
- 22 Mr John McGowan Writer. *Not in W.S. list; Kay, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 416.*
- 23 Mr Willm. Tytler W. Signet. *Of Woodhouselee; 1711-92; historian, see D.N.B.*
- 24 Mr Nisbet of Dirlton. *William N., 1728-83; engaged in Rising of 1745.*
- 25 Mr John Balfour Bookseller. 1715-95; *son of James B. of Pilrig; see B.O.E.C., vol. XIX, p. 47.*
- 26 Mr John Loch. *Of Rachan in Peebleshire; 1734-1822.*
- 27 Mr David Stewart of Dargenie. 1744-1823; *W.S.*
- 28 Mr Wm. Riddell W. Signet. 1746-1829.
- 29 Mr Ramsay Slater. *Either Alexander, who d. 1787, or his son James, who d. 1797; Treasurer, 1784-6; see B.O.E.C., vol. XIX, p. 57.*
- 30 Mr Willm. Anderson W. Signet. W.S. 1774; *Secretary till 1784; d. 1785.*
- 31 Mr Broughton of the Excise. *Edward, Accountant of Excise, Fountainbridge; father of 123 and 124.*
- 32 Mr Copland of Collieston. 1736-1808; *advocate; married sister of 69.*
- 33 Mr John Clerk of Elden. 1728-1812; *see D.N.B.; brother of 1 and 36.*
- 34 Mr Willm. Dick of Prestonfield. 1762-96; *from 1785, 4th baronet; son of 64.*
- 35 Major White. *Later in Minutes, 'Colonel.'*
- 36 Sir James Clerk of Pennyquick. 1710-82; *3rd baronet; brother of 1 and 33.*
- 37 Mr George Clerk Advocate. *? son of 1 but d. 1776.*
- 38 Mr James Clerk. *Son of 1; Honourable East India Company Service; d. 1793.*
- 39 Mr John Anstruther Advocate. 1751-1818.
- 40 Sir Andw. Lauder Dick Bart. *6th of Fountainhall and Grange; d. 1820. [19th January, 1778].*
- 41 Mr Wm. Adam M.P. 1751-1839; *later Rt. Hon. Chief Commissioner of Jury Court; nephew of 33; see D.N.B. [as 40].*
- 42 Mr John Anstruther M.P. 1753-1811; *from 1799 4th baronet; not M.P. till 1783. [as 40].*
- 43 Mr Ed. Bruce W.S. W.S. 1780; *d. 1804. [as 40].*
- 44 Mr Pat Anderson W.S. 1755-1809. *[as 40].*
- 45 Rev. Mr Walker of Crammond. *Robert, 1755-1808; minister of Canongate Church from 1783. [January, 1780].*
- 46 Mr John Rae Surgeon. *Son of 21; see Kay, op. cit., Vols. I, p. 237 and II, p. 283; Secretary, 1784-8; d. 1808. [as 45].*
- 47 Mr Jas. Pringle Torwoodlee. *9th of Torwoodlee; d. 1840. [as 45].*
- 48 Mr Jos. Williamson. *? Joseph W., junior, son of Joseph W., advocate, of Leven Lodge. [as 45].*
- 49 Mr John Dundas W.S. W.S. 1769; *Conjunct Town Clerk, 1771; d. 1816. [as 45].*
- 50 Capt. Wm. Cullen — Regt. *[as 45].*
- 51 Sir Jas. Hall Baronet. *Of Dinglass; 1754-1832; see D.N.B. [5th December, 1782].*
- 52 Mr Robt. Hope Writer. *Not a W.S. and not in the Directory. [as 51].*
- 53 Capt. Wm. Balfour 57th Regt. 1756-1811; *son of 25. [as 51].*
- 54 Capt. Hen. Stewart of Allinton. *[as 51].*
- 55 Mr Archd. Tod W. Signet. 1756-1816. *[as 51].*
- 56 Doctor James Hamilton. 1749-1836; *see Kay, op. cit., vol. II, p. 79. [as 51].*
- 57 Capt. P. Tytler Ed. Regt. *? son of 23. [7th December, 1782].*
- 58 Dr. B. Kissam from America. *Graduated M.D., Edinburgh, 1783. [30th January, 1784].*
- 59 Mr Ben. Mudie Writer. *Not a W.S. [as 58].*
- 60 Mr Thos. White of Manchr. *[as 58].*
- 61 Capt. Alexr. Arbutnot Edr. Regt. *[as 58].*
- 62 Mr John Bell of Todrig. *[as 58].*
- 63 Mr David Williamson. 1761-1837; *advocate; later Lord Balgray. [as 58].*
- 64 Sir Alexr. Dick. 1703-85; *3rd bart.; see D.N.B.; elected 'Praeses,' 30th January, 1784.*

- 65 Mr John Dick. 1767-1812; 6th bart.; made honorary member, along with 66, 30th January, 1784.
- 66 Mr Robt. Dick. 1773-1849; 7th bart.; see 65; formally admitted, 22nd December, 1814.
- 67 Mr Matthew Henderson. 1737-88; Burns wrote an elegy on his death (1790). [December, 1784].
- 68 His Grace J. Duke of Athol. 1755-1830; 4th Duke. [11th December, 1784].
- 69 Sir Geo. Dunbar of Mochrum Bart. b. after 1760, d. 1799; brother-in-law of 32. [as 68].
- 70 Coll. Alexr. Campbell Monzie. 1751-1832; Of Monzie and Finnab. [13th December, 1784].
- 71 Mr Henry Jardine. 1766-1851; W.S.; King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, 1820-31; knighted, 1825; Secretary, 1789-1809. [as 70].
- 72 Lieut. Hay of the Engineers. [as 70].
- 73 Mr Willm. Anderson Junr. W.S., 1791; d. 1796; [as 70].
- 74 Mr Walter Riddell of the Carss. ? younger brother of Robert Riddell of Friars Carse, b. 1764. [as 70].
- 75 Mr Wm. Montgomery. Younger of Stanhope; d. 1800; elder brother of 76. [14th December 1784].
- 76 Mr Jas. Montgomery. 1766-1839; advocate; 2nd. bart. of Stanhope. [as 75].
- 77 Captain Kerr 43rd Regt. Charles K. [as 75].
- 78 Capt. Farquharson. [as 75].
- 79 Earl of Morton. 1761-1827; 15th Earl. [22nd December, 1784].
- 80 Coll. Pringle Edgefield. [as 79].
- 81 Major Erskine. [as 79].
- 82 Mr Thomas Trotter. W.S., 1789; d. 1837; Secretary, 1789-91. [as 79].
- 83 Earl of Breadalbane. 1762-1834; 4th Earl; see Kay, op. cit., vol. II, p. 232. [24th December, 1784].
- 84 Lord Haddow. 1764-91; eldest son of the Earl of Aberdeen. [as 83].
- 85 Lord Daer. 1763-94; eldest son of Lord Selkirk. [as 83].
- 86 Sir John Scott Ancrum. 5th bart.; d. 1814. [as 83].
- 87 Mr John Leslie Leven. Later, 'Honble. Mr Leslie.' [as 83].
- 88 Mr Geo. Gordon Hawhead. 1761-1823; advocate. [as 83].
- 89 Mr Anderson Leith. [as 83].
- 90 Mr James White. Of Leith. [as 83].
- 91 Capt. Adam Hay. [as 83].
- 92 Mr Campbell Auchalader. 25th December, 1784.
- 93 Mr Archd. Douglass. Not a W.S., but a 'Writer' in Directory. [2nd January, 1786].
- 94 Revd. Mr fienwick. '2, Hill Street', Directory, 1786.
- 95 Mr Andw. Bonnar. Partner in Ramsay Bonar and Co. and director of Bank of Scotland. [admitted in 1784, but displaced in list].
- 96 David Anderson Esqr. St. Germain's. [January, 1789].
- 97 James Anderson Esqr. of Clerkinton. [as 96].
- 98 James Dewar of Vogrie Esqr. [as 96].
- 99 Mr James Gibson W. Signet. 1765-1850; from 1831, Sir James Gibson-Craig. [as 96].
- 100 Hon. Andrew Forbes. ? 3rd son of 16th Lord Forbes; d. 1808. [December, 1791].
- 101 Mr John Thomson of Charlestown. ? John Anstruther T., son-in-law of 41. [as 100].
- 102 Mr James Clerk Advocate. 1763-1831; later Clerk-Rattray. [as 100].
- 103 Lieut. Francis Lascelles 3rd Dragoons. [January, 1792].
- 104 Mr William Millar of ye Oxford Blues. Major in 1808. [as 103].
- 105 Mr Willm. Haggart Wine Merchant. With 106, he was joint secretary of the Royal Caledonian Hunt Club. [as 103].
- 106 Mr Henry Hagart. See 105. [as 103].
- 107 Dr. James Home. 1760-1844; Professor of the Practice of Physic, Edinburgh University. [as 103].
- 108 Mr Monro Binning. ? David Monro B. of Softlaw. [as 103].
- 109 Mr Jas. Bruce Wine Merchant. [4th January, 1795].
- 110 Mr Gilbert Laing Mercht. Later, Laing Meason. [as 109].

- 111 A. M. Guthrie W.S. Not a W.S., but so listed in Directory of 1796. [13th December, 1796].
- 112 David Smith Younger of Methven. 1775-98; officer in Guards. [as 111].
- 113 William Murray Esq. Yr. of Polmaise. 1773-1847; advocate. [as 111].
- 114 John Hamilton of the Customs. [as 111].
- 115 Thomas Johnstone Advocate. 1773-1841; [as 111].
- 116 Robt. Hunter Younr. of Thurston. 1774-1808; advocate. [as 111].
- 117 Chas. T. Stewart Esq. [as 111].
- 118 John Campbell Tertius W.S. W.S., 1792; d. 1855. [as 111].
- 119 Sir George Mackenzie Bart. of Coull. 1780-1848; later, Stewart Mackenzie. [12th February, 1799].
- 120 Captain — Bruce of Kennet. ? Ralph, a son of Lord Kennet, d. 1854, as Lt.-Colonel. [as 119].
- 121 John Reed Esq. Advocate. 1775-1811. [28th December, 1801].
- 122 Thomas Scott Esq. W.S. 1774-1823; brother of Sir Walter S. [as 121].
- 123 Charles Broughton Esq. W.S. W.S., 1799; d. 1823; son of 31. [as 121].
- 124 Hugh Broughton Esq. of the Excise. d. c. 1816; brother of 123. [as 121].
- 125 Henry Cockburn Esq. Advocate. 1779-1854; Lord Cockburn. [as 121].
- 126 Kenneth Mackenzie of Dolphinton Esq. Advocate. Advocate, 1797; d. 1805; son of 5. [as 121].
- 127 John Meek Esq. W.S. Of Fortissat, Lanarkshire; W.S., 1791; d. 1845. [as 121].
- 128 Peter Stewart Esq. Of Auchlunkart; also called Patrick, and Steuart and Capt. P. Stuart (1809); b. 1780. [as 121].
- 129 Rev. Mr Bennet Minister of Duddingstone. 1763-1805; father-in-law of 140. [as 121].
- 130 William Ballentine Esq. W.S. W.S., 1801; d. 1827. [as 121].
- 131 James Balfour Esq. jun. Of Pilrig; 1774-1860; W.S. [as 121].
- 132 William Wauchope Esq. Younger of Niddry. Son of 18. [as 121].
- 133 Charles Knowles Robison Esq. W.S. 1781-1846; Secretary, 1809-14. [1804].
- 134 George Burnet Esq. [as 133].
- 135 Captain Milne Royal Navy. 1763-1845; later Admiral Sir David Milne. [as 133].
- 136 Mr A. Torry Merchant. Alexander T., tailor and furnisher, 13, Rose Street—Directory, 1826. [February, 1808]. 'Alexander' is his Christian name in the Minutes; Hogg, in the 'Noctes' (above p. 102) seems to confuse him with Archibald Torry, cloth merchant, of 32 Princes Street.
- 137 Mr James Simpson Advocate. 1780-1853; Secretary and Treasurer, 1813-19; author of "A visit to the Field of Waterloo." [as 136].
- 138 William Douglas Esq. Advocate. Advocate, 1806; M.P. for Plympton, d. 1821. [28th December 1808].
- 139 Hugh Robison Esq. Merchant. "From St. Petersburg" in Minutes. [as 138].
- 140 Wm. Clark Esq. W.S. 1777-1863; m. daughter of 129. [as 136].
- 141 Wm. Johnstone Esq. W.S. 1780-1828. [as 136].
- 142 Thos. Megget Esq. W.S. W.S., 1804; d. 1864. [as 136].
- 143 Geo. Wauchope Esq. Mercht. Wine merchant in Leith; a son of 18. [as 136].
- 144 Andw. Murray Esq. Advocate. 1782-1847. [as 136].
- 145 Gilbert Young Esq. Commissary General in Scotland. Commissioned, 1805; half-pay, 1821. [24th January, 1809].
- 146 Robt. Jamieson Esq. Mercht. Leith. [as 145].
- 147 Wm. Rose Robinson Esq. Advocate. 1781-1834; [as 145].
- 148 James Lamy, Esq. Advocate. Or L' Amy; 1772-1854. [as 145].
- 149 A. Hepburn Mitchelson Esq. Of Middleton; b. c. 1765; d. by 1814. [25th February, 1809].
- 150 William Fettes Esq. Advocate. 1787-1813. [20th January, 1812].
- 151 John Kennedy Esq. W.S. 1785-1862. [as 150].
- 152 Adam Wylie. Secretary, 1816-20. [1st December, 1813].
- 153 Patrick Small Keir Esq. Advocate. 1782-1860. [26th January, 1814].
- 154 John Colquhoun Esq. Advocate. Advocate, 1806; d. 1854. [as 153].
- 155 Wm. Wood Esq. Surgeon. 1783-1858; President, Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 1820 and 1830. [as 153].

- 156 Sir George Clerk Bart. M.P. 1787-1867; 6th bart.; nephew of 2 and son of 38. [22nd December, 1814].
 [No number] Sir Robert Dick Bart.—see 66. [as 156].
 157 Sir Patrick Walker. *Advocate*, 1798; knighted, 1814; d. 1837. [as 156].
 158 Gabriel Hamilton Dundas of Duddingston Esq. d. 1854. [as 156].
 159 Lt.-Col. Dugald Little Gilmour 95th. Regt. *Major General Sir Dugald, K.C.B.* [as 156].
 160 George Cleghorn of Weens Esq. W.S., 1804; d. 1855. [10th February, 1815].
 161 Patrick Fraser Tytler Esq. Adv.[ocate]. 1791-1849; grandson of 23. [14th February, 1816].
 162 J. F. M. Erskine Esq. 1st Foot Guards. 1795-1866; later 15th Earl of Mar; his mother was a daughter of 19. [14th December, 1816].
 163 Elias Cathcart Esq. *Advocate*. d. 1877; brother of 170; see B.O.E.C., vol. XXXI. [4th February, 1818].
 164 Chas. Murdoch Adair Esqr. W.S., 1819; d. 1823. [18th December, 1818].
 165 Archd. W. Goldie Esq. W.S., 1818; *Secretary*, 1820-57; *Joint Secretary*, 1857-69. [28th November, 1820].
 166 Francis Grant Esquire. 1803-78; *President of the Royal Scottish Academy*. [14th December, 1822].
 167 Charles Shaw Esq. Leith. [18th January, 1823].
 168 William Wood Esq. Leith. [as 167].
 169 Wm. C. Dick Esq. Prestonfield. Later "Sir W. C. Dick Cunnyngame Bart"; 1808-71. [14th February, 1826].
 170 David Cathcart Esq. W.S. W.S., 1822; d. 1867; brother of 163. [as 169].
 171 Jas. Gibson Thomson Esq. *Mercht*. Edinr. [as 169].
 172 Thos. Thomson Esqr. Duddingston. ? son of Rev. John T. of D., 1802-73; graduated M.D., *Edinburgh*, 1827. [as 169].
 173 James Stein Esqr. *Mercht*. *Edinburgh*. [4th February, 1826].
 174 John Richardson Esq. W.S. 1799-1876. [22nd January, 1829].
 175 George Glover Esqr. *Surgeon*. [as 174].
 176 Harry Inglis Esq. W.S. *Later Maxwell Inglis*; 1800-83. [as 174].
 177 David Cannan Esq. *Surgeon*. [as 174].
 178 Wm. Down Gillon Esq. of Wallhouse. 1801-46; M.P. [29th December, 1830].
 179 John Jopp Esq. W.S. 1805-57. [30th December, 1830].
 180 Peter Anderson Esq. 1803-55; W.S. [29th January, 1831].
 181 Henry Hagart Esq. [18th January, 1833].
 182 Lewis Hay Thatcher Esq. *Edinburgh medical graduate*, 1843. [16 January, 1838].
 183 James L. Woodman Esq. W.S. 1811-56. [9th January, 1841].
 184 William Scott Elliott Esq. W.S. 1811-1901; *Secretary*, 1856-69. [11th January, 1841].
 185 George More Esq. W.S. 1816-99; from 1863, *More Gordon*. [as 184].
 186 James Macknight Esq. W.S. 1810-78. [as 184].
 187 Charles M. Kerr Esq. *Mercht*. Leith. [as 184].
 188 Thomas Cowan Esq. M.D. Leith. *Edinburgh Medical graduate*, 1839. [as 184].
 189 George Forman Esq. 1817-46. [14th January, 1841].
 190 James Alison Esq. *Merchant*. Leith. [as 189].
 191 James Balfour Junior Esq. 1815-98; W.S.; *Balfour-Melville* from 1893. [25th December, 1841].
 192 George A. Haig Esq. Bonington. 1805-98; *distiller*. [8th February, 1842].
 193 John Kennedy Junior Esq. 1816-1902; son of 151. [17th February, 1843].
 194 John Gibson Esq. *Of Stobwood*; d. 1849. [10th February, 1847].
 195 Thomas Allen Esq. *Printer and publisher in Edinburgh*. [31st January, 1848].
 196 Andrew Gillon Esq. of Wallhouse. 1823-88; son of 178. [9th January, 1850].
 197 John Anthony Macrae Esq. W.S. 1812-68. [21st February, 1853].
 198 Capt. A. C. Robertson 8th. Regt. b. 1816; *General*, 1870. [as 197].
 199 Wm. Skinner Esq. W.S. 1823-1901. [5th January, 1854].
 200 Wm. C. Miller Esq. *Royal Institution*. Also "Fishery Board" (Minutes). [as 199].

- 201 Peter Waddell Esq. Leith. [14th January, 1854].
 202 Dr Myrtle. *John Young M.*; *medical graduate*, *Edinburgh*, 1833. [28th February, 1855].
 203 Aw. Jameson. 1811-70; *advocate*. [as 202].
 204 Adam Gifford. 1820-87; *advocate*; *Lord Gifford*, 1870. [28th February, 1856].
 205 A. Beatson Bell. 1831-1913; *advocate*. [as 204].
 206 Dr. Easton. [3rd December, 18--].
 207 Henry G. Gibson. 1827-69; W.S. [9th January, 1860].
 208 David Scott Moncrieff. 1829-1918; W.S. [13th February, 1860].
 209 W. A. Goldie. [10th January, 1861].
 210 C. T. Cooper. 1831-1910; *advocate*. [9th January, 1864].
 211 David S. Macfie. *Of Kilmux, Kennoway*. [as 210].
 212 John Nisbet. "Photographer" (Minutes). [as 210].
 213 A. Borthwick. b. 1839; 60th. *Rifles*; *Col. by 1884*. [as 210].
 214 T. H. Orphoot. 1835-1917; *advocate*. [as 210].
 215 John M. Crabbie. *merchant*, *Leith*. [13th January, 1864].
 216 James A. Crichton. 1825-91; *advocate*. [20th February, 1866].
 217 Frans. Deas. 1839-74; *advocate*. [as 216].
 218 M. Mongomerie Bell. 1840-1917; W.S. [as 216].
 219 Thos. Paterson. 1834-1911; W.S.; *Secretary*, 1869-87. [as 216].
 220 R. D. Balfour. 'J, Rutland St.' (Minutes). [as 216].
 221 W. C. Murray. b. 1837; W.S. [as 216].
 222 David Sang. 1838-83; W.S. [as 216].
 223 Capt. Graham. '10, Moray Place' (Minutes). [as 216].
 224 John Maitland. *Either John M.* ? 1841-1922, *advocate*, or *John Gordon M.* 1848-84. [6th February, 1871].
 225 Sir Walter Simpson Bart. 1843-98; *advocate*. [as 224].
 226 John Kirkpatrick. 1836-1926; *advocate*. [as 224].
 227 Joseph Gillon Fergusson. 1848-1908; W.S. [as 224].
 228 J. B. Harvey. 'Schaw Park Alloa' (Minutes). [as 224].
 229 John Moxon. '93a George St.' (Minutes). [as 224].
 230 Lord Rosehill. 1843-91; 9th Earl of Northesk, from 1878. [as 224].
 231 James Tod. [23rd December, 1870].
 232 A. R. Duncan. 1844-1927; *advocate*. [6th December, 1873].
 233 Fleeming Jenkin. 1833-85; *first Professor of Engineering*, *Edinburgh University*. [8th February, 1873].
 234 Charles E. Stewart. 'Accountant' (Minutes). [as 233].
 235 Robert L. Murray. 'C.A., Gt. King St.' (Minutes). [7th January, 1879].
 236 Charles A. Stevenson. 1856-1950; *civil engineer*. [as 235].
 237 J. Y. Myrtle. 'Merchant, Rutland St.' (Minutes); ? son of 202. [as 235].
 238 Alex. Blair Stewart. '23, Maitland St.' (Minutes). [1st February, 1879].
 239 Charles Cook. 1850-1922; *Secretary*, 1887-91 [as 238].
 240 David A. Stevenson. d. 1938; *civil engineer*; brother of 236. [as 238].
 241 Findlay B. Anderson. *Chartered Accountant*. [7th December, 1880].
 242 Andrew Williamson. 'killed by stag' (pencil note in list). [22nd January, 1881].
 243 George Kerr. d. 1924; M.D. [as 242].
 244 Austin F. Jenkin. *Son of 233*. [as 242].
 245 Charles Stewart. 1852-1927; W.S.; g.-grandson of 117; *Secretary*, 1891-5. [9th January, 1886].
 246 Robert Scott-Moncrieff. 1862-1923; W.S.; son of 208. [18th December, 1886].
 247 James Rankine. [4th January, 1888].
 248 Harry J. Stevenson. *Corrected to 'Harvey' in pencil*; b. 1867; W.S. [7th December, 1889].
 249 John H. Sang W.S. 1861-1936; *Secretary*, 1895-1907. [14th January, 1892].
 250 Andrew Pearson W.S. 1866-1921. [as 249].
 251 J. M. Dickson W.S. 1852-1920. [6th January, 1893].

- 252 G. B. Green. *d.* 1927; *master at E. Academy; Secretary, 1907-24.* [31st January, 1895].
 253 J. Condie S. Sandeman Advocate. 1866-1933. [18th December, 1901].
 254 J. H. Raeburn. *d.* 1922; 'mountaineer' (Minutes). [as 253].
 255 J. J. Waugh W.S. *b.* 1864. [as 253].
 256 J. B. Stevenson. [13th December, 1906].
 257 Prof. F. G. Baily. 1868-1945. [10th December, 1908].
 258 A. W. Hudson. *Master at Fettes College.* [6th December, 1910].
 259 R. F. Cumberlege. *Master at Fettes College.* [as 258].
 260 C. F. Tremlett. *Master at Fettes College.* [as 258].
 261 H. H. Cooke. [as 258].
 262 T. B. Franklin. [as 258].
 263 J. Harper Orr. *b.* 1878; *advocate.* [as 258].
 264 W. F. Finlay. *b.* 1868; *W.S.* [as 258].
 265 Mrs R. F. Cumberlege. [as 258].
 266 Mrs C. F. Tremlett. [as 258].
 267 John Cook W.S. *b.* 1880; *nephew of 240.* [21st December, 1910].
 268 Mrs W. H. Coats. 'Of Paisley' (Minutes). [27th February, 1911].
 269 P. M. Campbell. [3rd April, 1912].
 270 Miss E. M. Stevenson. *Mrs Yeoman; daughter of 236.* [31st March, 1921].
 271 D. Alan Stevenson. *Civil engineer; son of 236; Secretary, 1924-66.* [as 270].
 272 Miss M. Scott-Moncrieff. *Lady Sorn.* [as 270].
 273 Mrs Deas. *Later Mrs Smith.* [as 270].
 274 Mrs Ingram. *Daughter of 250.* [20th December, 1922].
 275 Archibald Blair W.S. [17th December, 1924].
 276 C. W. Ingram. [as 275].
 277 Lt. Com. T. Yeoman R.N. [21st December, 1927].
 278 I. H. Bowhill. *British skating champion.* [as 277].
 279 Mrs J. Crabbie. [October, 1928].
 280 William Blair W.S. *Brother of 275.* [as 279].
 281 G. L. Auldjo Jamieson. [as 279].
 282 Patrick Keith Murray W.S. *b.* 1878. [as 279].
 283 Miss Fairlie Cadell. *Mrs Chitty; niece of 243.* [as 279].
 284 Mrs Edwin R. Moncrieff. [as 279].
 285 W. Gray Muir W.S. [as 279].
 286 Mrs J. S. Richardson. *Daughter of 236.* [as 279].
 287 Iver Salvesen. [as 279].
 288 Mrs James Rankine. [November, 1928].
 289 Sir Francis Tudsbery. [December, 1928].
 290 Mrs A. M. Thomas. [December, 1931].
 291 Stewart Rankine. [February, 1933].
 292 David A. G. Pearson. [March, 1933].
 293 Miss Bethia Keith Murray. *Mrs Harding Edgar.* [January, 1934].
 294 Norman Pearson. [as 293].
 295 Paul Harding Edgar. [November, 1935].
 296 John R. Ingram. [as 295].
 297 Miss Honor Rankine. [December, 1935].
 298 Mrs Harper Orr. [January, 1939].

299 Thomas Hogg. *c.* 1720-84; a merchant and an Edinburgh baillie, his son-in-law was William Scott-Moncrieff, in whose family his medal has descended; his membership is known only from the medal (see pl. 7), possibly he was no longer a skater when the 1778 list was compiled.

APPENDIX II

Directions for the Officer and for the watchers; an inventory of Club property (1815), and of the saving apparatus.

Notes have been added in square brackets.

Directions for the Officer

(A copy of which he always keeps in his small Book)

I He must always know the state of the ice at both Lochs, both during the frost and succeeding thaw, till quite melted. And he must call on the Secretary and Treasurer every evening during that time.

II Placards to be posted up, by ten in the morning, on days when the Club are to be out, at the places following, and in the following order,

1. Manners & Millers' booksellers. [208, High St.]
2. Thomson's Gunsmiths. [9, Parliament Sq.]
3. Parliament House.
4. End of Dyke North end Mound.
5. Royal Hotel. [53, Princes St.]
6. Dyke down to W. Church. [St. Cuthbert's.]
7. Tontine George Street.
8. Assembly Rooms Ditto.
9. Wall from Fredr. Str. to H. Row. [Heriot Row]
10. Ditto from Hanr. St. to Ditto. [Hanover St.]
11. Dyke opposite head Duke St.
12. China shop opposite Corri's rooms. [Leith Walk]
13. New Club St. Andw. Sq.
14. Fortune's Coffee room. [15, Princes St.]
15. Morton's Jewellers. [10, Princes St.]
16. Post Office. [Waterloo Place]
17. Marshall's Jewellers S. Bridge.
18. McKay Ditto.
19. College.
20. McLeod Skate Makers. [College St.]
21. Bristo Str. at Lothian Str.

[many of these were subsequently scored out in pencil, leaving only 3, 4, 9, 10, 13, 18, 19, 20.]

III When Snow is to be swept, by order of the Secretary or Treasurer, he must start by eight in the morning with the number of hands ordered (about 30) and superintend the sweeping. The Sweepers to be hired in Edinr.; and each to carry out his own Shovel or Broom.

IV To place, on sweeping days, a trusty person with the Subscription Box; and to bring it to the Treasurer the same night; being answerable for it's safety. To be sure to send it from the ice before dark.

V To pitch the Tent regularly when the Club is out; and lodge it safely, for the night, at Duddingston or Lochend.

VI When given out to him he is to be answerable for every article of the Club's property, till it is returned to the Secretary or Treasurer at the end of the Season. To replace it when lost or destroyed thro' his neglect, and to give notice when it is out of repair. He will have an inventory which will always be forthcoming to the office bearers of the Club. In the end of the season he will compare the Articles with the Inventory.

VII He may sell refreshments on his own account, both inside and outside the tent; but must always be ready in case called away on Club duty, which he is to consider his principal duty when at the ice. He will attend to the Band of Music, when out, and will be paid for their Refreshment; and for anything taken either by Members of the Club or others.

VIII He is to be at the command of the office bearers for all Club duty. But he is to levy the quota money only when required by the Treasurer, who may employ and pay another person for that duty when he sees fit.

IX He will receive from the club funds Five pounds annually in full of all demands, or Five shillings every day he attends the Club at the ice. He will be allowed a consideration for an assistant, not exceeding 2/6 a day when out, and that in the discretion of the Treasurer. The latter will likewise judge what is extra labour which he may order, such as cart hire etc. (N.B. £5 as Salary taken. No allowance for Assistant) [see p. 110.]

X He shall keep a separate book, in which he will enter all outlay by himself on account of the Club; distinguishing each day; which he will bring for settlement with the treasurer at least once a week.

XI By resolution of the Club, he may claim, as a perquisite to himself, two shillings and sixpence from every member of the Club, who either comes to the ice without his medal, or does not put it on there, at the time he puts on his skates, or does not wear it all the time he skates.

XII When at the Ice with the Club, he will be ready to assist any person whatever who may fall into the water.

He will learn the use of the Saving apparatus. To look for no gratuity from the Club for this duty.

He will immediately on arriving at the ice, lay down the saving rope round the loch, hang up the warning boards, and place the saving apparatus. For the safety of all these articles, (of which he likewise has an Inventory,) he will be answerable; so that he may always see them in safe hands, and safely lodged each night at Duddingston or Lochend. N.B. The officer's small book contains directions for pitching the tent; to prevent confusion and delay.

The Street placards are so framed, that new ones are only necessary when the Club go to the other Loch; when the placards are covered with the new ones. Of course they are changed at any rate every new frost.

XIII If the Officer takes the option of a salary—No allowance is made to his assistant. The Profits of the tent have been found more than compensating the officer.

It has been found necessary to have the watchman attending the saving apparatus altho' the officer is out, as he cannot attend to his other duties and the watching besides.

After the ice is strong, the watchman is not needed.

A man is also stationed with the subscription box.

Directions for the persons who watch the Ice
at both Lochs

1. To watch the ice at Duddingston (or Lochend) from daylight till dark, for the two or three first days of every hard frost; and the second day of the succeeding thaw; provided the ice has born, and the Club been out.

2. To call at the house of the Treasurer or Secretary, by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 in the morning of the first day; and every evening during the watching.—When he will be paid (as may be agreed— $\frac{3}{4}$ - a day was allowed,—but 2/- enough).

3. On arriving at the Loch, he will first hang up the warning boards, and then put the tarred saving rope round the ice, or such part as is frozen. He will watch the whole day, and prevent boys from going on; or in any way injuring the ice with stones or rubbish. If he is off his post for a moment, or any stones are thrown on, he will neither be paid nor again employed,—or if he does not keep sober.

4. He will be ready to give immediate assistance to any one who falls into the ice, with the tarred Saving rope and other apparatus. The latter renders himself perfectly safe, so that he may go at once up to the spot of the accident. For this however he is to have no additional allowance from the Club.

5. He will safely lodge the tarred rope and apparatus (at the Farmer's at Lochend or in Sir R. Dick's aisle at Duddingston) each night; and be answerable for it's safety when in his hands.

6. When he calls on the Secretary or Treasurer, he will be ready to report the precise state of the ice, and have measured it's thickness. He will also try when the ice is bearing by going cautiously on it with his copper jacket etc., on, and a long pole.

7. He will, at Duddingston, watch the reeds when cutting the first frost; and prevent boys taking any of them up to carry about the ice; and see that the persons cutting the reeds, carry clear off all that they cut. For this he has full authority from Sir Robert Dick.

8. He will give timeous notice, when he gives up the employment and recommend some other person.

N.B. Added to the above written directions given to the Watchman will be the Inventory of the saving apparatus for which he is to be answerable.

Inventory of the Property of the Club for which the Officer is responsible. 1815

1. The Traineau with a cover of ticking lined with brown cotton.
2. Fifteen hardwood, and three iron shovels; and fifteen hair brooms with iron shads.
3. A patent locked box for subscriptions, with a brass plate—a placard board on a pole for ditto.
4. A Tent with its furniture; consisting of the following articles.
 1. Canvas top painted with red ornaments,—vase and flagstaff.
 2. Canvas sides in one piece.
 3. Inner top of brown cotton with ticking lining.
 4. Sides of the same in one piece.
 5. A Canvas bag to pack the tent in.
 6. Two tent poles and stretcher for the top.

7. A hinged skreen or frame for stretching the tent upon, of four pieces, two of them with three folds, and two with two. [For use when the ground was "too hard for the usual mode of stretching."]
8. Six stretching ropes.
9. Ten iron pins, two with iron hoops for the poles, and four with cords made fast to them to tie fast to rails.
10. A measuring rope to place the table in the middle etc.
11. A Table for the tent.
12. Five forms three large and two short; and four foot boards, two long and two short, with clasps.
5. A blue livery coat with red edging,—a badge sewed on the breast.
6. A small fire engine lent the Club by Mr Young of the Phoenix fire office—to water the ice. [Scored out].

Articles of the Saving Apparatus
One of each sort, at both Duddingston and Lochend.

1. A ladder 18 feet long 17 inches broad, spars six inches asunder, with iron spindle and handle for the saving rope; and a small pickaxe fixed on.
2. A rod in two pieces with a spring joint, and with dragging irons at the end invented by Capt. Manby.
3. A saving rope to roll round the spindle on the ladder, with whalebone noose and wooden running-ring,—also invented by Capt. Manby.
4. A Copper patent life preserver.
5. A long rope to go round the waist of the person saving anyone in danger, held 50 yards behind if necessary.—
6. A tarred rope with iron ring to fix it to a post. The rope goes completely round the Loch and consists of five pieces or coils, each 120 yards long at Lochend, and of six coils of the same length at Duddingston.
(N.B. the fixed post being driven on the side of the Loch opposite to where the tent is pitched, and the two loose ends coming round to the Tent, either half of the rope may be pulled over the half of the Loch, and must be caught by a person in danger, if above the ice.)
7. A painted ticket board (Two at Lochend) warning the skaters, not to throw stones on the ice, or meddle with the saving rope lying round the margin of the ice. A slipboard is attached to it, on one side with the words "The Loch is unsafe", and on the other "keep within the ropes".
8. One long and two short posts at each Loch fixed and left.
9. An additional board, (moveable) for each of the three warning boards; painted on one side, "No watchman present" and on the other "No aid yet from the ropes or ladder". These are used either when the ice is not worth watching; or is too weak to allow the saving things to be used.
10. A set of the apparatus of the Humane Society in a wooden case; consisting of
 1. A pair of bellows;
 2. An injecting syringe;

3. A small tin case, containing an Ivory nostril piece, a scalpel, and silver tube for the windpipe.
 4. Six pieces of Flannel for rubbing.
- N.B. The Humane Society apparatus is lodged, at Duddingston in the Minister's House; and at Lochend in the Farmer's House (Mr Oliver's) to be of use all the year round. Along with them is also kept the Life Preserver.—The Minister at Duddingston and Mr Oliver Farmer at Lochend are both instructed in the use of the Articles; and have humanely consented to be sent for to superintend in case of an accident occurring.
- N.B. The Club's property is lodged as follows. At Duddingston, at Sir Robert Dick's at Prestonfield, all the year except during the Skating Season when it is brought in one of his carts to Duddingston and lodged in his aisle.—The ladder is lodged during that season in the church. The Humane Society apparatus is all the year round in the Minister's.
- At Lochend, every thing is at Mr Oliver's.

APPENDIX III

Club Songs

For 1842

1. A note to each member from Goldie sent round,
That at Duddingstone Loch the Club meets today,
Our business engagements in haste we confound
And with spirits elate to the Ice hie away.
All eager our powers and our nerves to unfold,
In worming and screwing, feats strange to behold;
Now glancing athwart, to meet counterpart,
Circling here, curving there and figuring bold.
2. Straight on reaching the Ice, we make for the tent,
Where our skates we put on in tremulous haste;
To astonish the crowd sure Woodman is bent,
See his medal affixed with exquisite taste.
More's is forgotten, there's no use debating,
Reasons, excuses, in vain 'tis creating;
You'll please half a crown to Reynolds pay down,
Oh, quick let us cross to where they are skating.
3. A figure's declared, let each one take his place,
A quarter, a half, three quarters, a whole,
Then Jim-along-Josey with suitable grace
And around and around beseemingly bowl.
One two three and a change, with sweep large and long,
Cries Thatcher, "My eye, ain't we coming it strong?
"Macknight, pray keep time, and with others chime—
"But halt! We're all thrown out, there's somebody wrong."

4. While Gillon and Glover neat sixes design,
See Kerr flying backwards, one foot borne aloft;
But woe to Tom Allan, he's right in his line,
And downward he comes neither silent nor soft.
But what means that crowd? What can be transacting?
Ah, 'tis the Manx arms the ladies attracting.
Who's that lying there with his heels in the air?
Elliot the Eagle has been overacting.
5. A Wild Goose is declared, and all rally near,
Some range on the left hand and some on the right;
In two mighty lines they quickly appear,
To every beholder a singular sight.
In two graceful bends these lines interlace,
Like two Railway Trains at the top of their pace,
Those in now are out, now in wheeling about,
Together commingle, and finish the race.
6. The Club for her patron has now got the Prince;
Bright be her prospects, her interests flourish.
May she good fellow-feeling and spirit evince
And concord and peace within her breast nourish.
All join in my toast ere my song I conclude,
To the trumps of the Club, in skating so good,
Tho' with us they're not, they can't be forgot—
Here's long life to Tom Cowan and Haggart and Wood!

For 1843

1. The papers lately mention
A patent new invention
Was worn by all the Members of this Club one day;
'Tis a bag blown up with air,
Fastened round the neck with care,
Which floats you in the water when the Ice gives way.
2. So without it no one here
Must e'er venture to appear
At any time or place on skates upon the Ice O,
Unless he have a mind
His Corpse to leave behind
From failing to adopt this excellent device O.

3. 'Tis a fact well known I ween
That our gracious Royal Queen,
Whene'er our Patron Prince goes a-skating O,
Round his shoulders throws the cape,
With her fingers ties each tape,
And helps with Royal puffs the inflating O.
4. Our subscription to maintain
The Society Humane
Will be saved, our other joys thereby crowning O,
As in place of their two men
We'll be sure to muster ten,
All ready for the rescue of the drowning O.
5. That our friends of bulky weight
May have confidence to skate
An air pillow round their middle doth extend O;
Which, now be it understood,
Must be worn by William Wood,
On his next appearance skating on Lochend O.
6. Since to all it must be clear
That this patent floating gear
Will add lustre to the name of its inventor O,
I'm sure you'll think it right
On each cape in letters bright
The name "Simpson" be imprinted on the centre O.

APPENDIX IV

Medals of the Edinburgh Skating Club in the National Museum of Antiquities
Nos. 3, 5 and 7 to 11 were presented by the Club.

1. A thin oval, engraved silver medal, with a suspension loop and free ring; 3.7 × 3.0 cm. excluding loop.
Obv. [script] "Edinburgh/Skateing/Society/M^r. Matt^r. /Sandilands."
Rev. Within border lines, a pair of crossed skates with decorative straps, under a scroll "OCIOR EURO."
Cochran Patrick, *Scottish Medals*, p. 143, no. 32.
National Museum, 1958-1947.
Date: Sandilands is no. 5 in the 1778 list.

2. As 1.
 Obv. " - - M^r/Tho^s Hogg"; all within border lines.
 Rev. No border lines; the skates etc. slightly different from 1.
 On loan in the National Museum from Mrs Nicoll, who has kindly supplied the information about Thomas Hogg, *see* p. 124.
 Hogg died in 1784.
3. As 1 but larger, 4.3×3.3 cm.; the suspension loop has shoulders.
 Obv. Within a border of rudimentary leaf sprays tied at the foot: [script] "Edinburgh/
 Skating/[Gothic] Society/[script] Rob^t Hope/1782."
 Rev. Within a border as Obv., scroll, motto and crossed skates as 1.
4. As 3.
 Obv. Inscription as 3., with "James Dewar/Esqr." in place of the name and date, all under the Dewar crest and motto—a mailed arm with a sword, and QUID NON PRO PATRIA."
 Rev. Border as 3.; scroll, motto and crossed skates as 1.
 National Museum, 1925-23.
 Date: Dewar was admitted in 1789; *see* also no. 6.
5. As 3 but larger, 4.8×3.7 cm., with a suspension loop diam. 0.8 cm.
 Obv. Within a narrow ropework and 'rocking' border, [script] "Edinburgh/
 Skating/[Gothic] Society/[script] Ja^s. Home/1792."
 Rev. Border as Obv.; scroll with motto and crossed skates as 1.
6. As 5 but slightly larger, 5.0×3.8 cm.
 Obv. Within a single line border, inscription as 5, with [script] "James Dewar/
 1801" in place of the name and date.
 Rev. Within a 'rocked' border, a scroll with the motto over crossed skates as 1; silversmith's marks; ID (probably James Dempster), a castle (Edinburgh), a thistle, and the King's head to r. in a trefoil punch.
 National Museum, 1925-24. Dewar's silver pass for the Edinburgh Amphitheatre is also in the Museum.
 Date: Mr Dewar must have preferred the new size—*see* no. 4.
7. Round silver medal diam. 4.3 cm. with a raised, moulded border and an ornamental suspension loop for the lower bar of the ribbon clasp (both silver). The ribbon is of faded red pink grosgrain silk, 4.3 cm. wide. The upper part of the clasp is a plain buckle with four prongs, 4.1×1.1 cm.
 Obv. "EDINBURGH/[Gothic] Skating/CLUB, [on a hatched background]/JAMES GIBSON THOMSON/Saturday 14th January 1826."
 Rev. Infant Mercury with winged cap and heels, skates suggested under feet, bearing a twisted scroll, "OCIOR EURO;" all against a background hatched above the horizon. Silversmith's marks: Thistle; JM^c (J. McKay, Edinburgh); King's head to r., in a two-lobed punch.



Plate VII

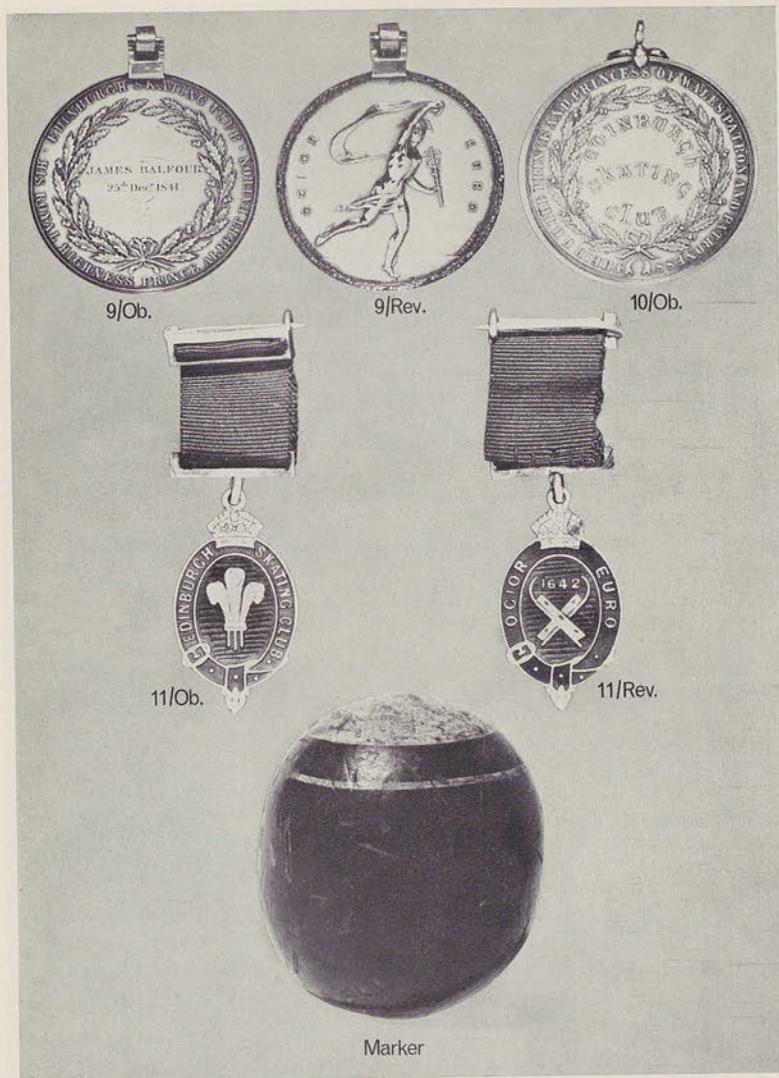


Plate VIII

Extracts from Minutes.

22nd December, 1814.

"The Council agreed that the medal in future should be of a round form as exhibited at the last meeting of the Club, that form being the only form in which what is properly called the medal is made. The new members to be directed to provide themselves according to that pattern and any old members who chuse, but this to be optional to the latter, who may adhere to the old oval form. The Treasurer to consider of an appropriate emblem and report to the Council."

15th February, 1815.

"... Mr Simpson reported that having consulted with several artists and persons of taste relating to a proper emblem for the new form of medal adopted in that minute, he had at last fixed upon one designed with much elegance by Mr William Thomson, Miniature Painter, after the manner of the very popular vignettes composed of infant figures, designed by Stoddart for the late edition of Rogers's poems.

The emblem is an Infant Mercury with winged cap and feet, in the same attitude in his flight as that of the outedge skating, displaying a scroll over his head with the old motto of the Club "Ociur Euro" from Horace. The figure does not represent actual skating but only allegorises its qualities of swift easy and graceful movements. The natural unconstrained grace of infancy was considered as a more appropriate emblem of these qualities than the common figure of Mercury. Mr Simpson shewed one of the Medals engraved as above. The Council approved of the said device to be the future emblem of the Club, reserving always to Members previous to 1813 the old medal both in form and device if they prefer it.

The Council unanimously voted their thanks to Mr Thomson for the design with which he had so handsomely presented the Club."

8. As 7 with slightly different moulding; the rich pink ribbon is faded and torn.
 Obv. "EDINBURGH [Gothic] Skating/CLUB/[Gothic] James Macknight/9th January 1841."
 Rev. As 7 but the figure more crude; Silversmith's marks: King's head (William IV) to r., in an oval; JM^c (J. M^cKay—a smaller punch than 7); and a thistle.
9. Round silver medal, diam. 4.4 cm.; with an ornamental suspension loop and clasps as 7 and 8, but the ribbon maroon, 4.0 cm. wide and the upper clasp having one prong.
 Obv. In relief round the medal within a raised rim "EDINBURGH SKATING CLUB/HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT PATRON.;" in the centre, engraved "JAMES BALFOUR/25th Decr 1841," surrounded by thistle sprays, in relief, crossed and tied at the foot.
 Rev. Within a narrow border of thistles in relief, the figure of the adult Mercury carrying a caduceus and beckoning; drapery floats from his raised right arm, and his cap and feet are winged; to l. "OCIOR" and to r. "EURO"—figure and letters in relief; at one side in small relief caps, "LIZARS INV" and at the other "INGRAM SC."

Extracts from Minutes.

12th March, 1841.

"Mr Goldie laid before the Meeting the Designs which had been drawn by Mr Ballantyne Portrait Painter for the New Medal for the Club. These designs had been submitted to Mr. Ingram a celebrated Medallist in Birmingham who stated that a die could be struck for £9.9.—

to be well done however £12.12. would be required, and if a very superior work was wished for, a still higher price would be necessary. Mr Goldie also stated that he had consulted with Mr. Lizars and others on the subject all of whom recommended that a Die should be struck in preference to Engraving the Figure as had hitherto been done. The Meeting highly approved of the Design as being in all respects very beautiful and instructed Mr. Goldie to give the necessary directions to Messrs. MacKay and Cunningham to get the work executed in the best manner of the Art with all convenient speed. A vote of thanks to Mr. Ballantyne for his able and spirited sketches of it was . . . unanimously adopted."

21st January, 1842.

"... a considerable expense had been incurred in obtaining a die for the Gold Medal recently presented to His Royal Highness Prince Albert. The Account rendered by Messrs. MacKay and Cunningham amounts to £38.6/6d. . . ."

10. As 9 but with a suspension loop and ring to which a maroon taffeta ribbon, 3.4 cm. wide, is attached from a smaller silver clasp with a long pin at right angles to it.
Obv. Within a raised, finely milled rim, round the medal in relief is "THEIR R. H. THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES PATRON AND PATRONESS"; in the centre, all in relief, is "Edinburgh/Skating/Club" within thistle sprays crossed and tied at the foot.

Rev. As 9.

The edge is inscribed "JOHN NESBITT."

Date: 1864 was Nesbitt's date of admission.

Extract from Minutes.

18th January, 1864.

"In consequence of the death of the late R.H. Prince Albert it has become necessary to change one side of the Die for the Medal. The Secretary laid the dies before the Meeting with Messrs MacKay and Cunningham's letter stating the cost of a plain reserve die would be 24/- and that with the wreath and name of Patron and Patroness would be 75/-. The Meeting resolved upon the latter and instruct the Secretary to direct Messrs M. and C. to have the change in the die immediately proceeded with."

11. Blue enamelled silver badge, pendant from a blue silk ribbon 1.4 cm. wide; it is oval in shape, with a crown at the top and a 'strap end' at the foot, 2.6×1.5 cm. the inscription, etc. are reserved in silver on the blue enamel.

Obv. Round a belt is "EDINBURGH SKATING CLUB"; within the belt, Prince of Wales' feathers.

Rev. Round the belt, "OCIOR EURO," and within, crossed skates under "1642."

Extract from Minutes.

15th February, 1872.

"Report of the Committee of the Edinburgh Skating Club appointed to consider as to a new Badge.

Since the Committee was appointed they have had several Meetings, and numerous designs more or less successful have been under their consideration. The feeling of the Members of the Committee was that the old motto of the Club 'Ociore Euro,' and if practicable the figure of Mercury should be retained in the design and that the name of the Club with the date of its institution should also appear. It was found most difficult to embody all these details appropriately in a small badge, and besides it was ascertained that the expense of introducing the figure of Mercury, which could not be properly rendered without a die being struck, would be

so considerable that the Committee resolved to abandon the idea of their forming part of the designs. The Committee came to the conclusion that the best design was the following 'Oval Badge with Garter the obverse being the Garter with "Edinburgh Skating Club" and the centre bearing Prince of Wales Feathers; the reverse being the Garter with the date "1642" and the motto "Ociore Euro" and the centre bearing cross skates both sides of the Badge being on blue enamel ground. The cost of each Badge of this description will be from about 15s. to 20s.

The Committee therefore unanimously recommend this Badge as the one which shall be adopted by the Club.

Mr Crichton moved the approval of the Report and this motion which was seconded by Mr Skinner was unanimously carried, on the understanding that Members who are at present in possession of old medals of the Club may wear them if they choose and it shall not be requisite for them to get the new Badge.

The Chairman [Mr Balfour] moved that the new Badge should be worn with a red ribbon which he stated had always been the ribbon of the Club. The motion was seconded by Mr Skinner.

Mr Crichton moved that it be worn with a blue ribbon as more appropriate to the colour of the Badge; on this motion which was seconded by Mr Tod being put to the Meeting it was carried as against the motion of the Chairman."

APPENDIX V

The entire written and printed records of the Club have been given to the National Library, and seven medals and five wooden markers to the National Museum; their records are listed below.

1. Minutes, 1784 to 1888, with later additions.
2. A copy of 1., made in 1895.
3. Minutes, 1889 to 1966.
4. Quota Book, 1814-47.
5. Cash Book, 1856-1919.
6. Papers (17)—miscellaneous, including the Secretary's Reports, 1888-97.
7. Rules, 1871; printed booklet, 7 pp.
8. Five printed cards and books on skating.
9. Two songs—Professor John Thomson, *The Skaters' March*, (1841, 2 copies); and 'Boreas,' *John Frost*, (1888, 2 copies, both with amendments in ms.)
10. Three photographs, one of a medal and two of skating scenes at Duddingston.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 3rd edition. Edinburgh, 1797; article on skating.
- ² *Edinburgh Skating Club, with diagrams of figures and a list of the members*. Printed by William Grant, 52 West Register Street, 1865.
- ³ *Poker Club—Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. III, pp. 151-4. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—*Archaeologia Scotica*, 1792. Musical Society—*Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. XIX. Speculative Society—*History*, 1905. New Club—*History*, 1938.

⁴ "Walter Dove" (James Whitelaw), *The Skater's Monitor, Instructor, and Evening Companion*. John Menzies, Edinburgh, 1846.

⁵ "1 Dec. 1662 . . . first did see people sliding with their skatees. . .", Samuel Pepys, *Diary*. London, 1825.

"1 Dec. 1662 . . . sliders on the canal with scheets after the manner of Hollanders . . .", John Evelyn, *Diary*, vol. I, p. 342. London, 1818.

⁶ John Foster, *Life of Swift*, vol. I, letter 14, 31 January, 1711. London, 1875.

⁷ Rev. Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography*, ed. J. H. Burton, p. 62. 1910.

⁸ Horace, *Odes*, II, xvi, 23, ". . . cura

Ociur cervis, et agente nimbos
Ociur euro."

⁹ *Cursus Glacialis; or, Scating, a Poetical Essay*; 1774. Noticed in F. W. Foster, *The Bibliography of Skating*; London, 1898.

¹⁰ John Kay, *Original Portraits*, vol. II, p. 283; Edinburgh, 1877.

¹¹ Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, p. 17; 1856.

¹² *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. XX, p. 50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 57.

¹⁴ Lawrence Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, vol. I, p. 358 and vol. II, plate 343; New York, 1926.

¹⁵ Kay, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 237.

¹⁶ Robert Jones, Lieutenant of Artillery, *Treatise on Skating*; London, 1772.

¹⁷ Kenneth Clark, *The Nude*, p. 203 and plate 161; London, 1956.

¹⁸ T. Maxwell Witham, *System of Figure Skating*, p. 287; London, 1893.

¹⁹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. XIX, p. 221 ff; 1826.

²⁰ *ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 144-6; 1826.

²¹ P. H. Clias, *An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises*; London, 1823.

²² *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. XXIX, p. 303; 1831.

²³ Thomas Clay, *Instructions on the Art of Skating*; Leeds, 1828.

²⁴ "A Member of the Skating Club," *The Skater's Manual*; London, 1831.

²⁵ George Du Maurier, *Punch*; London, 9th and 16th January 1875.

²⁶ "Cyclos" (George Anderson), *The Art of Skating*; Glasgow, 1852.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 2nd edition; London, 1868.

²⁸ Henry Cockburn, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

²⁹ M. S. F. and S. F. Monier Williams, *Combined Figure Skating*; London, 1883.

³⁰ C. A. Stevenson, in *Nature: Statics and Dynamics of Skating*, vol. XXIII, p. 268; London, 1881.

³¹ John Thomson, 1805-41; Professor of Music at Edinburgh University.

³² *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³³ The boathouse at Duddingston was referred to as the "Police Boathouse" in 1888, when Club property was reported kept there. The stone house at Lochend is now used by the park keepers.

THE BALM-WELL OF SAINT CATHERINE, LIBERTON

by W. N. BOOG WATSON

In the preparation of this paper considerable use has been made of the notes on the Well in Dr G. A. Fothergill's "Stones and Curiosities of Edinburgh", now a rare work.

In past centuries, when many of the Scottish people lived in conditions of dirt, overcrowding and malnutrition, lacking all but the most primitive medical and nursing care, diseases of the skin were common and often severe. Of these scabies, or the itch as it was called, was the most prevalent. Indeed, in the minds of their neighbours south of the Tweed the national disease of Scotland was the itch, which afflicted men and women of all social classes in all parts of the country; and reference to it, with derogatory comment, is to be found in the records of many of the early visitors from across the Border.

Treatment of the itch, also known as the scab, the scaw or the yeuk, and of other skin diseases was usually by means of ointments of mercury, of sulphur or of tar, but the waters of certain springs were also held to be effective remedies. One of those springs, and that the most famous, is the subject of this paper.

The Balm-Well of St. Catherine is situated in the parish of Liberton, within the grounds of St. Katherine's, a residential children's home, formerly a private mansion, which stands on the east side of Howden Hall Road, the main road between Liberton and Burdiehouse, and north of Balmwell Terrace. The well is now inside the boundary of Edinburgh, for the city in its extension southwards into Midlothian has swallowed up what was once a prosperous countryside. On the surface of the water floats a black, tarry substance because of which the well was famous for hundreds of years as a place of cure. The well owes this reputation to its geographical position for it is situated in that part of Scotland where there are bituminous shale beds, and the tarry substance in the water is derived from a minute spring exuding from the oil shales below.¹

The well takes its name from St. Catherine of Alexandria.² According to medieval tradition St. Catherine was a royal maiden of great beauty and learning who, after her conversion to Christianity, held a public disputation with certain pagan philosophers so that they too became Christians. For this she was condemned to death by the Emperor Maxentius and was beheaded in the year 307 A.D. The body was carried to Mount Sinai for burial. There, in the sixth century, a monastery was established by the Emperor Justinian. This acquired sanctity from the presence of St. Catherine's shrine, whence healing oil was said to flow, and it became a favourite place of pilgrimage.³ At least three medieval churches in England claimed to have oil from the tomb of the saint—Durham and Salisbury cathedrals and the church of Somerby.⁴ A phial of this precious oil was brought from Sinai to Scotland, by angels according to one account,⁵ by St. Catherine herself according to another,⁶ and some of it reached the site of the well at Liberton. Here is Boece's account of what took place: "This fontaine rais throw ane drop of Sanct Katrine's oulie quihik was brought out of Mount Sinai fra her sepulture to Sanct Margaret, the blissed quene of Scotland. Als sone as Sanct Margaret saw the oulie spring ithandle [unceasingly] be divine miracle in the said place sche gart big ane chapell thair in the honour of Sanct Katrine. This oulie has ane singular vertew aganis all maner of cankir

and skawis." Bishop Lesley wrote in 1578, "[it] is said, quhen it first sprang, to have been spilte out of S. Catherine's oyle quhen thair the pig quhairin it was, negligentie was broken, quhen from Mount Sinay it was brocht to S. Margaret. Bot it is gude (as we understand) to kure and to remeid divours dolouris of the skin."⁸

Hard by the well stood the chapel whose foundation was accredited by Boece to Queen Margaret. According to popular tradition St. Catherine's body was buried in it. Remains of this structure were still to be seen at the end of the eighteenth century but no trace now remains. The chapel was known as St. Catherine's of the Kaimes, to distinguish it from the other building in Midlothian dedicated to the martyr of Alexandria, St. Catherine's of the Hopes, the site of which is now covered by the waters of Loganlea reservoir in the Pentlands.⁹ It seems probable that a priest was attached to St. Catherine's of the Kaimes, for a little to the east of the well is rising ground now called Gracemount which was formerly known as Priesthill.¹⁰

St. Margaret is the first royal personage whose interest in the well is recorded. There is no evidence to support the suggestion that Robert the Bruce sought healing there for his so-called leprosy, but the place had the favour of at least two later Scottish monarchs. On 8th July, 1504 James IV made an offering to "Sanct Katrine's of the oyle well";¹¹ and James VI held it in such esteem that, when he returned from England in 1617 to visit Scotland, he went to see it and ordered that it should be built with stones from the bottom to the top and that a door and a pair of steps be made for it, that men might have the more easy access to the bottom to get the balm.¹²

The well, in fact, reached the height of its fame during the reigns of the later Jameses. About three miles to the north of it the convent of St. Catherine of Sienna (in Siennes) was founded in 1517. Until the Reformation the nuns walked annually in solemn procession to the Balm-well.¹³ The saints to whom convent and spring were respectively dedicated were not identical though bearing the same name. The coincidence, however, led to those yearly visits. In 1535 the well was noted with interest by a distinguished foreign visitor, Peder Sware of Lübeck, who came on a diplomatic mission to James V from Christian II, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.¹⁴ Later in the century it was observed by another visitor, from northern Germany, Lupold von Wedel (1544-1615), younger son of a noble family of Pomerania. He had a passionate love of travel and spent most of his life in journeying from one European country to another. The years 1584 and 1585 were passed in Scotland and England, where von Wedel kept a record of what he did and saw. In September of the former year he was in Edinburgh and while there he wrote, "We went three miles out of town into the country to a little church with a house close by. Between the church and the house there is a well protected by a roof, church and well having the name of St. Katherine. From this well flows oil which, when rubbed into the skin, is good for many an evil. We ordered the well to be emptied to the ground, when the oil came out from different openings, brown and thick. I took some of it with me to persuade myself of its qualities."¹⁵ No doubt the house alluded to had been the priest's house in pre-Reformation days.

From von Wedel's record and from Matthew Mackaile's description which appears later in this paper, it seems that when supplies of St. Catherine's balm were required the well was first emptied of water and the bitumen which percolated out of cracks and openings in the masonry was then collected in suitable containers.

The well featured on Timothy Pont's map of 1610, and in 1612 John Monipennie, the historian, considered it to be one of the marvels of Scotland. "In Louthian, two miles from Edinburgh, southward," he explains, "is a well-spring called St. Katherine's well, flowing perpetually with a kind of black fatnesse or oyle, above the water, proceeding (as is thought) of the parret coal being frequent in these parts; this fatnesse is of a marvellous nature, for as the coal whereof it proceeds is sudden to conceive fire or flame, so is this oyle of a sudden operation to heal all salt scales and humoures that trouble the outward skinne of man; commonly the head and hands are quickly healed by the virtue of this oyle. It renders a marvellous sweet smell."¹⁶ This last statement is hardly true; the "fatnesse" smells faintly of tar. Monipennie's description is adopted almost word for word by Brome in 1707 without acknowledging the source.¹⁷

James VI's architectural improvements survived for only thirty-three years. In 1650, shortly before Cromwell retreated to Dunbar, some thousands of his men encamped on the Galachlaw, the high ground lying between Mortonhall and Fairmilehead.¹⁸ A number of those soldiers not only defaced but almost totally demolished the stonework of St. Catherine's well. It was repaired after the Restoration but in a simple and modest style. The wanton damage done by Cromwell's men roused the wrath of Matthew MacKaile, a surgeon-apothecary of Aberdeen, who had no liking for the Protector. "The well was adorned and preserved," wrote MacKaile not long after the Restoration, "until 1650 when that execrable *Regicide* and *Usurper* Oliver Cromwell did invade this kingdom and not only deface such rare and antient monuments of Nature's handiwork but also the Synagogues of the God of Nature."¹⁹

At this distance of time it is impossible to picture the well as it appeared before the demolition by Cromwell's soldiery. MacKaile, who visited it soon after its subsequent repair, says simply that "its profundity equalleth the length of a pike and is always replete with water; and at the bottom of it there remaineth a great quantity of black oyl in some veins of the earth." MacKaile was a medical man practising his art according to the spagyral system, that is, in conformity with the teachings of the fantastic sixteenth century scientist and physician, Paracelsus; and MacKaile's discourse on the properties of the water of the well is of interest only to the medical historian and largely incomprehensible to him. As to its use, he considered the water when swallowed to be effective against gout, paralysis, hysteria and asthma. Applied externally, the oyl or balm had power to relieve aching of the bones and was a singular cure of the itch. Those who collected the balm did so by first baling out the well with buckets. The surface of the remaining water was then disturbed by means of a convenient vessel from the side of the well. This caused the balm to seep out the wall of the well and float on the surface of the water, from which it was separated as cream from milk.

David Buchanan, writing about the year 1647, has indicated who were the collectors of the balm and specified some of the complaints treated with it additional to those mentioned by MacKaile. He writes, "At the Chapel of St. Catherine there is a spring which is worthy of mention because in the morning along with its own waters it sends forth oil, or rather a kind of viscous and fatty balsam. This the owners of the neighbouring fields gather and store ten months of the year, since it serves as a usual medicament to heal dislocations, inflammations, blows, burns, contusions, sprains and various other ailments."²⁰ This list is much more impressive in the original Latin—"Est enim medicamentum solenne

luxationibus, inflammationibus, pulsationibus, ustionibus, contusionibus, compressionibus aliisque variis morbis curandis inserviens."²¹

The medical historian Dr J. D. Comrie says that leprosy was one of the skin diseases treated at the well,²² but this claim should be discounted. It is based on the erroneous belief that the name of Liberton is a conversion of the term "leper-town" and that a leper hospital was situated in the immediate neighbourhood.

St. Catherine's never fully recovered its prestige after its destruction by Cromwell's troops and no visits by distinguished men fall to be recorded since then. Nevertheless there was continued resort to the well by sufferers from cutaneous disorders, and at the close of Charles II's reign it received commendation from one of Scotland's most noted medical men, Sir Robert Sibbald, founder of the Royal College of Physicians, first professor of medicine in the University and Geographer Royal for Scotland. Sibbald writes of the well as preeminent among medicated springs in Scotland ("inter illas agmen ducit fons Sanctae Catherinae") and recommends application of the balm to the skin by means of poultices and baths.²³ In 1792 the parish minister of Liberton was still able to speak of the Balm-well of St. Catherine as a famous place;²⁴ ten years later the traveller Alexander Campbell referred to St. Catherine's as a "famous well, on the surface of which the healing balm still remains although the faith in its efficiency hath long since been on the decline."²⁵ About the same time a rather malicious account of the place appeared in a book written by an English surgeon, Charles Dunne. Throughout the volume the author shows a dislike of things Scottish and in his discussion of the use of medicinal waters he writes; "The principal waters in England are too well known to require description here. Not far distant from Edinburgh there is a spring of water, the surface of which is covered by a kind of oil or bitumen, and it is used by the natives with success to cure chilblains, and a disease, the itch, with which all the Scotch are so frequently tormented; indeed it seldom happens that the whole of a family are ever free from this malady, from the peer to the laird (the title of a gentleman farmer in Scotland) downwards to the Highland piper; I might have in truth included the generality of the inhabitants. This disease, and another equally peculiar to all Scots [sibbens, or the Scots yaws], seems to be hereditary amongst them."²⁶

During the rest of the nineteenth century the reputation and popularity of St. Catherine's fell gradually almost to vanishing point. In 1845, in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, the then parish minister wrote briefly that the spring, which was in good repair, was reckoned medicinal by the country people and might have some slight efficacy in cutaneous eruptions.²⁷ J. Russel Walker records that in 1861 the structure was in a state of dilapidation but that in 1883 it was carefully protected and looked after, and he confirms this with a page of drawings of the well in plan and elevation.²⁸ An anonymous correspondent in the *Scotsman* of 11th March, 1889 wrote that there were yet occasional visitors who came on a pilgrimage to see what remained of the old well and that they hailed chiefly from Ireland. In 1893 George Good noted that the so-called Balm-well of St. Catherine's even yet had an occasional visitor.²⁹ A glimmer of former notability lingered into the present century and George Fothergill wrote in 1910: "Now the well is but balm to the antiquary and curious visitor, excluding a very few people who still seem to find its water a comfort. . . . I heard of a lady only the other day who swore by St. Katherine's Oil. Nothing save the scum of the well had any action whatever upon her eczematous skin."³⁰

In its appearance today the well accords with the illustration in the first volume of

Comrie's *History* of 1932;³¹ its structure is the same as that shown in Walker's architectural drawings of 1883.³² The Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments published the following description in 1929: "The well is housed within a tiny vaulted structure. The Renaissance form is relatively modern, but it contains a door lintel probably quite unconnected with the structure, on which is inscribed the date 1563 within recessed panels flanking a central panel, which contains a shield flanked by the initials "A.P." The shield bears a saltire, in the sinister quarter of which is a Latin cross placed horizontally."³³ The origin of the stone is unknown, the escutcheon has not been identified and interpretation of the initials remains a mystery. Fothergill suggested that "A.P." represents one of the Prestons of Craigmillar or, perhaps, Alexander Pardouin of Newbattle, but this is only conjecture. Normally the rest level of the water within the chamber is at well-top. It follows that if the level rises after a period of heavy rain the water overflows and subsequent evaporation causes a deposit of bitumen on neighbouring surfaces.³⁴ A padlocked grill occludes the entrance to the vaulted structure. Both surfaces of this grill as well as the inside of the chamber are coated with this bituminous matter, the healing balm from which St. Catherine's Balm-well derives its name.

The writer acknowledges with great gratitude the help he has received from the staff of the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library, from the librarian of the National Museum of Antiquities and from the matron of St. Katherine's Home for Children.

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DR THOMAS LATTA

by ALASTAIR H. B. MASSON

Thomas Aitchison Latta was the fourth son of Alexander Latta of Jessfield, who acquired that property in Newhaven in 1796.¹ Nothing has been traced relating to the Latta family prior to 1796 but Alexander stayed at Jessfield from then until his death on 25th January, 1807. Alexander was probably a widower for his will makes no mention of his wife.² Each of his sons was left £600, his daughter £300. In addition, Jessfield was to be sold and the proceeds divided equally among the family. As trustees for any children under age, he appointed a corkcutter, a flesher, a shoemaker, a merchant and a solicitor. The children named in his will were Alexander, John (only executor and later described as a merchant in Leith), James, Thomas (the subject of this paper), William and Alison.

Alexander Latta was an elder in the Associate Congregation of Leith and his name appears in the Session minutes between 1798 and 1807.³ In 1805 he dissented from the Session's decision to administer a public rebuke to a church member for the sin of antenuptial fornication. His last appearance in the Session was on 16th July, 1806, and on 28th January, 1807, "it was reported that it had pleased God in adorable Providence to remove by Death from the Session, Mr Alex Latta, one of their members and his name was accordingly dropt from the Roll." It is probable that Latta's association with this dissenting body has been responsible for much of the difficulty in tracing the family history for no record has been found in the Old Parish Registers of any member of the Latta family with the exception of the births of Thomas Latta's three sons. It is, however, tempting to speculate that they may have come from Fife. One of Latta's debtors at the time of his death was "James Latta Leslie,"⁴ who may have been someone with the surname Leslie, or James Latta from Leslie. The parish records of Leslie between 1750 and 1780 do not contain the name Latta, though the Associate Congregation appears to have been very strong in the area judging from the frequency of its mention in the records.

Two years before his father died, the eldest son, Alexander, had begun to study medicine at Edinburgh University. He was a matriculated student from 1805 till 1811 though he did not graduate there.⁵ In 1811 or thereabouts, he went to Perth and started to practise medicine. In fact, he graduated M.D. at Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1831 but the rules then governing the award of the degree were a little unusual. "When, by reason of his distance from Aberdeen, he [the candidate] cannot appear in person to be examined, he may be recommended and attested by two physicians who must be regular graduates in medicine and known personally or by repute to the Professor of Medicine." They were required to examine him and to attest "that he has attended courses and his acquirements are such as to entitle him to the degree of M.D.; or in cases where from distance of place such examination cannot be obtained that they have been long personally acquainted with him and know that his medical education is as has been specified, that he has been for years in established practice as a Physician and in that capacity has rendered himself useful and respectable." Alexander, whose "ample certificates . . . perfectly satisfied" the faculty, was attested by Dr Charles Anderson of Leith and Dr James Gregory of the Royal Navy.⁶ He lived and worked in Perth till the end of 1825 when he moved to Edin-

burgh where he practised as "surgeon and accoucheur" at 6 Union Place until about 1830 or 1831.

It is probable that Thomas was born in the late 1790's, that he was left an orphan about the age of ten and that he was looked after by his brother. When he went to Edinburgh University in 1815, also to study medicine, his "native place" was given as Perth and his graduation thesis in 1819 was dedicated to his brother Alexander for all his help and kindness. His address while at University is listed as North Leith although while in Professor Hope's class in 1817 it was given as 6 North Richmond Street. Professor Home's records of December, 1818 list against his name: "£4 6/-. On credit—paid March 7."

On Monday, 2nd August, 1819, the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh conferred the degree of M.D. on Latta and others after they had "gone through the appointed examinations and publicly defended their inaugural dissertations." From 1822 until his death, he was in general practice in Leith, living in Bridge Street, Sandport Street, Constitution Street and finally Charlotte Street. In November, 1825 he married Mary Miller, the daughter of a Canongate builder and they had three sons—Thomas Allison, born October, 1826, John Miller, born June, 1828 and Walter Buchanan who was born in August, 1830.⁸ One must presume that the first two died in infancy or childhood because no further trace can be found of them and the 1841 Census records only Walter living with his mother. Although Dr Latta's widow can be traced after 1841, no further evidence has been found of Walter's fate.

Latta might have lived and died in obscurity in Leith had it not been for the cholera outbreak of 1831-32, which was described by Dr H. P. Tait in Volume XXXII of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. In those days, there was no Public Health service and local Boards of Health were set up by the Privy Council in London to advise on matters pertaining to the prevention, control and treatment of cholera. Robert Christison's excellent account of the activities of the Edinburgh Board was very sharply critical of the government for its apathy, ignorance and incompetence.⁹ For instance, "it is not easy to see on what grounds the Privy Council, in constituting the Edinburgh Board, should have judged it necessary to require us to refer questions as to the removal of nuisances to them instead of having them directly decided on the spot." This at a time when communications were limited to the speed of a stage coach! An addendum to Christison's report is particularly biting: "The proceedings in Parliament since the above remarks were written and since cholera has appeared in London, only confirms the charge of previous apathy and supineness on the part of the Central Board and of government. For months, the pestilence raged at Sunderland, Newcastle and their neighbourhood in England and in Haddington, Tranent and Musselburgh in Scotland without recourse being had to any measures which deserve mention; but the instant that a few cases appear in the great centre of opulence, all is panic; assessments and additional powers are proposed in Parliament; national grants of money recommended; and every thing conceded to the terror of the metropolis, and to the apprehension of popular displeasure, which prudence and forethought and the application of many intelligent members of the medical profession and others, as well as extreme suffering and poverty, had long called for in vain."

The first case of cholera in Edinburgh occurred on 27th January, 1832, and in the course of the year several thousand people died. Thursday, 9th February, was observed as a local day of humiliation and prayer and there was a national day of prayer on 22nd

March. During the epidemic, the High School was closed; Heriot's Hospital and Watson's Hospital were "placed in a state of seclusion" and the University was shut for a time.

Medical men were greatly handicapped by their complete ignorance of the nature of the disease, its mode of transmission or of any effective treatment. Conventional therapy consisted of blood letting, leeches, blisters, purgatives such as castor oil or calomel, often in huge doses, oxygen and even nitrous oxide (laughing gas). The Central Board of Health invited contributions from doctors on the results of their various treatments and one of these, from Dr Latta, described a revolutionary form of treatment—the first intravenous injection of saline.¹⁰ Latta's friend, Dr Lewins, prophetically wrote that it was "a method of medical treatment which will, I predict, lead to important changes and improvements in the practice of medicine; and will entitle Dr Latta's name to be placed amongst the numbers of those alas! how few who have really contributed to the improvement of the healing art."¹¹

Cholera is a virulent disease characterised by profuse diarrhoea, vomiting and rapid dehydration. Death can occur within a matter of a day or so. The journals of the times described in particular the "blue cholera" or malignant cholera which was almost invariably fatal. Today, we would recognise that the "blue" cholera is due to peripheral circulatory failure or shock produced by great loss of fluid from the body for which the treatment would be rehydration by intravenous saline. This was not known at that time though O'Shaughnessy in London anticipated Latta's work when he wrote in the *Lancet*: "I therefore conceived the idea of injecting into the veins such substances . . . most capable of restoring it to the arterial qualities." He went on to describe in some detail just exactly how this should be done. Although he had experimented on a dog, he had not, surprisingly, tried it on a man. In further researches, he analysed the constituents of the blood in cholera patients and found that there was a marked deficiency in both water and salt content. He proposed, therefore, that a solution of the normal salts of the blood should be given.¹²

Latta tried this out. He did not seek publicity for his work nor did he claim originality. The *Lancet* of 2nd June, 1832 contained a letter from him written to the Central Board of Health in London at the instigation of his friend Lewins, and forwarded by the Board to the *Lancet*. Latta wrote: "I beg leave to premise that the plan . . . was suggested to me on reading in the *Lancet* the review of Dr O'Shaughnessy's report on the Chemical Pathology of Malignant Cholera."

Latta went on to give a lengthy and graphic description of his first case—an "aged female." All else having failed, he "resolved to throw the fluid immediately into the circulation. In this, having no precedent to direct me, I proceeded with much caution. She had apparently reached the last moments of her earthly existence, and now nothing could injure her—indeed, so entirely was she reduced, that I feared I should be unable to get my apparatus ready ere she expired. Having inserted a tube into the basilic vein, cautiously—anxiously, I watched the effects; ounce after ounce was injected, but no visible change was produced. Still persevering I thought she began to breathe less laboriously, soon the sharpened features and sunken eye, and the fallen jaw, pale and cold, bearing the manifest impress of death's signet, began to glow with returning animation; the pulse which had long ceased returned to the wrist, at first small and quick, by degrees it became more and more distinct, fuller slower and firmer, and in the short space of half an hour when six pints had been injected, she expressed in a firm voice that she was free from all

uneasiness [and] her features bore the aspect of comfort and health. This being my first case, I fancied my patient secure and from my great need of a little repose, left her in charge of the hospital surgeon." Unfortunately, not long after Latta left, the vomiting and diarrhoea returned and the woman died five and a half hours later without Latta having been informed.

Latta used a "Read's patent syringe" (an enema syringe—glass syringes were not made until the 1850's) with a small silver tube attached to the end of a flexible injecting tube. The injected fluid was first strained through "shammy leather" and he stressed the importance of keeping the temperature of the solution to about 112°F though the thermometer he used was a "clumsy instrument."

Latta, Lewins and others reported a number of cases—successes and failures.¹³ The latter Latta attributed to giving too little too late, or to the presence of concomitant disease and he advocated repeated infusions. The largest quantity he injected into any one patient was 376 ozs. (nearly 19 pints).

One of Latta's colleagues in Leith, Dr Craigie, wrote a rather critical article in the lay press,¹⁴ which led to an unsavoury and unpleasant incident. The *Edinburgh Observer* published an anonymous letter supporting Latta and making remarks "unfair to Craigie." John Mitchell, a shipbroker and an intimate friend of Latta, confessed to authorship with the object of demanding an explanation from Craigie. When they met later in the street, Mitchell assaulted Craigie with a child's whip. In court Mitchell "did not admit" assault, but both were bound over to keep the peace.¹⁵

Latta's last report to the *Lancet* was dated 29th October, 1832. Within a year, he was dead and I am indebted to the Scottish Widows Fund for information which not only established the date of his death but also the cause. Latta had an insurance policy on his life (for £1,000) taken out with the Scottish Widows Life Assurance Company which had been founded not many years before, in 1815. The Minutes of the Ordinary Court of Directors of 28th October, 1833 and 4th November, 1833 record his death and the receipt of a death certificate signed by a Dr J. S. Combe certifying "that Dr Thomas Latta died here on 19th instant [October] of Pulmonary Consumption."

Were this all that was known of the life of Thomas Latta, he would remain an interesting and intelligent pioneer, but there is one more facet of his life which marks him out as a person of courage and possessed of a keen intellect. In 1818, when he was still a medical student, he went on a whaling expedition to the Arctic. It is of interest to record that the grandfather of Sir Harold Stiles, Professor of Surgery at Edinburgh University, sailed about this time (1820) on the whaling ship *Enterprise* to Spitzbergen. He had just completed the first year of his medical studies at Guy's and St. Thomas's hospitals. He was paid £25 for the voyage and was obliged to spend £10 on his outfit.¹⁶

Latta sailed as "surgeon and companion" to Captain Scoresby who, the following January, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh—an unusual thing for the skipper of a whaler, but William Scoresby, like his father before him, was a very remarkable man. He was born in 1789 and first went to the Greenland whaling grounds with his father at the age of eleven. From 1803 to 1820, he went whaling each year. In 1807 he volunteered for service with the fleet at Copenhagen and was put in command of a gunboat which he considered unseaworthy. His representations to the admiral being unavailing, he made for the open sea where his vessel promptly foundered. He became

acquainted with Sir Joseph Banks and probably in consequence of this friendship, he began to observe natural phenomena and to study the natural history of the polar regions. Between whaling expeditions he studied at Edinburgh University. In 1813, he invented an apparatus for measuring deep sea temperatures and established for the first time that bottom temperatures are higher than surface temperatures in the Arctic. In 1816, his vessel was nipped between two ice floes and badly holed but he managed to bring it home safely. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (London) in 1824. Scoresby Sound on the east coast of Greenland was named after him. In 1823, he gave up the sea to become a minister and was a curate at Bessingby for some years before becoming vicar at Bradford. His stipend as a curate was £40 per annum whereas he had been earning £800 as a whaler. He graduated B.D. in 1834 and D.D. in 1839. His nephew, R. E. Scoresby Jackson, who was his principal biographer, was appointed physician to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and lecturer in clinical medicine in 1865. He (the nephew) died at 32 Queen Street, Edinburgh in 1867.

In 1820, Scoresby published an "Account of the Arctic Regions and the Northern Whale Fisheries" which was at once recognised as the standard work on the subject and may be considered the foundation stone of Arctic science. In the same year, he published in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* an "Account of the Seven Icebergs of Spitzbergen." Latta, newly qualified, read it and disagreed with some of Scoresby's conclusions. He wrote to the same journal as follows: "The interest which, of late years, has been excited by the Northern Regions renders every communication concerning them important which may contain anything like information. Though those by whom these communications are made may be but young in science yet the facts which may have come under their own observation may not be altogether unworthy of notice. From the high rank which Captain Scoresby holds in the literary world, from his intimate acquaintance with the Arctic seas and after the works he has published on the phenomena these present, it may seem presumptuous to question the opinions of that enlightened navigator or to state facts which may have escaped his observation. As both these, however, may be done in perfect consistency with the high respect I cherish for the distinguished talents of Captain Scoresby, I shall take the liberty to state some facts concerning the icebergs of Spitzbergen which I had the opportunity of personally observing."¹⁷

He described going ashore and spending several days on the north west coast of Spitzbergen where he had a narrow escape when he fell into a chasm and was nearly engulfed. With carefully reasoned arguments he disagreed with some of Scoresby's conclusions and offered alternative explanations. For instance, the ice was traversed with rents which Scoresby thought were due to melting ice. Latta considered they were due rather to "the expansive power of water when subjected to the freezing process."

Two further publications came from Latta's pen in 1826 and 1827, again in reply to observations from Scoresby on the glaciers and climate of Spitzbergen.¹⁸ To prove a point about the influence of wind as well as that of altitude on air temperature, he "carried a thermometer on three successive days to the summit of Arthur's Seat elevated scarcely 700 feet above the plain. During the first ascent, the decrement of heat gave it an altitude of about 135 feet, the second 1,755 feet, the third 1,350 feet which discrepancy was chiefly produced by the wind."

At that time, Captain Parry, R.N. was planning an attempt to reach the North Pole

and Latta discussed his plan and suggested modifications such as taking three sledges (not two), each capable of taking five men, one of which should be left at 84° or 85° N and the other at 87° N. Latta also stated: "It may be premised that an erroneous opinion has long been cherished—that the vicinity of land is necessary ere ice can be formed on the sea" and suggested that the Pole had no land near it. This paper was read to the Wernerian Natural History Society. Latta was probably made a member of the Society after presenting the paper for the letters "M.W.S." appear after his name though no proposal for membership can be found in the minutes of that Society.¹⁹

These papers reveal a keen and lively enquiring mind, that of a man interested in all he saw and able to make proper deductions from his observations. This brings a new light to his work on intravenous infusions showing again that chance favours the prepared mind; that his was not the unthinking quest for something novel but the application of sound principles by a keen intellect.

After Latta's death, his widow moved to Buccleuch Place and then, in 1837, to 39 Minto Street where she died of breast cancer in July, 1873 at the age of 70.²⁰ In the 1860's, she published anonymously several books of a religious nature—"The Orphans of Glenulva," "The Pious Brothers" and "The Everlasting Kingdom."²¹

It is with pleasure that I record my indebtedness to Mrs Eaves-Walton, Archivist to the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, for all her help and encouragement in what were for me new avenues of research. I wish also to thank the Registrar General for Scotland for permission to search the records in New Register House, Edinburgh; and the librarians of the Universities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Aberdeen and of the National Library of Scotland; also the Secretary of the Scottish Widows Fund and Life Assurance Society for searching their Minutes and for giving me permission to quote from them.

ADDENDUM

During the research into the life of T. A. Latta, two other Lattas with medical connections were found. Although no link has been established between them and the family of T. A. Latta, this does not necessarily mean that no connection existed. One was Robert Latta, of Edinburgh, who matriculated at Edinburgh University from 1792 to 1797 and about whom nothing else is known. The other was James Latta (or Lata or Lato) who matriculated at Edinburgh University between 1776 and 1781. Neither graduated. In 1783, James Latta became a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons and also became a Burgess of the city. For seven years (1776 to 1783) he was a Clerk or House Surgeon at the Royal Infirmary and thereafter he practiced surgery in the city. In 1793-94, he published a book entitled "A Practical System of Surgery." He died "of a decline" on 16th May, 1804 at the age of 49 and was buried in the Calton Burying Ground. At the time of his death, he lived in Alison Square, his previous addresses included Merlin's Wynd, Foot of the Trunk Close and Surgeons Square, High School Yards.

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THE MERCAT CROSS OF EDINBURGH

by STUART HARRIS

In June 1970 the shaft of the Mercat Cross was replaced by a replica in new stone. This was done with great regret, for some parts of the shaft were of great age; but the stones were decayed and the stability of the shaft was in danger. Since the operation exposed some details of the reconstruction of 1885, and also prompted study of some aspects of the history of the structure, this report gives an opportunity to review these historical matters as well as to record what was found and done in 1970.

The story of the Mercat Cross may be summarised in six phases:

- 1365 The earliest record of the existence of a mercat cross in Edinburgh; a passing reference in a charter.¹
- 1617 The earliest record of any alteration; the Cross was taken down and re-erected upon a new substructure lower down the High Street.²
- 1756 The Cross of 1617 was demolished; some parts were preserved, notably the capital and parts of the shaft, which Lord Sommerville erected as a garden feature at Drum House, Gilmerton.³
- 1866 The pieces from Drum House were set up on a new pedestal within the railings on the north side of St. Giles.⁴
- 1885 W. E. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, commissioned Sydney Mitchell to design a new substructure, and the Cross was rebuilt on its present site.⁵
- 1970 Edinburgh Corporation replaced the shaft, preserving the unicorn finial, the capital, and two pieces of one of the old shaft stones.

The first question to be looked into was the authenticity of the shaft erected in 1885. Its seven stones, octagonal in plan and dressed polished, bore no positive evidence of date in themselves, and it was necessary to re-examine the documents to check the facts and assess the probabilities. Since the reconstruction of 1617 is well-documented, it is convenient to take this turning point and to consider what went before and after it.

Both Calderwood and the Treasurer's Accounts⁶ bear witness that the transfer of the shaft from the old Cross to the new one in 1617 was carried out by a squad of sailors. The reason is not far to seek. The Burgh records refer to the shaft as "the lang stane" in 1555,⁷ and Calderwood calls it "the long stone or obelisk" and says that it was moved "without any harm to the stone." Clearly the shaft was a single stone—an inference supported by eighteenth-century evidence considered later. As such it must have been a massive and awkward thing to move, requiring the skill of sailors with sheer-legs and block and tackle. Calderwood estimates its length as "about forty foots or thereby," but it is hard to accept that he is referring to the shaft itself, for it would be virtually impossible to hew and erect a stone of that length but a mere eighteen inches in diameter. It is more likely that he means the total height of the Cross, shaft and substructure, above the street, and this would agree quite well with the estimate of "upwards of twenty feet" for the length of the shaft, given by Arnot in the following century. The weight of such a monolith would have been in the order of three tons.

The Council records suggest that the Cross stood unaltered throughout the sixteenth

century,⁸ and Calderwood, writing about 1627, says that it had been on its old site "past the memory of man." There can therefore be no doubt that the sailors were handling a stone already ancient and venerable, and a date for the old Cross later than the fifteenth century is clearly improbable. More exact dating must rely upon intrinsic evidence, for references to the Cross before 1555 are merely passing ones, relating to its function as a landmark or public place in the town. The evidence of the capital (which is a separate stone) must also be taken into account, and the question of the age of the shaft will be resumed later.

The Cross of 1617 stood until 1756, when it was pulled down to improve the street for traffic. There are two contemporary reports of this operation, and both confirm that the shaft was a single stone. Hugo Arnot says that it was "one stone upwards of twenty feet high and of eighteen inches diameter, spangled with thistles." *The Scots Magazine* of March, 1756 also refers to the thistles (adding that they were gilded) and reports that during the demolition one of the pulleys gave way and "the beautiful pillar . . . fell and broke to pieces."⁹ It may be significant that when the stones were measured in 1970 they showed some irregularity in their octagonal geometry, such as one might expect if one very long stone were hewn to fit external templates.

It was therefore a collection of fragments that Lord Sommerville took out to his garden at Drum House. The broken stones were dressed square so as to bed one on top of the other and cramped together to form a shaft, which stood at the Drum until 1866. There is a good deal of accurate information about it. In 1860, David Cousin, then City Architect, and his assistant Thomas Arnot, examined it and made "careful sketches."¹⁰ On 4th December, Cousin reported to the Lord Provost's Committee as follows, "The shaft, 13 feet 11 inches high, exclusive of the capital, is in five separate pieces held together by iron clamps sunk into the face of the stone, and is octagonal in form, 17½ inches in diameter, quite plain throughout its length—tho' described by Arnot as 'spangled with thistles'."¹¹

These details are fully confirmed by a calotype [Pl. I] taken a few years previously by Dr Thomas Keith¹² except that the photograph shows, rather indistinctly, what appears to be a small square moulding at the base of the lowest stone of the shaft. The same indistinct feature is shown on a drawing which James Drummond used to illustrate a paper in 1860.¹³ Drummond's paper includes a description of the shaft which tallies with Cousin's report, except that he makes the shaft 8 inches longer—an odd discrepancy, which is not to be explained by supposing that Drummond included the height of the capital, for this is 20¾ inches. Drummond adds that the stones were encrusted with white-wash, and that "traces of paint are here and there come upon, . . . no doubt the preparation on which gilt thistles were spangled, as mentioned by Arnot."

It is therefore certain that the shaft at the Drum was made up of five stones with a total height of about 14 feet. If Arnot was right in estimating the original length as upwards of 20 feet, Sommerville had managed to save about two-thirds of it.

In 1866, after many years of agitation for the restoration of the Cross, the antiquarian David Laing and the Corporation shared the cost of bringing the pillar back to the High Street.¹⁵ It was set up on the north side of St. Giles, inside the kirk railings and just in front of the third window from the east end of the choir, standing upon two steps and a simple octagonal pedestal 4 feet 6 inches high, designed by David Cousin.¹⁶ [Pl. 00] Detailed information about this work is lacking, but it seems that the shaft stones were left cramped

together as they had been at Drum House. Thomas Arnold, writing in 1885, described the shaft re-erected by Cousin as "broken and patched with cement . . . held together by a stout bar of iron behind it."¹⁷ and the *Evening Courant* reported that ". . . an iron clasp has been fastened to it on the side opposite the inscription."¹⁸

When Sydney Mitchell completed the next reconstruction in 1885, the most striking change was that there were now seven stones in the shaft, instead of five, although the overall height was still exactly that measured by Cousin twenty-five years previously—13 feet, 11 inches. By scaling off the heights of the five stones clearly shown in Keith's calotype we can make the following comparison, beginning with the topmost stone in each case:—

Heights of Stones in Inches	
Shaft at Drum House (from calotype)	1885 shaft (measured 1970)
13	20
23½	13
35	31
57½	20
38	26½
	26½
	28

The only direct correspondence is in the 13-inch stone, and the various possible permutations suggest that no more than six of the seven stones of the 1885 shaft could have derived from the Drum column. The mason who took down the shaft in 1970 reported that the stones were in two sorts of sandstone, but unfortunately he did not record which block was of which stone. The greater number were in a buff-coloured sandstone, and this presumably was the original stone. The Geological Survey examined a sample and reported that it was a medium-grained sandstone that might have come from Ravelston, or from Granton, where extensive early quarries are now filled in by the sea.

It must be concluded that Mitchell had the stones not only reworked and augmented, but also re-arranged in order. Arnold gives a rather different impression when he says that "the pillar was bored through from end to end, and a stout rod of bronze was inserted to bind it all together,"¹⁹ but press reports of 1885 note that the shaft was erected in several sections.²⁰ Some of the stones of the 1885 shaft were held together by cramps of the kind described by Cousin in 1860, but if they were the ones used at Drum House, either they were re-fixed in 1885 or else the stones were left cramped together in pairs and re-worked only at the open ends.

The bronze reinforcement of the shaft was more accurately described by the press than by Arnold, for when it was opened up in 1970 it was found to be a tube, as reported by *The Scotsman* of 23rd November, 1885. This heavy-gauge tube, 1¾ inches in outside diameter, was deeply embedded in the circular pier below the shaft, and ran up the centre of the shaft and through the capital and the base of the unicorn finial, which was (and still is) secured by a washer and bronze nut threaded to the tube. The tube was filled with molten lead, and the stones were grouted to it.

The third stone from the base of the 1885 shaft was inscribed "THE OLD+OF EDr." Neither Cousin nor Drummond mentioned such an inscription in 1860, and neither the

Keith calotype nor the Drummond engraving of 1860 (which between them show at least three sides of the Drum pillar) show any trace of it. The "inscription" mentioned by the *Evening Courant*²¹ is probably this one, and it is quoted in a letter in the *Evening Courant* of 27th February, 1868. These facts, together with the sentiment of the inscription and its black-letter style, strongly suggest that it was cut when the Drum shaft was brought back to the High Street in 1866. A piece of the stone bearing this inscription has been lodged in the City Museum, and another piece has been indented into the new stonework of the shaft.

Turning now to the capital which surmounts the shaft, Keith's calotype shows that it formed part of the pillar at Drum House, and David Cousin described it in detail in 1860:

"[The shaft] is surmounted by a *Gothic* capital of the Perpendicular period (not Corinthian as stated by Arnot) having the usual neck moulding, bell and abacus, the latter surmounted by an embattled cope. The capital is a good deal weather-worn and decayed, the embattled cope being much so—and portions of the foliage, on two faces of the octagon, have been defaced by causes obviously other than the ordinary effects of time and weather.

The carvings of the capital consist, in the lower portion, of dragons, eight in number, surmounting the neck of the bell, their heads and tails intertwining where they meet—the upper portion consists of foliage, projecting rather freely beyond the contour of the bell, characteristic, but not in a high style of art, nor in good taste.

Judging from the form of the mouldings of the neck, and of the abacus, and embattled parapet, the date of this work may be assigned to the latter end of the 14th century or beginning of the 15th."²²

The only previous information we have about the capital is in Arnot, where there is a description, and a plate engraved by A. Cameron. The description reads as if written some time after the demolition of 1756 (the *History* was published in 1779) and the plate also looks more like a reminiscence of the Cross than an engraving of a drawing made prior to the demolition. Another version of the plate, unsigned, yet exactly similar except for details of hatching and the addition of two figures, is in existence but is probably a later re-engraving.²³ Nevertheless, the engraving undoubtedly shows the capital we have today, the embattled cope being firmly drawn. Arnot describes the capital as "Corinthian"—an error pointed out by Cousin (above) but one which could pass muster if it were a description of the bell as engraved by Cameron, whose drawing of the detail below the cope is weak and indecisive. Drummond is probably right in suggesting that Arnot wrote with Cameron's plate in front of him, and did not check his description against the actual stone out at Drum House.²⁴

Documentary evidence goes back no further, and the capital can be dated only by its style. As quoted above, David Cousin assigned it to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Drummond suggested 1400-1420. In 1971 the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments examined the stone closely and concluded that it belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. The Commission's full report is appended to this paper, by kind permission.

Since capital and shaft fitted each other reasonably well it may be fairly concluded that they were made at the same time, or that one was expressly made to fit the other.²⁵ The strongest probability is that shaft and capital were first erected early in the fifteenth

century when the merchants of Edinburgh were flourishing and civic pride was burgeoning, although the possibility that the shaft is yet older cannot be excluded. Their history since 1555 establishes beyond any doubt that the capital and the major part of the 1885 shaft (including the two pieces still preserved) derived from the medieval Cross.

The unicorn finial with bronze banneret was carved by John Rhind to a design by James Drummond, and was set upon the capital in 1869 to represent the unicorn mentioned in accounts of the 1617 Cross.²⁶ Mitchell transferred it, along with the capital, to its present site in 1885.²⁷ The banneret is blazoned with the saltire and crown (for Scotland) on one side and the fouled anchor (for Edinburgh) on the other.

The substructure of the Cross is entirely the work of 1885, commissioned and paid for by Gladstone, who himself petitioned the Dean of Guild Court, with the consent of the Lord Provost and Magistrates.²⁸ Mitchell's design closely resembles the one which David Bryce prepared in 1860 in opposition to a scheme in Gothic style proposed by David Cousin. Both Bryce and Mitchell went back to Arnot's description and Cameron's engraving, with the professed intention of reproducing the Cross of 1617 as nearly as possible, but it is interesting to note that neither could resist designing something rather more "correct" and urbane than the building which Cameron drew.

The reconstruction of June, 1970 was carried out by William Gerard and Son, under the direction of the Department of the City Architect. It comprised the removal of the shaft and substitution of a replica, the consolidation of the substructure below the shaft, a light cleaning of the capital and unicorn, treatment of the whole shaft with silicone preservative, and the restoration of the banneret. The new shaft was constructed in blocks of Darney sandstone, exactly matching the height and order of the seven stones of the 1885 shaft. The stones were jointed in resin-bonded mortar, and each joint was dowelled with four stainless steel bars 6 inches long and 1 inch in diameter grouted into the stones. Where the shaft joins the Victorian base the steel dowels are longer, penetrating 9 inches downwards into the base and 6 inches upwards into the shaft. In addition the bronze tube was left in the base and cut off so that it projects 9 inches into the new shaft. At the top of the shaft, the capital and the unicorn were left fixed together by the bronze tube, which was let 9 inches into the stone immediately below.

Further work proved to be necessary in the Victorian base. Delicate measurements established that the stones of the base were moving horizontally, rendering the shaft unstable. To remedy this, the bed joints of the pier were routed out to a depth of 4 inches and packed firmly with resin-bonded mortar, forming what was in effect a ring of glue round the joint. To make doubly sure that the stones would be locked together, stainless steel plates 6 inches long were embedded vertically across the joints.

NOTES and REFERENCES

- ¹ *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1306-1424*, (1912), p. 62.
² Treasurer's Accounts, in *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604-26*, (ed. M. Wood, 1931), Appendix XXIV, p. 377 ff.; D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, (Woodrow Society, 1845), pp. 243-4.

³ *Scots Magazine*, March, 1756; H. Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1779), p. 302 ff.; R. Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, *Inventory of the City of Edinburgh*, (1951), p. 121.

Other parts of the Cross were saved from the demolition, chiefly, it seems, by Walter Ross, w.s., of Deanhaugh, Stockbridge. Accounts of this by W. T. McCulloch and others vary substantially and require investigation, but the following fragments have been identified:

- (a) five circular bas-reliefs or medallions built into the garden wall at Abbotsford;
 (b) a stone basin, also at Abbotsford, which Scott believed (see his letter to Terry, 29th October, 1817) to be part of the fountain of the Cross;
 (c) a stone finial, inscribed 1641, now at Viewforth, Cammo Road, Barnton.

See D. Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh*, (1848), p. 115; W. T. McCulloch, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. II (1856) p. 292; C. Hill, *Historical Memories of Stockbridge* (2nd ed., 1887), pp. 15-20; J. Geddie, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. XIV, p. 82; and the Edinburgh and Roxburghshire *Inventories*, pp. 121 and 300 respectively.

⁴ Council Record, vol. 291, (19th September, 1865), pp. 114-7 and Treasurer's Accounts, 19th July, 1866—both in the City Archives; Press cuttings "relating to the Ancient Mercat Cross of Edinburgh," in Edinburgh Public Library.

⁵ Warrants of the Dean of Guild Court, 6th August, 1885—petition by W. E. Gladstone and drawings by S. Mitchell; T. Arnold, *History of the Cross of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1885), chap. V.

⁶ *Supra*, reference 2.

⁷ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1528-57*, (ed. J. D. Marwick, 1871), p. 213.

⁸ P. Miller, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. XX (1885-6), pp. 384-6, quotes and discusses the minute of 29th March, 1555, when the Town Council considered an offer by William Hutcheson to rebuild or extensively alter the Cross; the vote was equally divided and the proposal appears to have been dropped.

⁹ *Supra*, reference 3.

¹⁰ Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 98. The sketches have not been found.

¹¹ Council Record, vol. 281, pp. 220-3.

¹² Hurd Bequest, Edinburgh Public Library. Keith was active between 1854 and 1856.

¹³ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. IV (1860-61), pp. 86-115 and fig. 10.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁵ *Supra*, reference 4.

¹⁶ Photograph, St. Giles from the East, in Edinburgh Public Library, n.d., but shows unicorn erected in 1869; *Evening Courant*, 16th February, 1866; and *Daily Review*, 10th February 1866.

¹⁷ Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹⁸ 15th March, 1866.

¹⁹ Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

²⁰ *Scotsman*, 29th October and *Daily Review*, 31st October, 1885.

²¹ *Supra*, reference 18.

²² *Supra*, reference 11.

²³ Bruce Collection, Edinburgh Public Library; unsigned and not dated.

²⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 100

²⁵ Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 63, discerns a certain thinness and poorness in the appearance of the capital, and believes that it was re-worked in 1617 to "make it look new and in harmony with the rest of the structure." This appears to be a guess, and he is possibly referring to the defacement noted by Cousin (? and himself) in 1860. In 1970 there was nothing to suggest that the neck of the capital had been altered to fit the shaft.

²⁶ *Evening Courant*, 15th May, 1869.

²⁷ *Supra*, reference 5.

²⁸ Letter, now in the City Museum:

10 Downing Street,
Whitehall,
21 March 1885.

My Dear Lord Provost,

I have to request of your Lordship and of the Town Council the favour of being allowed to undertake the restoration of the Mercat Cross.

As your great historic City is the capital of Midlothian, no less than of the kingdom of Scotland, I earnestly desire, in the character of the representative of the County, to leave behind me this small but visible record of grateful acknowledgement and sincere affection, in a form closely associated with local and with national tradition.

The site which has been suggested to me as most suitable is the entrance to Parliament Square.

I trust that my application may be favourably entertained; and I have the honour to remain,

My dear Lord Provost,

Your most faithful and obedient

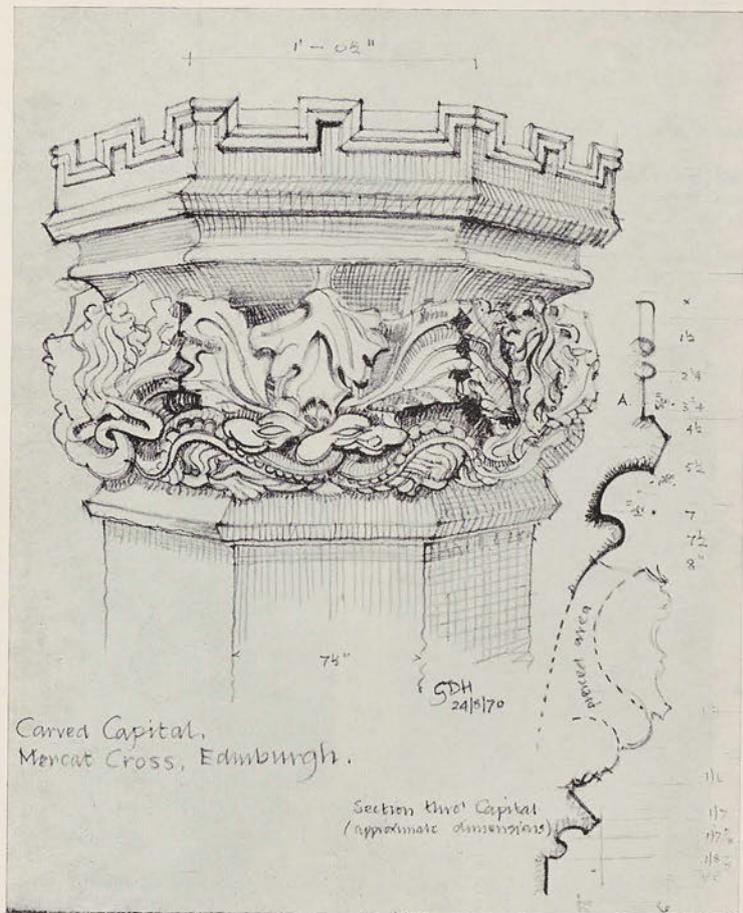
W. E. GLADSTONE

The subscription "... and I have the honour etc." is in holograph.



Plate I

Dr Thomas Keith's calotype of the Cross at the Drum



Carved Capital,
Mercat Cross, Edinburgh.

Section line Capital
(approximate dimensions)

Plate II

Drawing of the Capital



(a) The Scotland Street Tunnel



(b) The Rodney Street Tunnel

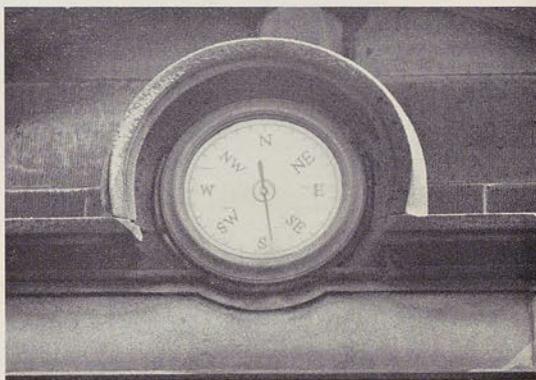
Plate III



(a) A pier of Warriston Bridge,
from downstream



(c) Ticket window for fishwives,
Trinity Station



(b) Wind dial, Trinity Station

APPENDIX

Report on the Capital of the Mercat Cross by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

The capital, [Pl. II] which is octagonal on plan, is based on an eight-sided shaft. The sides of the shaft are $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and the diameter of the shaft across opposing faces is $17\frac{1}{8}$ inches, measurements which approximate to the bed-surface of the capital itself. The corresponding dimensions of the capital at its upper limits are 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch and (at A) 2 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches respectively. From the bedding plane to its upper extremity the capital measures 1 foot $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, and its greatest projection beyond the face of the shaft is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is wrought from a single block of a buff coloured sandstone, weathering to grey.

In general composition the capital comprises a moulded upper zone, corresponding to the conventional abacus, surmounted by a battlemented cresting much worn on the top edge; a bell, occupying about two-thirds of the height, subdivided into a broad area of foliage above a more compressed band of zoomorphic carving; and, beneath this, a pronounced necking.

The moulding profile of the capital, descending from the base of the cresting, consists of a chamfered upper edge and oblique fillet separated from a lower roll by a deep and slightly undercut hollow, the two projecting members in effect defining the limits of the moulded zone or abacus. The concave section of the bell is carved on the upper two-thirds with undulatory foliage of pronounced ogival section; the leaves are scooped out in such a way that only the central leaves on each face are attached to the bell. Beneath the foliage is a narrower and more solid band of animal sculpture cut back obliquely from the base of the foliage to form an overhang above the necking. The latter, probably since it provides structural support to the carving, has an unusually heavy profile consisting of a broad, chamfered upper edge, an oblique fillet, and a crudely-wrought, undercut, hollow terminating with a roll.

In its elevational aspect the effect of the capital is that of a continuous wreath of foliage encircling, but detached from, the core of the bell. This continuity is best expressed by the tendril form assumed by the carved beasts at the base of the bell which represent wiverns with intertwining necks and tails, a rhythm emphasised by the beaded treatment of the vertebrae and the stem-like nature of the tails which appear to issue from the foliage. The more regularised foliage, representing a conventionalised vine-leaf of the separate large-leaf variety, conforms with the octagonal planes of the capital with three leaves disposed on each face; the outer leaves of each face branch from an inverted centre leaf to meet those on adjacent planes at an angled edge. The central veins of the leaves from which the secondary veins spread out to the edges in crests and hollows are of a pronounced ogival section. The battlemented cresting of the capital, emphasised by a continuous double bead-mould now much-weathered, provides an indented profile presumably intended to be seen against the skyline in association with a finial, and thus confirms the capital's provenance as a crowning feature to a shaft. The crenelles appear to be cut back with chamfers to simulate voids between the merlons.

The overall appearance of the capital, as defined by the carving, is somewhat bulbous with an absence of visible bell profile. The foliage, although skilfully undercut, is rather

clumsy and disproportionately heavy in relation to the more delicately executed carving of the animal sculpture. The exaggerated treatment of the necking would also suggest that the carving, although generally vigorous, is of a rather debased form.

In stylistic terms the capital may be regarded as a transitional example between the late Decorated, or middle Pointed, and early Perpendicular, or late Pointed, of the Gothic period in Scotland.¹ The fulsome and deeply undercut carvings of the bell associated with the deep shadow grooves of the mouldings are clear legacies of the earlier style. The beginnings of the later phase are, however, suggested by several features: large, regularised and isolated leafage with an exaggerated form of the natural undulations of the leaf surface; the revival of animal sculpture; the angular edge of the abacus; and the battlemented cresting.² Because of its alleged likeness to the certain carved details in the nearby St. Giles' Church the capital has been assigned to a date within the precise period, 1400 to 1420.³ Except in certain isolated points of detail, however, the capital bears no marked similarity with the work in St. Giles' which is more refined in design and execution. Stylistic comparisons of detail can in fact be found both in the carving commencing in the late fourteenth century at Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire, and in the mid-fifteenth century work at the collegiate church of Roslin Chapel, Midlothian.⁴

In the absence of any precise Scottish ecclesiastical or secular parallel, therefore, the capital with its diverse characteristics can be dated no more closely than to the first half of the fifteenth century.

NOTES and REFERENCES

¹ D. McGibbon and T. Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1896-7, vol. i, pp. 53-63; cf. J. S. Richardson, *The Mediaeval Stone Carver in Scotland*, (Edinburgh 1964), p. 35.

² The E window in the extension of the N transept of St. Giles' Church contains an embattled transom described as being of 'good but late decorated work' (McGibbon and Ross, *op cit.*, vol. ii, p. 438), and assigned to c. 1453 (*Inventory of the City of Edinburgh*, No. 2, p. 27).

³ Drummond, (*Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv (1860-2), p. 101), likens the capital to some of the bosses in St. Giles' Church, 'more especially to one representing animals chasing one another round a flower' illustrated, *ibid.*, 166, and taken from one of the late fourteenth century demolished chapels of the church. The similarity does not extend beyond a general zoomorphic theme and one isolated point of detail, the beaded vertebrae of the animals, 'double-headed winged dragons.' It has also been stated that the ornamentation of the capital closely resembles the carving on one or more of the clustered pillars of St. Giles' (P. Miller, in *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xx (1885-6), p. 388).

⁴ J. S. Richardson, *op. cit.*, 46-38 and plate 49.

THE EDINBURGH, LEITH AND NEWHAVEN RAILWAY

by ANGUS GRAHAM

This paper was prepared for the National Monuments Record of Scotland and is published by courtesy of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments. The photographs taken to illustrate the survey, which include many not reproduced here, have been deposited in the Monuments Record, where they are available for reference.

An Act¹ "for making and maintaining a Railway or Railways from the City of Edinburgh to Leith, and to the Shore of the Frith of Forth at or near Newhaven and Trinity" was passed in 1836. The Edinburgh terminus was to be in Canal Street, the site of which is shown by Kirkwood's map (1817) to have been in what is now the middle of Waverley Station, and its course was laid down in terms which allow remains to be identified in spite of changes of street-names and other alterations. Thus from Canal Street it was to be led by the Scotland Street tunnel along the lines of St. Andrew, Dublin and Scotland Streets, on a downward gradient of 1 in 39, into the depression, once a loch, that lies below the north end of Scotland Street; thence it entered a second tunnel, which passed under the north end of Rodney Street and the west end of Broughton Road; and continuing northwards crossed the Water of Leith by a bridge, forking on the left bank into two branches, directed respectively to Leith Old Docks, and to the Newhaven-Trinity area. In respect of the Trinity branch the Act is hard to understand, as although the whole work from Waverley onwards is aligned on the vanished Chain Pier at Trinity, which stood at what is now the west end of Trinity Terrace, yet a 'secondly' clause, following the 'firstly' one which deals with the line to Leith, lays down Maitland Place, now the east end of Starbank Road, Newhaven, and not the Chain Pier, as the northern terminus, providing at the same time for branches from Maitland Place to the Chain Pier and Newhaven Pier—the former being about 370 yards distant to the west and the latter some 200 yards to the east. The puzzle is further complicated by a 'thirdly' clause, which is clearly not intended to be read as an alternative to 'secondly,' and which makes the Chain Pier the terminus—naturally enough in view of the general alignment of the railway—with a branch to Newhaven Pier. Some kind of triangular arrangement seems to have been envisaged, but it evidently came to nothing, as a plan of 1843,² illustrating the projected branch to Granton, merely shows a terminal station at Trinity, overlooking the Chain Pier (see below). The points mentioned in the Act between the Water of Leith and Trinity, e.g. East Warriston, Bangholm, Lixmount, and the crossings of the Ferry and East Trinity Roads—present no difficulties, nor do those on the branch to Leith, which kept to the left bank of the river and passed north of the road-bridges at Bonnington and Great Junction Street. The tunnel under Coburg and Couper Streets, entering beyond Great Junction Street and debouching between Citadel and Admiralty Streets, is not specifically mentioned in the Act.

The line from Scotland Street to Trinity was opened on 31st August, 1842, the day on which Queen Victoria landed at Granton.³ In 1844 the name of the Company was changed to the Edinburgh, Leith and Granton Railway Company,⁴ no doubt on account of the contemporary development of Granton Harbour; and a further Act, of 1846,⁵ which

empowered the Company to increase its capital, narrated that "the said Railway and Branch Railways have been partly constructed and opened to the Public, and the remaining Parts thereof are in the course of being constructed, and are nearly completed." With this may be compared the report by the Directors of the Edinburgh, Leith and Granton Railway, of December 1844, which stated that the branch from Trinity to Granton was practically finished and that it was hoped to open the Leith branch shortly. The Chief Engineer's report, which was attached, added that the foreshore embankment was finished except for a short length at the Granton end, the contractors being Messrs Orrell and Co. Rails, chairs and stone blocks were in preparation, the last in place of the wooden sleepers that had not yet come into use. A record of 1848⁶ states that at that date the railway extended "from Trinity chain-pier . . . to a station at Scotland Street, in the outskirts of Edinburgh. To secure, however, a more central and convenient terminus, a tunnel is now nearly completed which will bring the line to the great general terminus under the North-bridge." In 1849 the Company amalgamated with the Edinburgh and Northern Railway to form the Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee Railway,⁷ and this was later absorbed by the North British Railway. The "Goods Station" between the Scotland and Rodney Street tunnels is shown as belonging to the last-named Company on the 1:1056 Ordnance Survey sheet surveyed in 1851.

STRUCTURAL REMAINS⁸

1. *The Scotland Street Tunnel*—Pl. IIIa

The tunnel opens into the hollow area below the north end of Scotland Street, through a façade which forms part of a stretch of masonry which acts as revetment to the south flank of the hollow. The façade was built by Messrs Ross and Mitchell, and was completed in 1844. The tunnel itself was still under construction at the end of that year, the contractors being Messrs J. Barr & Co. An engineer-superintendent, G. Buchanan, was in local charge, under the Company's Chief Engineer, Thomas Grainger.⁹ The tunnel has no connection with the modern railway-system, but a door communicating with it can be seen at ground-level in the north side-wall of Waverley Station, under the seventh blind arch from the west end.

The façade exhibits a Classical scheme, the tunnel entrance being framed by buttresses and a cornice above a plain frieze. The total height from the bottom of the buttress-bases, which is also the springing-level of the tunnel arch, to the top of the parapet is 29 ft., though the permanent way, from which the rails have been removed, is about 4 ft. lower. The arch, which has been blocked with brickwork and boarding, is segmental, spanning 26 ft. 3 in. and rising 11 ft. 4 in. to the crown; it is flanked by a pair of buttresses, rectangular in section, and springs 1 ft. 6 in. inwards from their bases. The space above the arch and between the buttresses, up to the frieze, is filled with courses of rusticated and channelled ashlar set radially, in the manner of elongated voussoirs. The frieze and the cornice are 2 ft. 6 in. and 2 ft. deep respectively; the cornice marks the base of the parapet, which is 6 ft. 3 in. high including a coping 1 ft. thick and 1 ft. 5 in. wide over 4-in chamfers. The tops of the buttresses bear caps 5 ft. 4 in. long by 3 ft. wide, which project slightly all round. Beyond the buttresses the line of the cornice is continued as a plain band. The base of the west buttress, noted in detail, is a block of rusticated and channelled ashlar 2 ft. 2 in.

high; it bears a moulded cap 2 ft. 3 in. thick by 3 ft. deep, which overlaps the block below it by 6 in. all round and projects 1 ft. from the face of the buttress above. At this level the buttress is 6 ft. wide and tapers to 5 ft. beneath the frieze; above the cornice its sides are vertical. It projects 2 ft. from the face of the walling. Both the buttress and the cap of its base are of droved ashlar. The buttress east of the tunnel, which is similar to its neighbour, is partially masked, along with the part of the façade still further to the east, by debris and ruins accumulated on the flank of the hollow, but traces can be seen of steps which once led down to the station platform from Cornwallis Place. From the west buttress a plain face of rusticated and channelled ashlar¹⁰ extends westwards to a third buttress, exactly resembling the others, and the total width of the whole façade is thus 120 ft.

2. *The Rodney Street Tunnel*—Pl. IIIb

On emerging from the Scotland Street tunnel, the line traverses the site of the former station, the platforms of which still survive, and immediately enters the tunnel that passes under Rodney Street and Broughton Road. The entrance façade is again of Classical design, but is smaller than the one at Scotland Street; it is set in a masonry bay, and rises to a total height of 28 ft. 4 in. The arch, which is closely flanked by a pair of buttresses, is a slightly depressed horseshoe, 24 ft. 5 in. wide at ground level, 27 ft. 8 in. wide at its widest point 6 ft. 6 in. above ground, and 16 ft. 4 in. high from ground level to the crown. The space above and beside the archway is filled with radially-set courses of rusticated and channelled ashlar, returned on the intrados, the course representing the keystone being left plain. The flanking buttresses are of droved ashlar, are rectangular in section, and taper slightly; they measure 5 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. at the bottom, where they rise from rusticated ashlar bases 7 ft. 6 in. high, 6 ft. 6 in. wide and 2 ft. 4 in. deep, themselves topped by projecting moulded caps 1 ft. 6 in. thick. The space above the radial masonry is crossed by a cornice and frieze jointly measuring 2 ft. 6 in. in thickness, which continue round the pilasters and mark the base of a coped parapet 4 ft. high. The cornice projects 1 ft. and carries a small rectangular moulding; but outside the buttresses its line is continued by a string course which runs on, with the parapet, round the sides of the bay. The bay is 22 ft. deep by 80 ft. wide between the ends of the horns; like the buttresses and parapet it is faced with droved ashlar.

The northern entrance of this tunnel is similar to the southern one. It can be approached from Logie Green Road through some derelict railway-property.

3. *Warriston Bridge*—Pl. IVa

The line crosses the Water of Leith, and also Warriston Road, which borders the river's right bank, on a skew bridge of three segmental arches. The south archway is now occupied by the road, and has been so since before the Ordnance Survey of 1852; but a cut-water embodied in the riverside embankment of the road shows that this arrangement was an afterthought. In general, the bridge resembles the entrance to the Rodney Street tunnel, buttresses of rectangular section rising from the pier foundations and at the abutments, moulded cornices running along the bases of the parapets, and the slopes of the embankment, except on the upstream side of the north abutment, being revetted with

masonry bays. The springing-lines of the arches are emphasised by plain string-courses. The bridge is 150 ft. long¹¹ over the terminal buttresses, 30 ft. 6 in. high above a low water-level, and 30 ft. wide. The masonry is ashlar, droved on the parapets, bands, voussoirs, intrados and inner buttresses, but elsewhere rusticated. The piers stand on round-nosed cut-waters. The arches spring about 13 ft. above the water, span 35 ft. and rise 8 ft. above the springing-level. Internally the parapets are 4 ft. 2 in. high and have a gutter of cut stone along their bases. The upstream parapet bears externally the date "1841."

4. *East Trinity Road Tunnel*

The line passes under East Trinity Road, and some built-up ground adjoining it, by a short tunnel, but this calls for no particular remark as its general appearance and method of construction are similar to those noted above at Rodney Street.

5. *Lennox Row Bridge*

Lennox Row crosses the line on a bridge, the faces of which are substantially similar to the tunnel entrance at East Trinity Road. They differ in that the abutments are here faced with vertical and not curving walls, from which the arch springs 11 ft. 6 in. above the ground, and that the space between the crown of the arch and the base of the parapet is narrower.

6. *Trinity Station—Pls. IVb and IVc*

The station yard still retains its original form, apart from the fact that the line no longer ends at Trinity but curves westwards to Granton Harbour after passing through the station. The following features of the old lay-out can be recognised—the steep foot-path giving access to the site of the vanished Chain Pier, now marked by the Chain Pier Bar; the buttressed masonry revetment of the cutting south of the yard and of its south-east side; the main entry for traffic from York Road; and the station building, which is probably original and at any rate as old as the Ordnance Survey of 1852. This building possesses two features of interest—a dial showing the direction of the wind, no doubt for the information of travellers making for a ferry; and a small movable pane at the base of one of the windows, through which fishwives were given their tickets in order to keep the ticket-office proper free of the smell of fish. On the trains, too, the fishwives had to travel in a special coach or van, in the interests of the other passengers.¹² Some examples of the stone chair-blocks that preceded wooden sleepers can be seen, re-used along the margin of the platform.

7. *From Warriston to Leith*

The structural remains surviving on the Leith branch amount to comparatively little, but the following may be mentioned briefly.

(i) The bridge that carries Warriston Road over the cutting at the east corner of Warriston Cemetery is slightly humped, and ends in buttresses on abutments which are embayed and somewhat battered. The arch springs from vertical walls which face the sides of the cutting, with string-courses at the springing lines; the voussoirs are almost

square. The bases of the parapets are also marked by string-courses. The masonry is mainly scabbled ashlar, but droved on the dressings.

(ii) The project plan of 1843, mentioned above, provides for diverting the river slightly southwards on the bend west of Bonnington Mills; but this stretch of the river-bank has been so much disturbed by railway construction at various periods that it is impossible to say whether or how far its present condition reflects diversion effected in the 1840's.

(iii) Unlike Newhaven Road and Great Junction Street, where the bridges over the line have been reconstructed, South Fort Street is still carried on one which seems to be original. It is slightly humped, has small bays at the abutments, and generally resembles its counterpart at Warriston Cemetery in materials and style of construction.

(iv) In its final stretch the line entered a short tunnel, now blocked, which carried it under the slightly rising ground on the left bank of the river to a terminus adjoining the Old Docks. Neither entrance is accessible for measurement or detailed photography. The south one underlies the south-west end of Coburg Street, and shows a façade of scabbled ashlar, an elliptical arch with longer and shorter voussoirs alternating, and a shallow bay on the east. The north end, which is almost obliterated, opens, under the north-east side of the high building in Couper Street, upon a large triangular area, now under redevelopment, which originally formed the railway's terminal yard. Comparison of the Ordnance Survey map of 1852 with the revised edition of 1877 shows that the original tunnel-opening was set in a large, embayed entrance-façade, itself situated about 130 ft. north-north-east of the existing entrance; by 1877 the façade had been removed and the opening set back to its present position at the apex of the angle between Couper and Citadel Streets. The map of 1852 shows the yard, with its goods offices, sidings, etc., extending northwards to Commercial Street, on which there was also a passenger station. From the yard a double line of rails crossed Commercial Street at right angles, to serve the East and West Old Docks.

The passenger-station building, now altered and partially derelict, stands at the north-east angle of the site under redevelopment. It measures 90 ft. in length along Commercial Street by 36 ft. on its other dimension, the east corner being cut off to give a frontage 40 ft. long which lies obliquely to both Commercial Street and Citadel Street at their junction. This oblique section is recessed to form a kind of porch, in the back wall of which there is a large central window, a smaller window to the right, and a door, probably the original entrance-door, to the left. The lintel of the porch is supported by a pair of Classical columns of round section, and above there is a moulded architrave. The ends of the porch are closed by square masonry columns, which rise above the parapet and carry high, moulded finials with vase-like tops. The Commercial Street frontage shows the same Classical features as the oblique portion, and its west end is slightly advanced to form another porch, the lintel of which is again supported by two Classical columns, but these are rectangular in section. Under this porch there are three windows, and in the central portion of this frontage, now occupied by the Steamboat Tavern, four windows and a door. At the back of the building there survives a single cast-iron column, connected with part of a girder and some cast tracery, the whole probably representing part of an original station-roof.

NOTES and REFERENCES

¹ 6 and 7 William IV, *cap.* cxxxi. I am indebted to Mr J. Mackenzie for all references to legislation.

² Preserved in the Scottish Record Office; this plan, like the similar one for the Leith branch, is signed by "Grainger and Miller, Engineers."

³ E.L. & N. Railway—Minute of 27/8/1842, preserved in S.R.O.

⁴ 7 and 8 Vict. *cap.* lxxxii.

⁵ 9 Vict., *cap.* lvii.

⁶ A. Fullarton, *Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland*, vol. II, p. 478.

⁷ 10 and 11 Vict. *cap.* cliv.

⁸ The larger of the dimensions given below have been scaled off the 1:1056 O.S. map.

⁹ Directors' Report (December, 1844) on the Edinburgh, Leith and Granton Railway, and the Chief Engineer's Report attached thereto.

¹⁰ The white patch seen here in the photograph is the scar of a vanished brick structure, once part of the station buildings.

¹¹ The dimensions given in this section are approximate.

¹² Information from Mr Flanders, of British Railways staff.

THREE EDINBURGH MICROSCOPE MAKERS:
JOHN FINLAYSON, WILLIAM ROBERTSON AND JOHN CLARK

by D. J. BRYDEN

Though one scientific instrument-maker settled (briefly?) in Edinburgh in 1647¹ it was not until the second and third decades of the eighteenth century that even a handful of such artisans were active in the city.² From this time a small and slowly growing group of craftsmen made Edinburgh one of the two Scottish centres of instrument-making, Glasgow being the other. Both cities were small provincial centres, serving a local market in direct competition with the products of the large and long established London instrument-making trade, with its European sales and well deserved reputation for high quality craftsmanship.

The early pioneering studies of men like Malpighi, Hooke and Leeuwenhoek apart, the microscope, invented in the early years of the seventeenth century, was not to become a serious and worthwhile aid to scientific studies until the development of achromatic objective lens systems in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.³ Throughout the intermediate eras, however, it enjoyed immense popularity among a wide section of quasi-scientific investigators. For two centuries instrument-makers 'developed' and 'improved' the microscope with 'new' inventions and 'startling' innovations; but the optical system, the essential part of the microscope as a scientific instrument, remained poor.⁴ Indeed, even as late as 1829 a commentator could write: "Microscopes, though but toys compared with telescopes, nevertheless deserve to be rendered as perfect as possible; for they yield not to them in the quantity and variety of rational amusement which they are capable of introducing to us. . . . Compound microscopes, though not so much to be depended upon for the purposes of discovery and philosophical investigation as single lenses, are still best adapted for recreation."⁵ To the scientific dilettante of the eighteenth century the microscope was an interesting and amusing diversion. Among such customers the instrument-makers found a ready acceptance for the plethora of ingenious but trivial changes in mechanical design that passed as important improvements in microscope construction.⁶ It was primarily for this dilettante market that the microscopes of John Finlayson, (flourished 1743), William Robertson (flourished c 1730-c 1760) and John Clark, (1749-96) were made.

John Finlayson, mathematical instrument-maker

On 5th January, 1743, John Finlayson became the first instrument-maker to be accepted under that designation as a Burgess and Guild Brother of Edinburgh.⁷ The previous month the Town Council had instructed the Dean of Guild "to admit and receive John Finlayson maker of Mathematical Instruments . . . dispensing with payment of any dues, for good services."⁸ Unfortunately, the Town Council Minutes do not record the reason for the grant of a gratis ticket; neither is there any mention of Finlayson, at this time or subsequently, in the minutes of the Hammermen, the most likely trade incorporation for an instrument-maker to join.

Instrument-making developed in Edinburgh at a time when the trade incorporations were losing much of their former influence and power; for the handful of craftsmen follow-

ing the trade possession of a Burgess ticket and membership of one of the trade incorporations was useful, but it was not a pre-requisite of trading.⁹ Among John Finlayson's contemporaries, Thomas Short, mathematical and optical instrument-maker in Leith from about 1737 to 1768, was a Burgess as a member of the Incorporation of Wrights—by virtue of his late father's ticket; while William Barclay traded as an optical instrument-maker from at least 1731 till his death in 1758 without holding a Burgess ticket. After John Finlayson, the next craftsman to receive a Burgess ticket as an instrument-maker was John Miller, in February 1782; Miller had by then been in business in Edinburgh for more than ten years, having served an apprenticeship in the workshop of a renowned London instrument-maker, George Adams of Fleet Street.

Two compound microscopes made by John Finlayson are known to me; one is in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh¹⁰ and the other in the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford.¹¹ The instruments are identical in design, though the latter unfortunately lacks the thin brass stage plate which is engraved on the former,

"J. Finlayson Edin^r. 14= $\frac{66}{20}$ 1743"

The 'equation' in the signature is presumed to be a form of serial numbering following both the practice and style introduced by James Short, the Edinburgh born maker of reflecting telescopes who worked in the town from the early 1730's before settling in London in 1738.¹² An explanation of the meaning of Finlayson's serial numbering is not possible without the location of other examples.

Little is known of John Finlayson; his marriage to Elizabeth Steven in March, 1743 is the only biographical detail uncovered,¹³ while the one surviving dated instrument was also made in that year. There is a letter dated 27th October 1743 written by Finlayson to Henry Baker, the renowned London microscopist¹⁴ which indicates that Finlayson had recently visited the latter in London, and on 27th June, 1744 Henry Baker wrote to one of his frequent correspondents, Robert Blair of Athelstaneford:

"About a yeare agoe one Finlayson of Edinburgh came up to London, & brought with him a Sort of Double Microscope of his own Workmanship, at the Price of 3 Guineas; (tho I believe he had sold them cheaper in Scotland). It had three Magnifiers, good enough as far as their Powers went, but none of them exceeding your No. 3. The Structure of the Instrument was pretty, but the Apparatus to it scarce fit for any Purpose. By the Countenance of Mr McLaurin he got introduced to me & some other Gentlemen, who gave him encouragement, & entered into an Agreement with Mr Cuff, for selling his Microscopes at London, & got Instructions here how to improve & fit them up in a useful Manner. He left 3 or 4 Unfinish'd with Mr Cuff, & was to send the Apparatus for them on his return to Edinburgh, upon the promise of which he borrowed Money, & took up Goods of Mr Cuff, but has never perfected the Microscopes nor returned him any Money. I should be glad to know what Reputation he bears at Edinburgh, if you have any opportunity of Enquiring, & if he goes on to sell his Microscopes there, & for what Price. No Doubt Work may be done cheaper at Edinburgh than here, but I believe whatever Boasts may be made you will no where find cheaper than your own, provided it is as good."¹⁵

It is significant that it was through Colin MacLaurin, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Edinburgh, that Finlayson made contact with Henry Baker and the optical instrument-maker John Cuff, for it was MacLaurin who had earlier encouraged and

patronised James Short, the Edinburgh telescope maker.¹⁶ The 'double' or compound microscopes that Finlayson had taken to London were probably similar to the one illustrated in this article, "pretty but scarce fit for any purpose", the type of instrument that Baker had seen used as "a meer Play-thing, a matter of Amusement and Fancey only, that raises our Wonder for a Moment, but is of no farther service."¹⁷

Replying to Baker's query, Blair wrote:

"I shall make it my business to Enquire concerning Finlayson. . . . I am sorry he has treated Honest Mr Cuff so scurvily. I never heard of his having made or sold any Microscopes, I was indeed told . . . that Mr McLaurin Employ'd him to clean his Instruments & keep them in order, and this is all I have ever heard of him. . . ."¹⁸

There is no further mention of Finlayson in the subsequent correspondence, and presumably Robert Blair's enquiries were unsuccessful. It is to be hoped that Finlayson eventually paid his debts to John Cuff, for the latter was to experience financial difficulties leading in 1750 to his being declared a bankrupt.¹⁹

The disturbances of the '45 probably left the account unpaid; for in that rebellion John Finlayson played an active part, being "employed about the Rebel Artillery"²⁰ as an engineer in the Prince's Army. Given the mechanical skills of an instrument-maker it is not surprising to see him in such a technical role, though these political sympathies were later to lead to his imprisonment. After the rebellion, drawing on contacts within the Jacobite movement,²¹ Finlayson draughted and had engraved two annotated maps, one illustrating the arrangement of the forces at the battle of Culloden²² and the other "A General Map of Great Britain; Wherein are delineated the Military Operations of that Island during the years 1745 and 1746 . . ."²³ This later map, which has the engraver's signature but no indication as to the compiler, was deemed to show Jacobite leanings and led to Finlayson's arrest and imprisonment. In 1751 he petitioned the Duke of Newcastle for his release and the return of the plates from which the maps were printed;²⁴ whether he was successful in this I do not know, but given the government's knowledge of the active part he had played in the rebellion, it is doubtful. Copies of both maps are extremely rare. The two microscopes mentioned are the only surviving instruments made by Finlayson that are known to me. As a mathematical instrument-maker it is to be expected that he made a wide range of devices, but a reference to a thermometer made for the Natural Philosophy Department of the University of Glasgow is all that has been uncovered.²⁵

William Robertson, contriver of optic devices

A few equally fragmentary references, scattered in time, provide information on the activities of William Robertson, optical instrument-maker in Edinburgh. The first piece of evidence is embodied in two almost identical compound microscopes, the second is an advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury*; in the former is a connection with John Finlayson, and in the latter with the third subject of this article, John Clark.

The especially interesting feature of the design of the two known microscopes made by John Finlayson, is their strong generic resemblance to two earlier and cruder instruments belonging to the Clerk of Penicuik family. The basic design of the latter microscopes is of paste-board optical draw-tubes, the outer of which acts as a collar, and is held between two wooden upright supports which in turn hold the flat stage made of thin brass. The stage is decorated with a border of repeated circular punchings, reminiscent of the engraved

decoration on the stage of the Finlayson microscope. Other features, such as the orifice in the stage to allow illumination from the concave-mirror set on the base below, or the bull's eye lens fixed to the stage, are typical of microscope design of the period.

When I first examined these two microscopes in 1967 they represented something of an enigma; without a doubt they were made by the same man, but at the time there was no record of an instrument-maker named William R.....²⁶ whose signature "*Gul. R. Fecit*" is engraved on the stage of one of the instruments. The standard of workmanship is competent but rudimentary; one such instrument would have been considered 'home made', the work of an interested amateur but two effectively identical microscopes with similar boxes and accessories strongly suggested the hand of a local artisan, and given the provenance, 'local' could be understood as implying Edinburgh. The resemblance to John Finlayson's microscopes added weight to this supposition.

The paste board optic tubes, which are covered in green vellum, are decorated with gold tooling in a pattern indicating that the fixed outer tube was originally longer. The style of the tools indicates that the tubes were made in London during the period 1700-25,²⁷ the sliding brass dust caps which are contemporary with the tubes, suggest a post-1720 date. The optic tubes may have been either cannibalised from telescopes or purchased in London from one of the tube-makers who supplied empty bodies to the optical instrument-makers. These two compound microscopes have the most basic optical system: an eye lens and an objective lens; a range of magnifications being obtained with different objective lenses. One of the microscopes still has two objectives, each mounted in a large wooden holder that screws into the nose of the optic tube. The other instrument has only one, though it originally had three, for its drawtube is marked along an inked line "3.2.1. G. [reatest] M. [agnification]," indicating the position of the tubes with each objective. The unsophisticated nature of these two instruments, when compared with Finlayson's well finished microscopes made to the same basic design, implies that they were probably made in the early 1730's at the latest.

'*Gul. R.*' would have remained a mystery were it not for the third subject of this article, John Clark, who in 1749, at the opening of a long business career, inserted an advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* seeking subscribers for his pocket microscopes. One Edinburgh instrument-maker clearly saw it as a challenge to his own well established trade and within three days inserted the following:

"Observing in both NewsPapers of the 19th Current, a MICROSCOPE proposed for the Use of the Publick; the Intent of which Advertisement is apprehended to depreciate my late invented *Universal One*, as well as other Optic Devices by myself alone contrived, and where withal I have the Honour to serve the Noble, the Learned and the Curious: I therefore take this Opportunity to assure such my Friends, (and that from the Judgement of the most learned in Opticks) the same is no other than my own disguised, and by which Disguise deprived of all the Advantages so peculiar to my Original. But as the satisfaction of my Friends is in this my only View, and not the depreciating of any Piece of Art, whose Advancement, as well as Encouragement, I greatly wish; therefore in this Sort, shall henceforth trouble them no further, but when favoured with their Visits shall give them ocular Conviction. WILL ROBERTSON."²⁸

Here is '*Gul. R.*' unmasked. Regrettably for the historian, William Robertson remained true to his word and 'troubled his customers no more' with advertisements in the Edin-

burgh press. Indeed John Clark's announcement in 1749 marks the first instance of an Edinburgh instrument-maker using the press to advertise his wares, an example not followed by others for the next twenty-five years. Except that it disturbed the status quo by publicly announcing the existence of another optical instrument-maker, John Clark's advertisement did not disparage the work of William Robertson, or anyone else, and within a few days a rejoinder to the latter's outburst was inserted, denying the charges.²⁹ In addition Clark invited readers to his workshop to see and compare one of Robertson's "Universal Microscopes" with his own "Catadioptric microscope of a new construction."

There are another two microscopes known to me that were made by Robertson.³⁰ They are almost identical in construction with minor differences in finish consistent with their being hand-made articles. The design is a modified form of the screw-barrel microscope, mounted on a tripod, and signed on the 'barrel', "*W. R. Fecit.*" The brass plate, acting as a strut bracing the three turned brass legs, is decorated with a border of circular punchings, identical in style to the decoration on the stages of the two earlier compound microscopes, while the mirror, used to reflect light on to the object through the condenser, is suspended from a brass limb cast with decorative scrollwork reminiscent of the style seen on the wooden uprights of the Finlayson compound microscopes. Both instruments are immediately recognisable as the "new Catadioptric Microscope" described and illustrated in a rare and undated pamphlet written by Robertson.^{30a} In many ways it is a unique design, drawing on accepted mechanical features but combining them in a form markedly different from the work of the London optical instrument-makers.

There are minor differences between the two Robertson microscopes. That in the Royal Microscopical Society Collection has a shorter brass body than the Whipple instrument. Both have a lens mounted in a turned mahogany and ivory mount, but the Royal Microscopical Society instrument, which retains its original packing case, has three additional lenses, each set in a brass mount. These rather heavy lens cells, are scarred by lathe judder, indicating a failure to master, as yet, all the skills of metal working; though judged by these microscopes, Robertson had certainly improved his constructional techniques.

Design features drawn from the works of the London opticians suggest a date of manufacture between 1745 and 1755. The box of the microscope in the Royal Microscopical Society Collection has the words "Bought March 1775" written inside the door, which almost certainly refers to a second hand purchase. Robertson's prestige appears to have been sufficient to sustain interest in his work after his death. One of his microscopes was owned by Dr Ebenezer M'Fait who taught geography, mathematics and natural philosophy in Edinburgh from 1745 to 1786; it is an indication of Robertson's contemporary reputation that in the advertisement for the roup of M'Fait's library and scientific apparatus,³¹ "William Robertson's Catadioptric Microscope" was the only one of a long list of instruments to which a maker's name was pre-fixed.

It is assumed that Robertson continued to work in Edinburgh for at least a decade following the publication of the 1749 advertisement, each year improving his skills and enhancing his standing as a microscope maker. That discerning collector of optical, mathematical and philosophical instruments John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, had one of Robertson's microscopes in his collection,³² a mark of approbation for the mechanical and aesthetic accomplishments achieved by one of the earliest Edinburgh microscope makers.

John Clark, goldsmith, jeweller and optician

"JOHN CLARK Goldsmith in EDINBURGH, Has made a CATADIOPTRIC- MICROSCOPE, Of a new Construction; *Esteemed by some of the best Judges, the most portable and commodious ever yet invented.* It is so contrived, that in half a Minute it can be mounted, and have distinct Vision either of Transparent or Opaque Objects with the greatest Accuracy, and is so well adapted to the Solar Apparatus, as to exceed for Ease and Expedition any yet composed in that Way. There is likewise a Contrivance for viewing the Circulation of the Blood, without the Trouble of Glass Tubes; the Lenses are so situate, that they can be moved from one to another, as the Object requires to be magnified. This Microscope and Apparatus being Silver, is contained in a Shagreen case about the size of a Watch. As the above Microscope has been favoured with the Approbation of good Judges, it has encourag'd him to offer them to the Public by way of Subscription. N.B. The Inventor is to be found at Mr James Gilliland's Jeweller, Upper-end of the Luckenbooths; where Proposals may be had, and a Specimen of the work-seen."³³

So reads the first advertisement that John Clark inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers. Despite Robertson's polemical interjection it attracted some attention, for when repeated the following month Clark had added: ". . . I am resolved (notwithstanding the Time of Delivery by my Proposals is fixed on the first of May Next) to have them ready, three Months after the Date of Subscription; any other subscribers after this may depend on their Microscopes on the same Terms".³⁴

Two years later, now at his own premises in Parliament Close, John Clark readvertised his Catadioptric-Microscope describing it in similar terms and indicating that it could be bought for five guineas, or five and a half guineas with solar apparatus, a fitting that allowed the image to be projected on to a screen.³⁵ A microscope tallying with the instrument described in Clark's 1749 and 1751 advertisements was recently sold in London.³⁶ It is signed "*John Clark Inv. & Fec. Edinb.*" and is now believed to be in the hands of a Dutch collector.

In May 1754 Clark introduced a new design for his simple pocket microscopes, announcing:

"This is to inform all Lovers of Arts and Sciences, and curious Enquirers into the Works of NATURE, that as several NOBLEMEN and GENTLEMEN of GREAT BRITAIN, and some foreign Academics, were pleased to encourage Mr CLARK'S first Essay in constructing his SILVER MICROSCOPE and signified their great satisfaction with its Performance: Gratitude to them, with a Desire to promote Natural Knowledge, engaged his Thoughts at his Leisure Hours, for some Years bygone, to improve that Instrument, and he has now actually compleated a MICROSCOPE of a new FORM: with several considerable Improvements; particularly with regard to viewing opaque Objects, and the Circulation of the Blood, he flatters himself it will be found more perfect and simple than any hitherto communicated to the World. As this Instrument has been seen and approved by several good Judges, he has been prevail'd upon to make it public, upon these Conditions. I The Microscope with its Apparatus, shall be neatly finished in Silver with a Shagreen Case. II It shall be delivered for Four Guineas, One to be paid on Subscribing the Remainder upon Delivery of the Instrument, providing there be Fifty Subscribers, such a Number being absolutely necessary to reduce it to this low Price. III If at the End of

November next the Subscription be not filled up, he obliges himself to redeliver the Guinea received. Proper Directions will be given with every Instrument.

N.B. A Specimen of the MICROSCOPE is to be seen with the Maker *JOHN CLARK* Goldsmith, at his Shop in the Parliament-close, Edinburgh: Where Goldsmith and Jeweller Work may be had, as also Proposals for the above MICROSCOPE."³⁷

That John Clark was advertising his microscopes for sale on a subscription basis suggests that he was not prepared to risk the manufacture of a number of instruments without being certain that he had customers for them; immediate partial payment of subscriptions would not only ensure future sales, but would also provide some of the capital necessary for buying raw materials. This form of relationship between maker and customer may imply that Clark had limited financial resources or that he was unsure of the sales potential of his diverting little microscope among the inhabitants of Edinburgh and the wider readership of the Edinburgh press. Either way Clark was apparently not in a strong trading position and his sales must have been threatened by the activities of Thomas Henderson, an ironmonger and general dealer in fancy goods, a frequent advertiser in both the Edinburgh and Glasgow press as agent for the London instrument-makers, James Ayscough and George Sterrop.³⁸ Henderson sold a variety of scientific instruments made by a number of well known London instrument-makers, claiming that he stocked the greatest variety of optical, mathematical and philosophical instruments ever offered for sale in Edinburgh;³⁹ too great a reliance should not be placed on advertising copy, but given the very small number of instrument-makers active in Edinburgh in the decade 1750-60 (a total of seven, only two definitely working throughout the whole period), there is every reason to suppose that this claim was true. With the wide variety and good quality of their work, the London makers had a high reputation throughout Europe. Edward Scarlet, for example, printed his trade card in English, French and German⁴⁰ and his supplying telescopes and other instruments to Henderson⁴¹ must have made the commercial position of the local instrument-makers difficult.

In the months following the publication of the scheme for the sale by subscription of his redesigned silver pocket microscopes, John Clark's proposal had to withstand the competition of advertisements in which, along with notices of toys, cutler-wares, gunpowder and fishing tackle, Thomas Henderson extolled the merits of the Wilson screw-barrel microscope made by George Sterrop of London:

"I have authority from Mr Sterope to affirm that all the microscopes lately made and puff'd off by watchmakers & c. are of a bad principle, as indeed they cannot be likewise, whilst the Chief End they aim at is Minuteness . . . He does not pretend (with others) to puff off his Instrument, as if some thing extraordinary now was found out in Opticks; on the Contrary he writes Mr Henderson thus "Mine is only Wilson's Microscope (which is justly esteemed the best Pocket Microscope in Being) reduced to size smaller than that called by his name" . . ."⁴²

Henderson was able to offer Sterrop's microscopes immediately without the waiting that was implicit in placing a subscription for one of Clark's instruments, and in addition purchasers received "printed directions and two distinct plates engraven in a curious manner representing the instruments and different objects" together with the encouragement of being informed that, "gentlemen skilled in Opticks universally agree that nothing comes

near this instrument, notwithstanding the many Puffs about new invented Microscopes by Watchmakers, & c. both at London and here."⁴³

By stimulating a wider public awareness of the microscope and other optical toys Henderson's advertisements may have helped rather than hindered Clark's proposals. Certainly, compared with the typical brass or ivory screw-barrel microscope, John Clark was offering an exquisite little instrument, well made in silver with a number of seemingly intricate gadgets. It must have had considerable appeal to the dilettante wishing to indulge his curiosity or demonstrate his scientific acumen by observing the classic phenomenon of the circulation of the blood and by peering at the slides of botanical and zoological specimens provided for his entertainment and erudition.

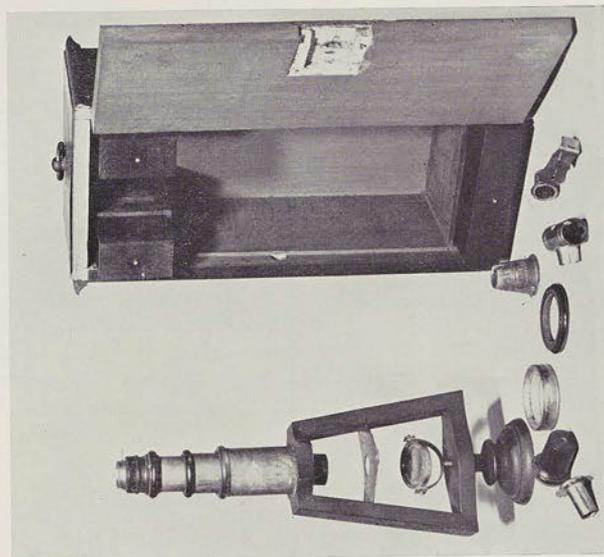
Despite, or aided by, the rival attractions of Henderson's London made wares, Clark's proposals attracted sufficient subscribers for him to proceed and by June of the following year he was able to announce that forty of his "new silver microscopes" were finished and could be collected from his shop.⁴⁴ Six identical silver microscopes signed "*J. Clark fecit Edin*" and made to the specifications advertised in 1754 are known to me.⁴⁵ The basic design of the 1749 "catadioptric microscope of a new construction" is adhered to with considerable modification in constructional detail; for example there is a rotating wheel of five lenses giving a claimed range of magnification from 12 to 192 times, rather than the earlier slider with five lenses. At a basic price of four guineas it was one guinea cheaper than the earlier model and provided customers with an attractive and neatly made pocket microscope to fill their leisure hours.

For a period of eighteen years from mid-1755, I have been unable to find any reference to John Clark's activities as an optical instrument-maker. In 1751 he had become a burghess of Edinburgh as a goldsmith,⁴⁶ trading as a goldsmith and jeweller in addition to making microscopes. In 1759 he booked his first apprentice to learn the goldsmith and jewellery trade for seven years, and his fourth and last apprentice was indentured ten years later.⁴⁷ Among his contemporaries he must have had a reputation as a competent craftsman, for one of his apprentices was the son of Robert McDuff, officer to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths. The first Edinburgh Directory of 1773 gives John Clark's trade as "jeweller and optician"⁴⁸ but in subsequent years he is described only as "Optician,"⁴⁹ adding collaborative evidence to the statement made in January of that year that he had "in general given up the jewellery business intending to apply himself chiefly to Optics."⁵⁰ A silver spoon, marked "CLARK" with the Edinburgh hallmark and date letter for 1757/58 is recorded⁵¹ and other items of silver attributed to John Clark are known.⁵²

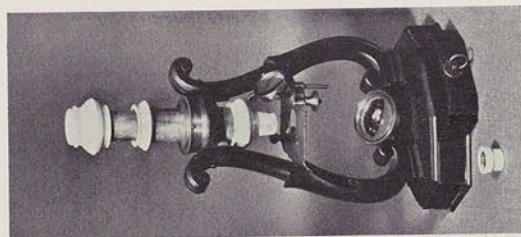
In early 1773 John Clark was once again advertising microscopes, this time to the wider public reached by both the Edinburgh and Glasgow Press:

"JOHN CLARK to the PUBLIC,

The favourable reception which his former Essays on the MICROSCOPE have met with encourages him to offer them his latest improvements on that instrument . . . What has been long wished for was a neat pocket microscope, with a proper apparatus easily fitted for distinct vision. He hopes that he is now able to gratify these wishes to the full by his late improvements; particularly with respect to his new method of illuminating opaque objects from above, which was much wanted; and flatters himself that it will be more perfect than anything of the kind hitherto offered to the Public . . . This instrument,



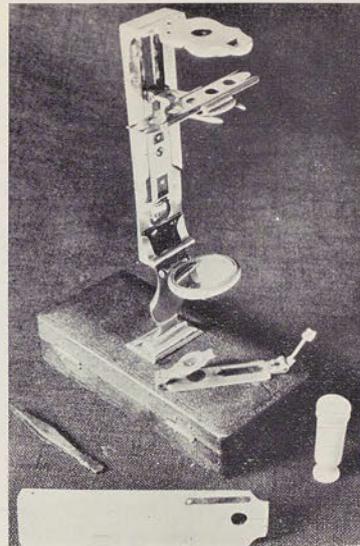
(b) Compound microscope by William Robertson, c. 1730, with case and accessories



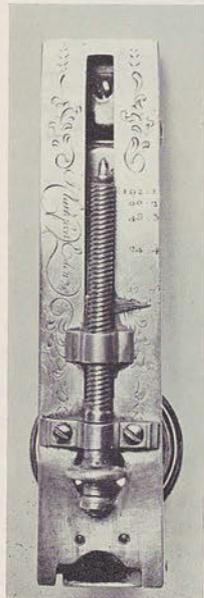
(a) Compound microscope by John Finlayson, 1743



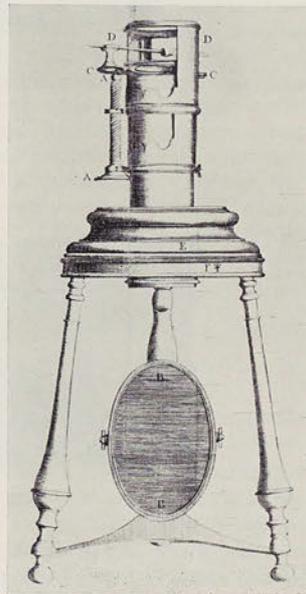
(a) Simple microscope in silver by John Clark, 1749 design; base and mirror are not original



(b) Simple microscope in silver by John Clark, 1754 design



(c) Engraved back plate of a Clark microscope



(d) Engraving of Robertson's catadioptric microscope of c. 1750

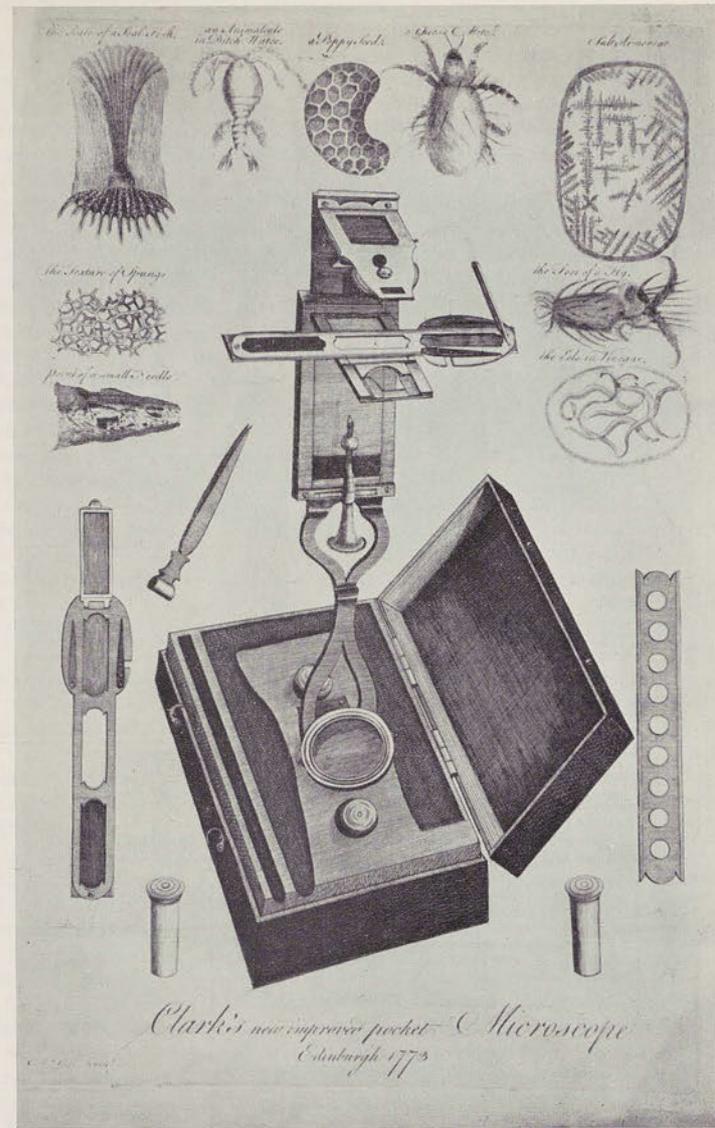


Plate VII Clark's brass pocket microscope of 1773, from his handbill

neatly finished in brass, with all its apparatus, will be contained in a case four inches by three, and one inch deep; and may be fitted for distinct vision in half a minute: A variety of objects with the necessary directions will be delivered with each Microscope. . . . The Price to Subscribers will be Four Guineas; One Guinea to be paid at subscribing, the remainder at the delivery of the Microscope. The Instrument may be seen in his shop, at Sir Isaac Newton's Head, a little above the Guard, north side of the High Street."

The potential market at which the neat pocket microscope was aimed is indicated in the opening paragraph of the advertisement: "It is altogether unnecessary to say anything in praise of this instrument in general: The Curious are too well acquainted with the many surprising discoveries which have been made by means of it to need anything of this kind; and whoever is a stranger to these, has a plentiful source of entertainment still before him, a new world in which he may expatiate with particular pleasure."⁵³ In this advertising preamble Clark is following many of the London instrument-makers, who were nurturing and even pandering to the desires of dilettante customers by supplying items that provided a modicum of scientific instruction with considerable entertainment value. The microscope is an excellent example of an instrument made and sold primarily as something to provide amusement, and Clark's little instrument was certainly well adapted for this.

In December 1773, Henry McKenzie, the notable Edinburgh literary figure, sent one of Clark's new microscopes to his cousin Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock, writing of it: "This Glass I hope will be no less productive of entertainment than the other [a telescope sent the previous month]. It is an improvement of a very ingenious optician here and indeed is extremely compleat in its way; so compleat as to be somewhat complex and nice to manage."⁵⁴ In a very small instrument Clark had managed to include all the standard fittings and accessories found on larger instruments; indeed the design of his pocket microscopes of 1749, 1754 and 1773 vividly illustrates the 18th century trend of which George Adams wrote: "Every optician now exercised his talents in improving (as he called it) the microscope; in other words, in varying its construction, and rendering it different from that sold by his neighbour. Their principal object seemed to be, only to subdivide the instrument, and make it lie in as small a compass as possible; by which means, they rendered it complex and troublesome in use . . ."⁵⁵ Notwithstanding Clark's printed directions, which were supplemented by her cousin's instructions, Elizabeth Rose was a little overawed by the complexity of the little microscope. McKenzie wrote reassuringly: "You may safely venture to take out the little bits of mica that cover the objects on the Transparent slider when you want to put in new ones, they are in no danger of breaking and the small wires which fix them will bear being pressed in above them with the finger, after which the tongs you will find in the case with the microscope will easily adjust them; the chief difficulty lies in managing the 2 specula in viewing opaque objects by candle light, which practice alone can make easy . . ."⁵⁶

In this last phrase McKenzie is referring to Clark's new method of illuminating opaque objects from above, by using a small mirror fitting neatly above the stage in the limb holding the wheel of lenses. This mirror was pivoted so as to reflect light from the mirror at the base of the microscope on to the stage from above; it is the only significant change in design and construction from the 1754 model, apart from the substitution of brass for silver as the basic constructional material. Though the second mirror was new to Clark's instruments, it was only an application of the lens mirror or lieberkühn, a fitting that had been



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THE COURSE OF INSTRUCTION pursued in this INSTITUTION comprehends the various sections of a complete ENGLISH, CLASSICAL, and MERCANTILE EDUCATION, combining the Practical and Scientific Branches with the Languages and General Literature, in which pupils are thoroughly prepared either for Domestic Usefulness, Military Schools, the Counting-House, or University. The School is divided into Six Class-Rooms, all large, lofty, well lighted, and properly ventilated, each conducted by its appropriate Master.—an arrangement attended with obvious advantages, as each Teacher has his peculiar department, to which his exclusive attention is constantly directed; and the Classes are so arranged that Pupils may attend one or more branches at their respective hours, as Parents or Guardians may think proper. The Religious Training of the Young is made an object of primary importance in this Institution. The Session extends from the 21st September till the end of July, and is divided into four Quarters.

QUARTER DAYS—21st SEPTEMBER, 15th DECEMBER, 1st MARCH, AND 15th MAY.

widely applied by the London opticians since its demonstration in England by Dr J. N. Lieberkühn in January, 1740.

Five examples of the brass pocket microscope have been located in public collections in this country.⁵⁷ They are all signed "Jn^o Clark Edin'" followed by the date of manufacture, one "1773," one "1774" and three "1776." As no further press advertisements have been found subsequent to the 1773 announcement, and as the instruments were not offered for sale on a subscription basis, as in 1749 and 1754, it would appear that Clark was now able to rely on his reputation to provide continuing sales for his pocket microscopes. More selective advertising may have been undertaken by the sending of printed handbills to selected potential customers among the citizens of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and perhaps even further afield.⁵⁸

There are entries for "John Clark, Optician" in the *Edinburgh Directory* up to and including the edition published in June, 1796. We may assume that about this time his forty-seven years of microscope making drew to a close. Neither Clark nor the other subjects of this article, John Finlayson and William Robertson, will find a place in the history of the development of the microscope as an aid to serious scientific investigation; yet all three fit into the broader history of an instrument that was widely used by people with little comprehension of contemporary science, and had a fascinating influence on English literature.⁵⁹ For the scientific instrument-making trade the dilettante customer, purchasing microscopes and other quasi-scientific devices, provided a substantial and commercially attractive market; given this trading position the instrument-maker was better able to respond to technically demanding requests by the scientific customer on his essential and unique skills.⁶⁰

NOTES and REFERENCES

- ¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642-55*, (ed. M. Wood, 1938), p. 136.
- ² D. J. Bryden, *The Scientific Instrument-Maker in Scotland 1600-1900*, (H.M.S.O. for the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, forthcoming).
- ³ G. L'E. Turner, *The microscope as a technical frontier in science in Historical Aspects of Microscopy*, ed. S. Bradbury and G. L'E. Turner (Cambridge, 1967), p. 177.
- ⁴ S. Bradbury, *The Quality of the Image produced by the compound microscope 1700-1840*, *ibid.*, p. 171.
- ⁵ *London Encyclopedia or Universal Dictionary of Science, Literature and Practical Mechanics*, XVI, article *Optics*, (London, 1829), p. 260.
- ⁶ The ultimate development of this trend is the ornate and monstrously extravagant silver compound microscope made for George III by George Adams of London probably about 1780, now in the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford—illustrated in R. S. Clay and T. H. Court, *The History of the Microscope*, (London, 1932), p. 177; in S. Bradbury, *The Evolution of the Microscope*, (Oxford, 1967), p. 138; and in H. Michel, *Scientific Instruments in Art and History* (trans. R. E. W. and F. R. Maddison, London, 1967), plate 94.
- ⁷ Scottish Record Society, *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren 1701-1760*, (1930), p. 69.
- ⁸ Edinburgh, Town Council Minutes (in MS in City Archives), 10th December 1742.
- ⁹ Bryden, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰ Department of Technology; registered number, 1928.88.
- ¹¹ Clay Collection, 693; Illustrated Bradbury and Turner, *op. cit.* frontispiece.
- ¹² D. J. Bryden, *James Short and His Telescopes*, (H.M.S.O., for the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1968) and G. L'E. Turner, *James Short, F.R.S. and his Contribution to the construction of reflecting telescopes in Notes and Records*, Royal Society of London, 24 (1969), pp. 91-108.

¹³ Scottish Record Society, *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh 1701-1750*, (1908), p. 185.

¹⁴ John Rylands Library, Manchester; *MS. Crawford English 19/1. fol. 259*, letter *John Finlayson, Edinburgh, to Henry Baker, London*, (27/10/1743). On Henry Baker, F.R.S., (1698-1774), poet, writer on microscopy and teacher of speech to the deaf and dumb, see G. L'E. Turner, article *Henry Baker* in C. C. Gillispie (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, (New York, 1970), I, pp. 410-412.

¹⁵ *Ibid. fol. 330v*, copy letter *Henry Baker, London, to Robert Blair, Athelstoneford* (27/6/1740).

¹⁶ Bryden, *op. cit. ref. 12*, pp. 1 and 10.

¹⁷ H. Baker, *The Microscope Made Easy*, (London, 1742), p. iii.

¹⁸ As ref. 14; *fol. 340v*, letter *Robert Blair Athelstoneford, to Henry Baker, London* (24th 7th 1744). I am indebted to Mr G. L'E. Turner of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, for drawing my attention to and providing me with transcripts of the Finlayson/Baker/Blair letters.

¹⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, (London), 1750, p. 526.

²⁰ *A List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion (1745)*, (Scottish History Society, 1899), pp. 248-9. I am indebted to Mr Stuart Maxwell for drawing my attention to Finlayson's Jacobite activities.

²¹ *The Lyon in Mourning . . . by Bishop Forbes*, (ed. H. Paton, Scottish History Society, 1895-96), vol. I, p. 156 and vol. III, p. 99.

²² J. Finlayson, *A Plan of the Battle of Culloden and the adjacent country*, n.d.

²³ This map, and that cited above, is listed (with locations of surviving copies) in *The Early Maps of Scotland*, (Scottish Geographical Society, 2nd revised edition, 1936), pp. 86 and 62. In view of the evidence collected by Blaikie (see note 24) the scepticism expressed about Finlayson's authorship is misplaced.

²⁴ *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward*, (ed. W. B. Blaikie, Scottish History Society, 1897), pp. 107-8.

²⁵ Mss. in the Department of Natural Philosophy, University of Glasgow—R. Dick, *A list of instruments in the Physical Apparatus Room of Glasgow College*, item 55b, p. 20. This is a copy dated 26th June, 1760, made by John Anderson, of the original made by Dick shortly before his death in 1756.

²⁶ E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Hanoverian England 1714-1840*, (Cambridge, 1966). This is the standard work, listing scientific instrument-makers among the practitioners. In general it is severely deficient in recording activities outside London. cf. P. J. Wallis, *British Mathematical Bibliography*, in *Journal of The Institute of Navigation*, 20 (1967), pp. 200-205.

²⁷ G. L'E. Turner, *Decorative tooling on 17th and 18th Century Microscopes and Telescopes*, in *Physis*, VIII, (Florence, 1966), pp. 99-128. The tools used are, Microscope A, nos. 51 and 70 and a dog-toothed roll; Microscope B, roll 2 and another dog-toothed roll.

²⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 22nd June 1749.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 26th June 1749, and *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of the same date.

³⁰ Museum of the History of Science, Oxford (Royal Microscopical Society Collection, 32). Described and illustrated in A. N. Disney, C. F. Hill, W. E. Watson-Baker, *Origin and Development of the Microscope, as illustrated by Catalogues of the Instruments and Accessories in the Collections of the Royal Microscopical Society*, (London, 1928), p. 179 and plate 8; and Whipple Museum of the History of Science, Cambridge (1221).

³¹ W. Robertson, *A Description of the Figure, Construction and Use of a new Catadioptric Microscope*, (Edinburgh, n.d.—? 1750). There are copies in the British Museum and the Whipple Library, Cambridge.

³² *Caledonian Mercury*, 1st March 1787.

³³ G. L'E. Turner, *The Auction Sale of the Earl of Bute's Instruments*, 1783 in *Annals of Science*, 23, (1967), p. 232.

³⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 19th June 1749, and *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, same date. Note 'Catadioptric' from Catoptrics (reflection) and Dioptrics (refraction), denoting a microscope in which the object is illuminated with reflected light.

- ³⁴ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 13th July 1749, and *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th July 1749.
- ³⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 18th July 1751.
- ³⁶ Sotheby & Co., (London), *Catalogue of Sale*, 2./5./1966, lot 60. I am indebted to Mr A. Frank for a photograph of this instrument.
- ³⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 2nd May 1754 and *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 2nd May 1754.
- ³⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 9th May 1751; *ibid.*, 6th March 1755; *Glasgow Courant*, 22nd July 1754 and *Glasgow Journal*, 3rd March 1755.
- ³⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 24th July 1755 and *ibid.* 29th April 1756.
- ⁴⁰ Clay and Court, *op.cit.*, p. 41.
- ⁴¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 7th February 1754 and *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12th February 1754.
- ⁴² *Caledonian Mercury*, 9th July 1754; repeated a number of times in the following months. On the Wilson screw-barrel microscope see Clay and Court, *op. cit.*, p. 44 *et seq.*
- ⁴³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th December 1754.
- ⁴⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 9th June 1755 and *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 9th June 1755.
- ⁴⁵ Private Collection, Professor H. Heywood; Science Museum, London (1918, 58 and 1938, 100); National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh; Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London (214, 1949); Whipple Museum of the History of Science, Cambridge (874). On the last instrument "1760" is scratched close to the signature, in the same hand that has scratched the owner's name "C. Stuart" in four separate places. A Clark silver microscope (1749 or 1754 design?) was in the Crisp collection, Stevens Auction Rooms Ltd., *A Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Microscopes formed by the late Sir Frank Crisp, Bart.*, (London, 1925), p. 9 lot 67.
- ⁴⁶ Scottish Record Society, *op. cit.*, p. 39; 17th July 1751, in right of his father, Samuel Clark, Burgess, a tailor.
- ⁴⁷ Scottish Record Society, *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1756-1800*, (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 11, 40, 41 and 52. They were, Norman McKenzie, 15th August 1759, Thomas Porter, 1st September 1762, John McDuff, 20th May 1767 and William Calder, 2nd August 1769.
- ⁴⁸ P. Williamson, *Directory for the City of Edinburgh and Suburbs*, (1773).
- ⁴⁹ At this time the term 'optician' was used to describe both optical instrument-makers in particular and scientific instrument-makers in general. A century later a growing number of 'opticians' in Edinburgh were primarily ophthalmic opticians.
- ⁵⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 25th January 1773.
- ⁵¹ C. J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, (London, 1921), p. 503.
- ⁵² Mr Stuart Maxwell (personal communication) has noted a Scots fiddle teaspoon marked 'CLARK' but with no other marks. Mr Malcolm Baker has drawn my attention to a pair of silver candlesticks marked 'CLARK' with Edinburgh hallmarks and the date letter for 1759/60. These candlesticks, engraved with the crest of Little of Liberton, were in the hands of a London dealer in August 1970.
- ⁵³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 25th January 1773 and *Glasgow Journal*, 11th February 1773.
- ⁵⁴ H. W. Drescher, (ed.) *Henry McKenzie, Letters to Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock* (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 148. I am indebted to Mr Stuart Maxwell for this reference.
- ⁵⁵ G. Adams, *Essays on the Microscope*, (London, 1787), p. 5.
- ⁵⁶ Drescher, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
- ⁵⁷ Royal Scottish Museum, Department of Technology, (1925/9) [1773]; Whipple Museum of the History of Science, Cambridge (699) [1774]; Royal Scottish Museum, (1925/4) [1774]; Science Museum, London, (1918/48), (Signature Plate now missing; illustrated in Clay and Court, *op. cit.*, p. 72 and there dated 1776); Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, (Clay Collection, 237) [1776].
- ⁵⁸ There is a copy of Clark's hand bill in the East Riding County Record Office, Yorkshire, *MS. Grimston section 38, item 12*. I am indebted to Mr G. L'E. Turner for drawing my attention to this item.
- ⁵⁹ M. Nicolson, *Science and Imagination* (New York, 1956), 155-234.
- ⁶⁰ Bryden, *op. cit.*

"HAMILTON PLACE ACADEMY EDINBURGH

MR MACLAREN, F.E.I.S., HEAD MASTER

ASSISTED BY

EXPERIENCED AND HIGHLY QUALIFIED MASTERS

A LADY SUPERINTENDENT AND GOVERNESSES."

On pages 27-30 of this volume, the late Miss Ross contributed her reminiscences of her grandfather, "James Maclaren, Schoolmaster." Among her papers was a prospectus with the above heading (now in the National Museum), under a print of the school by Frederick Schenk (pl. VIII). The four pages of the prospectus have been printed in full, including the page giving an account from newspapers of the "Annual Examination."

The Course of Instruction pursued in this Institution comprehends the various sections of a complete English, Classical, and Mercantile Education, combining the Practical and Scientific Branches with the Languages and General Literature, in which pupils are thoroughly prepared either for Domestic Usefulness, Military Schools, the Counting-House, or University. The School is divided into Six Class-Rooms, all large, lofty, well lighted, and properly ventilated, each conducted by its appropriate Master—an arrangement attended with obvious advantages, as each Teacher has his peculiar department, to which his exclusive attention is constantly directed; and the Classes are so arranged that Pupils may attend one or more branches at their respective hours, as Parents or Guardians may think proper. The Religious Training of the Young is made an object of primary importance in this Institution. The Session extends from the 21st September till the end of July, and is divided into four Quarters.

Quarter Days—21st September, 15th December, 1st March, and 15th May.

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AN OUTLINE OF THE SYSTEM.

FIRST DIVISION—FEE, 12/ PER QUARTER.

In this Division, the Children are generally from five to seven years of age. Their attention is at first directed to a correct enunciation of the letters, the formation of simple words, a soft and easy modulation of the voice, by which a graceful style of reading is soon acquired; they are exercised in Reading, Spelling, Recitation, the Outlines of Geography, and the Elements of Arithmetic.

SECOND DIVISION—FEE, 15/ PER QUARTER.

In this Department, the Pupils, being generally from seven to ten years of age, are introduced to a more advanced course of English Reading and Recitation; they are taught the Elements of English Grammar, the formation of simple sentences, the Outlines of Geography, with the Elements of Natural and Civil History, Writing, and the Simple Rules of Arithmetic.

THIRD DIVISION—FEE, 20/ PER QUARTER, WITH LATIN OR FRENCH, 25/.

In this Division, the pupils are understood to have mastered the course of study prescribed in the two former. They are consequently made acquainted with the higher branches

of Intellectual Instruction, and in the more important departments of a Liberal Education; they are taught Elocution, English Grammar, History, Geography, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Elements of English Composition. The Rudiments of Latin and French may also be taught now in this Division.

FOURTH DIVISION—FEE, 25/ PER QUARTER.

The Course of Instruction in this Division embraces a wider range of study. The Pupils are exercised in the higher branches of Elocution, are taught a complete course of English Grammar, with Exercises in Composition; they are taught History and Geography, with the use of the Globes, the Elements of Astronomy and Physical Science, also Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, French, and Latin.

FIFTH DIVISION—FEE, 25/ PER QUARTER.

In this Division, the Course of Instruction comprehends the study of the Latin, Greek, and French Languages; English, History, Geography, ancient and modern, with the use of the Globes; the Classic Authors which are used in the higher classes in public schools, are read, and composition in these languages is much practised. The study of Mathematics, particularly the Elements of Euclid, Algebra, and Mensuration, Writing, Book-keeping, and the higher branches of Arithmetic, are comprehended in this Division.

PRIVATE CLASS FOR YOUNG GENTLEMEN, FROM 7 TILL 9 EVENING—FEE, 12/6 PER QUARTER.

The object of this Class is chiefly for the advantage of Pupils attending the Institution during the day, in order to assist them in the preparation of their Studies in the evening. Latin, Greek, French, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Mathematics form the Course of Study in this Class. To those who have no assistance at home in the preparation of their lessons, this Class will be found to be of incalculable advantage, and not only is it much cheaper than employing a private Tutor, but also far more beneficial.

EXTRA BRANCHES—TERMS PER QUARTER.

Music, Pianoforte, Junior,	21/	German Language and Literature,	15/6
Music, Pianoforte, Advanced	31/6	Gymnastics and Drill Exercise,	12/6
Dancing and Calisthenics,	22/6	Practical Book-keeping,	12/6
Drawing and Perspective,	12/6	Ornamental Penmanship,	12/6

ALL FEES PAID QUARTERLY IN ADVANCE.

[Page 3]

BOARD AND EDUCATION.

MR MACLAREN receives into his Family a limited number of Young Gentlemen as Boarders, whose Studies are carefully superintended, and every attention is paid to their health, comfort, and education. The Premises, though extensive before and very commodious, have recently been greatly enlarged and improved; all the Apartments, both Dormitories and Class-Rooms, are lofty, well lighted, properly ventilated, and fitted up in a very superior manner, with every convenience necessary for a Boarding and Educational Establishment; and the situation being in the outskirts of the New Town, the Boarders

have the enjoyment of a Country Residence, combined with the advantage of a First-Class English, Classical, and Mercantile Education.

DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENT.

The Domestic Arrangement of this Establishment resembles as nearly as possible that of a well regulated private family. The Pupils are called at half-past Six o' clock, and are allowed half an hour to wash, dress, etc.; they repair to the school-room at Seven, where they are engaged an hour and a half. Breakfast at half-past Eight; they return to the school-room at Nine, where they are engaged in their respective lessons till Twelve o'clock. Luncheon at Twelve, after which they return to the school-room again till Three o'clock. Dinner at four; then they enjoy themselves in recreation, walking or playing, till Six o'clock. Tea at Six, after which they resume their studies, preparing the lessons for next day, till Nine o'clock. Supper at Nine, after which they retire to rest. Mr and Mrs MACLAREN and Family sit at the same table and partake of the same food with the Boarders.

Saturday afternoon, from One till Five o'clock, is generally devoted to short excursions into the country, when the weather permits,—thus affording an excellent opportunity for constant observation on Natural Phenomena; and in order to prevent any irregularities or improper practices among the Pupils, they are under the Superintendence of either the principal Master or one of the Assistants, from the time they are called in the morning until they retire to rest.

Young Gentlemen, on entering the Establishment, require to bring nothing with them except their Clothes, Books, Combs and Brushes. They regularly correspond in writing with their Parents or Guardians once every fortnight, or more frequently if necessary.

TERMS FOR BOARD AND EDUCATION PAYABLE QUARTERLY IN ADVANCE.

Pupils entering under Ten years of age are charged	35 Guineas per annum.
Pupils entering between Ten and Fourteen years of age are charged	40 Guineas per annum.
Pupils entering above Fourteen years of age are charged	45 Guineas per annum.
Washing, charged extra	2 Guineas per annum.

Three months' notice is required previous to removing a Boarder.

These charges include all fees for an English, Classical, and Mercantile Education.

Music, German, Drawing, Dancing, and Gymnastics charged extra.

HAMILTON PLACE ACADEMY,
1859.

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Extracted from the "Scottish Press" and other Newspapers, 29th July 1859.

HAMILTON PLACE ACADEMY.

On Thursday, and during the two preceding days, the Annual Examination of this well-known and long established Institution, under the auspices of James Maclaren, Esq., F.E.I.S., and assistants, took place within the different classrooms, Hamilton Place. There was a large, fashionable, and influential attendance of the parents and friends of the pupils; and among those present we observed the Rev. William Reid, Councillor Marwick, P. R. Scott, Esq., James Douglas, Esq., F.R.S.A., Thomas Pratt, Esq., Hexham, John M'Nab, Esq., Inglis Green, James Turnbull, Esq. (Keir Street Academy), etc., etc.

Specimens of drawing, penmanship, plain and ornamental, etc., were exhibited during the three several days. The specimens of drawing, to begin with, were of almost finished description, reflecting the highest credit both upon the young artists and their accomplished teacher, Mr Napier; and, although comparisons are proverbially odious, we cannot resist saying that we have seldom, indeed, seen them equalled, far less excelled, at any similar exhibition in town which we have ever attended. One of their most marked and gratifying features was the portion devoted to civil engineering, of which we have only to say, that, had it been the production of any engineer in the city, it would have done him no discredit. The specimens of penmanship, again (plain and ornamental), were even superior to those of drawing just noticed—indeed, the high position to which Hamilton Place Academy has attained in this respect is matter of notoriety. We liked the boldness and the freedom of the writing—the singular technical accuracy, if we may so speak, displayed throughout; while in the case of the junior scholars, and more especially in the text and half-text specimens, we thought we could discover the foundation of what mercantile men will understand as a thorough business and commercial hand.

On Tuesday the junior English and Arithmetic classes under Mr Maclaren, Mr John Maclaren, and Mr Reid, were examined; and in this department the third English class, under the mastership of Mr John Maclaren, and consisting of young ladies and gentlemen, struck us as peculiarly worthy of commendation. In their reading, for example, the purity of their accent and the distinctness of their enunciation were patent to the most unprofessional auditor, and spoke in a manner which no words of ours can adequately express, for the singular care and assiduity with which they had been trained. We were especially pleased with the beautiful and touching recitation, by one of the young ladies, of Henry Glassford Bell's sweet little poem of "Mary Queen of Scots." The promptitude and accuracy also, manifested in the case of the arithmetic classes, were made the theme of high and frequent comment on the part of the audience.

On Wednesday the branches of study embraced consisted of the senior English classes, Latin, Greek, Gymnastics, and Drill Exercise. The junior Latin class, which was examined by Mr Maclaren himself, displayed a very considerable acquaintance with syntax and the translation of short sentences, while the second and third classes, under the superintendence of Mr Cranston, B.A., showed an equal familiarity with the more difficult art of rendering English into Latin, and reading with facility and intelligence the higher authors. The manner, for instance, in which the third class read and translated a portion of the sixth

Book of Virgil's Eneid was literally beyond all praise—the quantity being preserved, the scanning performed, and Ruddiman's intricate and troublesome rules applied in a way that it were well for our Scottish Universities could all their *alumni* successfully imitate. The Greek classes also, under the superintendence of Mr Cranston, manifested praiseworthy progress in that ancient and elegant language. The fourth English class, consisting of young ladies and gentlemen, and examined by Mr Maclaren, displayed marked proficiency in reading, grammar, and geography—one young lady, in particular, showing a most marvellous acquaintance with the last mentioned department by taking a voyage round the world, and enumerating all the British possessions in little more than five minutes. The gymnastics and drill exercise, too, were of a very superior character—the latter being fully equal at least to that of any of the Rifle Volunteer Corps of the city which we have yet seen, and reflecting the highest credit upon the accomplished drill-master, Serjeant Donnelly, late R.A.

Yesterday's examination was devoted to the junior and senior French classes, arithmetic, advanced and mental, and algebra—the junior French class being examined by Mr Cranston, and the senior by Mr Maclaren. In both classes the correctness of accent and the fluency of reading and translation were generally remarked. The great feature of yesterday's examination, however, consisted in the arithmetic competition—it having been agreed upon that the silver medals for proficiency in that department should be competed for in presence of the audience. The competition lasted for two hours, the silver medal in the young ladies' class being gained by Miss Grieve, and in the young gentlemen's by M. William Maclaren. A very spirited and exciting competition also, in mental arithmetic took place during the day, conducted by Mr and Mr John Maclaren, which proved to us unmistakeably, had any proof been needed, how very efficiently the pupils had been trained in that too much neglected department of mercantile education.

It had been anticipated that at this stage of the proceedings the Rev. William Reid would have taken the chair and addressed the pupils; but although the rev. gentleman was within the walls of the building, he found it altogether impossible to thread his way through the crowd of people present (who lined both lobbies and staircases), to the large classroom where the prizes were to be distributed. In these circumstances,

MR MACLAREN rose and said—Ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to announce to you that the struggles of this conflict are now over. We have arrived at the end of our sederunt, and you will admit it has been a pretty severe one. (Cheers.) The numbers that have crowded the rooms during all the days of the examination are to me a proof, if proof were wanting, that the public have a deep interest in the prosperity of this establishment—(cheers); and it may be gratifying to you to know that this institution was never in a more prosperous and flourishing condition. (Cheers.) Its numbers were never greater, its status was never higher, and its course of education never more complete—(cheers); and I beg to assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to promote the interest of the establishment in all its departments, and maintain the position I now hold. Most of you are aware that I have spared neither labour nor expense in providing the most suitable accommodation; and I am prepared to extend that accommodation even to double the size if necessary. (Cheers.) You are also aware that I select with the greatest care what I consider the best teachers, in order to assist me in carrying out my views; while I give, and will give, my own individual attention, both mentally and physically, to the duties

of my profession. You will scarcely ever find me anywhere else but in the class-room with my class, or in my study-room, so that under these arrangements, with these determinations, and always trusting to Divine aid to enable me to discharge these duties faithfully and efficiently, I do not fear, while I enjoy health and strength, to obtain and maintain a measure of success. Allow me, then, to thank you most cordially for all the kindness and support which I have experienced, past and present, and to assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to merit the confidence and approbation of the public. (Loud cheering.)

The gold and silver medals, and other prizes, were then distributed to the successful competitors, and the interesting proceedings terminated shortly after four o'clock.

APPRECIATIONS

DR JAMES S. RICHARDSON

Dr Richardson joined the Club in 1924. He was soon a member of Council, our President when the Club celebrated its jubilee in 1958, and ultimately an Honorary President. Well known to all members as a guide on excursions in Edinburgh and the Lothians, his contributions to the history of his native city are to be found in his official guides to the Castle and Palace and elsewhere, rather than in the pages of the Book (apart from an appreciation of Dr C. A. Malcolm), for which his address on the occasion of our jubilee was his only paper; there, in volume XXX, the reader will find our history as a club, along with his survey of our part in preserving old Edinburgh. As H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland no one was better fitted to make that survey.

He takes his place with his contemporaries Dr Angus, Dr Malcolm and Henry Paton as a historian of Scotland and Edinburgh; and of him like the others it can be truly said that everyone who asked for help was given it in full measure.

A full appreciation will appear in a forthcoming Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

S. M.

IAN ANDERSON

Ian Anderson joined the Old Edinburgh Club in 1952, and was elected a member of Council in 1964.

He was regular in his attendance at Club meetings, despite his other commitments which included lecturing for the W.E.A. and other bodies. His authoritative knowledge, coupled with his deep love of Edinburgh, made him a popular speaker everywhere. The Club owes much to him for his efficiency, integrity and willingness to help, and his passing leaves a gap which will not be readily filled.

J. S. C.

An appreciation of the late W. Crown Hodge will appear in a future issue.

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ANNUAL REPORT, 1965

The Fifty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Friday, 19th March 1965, when Bailie Hugh Macpherson presided in the absence of the Lord Provost. In moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Balance Sheet for the year ending 31st December 1964, Bailie Macpherson commended the Club for their work in keeping alive an interest in the city's history. He emphasised that everything that was old could not be preserved. The Corporation planned extensive re-development schemes in course of which many buildings must inevitably disappear including parts of the New Town, already nearly 200 years old. The Corporation, however, had spent large sums of money in preserving buildings of note and he had no doubt that they would continue to do so. In course of preserving the character of the Royal Mile it would always be their intention not only to retain its historical interest, but also to make it a street to be lived in, and a colourful one.

On 30th April, the Club suffered a sad loss by the death of Mr James Hossack, who had been Hon. Secretary for twelve years. Through his deep interest in the city, his sound knowledge of its history and his wide contacts, he had been able, year after year, to arrange a great variety of lectures on aspects of the city's past and excursions to places of interest not always readily accessible to the public. His enthusiasm and efficiency, coupled with his friendly informality of manner, will not easily be replaced.

On the evening of Friday, 19th March 1965, the Club visited the Hall of the Royal Medical Society in Melbourne Place, where lectures on the history of the Society—the first under-graduate medical society to be formed—were given by Dr W. A. Alexander, the Society's Hon. President and by Mr Raymond S. S. Howard, their Senior President. An interesting series of historical portraits and other exhibits were on view and the occasion was the more memorable in that this was the last meeting to be held in the Hall before it was vacated by the Society to make way for rebuilding.

In November and December two lectures were given which were complementary to each other. The first, on Thursday, 11th November, was by Mr Colin McWilliam, who spoke on "Victorian Edinburgh" and the second, on Thursday, 16th December, by Mr Ian G. Lindsay, O.B.E., R.S.A., was on the subject of "Georgian Edinburgh."

Through the courtesy of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, members of the Club were enabled to visit David's Tower and the French prisoner-of-war quarters in Edinburgh Castle. Because of the narrow stairs and passages to be negotiated, numbers had to be limited and for this reason the visits were spread over four Saturdays, 13th, 20th and 27th November and 4th December. Despite the cold weather, the visits were well attended and, because of the interest shown, it is hoped to arrange a repeat visit in 1966.

The membership of the Club now stands at 377, including 47 libraries.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1966

The Fifty-Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Friday, 4th March 1966.

Baillie Peter Wilson presided.

During the year six lecture meetings and two excursions took place. On 10th January the Firemaster of Edinburgh, Mr Frank Rushbrook, spoke to the Club in the Central Fire Station on the History of the Edinburgh Fire Brigade. Mrs M. Viles, librarian at the Edinburgh College of Art, gave an illustrated lecture on 21st February on James Skene's Edinburgh. On 22nd March a meeting held jointly with the West Lothian County History Society was addressed by Dr John Butt of Strathclyde University on Industrial Archaeology in Scotland, his talk being illustrated by film.

By kind permission of the National Trust for Scotland and the Ministry of Public Building and Works the first summer excursion was spent visiting the Trust Preservation Centre at Stenhouse Mansion. Mr Ian Hodkinson and Mr W. Adams ably answered questions about painted decoration and the methods employed in its preservation; members were hospitably entertained at the close of the meeting. The second summer outing was a visit to Crichton Castle and Church in Midlothian, the leader being Mr George Hay, A.R.I.B.A., who related the architectural history of both buildings to an interested party of members.

The autumn series of lectures commenced on 3rd November with an illustrated talk by Mr C. G. Drummond, F.P.S., on Pharmacy in Old and New Edinburgh, his slides included some of interesting early prescriptions found during restoration work in the Lawnmarket. This lecture was followed on 25th November by an illustrated talk by Mr David Walker on Baronial Architecture in Edinburgh and the concluding meeting held on 14th December was addressed by Dr E. A. Cormack on an old road west from Edinburgh illustrated with slides of his own excavations.

Owing to the success of previous visits by Club members to David's Tower and the French Prisoner of War apartments in Edinburgh Castle, a further series of visits were arranged on three Saturday mornings during November and December for those members unable to take part in 1965 due to the restriction on numbers. The visits were well attended and our thanks go to the Sergeant Warden who was the leader on each occasion.

Volume XXXII of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* was issued to members in June together with a copy of the amended constitution.

It was with regret that we heard in August of the death of Mr Ian G. Lindsay, O.B.E., A.R.I.B.A., a member of Council. His interest in the City both architectural and historical was well known; his publications on the architectural history of Georgian Edinburgh and indeed on many aspects of Scottish architecture will long remain the best examples of their kind. The death of Mr John McVie an Honorary Member of the Club also falls to be recorded.

Club membership now stands at 396.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1967

The Fifty-Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Friday, 31st March 1967.

The Lord Provost The Rt. Hon. Herbert A. Brechin, C.B.E., presided.

Six lecture meetings and two summer excursions were arranged during the year. On 20th January Mr Basil C. Skinner, M.A., gave a talk on "The Painting Craft in Edinburgh," with special emphasis on the craft guilds. On 17th February, Mr Ian Begg spoke to members on "Restoration and Rebuilding for the present day around Chessels Court," a subject with which he was closely connected as Architect-in-Charge of the restoration and rebuilding carried out by Edinburgh Corporation. This lecture was followed on 22nd March by a talk by Mr J. S. Cavaye on "The Royal Mile," illustrated by slides from a splendid collection of nineteenth century photographs of the Old Town.

The summer meetings commenced on Wednesday, 14th June, with a visit to Morton House, by courtesy of Mr and Mrs W. A. Elliott, and to Mortonhall House, by courtesy of Mrs J. G. Mennell. The expedition was led by Mr Basil C. Skinner, M.A., who gave a short resume of the history of each of these little known mansion houses. A large turnout of members was then at liberty to wander round the houses and grounds. On the evening of Thursday, 13th July, a visit was paid to completed restoration work undertaken in the Royal Mile. Dr J. B. Barclay led an appreciative group round Riddles Court and Riddles Close, Lawnmarket, now the offices of the Adult Education Department of Edinburgh Corporation. Mr Douglas Grant showed members some of the early work discovered during alterations at Tweeddale Court, High Street, the premises of Oliver & Boyd, Publishers. Mr Ian Begg followed his admirable talk on the restoration undertaken at Chessels Court, Canongate, by showing members some of the finished work.

The autumn series of lectures began on Friday, 27th October, with an interesting talk by Mr Barclay Fraser on "Cramond." On Friday, 17th November, Mr J. A. B. Scott, the City Water Engineer, gave a talk on "The History of the City Water Supply," illustrated by a sound colour film. Mr W. H. Marwick concluded the year's meetings on Friday, 15th December, with a talk on "Municipal Politics in Victorian Edinburgh."

It is with regret that the death is recorded of Mr Arthur Russell, O.B.E., W.S., valued member of the Club.

Congratulations are offered to Miss Helen Armet, City Archivist of Edinburgh and a member of the Council of the Club, on an Honorary M.A. degree conferred by the University of Edinburgh.

Club membership now stands at 441.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1968

The Sixtieth Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 7th March 1968.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert A. Brechin, C.B.E., Lord Provost, presided.

An address was given by Sir James Fergusson, Bt., of Kilkerran, Keeper of the Records of Scotland.

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

On 12th January, Dr Alistair Rowan of the Department of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh gave a talk on "Modern Athens Explored," a fascinating account of the sources of the Greek revival in Edinburgh. On 16th February, Mr J. G. Dunbar of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland and Mr George Hay of the Ministry of Public Building and Works each gave a paper on "Some aspects of the early and later developments of Holyroodhouse and Edinburgh Castle." Mr Dunbar spoke on the dating of James V's tower at Holyroodhouse in the light of new evidence and Mr Hay on the nineteenth century restorations and additions at Edinburgh Castle. Mr David Keir who was to have lectured to members on 15th March on "The Making of the Third Statistical Account of Edinburgh" was unfortunately unable to do so because of illness. Mr J. S. Cavaye agreed to take his place at very short notice and spoke to members on "Old Edinburgh" illustrated by slides made from his collection of nineteenth century photographs.

On 11th October, Monsignor David McRoberts gave a talk on "The Altar Silver made for James VII's Chapel Royal in 1686," displaying a masterly piece of detection, leading to the recent discovery of various pieces of silver. Miss Anna Dunlop, the Librarian of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland spoke to members on "The History of Accountants and Accounting in Edinburgh," on 8th November. The "Early Maternity Hospitals in Edinburgh" was the subject of the talk given on 13th December by Dr John Sturrock. In a lively manner Dr Sturrock made members aware of the conditions existing in these hospitals.

On 11th June, a large gathering of members visited the Catholic Apostolic Church, East London Street. The lecturer, Dr Frederick Stevenson outlined to members the history of the church and the Catholic Apostolic religion in relation to the building of the church and its contents.

On 16th July, by permission of The Buccleuch Estates Ltd., a visit was paid to Caroline Park House. Leaders for the evening were Mr Ian Hodkinson and Miss Catherine Craft who showed members round the house and spoke about the history of the house, particular note being taken of the fine painted decoration. It is hoped that Caroline Park House will soon have the benefit of occupation.

Club membership now stands at 450.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1969

The Sixty-First Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 20th March 1969.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert A. Brechin, C.B.E., Lord Provost, presided.

An Address was given by Sir John Bruce, Regius Professor of Clinical Surgery, on "The Barber Surgeons of Edinburgh."

During the year five lecture meetings and three excursions were arranged.

On 10th January, Mr Ian McDougall, Secretary of the Scottish Labour History Society spoke to members on the "Edinburgh Cabinet and Chairmakers' Union." To illustrate a well thought out talk Mr McDougall exhibited a number of MS. notebooks and the ceremonial banner of the Union. On 7th February, Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland gave a talk on "The Edinburgh Mint: Its Coins and their makers." The history of the personalities and the designs of the coins, presented with admirable slides, made members aware of the dearth of published information on the subject. On 14th March, Mr Arnold Kemp, Assistant Editor of *The Scotsman* gave a lively talk on the history and people associated with the newspaper in his talk "View from the Bridge."

On 14th November, Mr Alexander Aitken of the History department at Leith Academy took members on a journey round "Edinburgh's Vanished Stations" by means of colour slides and a descriptive narrative which was both entertaining and instructive. On 12th December, Mr Francis Bamford spoke on "Scottish Furniture and its Makers." Mr Bamford's dedication to the study of the history of Scottish furniture is well known, his talk must have convinced members of the wealth of material on individual furniture makers still to be discovered.

Summer excursions began on 4th June with a Cramond Walk led by Mr Barclay Fraser. Starting at the Roman Fort members visited Cramond House and Church, and passing through the village followed the course of the River Almond to the remains of the Cramond iron works at Fairfar Mill.

On 2nd July, by kind permission of Mrs Gore Brown Henderson and the National Trust for Scotland a visit was paid to Malleny, Balerno. Mrs Gore Brown Henderson and Dr Jean Munro led members round the seventeenth century house and Mr David Slater of the Gardens department of the National Trust answered many gardening questions as members admired the fine old world shrubs and plants.

On 23rd October, Mr R. Maxwell Young welcomed members to the completed part of the Mylne's Court restoration scheme. Mr John Reid explained the difficulties of converting the building to its present use as a University residence. Members appreciated the time the resident students took to show them their study bedrooms and other facilities. The University entertained members to sherry after the meeting.

On 19th October a social evening was held in St. Cecilia's Hall, Cowgate. The University of Edinburgh kindly made available the facilities of the Hall and opened the collection of harpsichords for viewing. A very large attendance of members met for supper and afterwards heard Mr John Reid outline the architectural history of the Hall and Mr John Barnes, curator, spoke on some of the important early harpsichords in the collection. It was one of the most successful meetings of the Club.

Volume XXXIII Part 1 of the Book of the Club was distributed to members in June. Club membership now stands at 426.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1970

The Sixty-Second Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Thursday, 19th March 1970.

Bailie Russell A. Fox presided.

An Address was given by Dr Frederick R. Stevenson, A.R.I.B.A., M.T.P.I., on "Current Research into projects affecting Old Edinburgh."

During the year six lecture meetings, two summer excursions and a social evening were arranged.

In the Lecture Hall of the Central Public Library on 14th January Mrs Norma Armstrong, Librarian-in-Charge of the Edinburgh Room spoke to members on "The Edinburgh Theatre in the eighteenth century." As well as slides Mrs Armstrong illustrated her talk with a display of contemporary advertisements and other material, the result of much new research. On 6th February Mr D. G. Moir, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society gave a talk on "Old Roads in the Lothians." In the time available Mr Moir covered miles of roads and tracks leading to Edinburgh all of which he has walked in his search for their remains. On 12th March Mr Patrick Cadell of the Manuscripts Department of the National Library of Scotland spoke on "The Cadell family and Cramond." Illustrating his talk with slides and a display of manuscripts from his family muniments Mr Cadell entertainingly related his family connections with the mills on the River Almond.

On 9th October Mr Stanley Jamieson guided members down the course of the Water of Leith from its source above Balerno to Leith Docks. Ably illustrated by his own slides his talk introduced members to new aspects of the activities along its banks. On 6th November Mr Arthur Clarke of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey explained the work of his department in relation to the Ordnance Survey, illustrating his talk with slides of the various methods of working. On 4th December, Mr R. G. Heddle in his talk "Edinburgh and the Turnpike Trusts" drew from the large amount of research he has undertaken on his subject.

Our summer excursions began with a visit on 16th June to the Napier College of Science and Technology (incorporating Merchiston Castle). Mr Stuart Harris, Architect-in-Charge of the restoration of the Castle explained the difficulties encountered in preserving the castle and integrating the building into the new college complex. Mr J. Dunning, Principal of the college then spoke to members in the Student's Common Room about the work and aims of the college. Members were afterwards shown over the castle and various technical departments by Mr Dunning.

On 15th July Miss A. W. R. Moller and Mr N. G. Matthew conducted members round the Terrace Gardens and Observatory on the Calton Hill. Miss Moller outlined the history of the gardens after which members were free to wander round. Mr Matthew and one of

his associates led us round the fascinating complex of observatory buildings with its many telescopes and early optical instruments. It was regretted by many members that the buildings and collection were not more widely known and used by schools and others interested in astronomy.

On 29th October a successful social evening was held in the Upper Library, University of Edinburgh. A large turnout of members was given the opportunity to view the interesting collection of maps and plans of Edinburgh exhibited by Dr David Simpson from his own collection. Mr Maxwell Young had also arranged a selection of plans of the University by Robert Adam and William Playfair from the University collection. The University entertained us to coffee and sandwiches in the newly decorated Senate Room, a fine setting to end a memorable evening.

It is with regret that we record the death of Dr J. S. Richardson, one of our Honorary Presidents. Dr Richardson, a member for 48 years, rendered many services to the Club both as a lecturer and untiring leader of excursions. His wise guidance of its affairs during his ten years as President until his retirement in 1963 will always be remembered.

Club membership now stands at 432.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1971

The Sixty-Third Annual General Meeting of the Club was held in the Old Council Chamber, City Chambers on the afternoon of Wednesday, 10th March 1971.

Bailie G. A. Theurer presided.

An Address was given by Mr Henry Wyllie, A.R.I.B.A., on "The Melville Street Conservation Report."

During the year six lecture meetings, two summer excursions and two social evenings were arranged.

In Lecture Room B, David Hume Tower on 15th January Dr Alistair Thomson, Keeper of Technology in the Royal Scottish Museum not only spoke to members on "Old Scottish Papermaking" but demonstrated the actual process of papermaking by the use of simple equipment. Members were able to handle the paper he produced. On 12th February Mr D. J. Bryden, Curator of the Whipple Museum of the History of Science at Cambridge gave a talk on "The Edinburgh Observatory—A Story of Failure." The story may have been one of failure but its history, entertainingly related by Mr Bryden, clearly showed the difficulties encountered by eighteenth century astronomers in Edinburgh's scientific circles. On 12th March Mr Ian Fisher of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland spoke on "Thomas Hamilton and Central Edinburgh." Illustrating his talk with slides Mr Fisher brought out clearly the architectural expertise which Thomas Hamilton used to adorn the centre of Edinburgh with buildings in the Greek Revival style.

On 14th October a combined lecture was given by Dr Alistair Rowan on "Cockerell's Visit to Edinburgh" and by Mrs Kitty Michaelson on "Ruskin in Edinburgh." Dr Rowan's

slides suitably illustrated the buildings commented on by C. R. Cockerell in his diaries and Mrs Michaelson's story of the effect of Ruskin's visit on Edinburgh, skilfully combined to give an entertaining picture of the cultural climate of Edinburgh at the time.

"An Evening of Edinburgh Films" from the Scottish Central Film Library were shown to members on 12th November. These included "The Singing Street" and a film on George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822 using contemporary illustrative material. On 9th December Dr J. G. Ritchie of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland spoke to members on "Edinburgh in Prehistoric Times." Dr Ritchie vividly brought out the wealth of prehistoric material which had existed and still exists within the Edinburgh boundary. He stressed the need to record the material being uncovered by so much development.

Our summer excursions commenced with a coach tour of Leith Docks on 16th June under the leadership of Professor Gordon Donaldson. A special stop was made at the Martello Tower where members showed concern at its condition and expressed the hope that as a scheduled monument it might soon be possible to visit it as one of the best remaining examples of a martello tower.

On 2nd July Councillor J. G. Gray took members on a tour of the Buccleuch area finishing at 34 West Nicolson Street, the eighteenth century home of the Fergussons' of Kilkerran. This remaining example of an eighteenth century house in the area is now empty after having been for many years the offices of Messrs J. & G. Stewart, Whisky Merchants.

In August, in connection with the bi-centenary celebrations of the birth of Sir Walter Scott, the Club helped to sponsor two concerts given in St. Cecilia's Hall. On 15th August "Lady Scott's Drawing Room" was open to Club members together with those of the Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club. On 18th August the concert was open to the general public. All tickets were sold on both occasions.

On 26th August, in connection with the same celebrations we were invited to a Reception and Special Viewing of the Sir Walter Scott exhibition in Parliament Hall. Many members and their friends attended the evening.

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

Club membership now stands at 450.

LIST OF MEMBERS

(as at 30th September 1972)

ADAM, Dr H. M., 20 Mayfield Terrace.
 Adams, W. S., C.A., 80 South Trinity Road.
 Ainslie, F. A., C.A., 16 Campbell Park Crescent.
 Aitken, James Tait, M.A., LL.B., 75 Whitehouse Road.
 Alexander, Dr W. A., 9 Randolph Crescent.
 Allan, Eric, 40 Park Road.
 Allan, Mrs S. W., 47 Plewlands Gardens.
 Allison, John, 58 Craigmillar Park.
 Amos, Miss M. J., Tyneholm, 6 Viewforth, Dunbar.
 Anderson, Alexander H., Leny House, Muthill, Perthshire.
 Anderson, David L., 23 Brandon Terrace.
 Anderson, Miss Ruth D., 457 Lawnmarket.
 Annan, Miss Jane, 26/16 Wauchope Terrace.
 Archer, G. B., Drumelzier Haugh, Broughton, Peeblesshire.
 Armet, Miss Catherine M., 8 Eton Terrace.
 Armet, Miss Helen, M.A., 8 Eton Terrace.
 Armstrong, Miss J. M., 25 Longformacus Road.
 Armstrong, Mrs Norma, 7 Willowbrae Gardens.

BAIRD, Mr and Mrs ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, 40 York Place.
 Bamford, Francis, 11 Wellington Place.
 Bannerman, Miss K., 13 Saxe-Coburg Place.
 Baptie, Mrs M., 46 Saughton Park.
 Barclay, Dr J. B., 25 Gardiner Road.
 Bathgate, Stephen B., 19 Hailes Park.
 Baxendine, Miss Patricia M., 5 West Castle Road.
 Bayne, Neil, 51 Ann Street.
 Bell, Mr and Mrs A. M., 138 East Trinity Road.
 Bell, Tom W., 18 Pitt Street.
 Berry, Mrs F. H., 2 Park Gardens, Liberton.
 Bertram, Mr and Mrs James, 12 Redhall Bank Road.
 Bird, George, 40 Saughton Road.
 Blaik, James, "Sandyknowe," Bankpark Crescent, Tranent.
 Bonar, John J., W.S., 9 Hill Street.
 Boyd, Mrs Sheila M., 11 Dryden Place.
 Boyes, Dr John, 12 Kingsburgh Road.
 Branston, Miss Annie Louise, 41 Raeburn Place.
 Brebner, Miss A. J., 4 Ainslie Place.
 Brechin, Sir Herbert A., C.B.E., The Garth, Castlelaw Road. (*Honorary Member*)
 Brewster, Mrs Nance M., 5 Lampacre Road.
 Brown, Comdr. Alan R. P., R.N., Capelaw, 29 Woodhall Road.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Brown, Dr Bernard J., 49 Spylaw Bank Road.
 Brown, Mr and Mrs H., 28 Craighouse Avenue.
 Brown, Dr and Mrs W. Norman, 32 Drumsheugh Gardens.
 Bruce, Iain, c/o Mrs Burns, 100 St. Margaret's Bay Road, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.
 Bruce, Sir John, St. Bernard's Cottage, 11 MacKenzie Place.
 Buchanan, Mrs R. M., 7 Bonaly Crescent.
 Burns, George, 3 Clarendon Crescent.
 Burns, Mrs Jeanie, 21 Castle Street.
 Butchart, Miss Jean, 62 Hamilton Place, Aberdeen.
 Butter, Mrs M. W., Newbattle House, Pitsligo Road.

CADELL, Mr and Mrs P. M., 11A Tipperlinn Road.
 Calderwood, Miss Alma B., 1/5 Inchcolm Court, West Pilton.
 Cameron, Miss Joan, 32 Rosemount Buildings.
 Cameron, W. B., 4 Grosvenor Street.
 Campbell, Mrs A. D., 38B High Street, Innerleithen, Peeblesshire.
 Campbell, Charles N., 131 Warrender Park Road.
 Campbell, Miss Helen Lyall, 34 Paisley Crescent.
 Campbell, Mrs M. J. M., 4 Dovecot Loan.
 Campbell, William F., 55 Northfield Broadway.
 Carnon, R. J. F., 64 Grange Loan.
 Carruthers, Miss Donna, 5 Carlton Terrace.
 Carus, Roger, 5 Roseburn Cliff.
 Catford, Edwin Francis, 59 Learmonth Grove.
 Cavaye, J. Stanley, 40 Durham Terrace, Portobello.
 Clark, Mrs K. C., 22 Learmonth Court.
 Cochran, Professor W., 71 Clermiston Road.
 Cochrane, Alexander, "Yewgarth," Lyndene Drive, Grange-over-Sands, Lancs.
 Cochrane, J. Douglas, W.S., 7 Abercromby Place.
 Collier, T. L., 4 Pearce Road, Corstorphine.
 Colthart, Miss, 8 Ivanhoe Crescent.
 Considine, W. D., China Cottage, Finchampstead, Workingham, Berkshire.
 Cooper, G. A., 12 Brunstane Road.
 Cormack, Dr J. 2 Manse Road, Corstorphine.
 Cormack, Dr E. A., 199 St. John's Road, Corstorphine.
 Corrigan, Miss E. M., c/o Royal Bank of Scotland, 144 Princes Street.
 Coutts, T. Gordon, 6 Heriot Row.
 Cramond, R. D., 13 Braid Hills Avenue.
 Cranna, Mr and Mrs R., 9 Gillespie Road.
 Crossland, J. Brian, D.A., DIP.T.P., A.M.T.P.I., F.S.A.Scot., 7 Glenisla Gardens.
 Cunningham, Mrs Agnes M., 137 Morrison Street.
 Cunningham, Ian R., 11 Blinkbonny Road.
 Cunningham, Miss Lily, B.Sc., 29 Moray Place.
 Cruft, A. Godfrey, 9 Douglas Crescent.
 Cruft, Miss Catherine H., 15 Morningside Place.

DAVIDSON, Miss E. H. S., 30 Coillesdene Crescent.
 Deane, Mr and Mrs E. W., 306 Gilmerton Road.
 Dey, Miss Mary J., 28E Coltbridge Avenue,
 Dey, W. G., F.R.I.B.A., 17 Craigmount View, Corstorphine.
 Dickie, Miss K. M., 39 Grange Road.
 Dickson, Leonard S., 61 Morningside Drive.
 Dickson, Walter B., 5A Elcho Terrace.
 Dickson, William, W.S., 6 Belgrave Crescent.
 Donald, Miss W. W., 10 Vivian Terrace, Davidson's Mains.
 Donaldson, Mr and Mrs A. B., 23 Torphichen Street.
 Donaldson, Professor Gordon, M.A., Ph.D., 24E Hermitage Place.
 Douglas, D. M., 21 St. Ninian's Road, Corstorphine.
 Douglas-Clarke, Miss Mary, 33 Milton Road West.
 Dow, Joseph A., M.A., 18 Duddingston Crescent, Joppa.
 Drummond, J., "Torwood", Fleurs Place, Elgin, Moray.
 Dunbar, J. G., Patie's Mill, Carllops, By Penicuik.
 Dunbar, J. Telfer, 15 Strathearn Road.

EAVES-WALTON, Mrs P. M., 55 Manor Place.
 Eggeling, H. F., 1A Merchiston Bank Gardens.
 Elliot, Mrs Margaret, 9 Easter Belmont Road.

FAIRLEY, Miss Jean G., 140 Braid Road.
 Farquharson, Miss Norah H., 14 India Street.
 Ferlie, Miss Jean P., 123 Morningside Drive.
 Fletcher, Miss Sheila D., University of Edinburgh, Old College, South Bridge.
 Flinn, Professor and Mrs M. W., 5 Grosvenor Crescent.
 Forbes, Mrs S. A. C., 6 Howden Hall Road, Liberton.
 Ford, Miss G., 27 Shandon Street.
 Fox, Councillor Russell A., 75 Stevenson Drive.
 Fraser, Dr Andrew G., 14 Ramsay Garden.
 Fraser, Barclay, 59 Cramond Glebe Road.
 Fraser, David, 22 Moat Place.
 Fraser, H. G., 19 Howard Place.
 Fraser, O. G., Braefoot, 8 Liberton Brae.
 Frizell, J. B., C.B.E., 22 Thorburn Road, Colinton.

GALLOWAY, Dr JAMES WILLIAMSON, 162 Alnwickhill Road.
 Garlick, Mrs M., 1 Ravelston Park.
 Gerrard, Miss D., 2 Church Hill.
 Gibb, Miss Hilda M., 76 Great King Street.
 Gibb, J. S. F., 76 Great King Street.
 Gibb, Miss Sheena M., 10 Greenhill Place.
 Gibson, Dr and Mrs D. T., 1 Spylaw Road.
 Gordon, Leslie, B.Sc., M.I.C.I., 43 Hillpark Avenue.

Gordon, Dr Peter, M.B., Ch.B., Curriebank, Currie, Midlothian.
 Graham, Robert, 10 Brunstane Road.
 Grant, Mr and Mrs Arthur, 12 Eglinton Crescent.
 Grant, Douglas, 2 Pentland Road.
 Grant, M. K., 5 Essex Brae.
 Grant, Mr and Mrs R., "Craig Elachaidh," 53 The Hennings, New Sauchie, Nr. Alloa,
 Clackmannanshire.
 Gray, Mrs Christina E., 4 Argyll Crescent, Joppa.
 Gray, John Gilmour, 7 Kilgraston Road.
 Gray, Dr William, 4 Argyle Crescent, Joppa.
 Green, A. McWatt, 7 Craiglockhart Park.
 Greig, Miss C. Ena, 7 Cramond Terrace.
 Guthrie, Douglas, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., 21 Clarendon Crescent.
 Guthrie, Mrs Douglas, 21 Clarendon Crescent.

HALDANE, W. P., 21 Ravelston Heights.
 Hamilton, Mrs J., 16 Craiglockhart Road.
 Harkins, Miss Nannah, 11 Craigcrook Terrace.
 Harper, Mr and Mrs A. D., 51 Lauderdale Street.
 Hart, Mrs Betty S., 45 Ann Street.
 Hay, George, 29 Moray Place.
 Hayman, Mrs C. M., 1 Montpelier.
 Hedderwick, Mrs Ruth, 31 Eglinton Crescent.
 Heddle, R. G., M.A., B.Sc., 9 Moston Terrace.
 Henderson, Miss Moira C., 14 Sandyhill Road, Banff.
 Henderson, Miss Rita S., 27 Comely Bank Road.
 Henderson, R. S., 24 Mardale Crescent.
 Herbert, Mrs Isabel, 30 Garscube Terrace.
 Hewitson, T. T., 19 Braid Hill Road.
 Hill, Robin A., Huntly House Museum, Canongate.
 Hodge, Miss Stella, 207 Dalkeith Road.
 Hogg, Miss B., "Linwood," 7 Salters Road, Wallyford, Musselburgh.
 Hogg, Mrs Elspeth A., 15 Rosefield Place.
 Hopkirk, Rev. D. S., "Ormond," 263 Milton Road East.
 Horn, Miss B. L. H., 5 Rothesay Terrace.
 Horne, F. Wilson, Invergarry, Whitehouse Road, Barnton.
 Howie, Mrs M., 27 St. Ronan's Terrace.
 Hughes, Mrs Joan W., 22 Brandon Terrace.
 Hughson, Miss A. F., 66 North Gyle Terrace.
 Hume, J. B., 24 Cherry Tree Gardens, Balerno, Midlothian.
 Humphrey, Mrs E. I., 2 Grierson Square.
 Hunter, Mrs M. S., 45 Glasgow Road.
 Hunter, Mrs Margaret W. T., 129 Morningside Drive.
 Hunter, R. L., 74 Trinity Road.
 Husband, Mrs Lorna M., 7 Charterhall Grove.

- IMRIE, Sir JOHN, Invervar Lodge, Glenlyon, Aberfeldy, Perthshire.
Inglis, William, 41 Barclay Place.
- JACK, Mr and Mrs G. M., 26 Bryce Crescent, Currie, Midlothian.
Jamieson, Miss Menie M., 18 Napier Road.
Jamieson, William, 2 St. Peter's Buildings, Gilmore Place.
Johnstone, John, Hillwoodlea, Seafield, Roslin, Midlothian.
- KELLAS, Miss W. M., 4 Western Gardens.
Kerr, Mrs Anna E., 5 Gillsland Road.
Kerr, Rev. T. Angus, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.Scot., Hon. C.F., 13 Lady Road.
Kelly, F. N. Davidson, M.A., LL.B., S.S.C., 16 Heriot Row.
Kidd, J. L., 11 Dundas Street.
Kilpatrick, P. G. W., Slipperfield House, West Linton, Peeblesshire.
Kinnear, Robert Ian, B.Sc., M.I.C.E., 18 Dovecot Park.
Knox, J., Flat 16, 6 Orchard Brae Avenue.
- LANGLANDS, JOHN S. C., 22 Corselet Crescent, Currie, Midlothian.
Law, Alexander, M.A., Ph.D., 51 Lauder Road.
Lawrie, R. D., 101 Trinity Road.
Lawrie, W. P., 1 Corstorphine Hill Road.
Leach, Miss Agnes M. M., 25 India Street.
Linton, Miss Marion, 6 Eton Terrace.
Lockie, Miss Agnes, 7 Inverleith Avenue.
Logan, Andrew, 16 Mayfield Terrace.
Logan, Miss C. S. E., The Dam House, Faladam, Blackshields, Midlothian.
Logan, Dr William Russell, O.B.E., T.D., 6 Garscube Terrace.
Lowther, C. P., 15 Lennox Street.
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