PINTS, POLITICS AND PIETY:
the architecture and industries of Canongate

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CONTENTS

APPENDICES **Page No**

1. Introduction

This document has been produced as one in a series of studies being undertaken by the combined Urban and Industrial Survey Programmes of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS; from 01 October 2015, known as Historic Environment Scotland (HES)). The aim of the studies is to look at areas of Edinburgh which have been shaped and changed by industries growing up within their townscapes, and to highlight what evidence of the area's history and development still exists in the present-day townscape.

1.1 Background

In 2014, RCAHMS's Urban and Industrial Survey Programmes began a collaborative working approach to survey work in Edinburgh. This provided an avenue for both survey programmes to combine resources and produce a comprehensive study of areas within a city which has not often been considered 'industrial'. The first area identified for survey was the former burgh of Canongate in Edinburgh's Old Town. This was selected as an area which has seen a huge amount of change during its history, with much of this change being the result of industrial developments which are no longer operating in the area. In addition, Canongate was one of the first burghs to be studied under the Scottish Burgh Survey during the 1970s, and it was felt that the information about the area was in need of updating. Whilst the Burgh Survey took an archaeological research approach to the area, the purpose of this study was to look at former and surviving built heritage, right up to present day. Where appropriate, results from recent archaeological excavations which have taken place as part of ongoing redevelopment works have been taken into account when describing the history of the area.

Over a period of several months during 2014 and 2015, staff undertook various aspects of survey work and research into the Canongate area. This document aims to summarise and report on their findings.

The survey was carried out by Lynn Kilpatrick (Urban Survey Projects Manager), Miriam McDonald (Industrial Survey Projects Manager) and Alex Adamson (Architecture Survey & Recording Projects Manager). The survey was supplemented by photographic survey of a range of buildings and other sites within the survey area carried out by RCAHMS photographers. These images have been added to Canmore, the HES online database, along with accompanying explanatory text.

1.2 Research Methods and Outputs

The boundary chosen for the study area was defined by using, as closely as possible, the original boundary for the burgh of Canongate. While, on the face of it, this area appears to be a traditional burgh townscape, this study will demonstrate how much of the area has in fact been completely redeveloped and recreated during its history, yet still retains vestiges of numerous aspects of its historical development.

The survey involved a range of tasks including:

1. Documentary research to trace the area's history and provide a context for the study;

2. Updating all Canmore records for all sites within the survey area boundary;

3. Identifying historic photographs, drawings and engravings of sites within the area;

4. Requisitioning new photography of sites within the area for which there was no previous record, or where sites have been altered/demolished;

5. Using historic maps to trace changes in the layout and extent of development within the area;

6. Production of an illustrated report on the area, including a historical narrative;

7. Disseminating the report on Canmore.

1.3 Notes on Maps and Images

All maps illustrated in the report have north to the top of the page. Scales have been adjusted to fit within the report.

All dates given for maps consulted reflect the date **surveyed**, not the published date.

Copies of HES photos have a unique catalogue number appended at the end of the caption (eg *DP193144*) which serves to identify the item in the National Record. These may be viewed and purchased online from www.canmore.org.uk, although it should be noted that some, particularly aerial views, appear in the report in a cropped form.
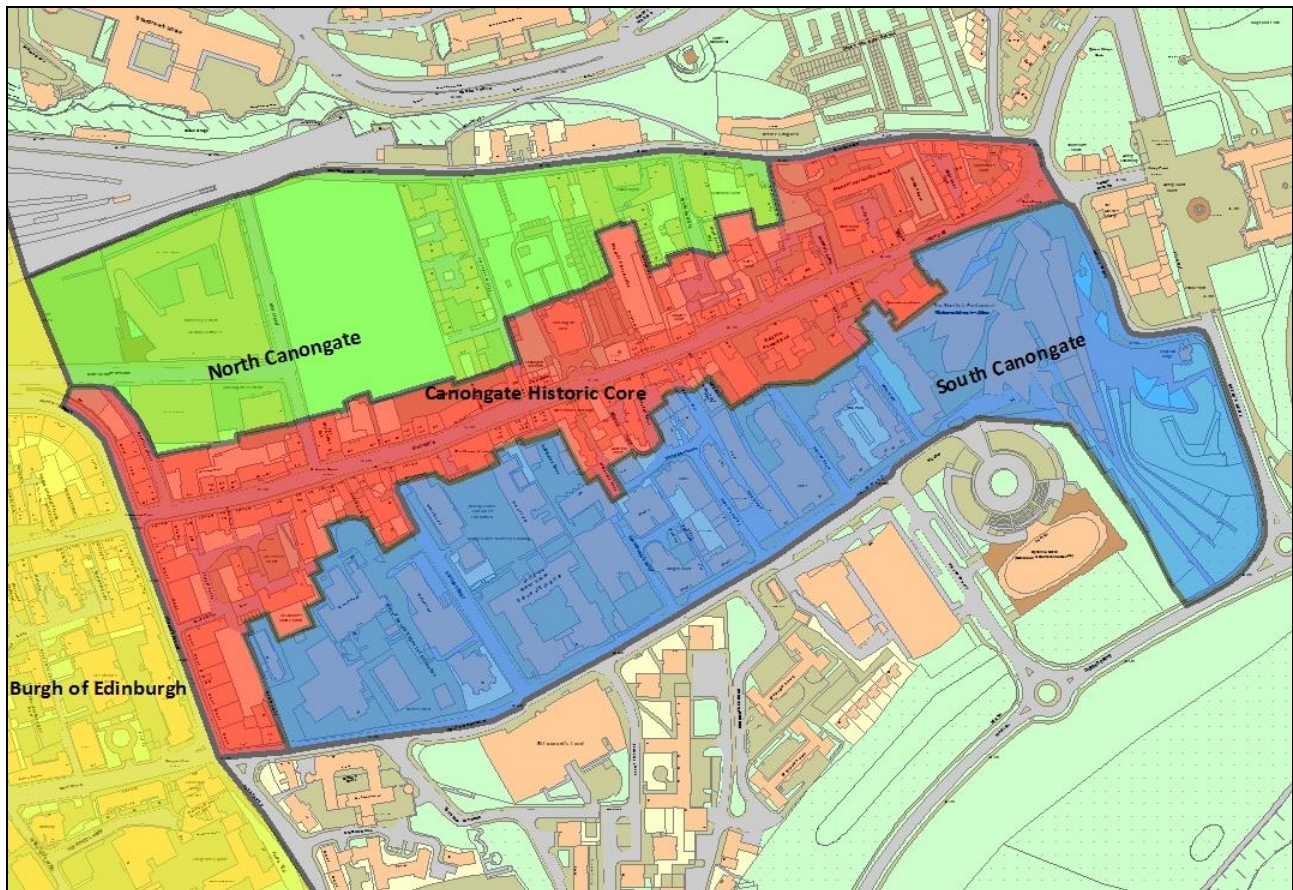
2. Reasons for Study

Figure 1: *Modern day Canongate, and the three Areas of Townscape Character identified in this study*
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Despite now being part of the Old Town of the City of Edinburgh, Canongate is a former Scottish burgh which has retained much of its traditional burgh herringbone street pattern layout and building styles despite several redevelopment schemes and modern large-scale developments within its boundary.

As can be seen from maps such as Figure 1 above, Canongate is very unusual in its setting. A Scottish burgh usually dominates its surrounding area. Canongate, however, is hemmed in on almost all sides. Two centres of power flank it. To the west sits the burgh of Edinburgh while Holyrood Palace is at its east end. Attached to the Palace is the area now known as Holyrood Park, and formerly known as the King's Park or Queen's Park (depending on the reigning monarch of the time). The land to the north of the burgh is occupied by Calton Hill. This setting means that the burgh has always been unusually limited in its scope for growth.

Two key aspects which make Canongate stand out are: the burgh layout, which can still be seen in the present-day townscape; and that it displays some remnants and examples of all periods of its history from medieval through to modern and current developments.

Canongate takes the form of a traditional Scottish burgh layout with a herringbone street pattern, but does not have the usual wide market place at its heart. The burgh also shares its main street, part of the Royal Mile, with another adjoining burgh (Edinburgh), creating a central thoroughfare running from the Castle to Holyrood Palace, with narrow closes running off at right angles leading to Calton Road to the north and Holyrood Road to the south. Canongate itself runs along a sloping, steep-sided volcanic ridge leading from the volcanic plug of Castle Rock sloping down to the flat area occupied by Holyrood Palace and Abbey.

6

The area has constantly developed but has managed to retain historical aspects such as the 17th century cluster around Bakehouse Close/Huntly House (see *1* on aerial view in Figure 2 below), as well as examples of the fine townhouses of its wealthier residents, such as Queensberry House (*2*) and Moray House (*3*), which demonstrate its political importance – being located near Holyrood Palace and on the main route to Edinburgh Castle. Remnants of its industrial past have also helped shape and retain the street pattern of the rigg plots, even within modern developments.
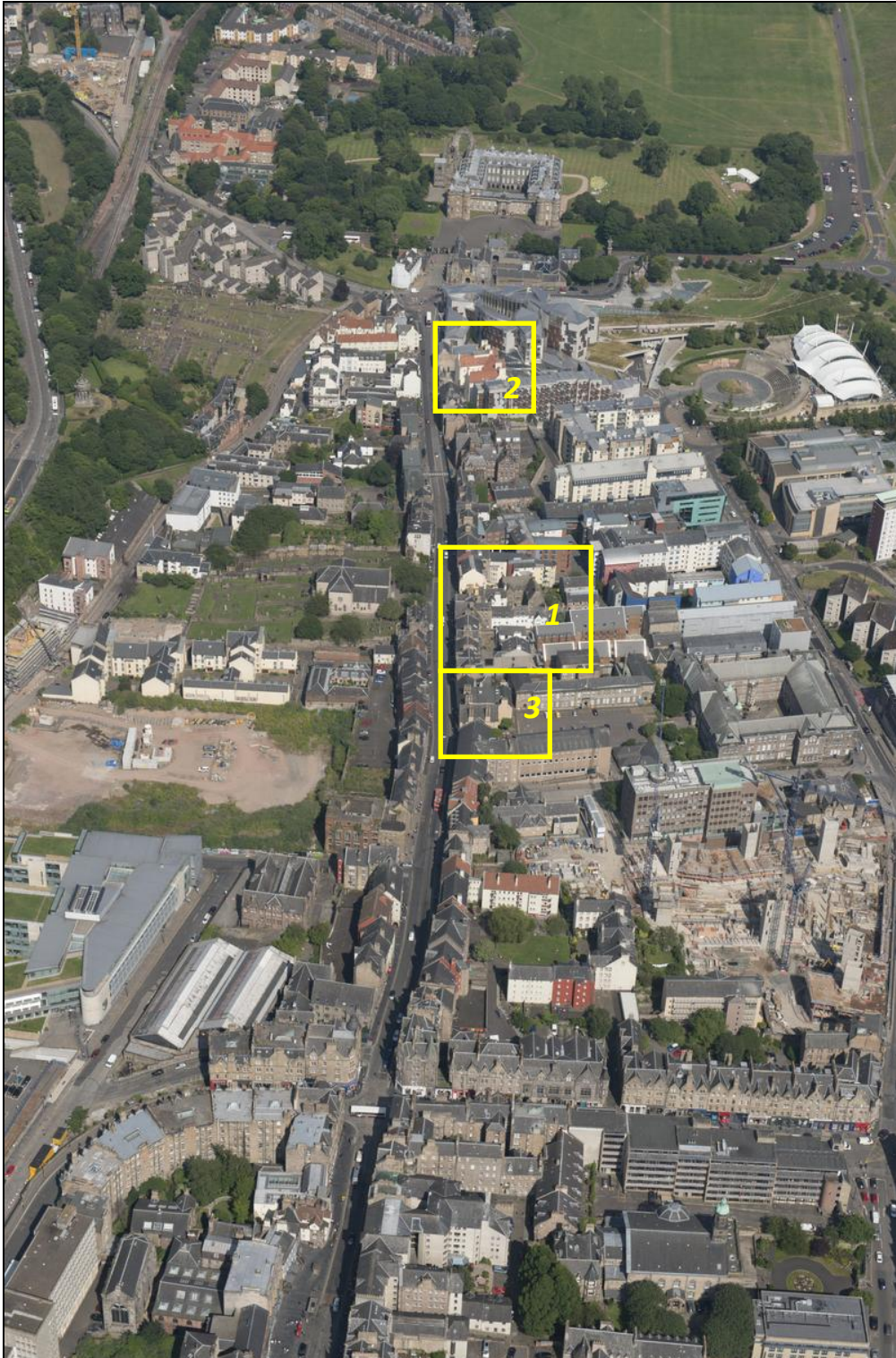

Figure 2: Aerial view looking east down Canongate, 2014, showing Bakehouse Close/Huntly House (1), Queensberry House (2) and Moray House (3) (DP193144 ©Crown copyright HES)

3. Location, History and Development
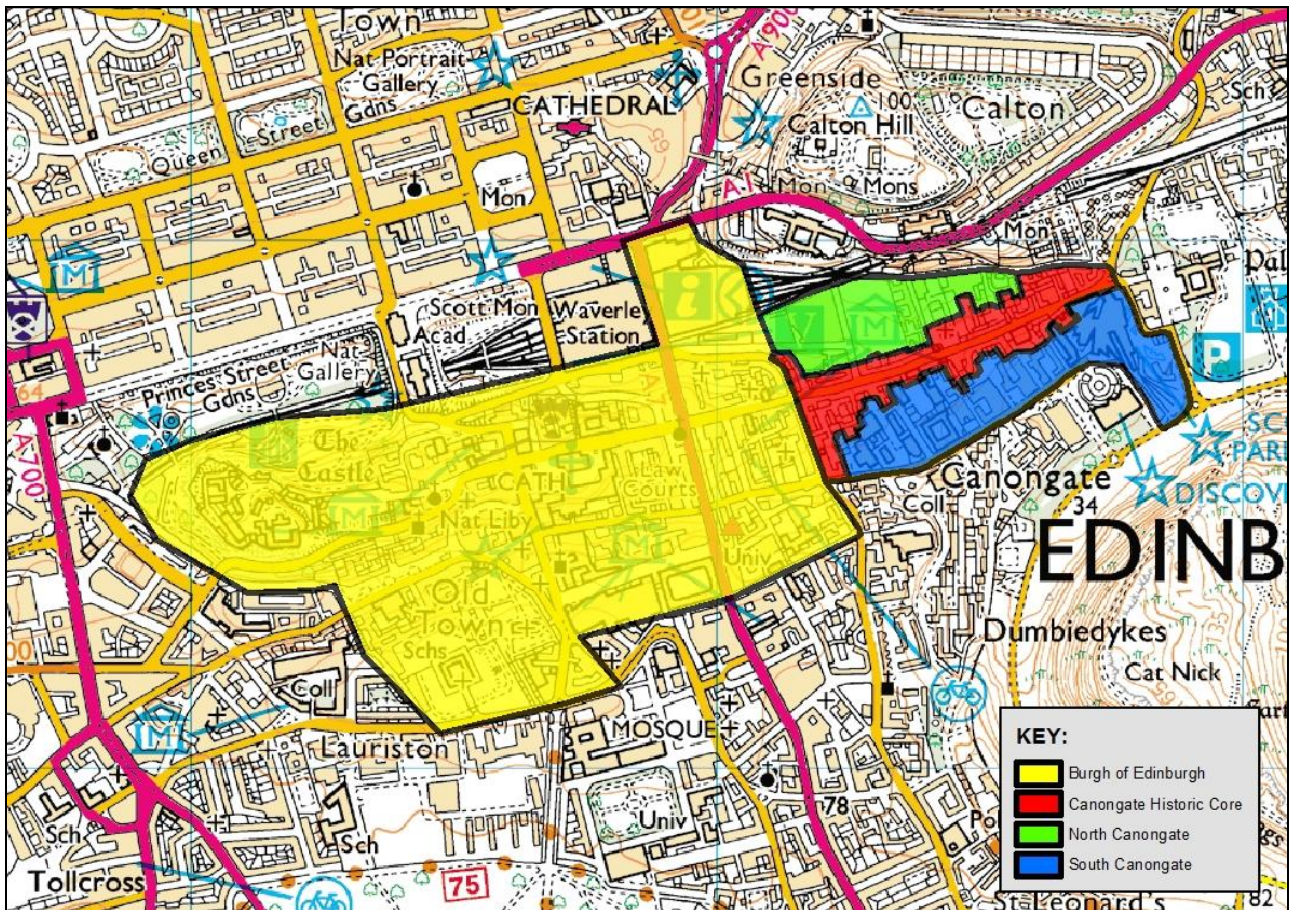
Figure 3: *Map showing location of Canongate survey area within Edinburgh (**NB**: Burgh of Edinburgh boundary based on Gordon of Rothiemay's map of 1647)*
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3.1 Location

Canongate sits at the heart of the modern city of Edinburgh, forming the eastern portion of the historic Royal Mile, the heart of the Old Town. It is constrained by the volcanic rock of Calton Hill to the north, the grounds of Holyrood Palace and Abbey to the east and south-east, St Leonards and The Pleasance running southwards from Holyrood Road, and the originally-separate burgh of Edinburgh itself to the west. Waverley Station and the tracks of the East Coast Main Line run through the northern boundary of Canongate.

Despite this city centre townscape, the area has views onto natural landscape, with the large open space of Holyrood Park to the south-east, and Calton Hill to the north. Being situated along the ridge leading from the Castle to Holyrood Palace, Canongate forms part of a natural route through the city. Roads leading off this main thoroughfare have changed over time, but the basic framework of the area has remained relatively unchanged.

Figure 4: Aerial view of Calton Hill with Canongate to south (bottom), 2009 (DP062385 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 5: Aerial view of Holyrood Park with Canongate to north (bottom), 2008 (DP049960 ©Crown copyright HES)

3.2 History of the Burgh of Canongate

The adjoining burghs of Edinburgh and Canongate were founded around the same period, by King David I (1083-1153), the first monarch to establish burghs as a formal administrative authority with certain rights to govern within their boundaries and also to trade outside their boundaries. The exact date for Edinburgh's founding on land owned by the Crown is not clear, but it was between 1124 and 1127. Canongate (or Canongait, the Canons' way or route) was a Burgh of Regality granted by David I to Holyrood Abbey in 1128.[1] The Canons referred to in the area's name were Augustinian Canons who developed the Abbey there, following its establishment on their behalf by David I. Canongate developed in traditional Scottish burgh herringbone form, with long strips of land leading north and south from the main thoroughfare. The burgh contained a concentrated social mix within its boundaries, largely being settled by tradesmen and merchants. Many traditional trades became established in the area, including brewers, masons and tailors. The south side of Canongate attracted a multitude of wealthier residents, with many of Scotland's landed gentry building large townhouses with extensive gardens stretching down to the South Back of Canongate (now Holyrood Road) to be close to the Royal Court based at Holyrood Palace. Land to the north of Canongate was more densely packed, with the lower classes filling the tenements fronting onto the street, and also squeezed into the backlands down to North Back of Canongate (now Calton Road).

Figure 6: *Extract from William Bell's 'Plan of the Regality of Canongate comprising the Liberties of Pleasance, North Leith, Coal-hill and Citidal thereof', 1813 (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

As a burgh, Canongate contained all the necessary administrative functions within its boundaries, although some of these were lost once the burgh joined with Edinburgh in 1856. Burghs usually had a market place marked by the burgh or market cross, and generally occupying a wider part of the main street, though in Canongate this was somewhat constrained by the underlying topography of the area. The original burgh cross stood in the middle of the street near the Tolbooth, being moved in 1737 to sit beside the Tolbooth to allow better movement along the street. Despite this constricted site for the market cross, the burgh still ran a market, and many of its residents were merchants and craftsmen who sold their goods and services within the burgh boundaries. The main focus for administration was the Tolbooth, dating from 1591, which ultimately performed both judiciary and civic functions. Canongate's Burgh Cross, restored in 1888, was the meeting place for merchants, and also for public proclamations and major public events such as executions. In recent years, the Canongate area has once again taken up a civic function, becoming home to both the Scottish Parliament and the City of Edinburgh Council's headquarters.

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[1] Pryde, Glen S, 1965, *The Burghs of Scotland: a critical list*, London, p 37, No 84

Figure 7: View of [Canongate Tolbooth](), from south-east, 2014 (DP190172 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 8: View of [Burgh Cross](), from south-east, 2014 (DP188650 ©Crown copyright HES)

By the 17th century Canongate was in the shadow of its neighbour Edinburgh, both in terms of scale and economy, and building was at its densest at the Edinburgh side of the burgh. As James Gordon of

Rothiemay's plan of Edinburgh in 1647 shows, Edinburgh was already larger and more densely developed than Canongate by this time. By contrast, the burgh of Canongate was far more open, with much of the land behind the main street frontages within the boundaries of the burgh used for semi-agricultural purposes. This continued to be the case into the early 19th century. During the course of that century, however, this land was largely built over for residential or industrial use, especially after Canongate was subsumed into the neighbouring Edinburgh.
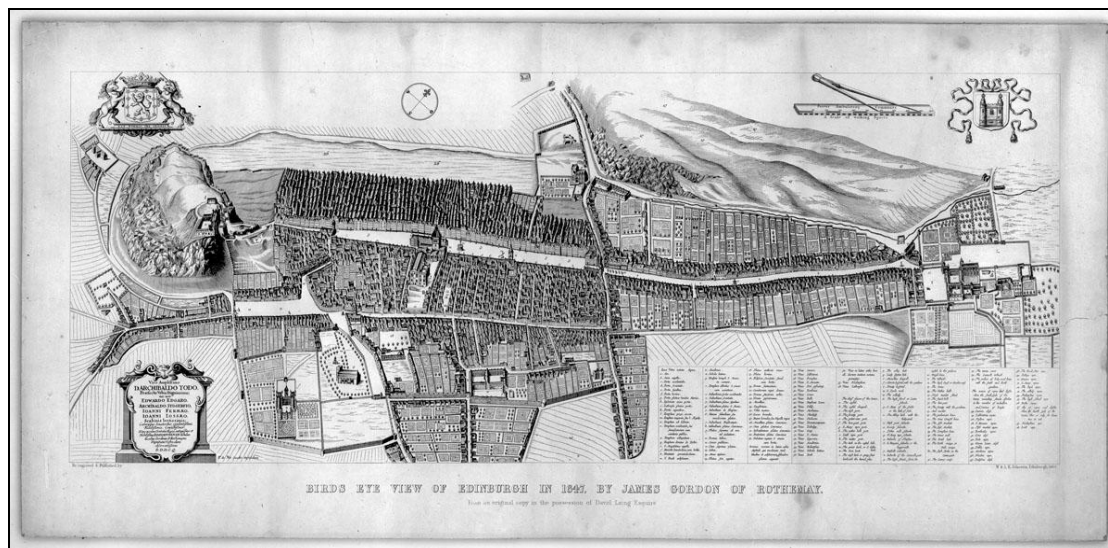

Figure 9: *'Bird's eye view of Edinburgh in 1647' by James Gordon of Rothiemay (SC759018 ©Crown copyright RCAHMS 2003)*

Canongate was a key location in the Treaty of Union of 1707, in which the Kingdoms of Scotland and England were incorporated into the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Not only were several main players in the politics of the Treaty resident within Canongate, it is said that part of the signing of the Treaty was carried out in the summer house within the gardens of Moray House. At that time, James Ogilvy (1664-1730), 1st Earl of Seafield and Lord High Chancellor, was living there, and as one of the Commissioners involved in the negotiations, he offered his summer house for the signing. Originally set in a secluded spot in the gardens, it offered a private corner for such a historic act. However, the Treaty was not universally popular, and its signing had to be completed in a High Street cellar 'while the cries of the exasperated mob rang in the streets'.[2] The summer house still survives, albeit without its surrounding gardens, nestled against the wall of a former brewery maltings just north of Holyrood Road between Gentle's Entry and the early 20th century Paterson's Land quadrangle at Moray House.
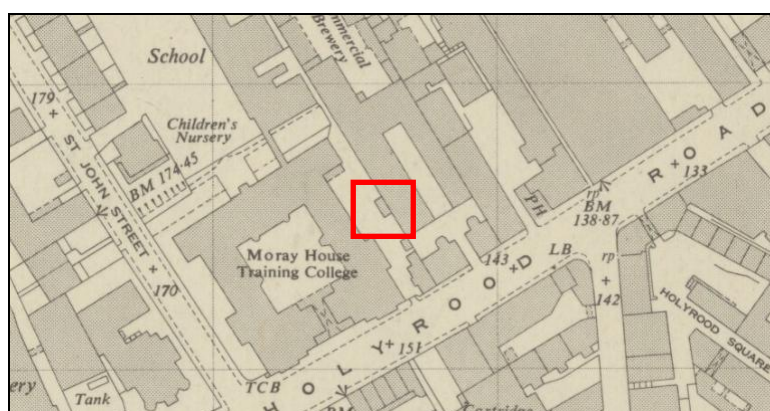
Figure 10: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:2500 (Plan NT2673), 1946, showing summerhouse (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[2] Grant, James, 1880, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, chapter 5, p 33 [Online]. Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page45.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
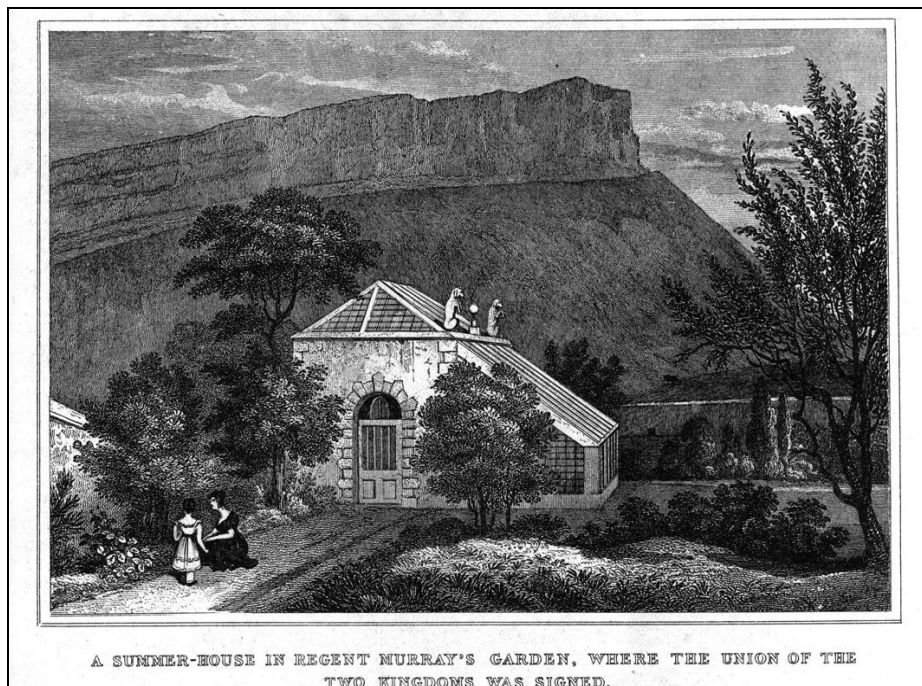
Figure 11: *Engraving showing [Moray House summer house](), drawn by Thomas H Shepherd, 1829 (copied 1998) (SC356265 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 12: *View of summer house attached to brewery wall just off Holyrood Road, c.1950 (copied 2008) (SC1103826 ©Crown copyright HES)*

3.2.1 Education in Canongate

As a separate burgh, Canongate provided a range of educational opportunities for its residents. Education in Scotland had traditionally been the remit of the church. However, post-Reformation (1560) many burghs had taken a role in the provision of some aspects of schooling. Nearby Edinburgh had developed a pluralistic education sector, with many non-church schools, some of which (such as Royal High School (founded 1128 and transferred to Edinburgh Town Council in 1566), George Heriot's (1628), George Watson's (1741) and James Gillespie's (1803)) survive to this day. These schools provided options for the better off, or more fortunate, parents of Canongate. Perhaps because of the range of alternatives for the well-to-do which were within walking distance, education provision in the Canongate focused on the less affluent. The First Statistical Account of Scotland records in 1792 that there was 'a public grammar school

[in Canongate] under the patronage of the magistrates and the Kirk session'.[3] This school can be seen on William Edgar's map of 1765 in the area now occupied by Cranston Street (see Figure 13 below).
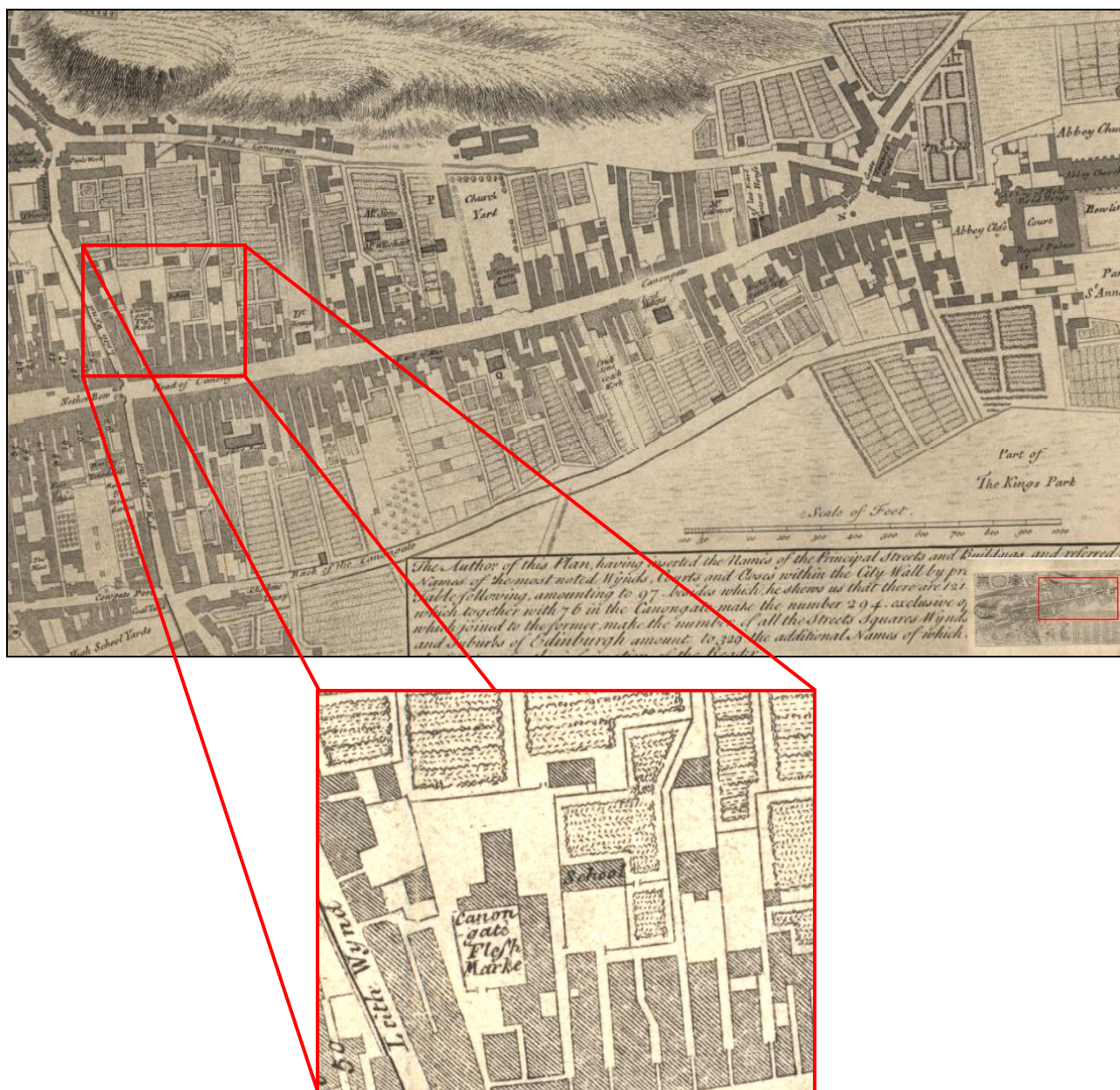
Figure 13: Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, with (below) detail showing 'School' marked on map (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

By the time of the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852, there were seven different schools marked within the burgh boundary, including the Canongate Burgh School just east of Canongate Kirk (number **3** on the map below). The other schools are marked with their denomination: United Presbyterian School, High School Close (**1**); Canongate Sessional School, Kinloch's Close (**2**); Highland Society School, Lochend/Little Lochend Closes (**4**); Holy Cross Roman Catholic School, Carfrae's/Gentle's Closes (**5**); Moray House Normal School, Free Church (**6**); and St Thomas's Episcopal School, Gibb's Close (**7**).

[3] Sinclair, Sir John (ed), 1792, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol 6: Edinburgh*, p 568 [Online]. Available from: http://edina.ac.uk//stat-acc-scot/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 14: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing schools in Canongate area (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

The present school for the area is Royal Mile Primary School, originally Milton House Public School (also previously Canongate Primary School), which was built in 1886 to designs by Edinburgh School Board's Chief Architect, Robert Wilson (1834-1901).

Figure 15: *Detail of carved stonework on front elevation of* Royal Mile Primary School *(formerly Milton House Public School), 2014 (DP161366 ©Crown copyright HES)*

To the south of Moray House, the establishment and growth of Moray House College of Education began in 1848 with the setting up of the Free Church of Scotland's Normal and Sessional School. Edinburgh had

many colleges and, of course, the University. This satisfied local demand for the provision of further education. Canongate established its niche in teacher training. The need for more teachers following the formalisation of education with the 1872 Education Act saw a dedicated Training Department set up in 1878-9. The government took on the responsibility of educational training provision in 1905. It was not until 1959 that Moray House College of Education was formally established. It has subsequently been an associated part of Heriot Watt University, before becoming the University of Edinburgh's Faculty of Education in 1998. The main Paterson's Land Classical quadrangle, built 1911-13 to designs by architect Alan Keith Robertson (1881-1925),[4] [5] became the focus for the training college, though the college has expanded into surrounding buildings, as well as demolishing others and replacing them with large-scale teaching blocks in the 1960s[6] and more recently.
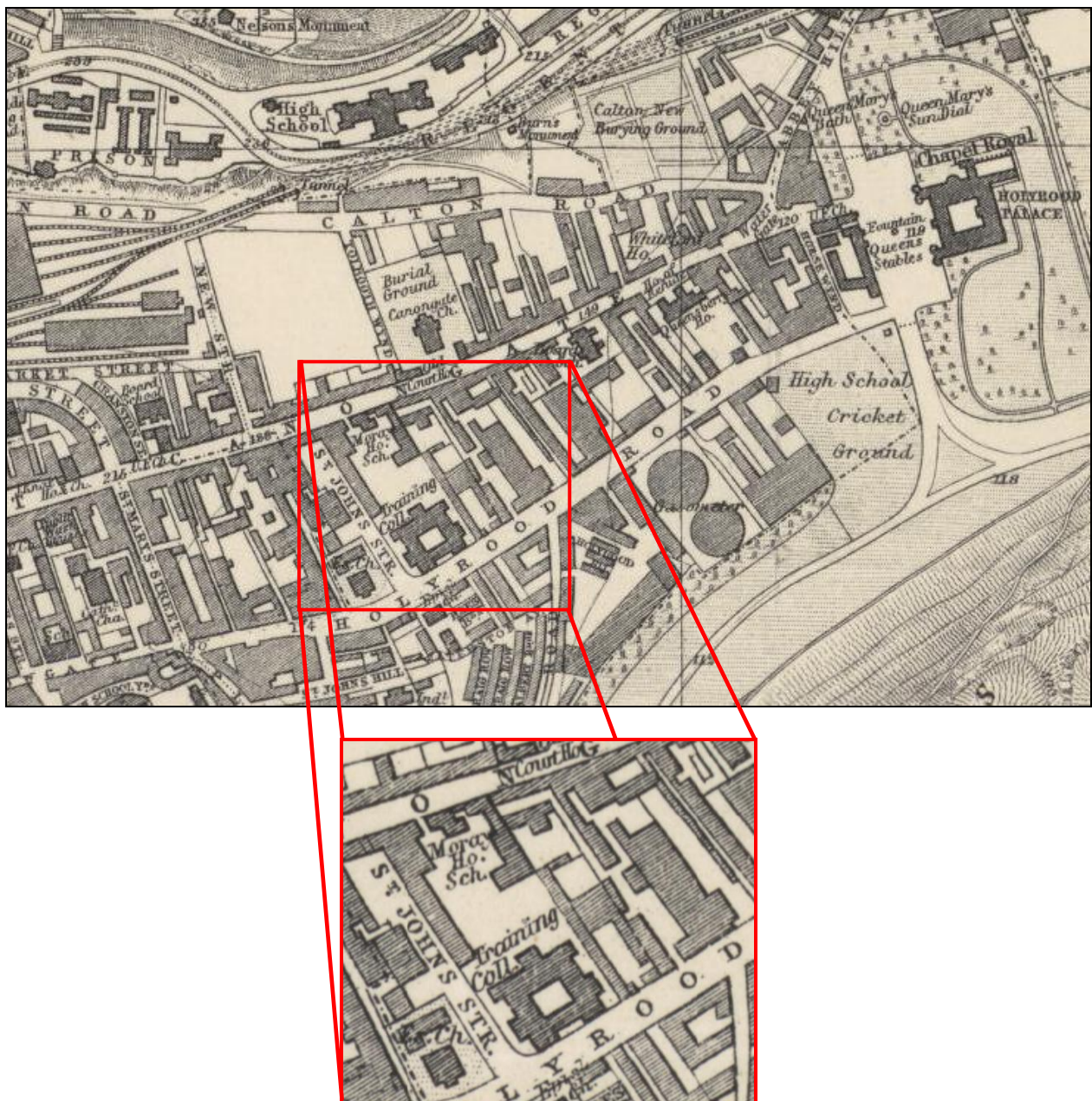
Figure 16: Extracts from John George Bartholomew's 'Post Office Plan of Edinburgh, Leith & Portobello', 1917-18, showing 'Moray Ho. Sch.' and 'Training Coll.' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

[4] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202452 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[5] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB29090 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[6] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/history [Accessed 01/02/2016]

3.3 Development and Improvement Schemes in Canongate

KEY:

- Chambers Improvement Scheme 1867-9
- Other C19 improvements
- 1900-20
- 1920s/30s
- MacRae Canongate Improvement Scheme 1930/1
- Gordon & Dey 1940s/50s
- R A Hurd 1950s/60s
- 1960s
- 1970s to 2000
- C21

Figure 17: *Map showing redevelopment and improvement schemes in Canongate*
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There have been many phases of improvements in Edinburgh's Old Town during the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. The map above shows where there have been major redevelopment or improvement schemes undertaken on buildings and plots within the Canongate survey area. It serves to demonstrate just how much of the area has undergone major changes over the centuries. While the main street through the area appears to be truly historic, it can be seen from the map in Figure 17 above that there are few plots on Canongate itself that have not been affected by some redevelopment during the past 200 years or so. Many of the larger-scale redevelopment schemes have taken place during the last 50-60 years, especially in the South Canongate area fronting onto Holyrood Road.

Developments in the 19th century, such as the formation of St Mary's Street and Jeffrey Street, were undertaken using contemporary designs, uninfluenced by the architecture of the buildings they were replacing. During 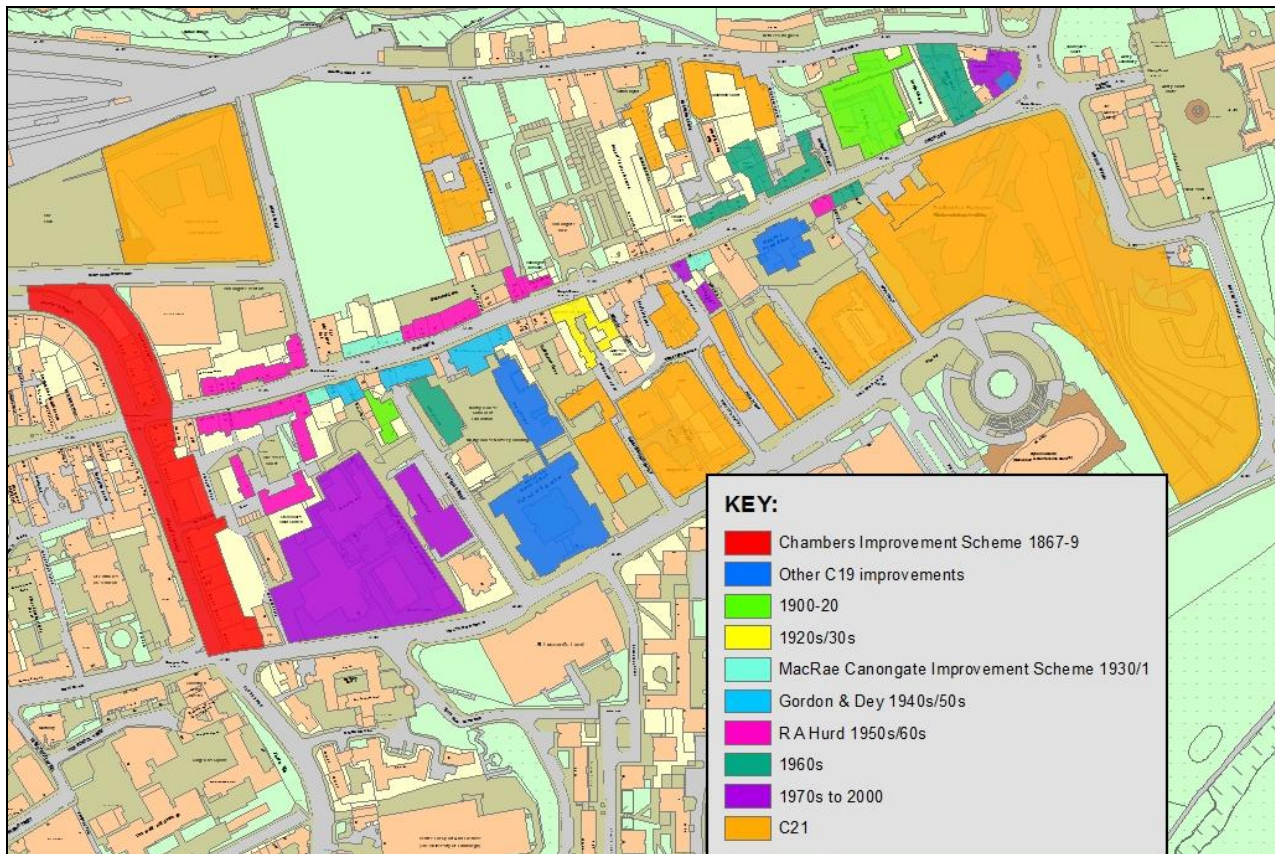the first half of the 20th century, the emphasis shifted towards the preservation and upgrading of existing buildings. Where new buildings were constructed, they were often done in an older style, more in keeping with the character of the buildings which were being replaced. In the post-war period, the culture shifted back towards new build, and the introduction of new materials, but in a manner that attempted to be sensitive to the surrounding historic fabric. Towards the end of the century, and into the 21st century, a more mixed philosophy held sway. New buildings were generally built in a contemporary style using the latest materials, especially away from the main street. But there was also a greater emphasis on the restoration and conversion of existing buildings.

Over the course of the last 150 years, there have been many drivers behind these development schemes. The Town Council sought and gained powers to make substantial changes within the Old Town through the Edinburgh City Improvement Act 1867. Alongside this, tenements were improved and new streets created to provide access through the area. At the turn of the 20th century, the improvement of public health and sanitation, with associated legislation, was one of the key drivers in the slum clearances of this period.
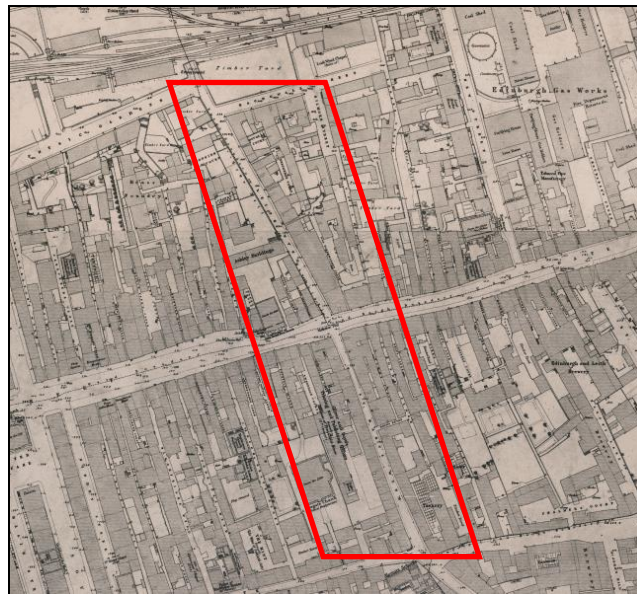
Figure 18: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1ˢᵗ Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing Leith Wynd and St Mary's Wynd (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

One of the earliest major redevelopments in the Canongate area was the aforementioned creation of St Mary's Street and Jeffrey Street as the north-south route over the ridge of the Old Town. The Lord Provost at the time, William Chambers (1800-83, Lord Provost 1865-9) implemented the widening of several narrow streets and wynds in the Old Town as part of the Edinburgh City Improvement Act 1867. Alongside this, tenements were improved and new streets created to provide access through the area.

Figure 19: *Engraving of St Mary's Wynd, drawn by Thomas H Shepherd, engraved by J B Allen, 1829 (copied 2011) (DP095410 ©Crown copyright HES)*

St Mary's Street was built in 1867-9 as a result of the Act. It more or less followed the line of St Mary's Wynd. The tenements on the east side replaced smaller-scale houses (see Figure 19 above) which were severely overcrowded. These new houses were built in the Scots Baronial style, with much improved facilities internally. Named after Lord Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850), lawyer, critic and co-founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, Jeffrey Street was built from 1873 roughly along the line of Leith Wynd, while the northern section of Cranston Street followed the line of Leith Wynd up to Calton Road. The tenements on Jeffrey Street and Cranston Street were built between 1873 and 1891, again in the Scots Baronial style.

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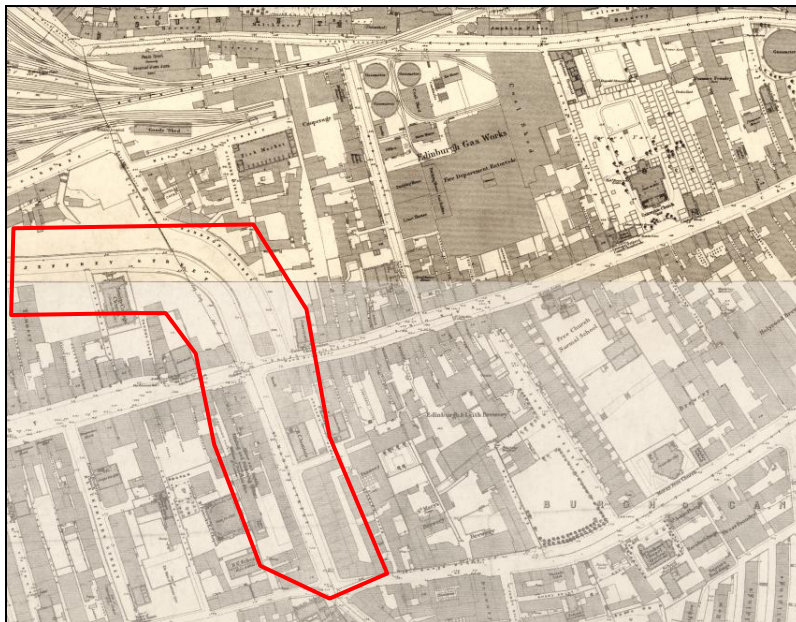
Figure 20: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing Jeffrey Street, Cranston Street and St Mary's Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

During the late 19th century, the pioneering town planner, Sir Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) commissioned work to remodel and improve various sections of the Canongate. In particular, work was carried out in 1894 at Robertson's Court/15 Canongate as part of a scheme, by the architects' practice Simon & Tweedie, to improve the Watergate area at the eastern end of Canongate (Frank Lewis Worthington Simon (1862-1933) and Charles Edward Tweedie Snr (1863-1942)).[7]

In the early 20th century, improvement works tended to be small-scale, such as the restoration and alterations carried out at St John's Masonic Lodge (with origins dating from 1735) on St John Street by Sir Frank Charles Mears (1880-1953) in 1911, and in 1913 alterations made by T P Marwick & Son at Callander House (dating from c.1770) to form part of the Scottish National Military Veterans' Association residence along with the adjacent Whitefoord House (1769-70).

Figure 21: *View of St John's Masonic Chapel, St John Street, from south-east, 2013 (DP158540 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[7] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=203343 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 22: *View of [Whitefoord House and Callander House](), from south, 2014 (DP207850 ©Crown copyright HES)*

By the end of the 19th century, the Canongate, like many historic urban areas, was suffering from a lack of investment and severe overcrowding. Population in the wider Edinburgh area (including Canongate and Leith) had risen from 191,303 in 1851 to 269,407 in 1891.[8] Tenement properties were falling into serious disrepair, with a lack of 'modern' amenities such as running water and internal bathrooms. In 1897, the Public Health (Scotland) Act was passed which aimed to improve sanitary conditions in towns, as well as the structural condition of residential buildings. The Act covered dealing with infectious diseases and disinfecting bedding and related matters, giving local authorities the responsibility to provide hospitals, provision and care of water closets, etc.[9] Edinburgh Town Council used the improvement schemes as a way of addressing failings in sanitary provision in the Old Town, enhancing living conditions for residents. Structurally, many buildings had been repaired, adapted, sub-divided and generally altered beyond the point of being capable of improvement to provide accommodation to meet the standards being promoted amongst the growing public health movement across Scotland and the UK as a whole.

Figure 23: *View of Tolbooth area of Canongate, c.1920 (copied 2012) (SC1312287 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[8] http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/1_edin/1_edinburgh_history_-_dates_population.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[9] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/60-61/38/contents [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 24: View of 261-5 Canongate, from south, 1900-30 (copied 2008) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1098949 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 25: View of east end of north side of Canongate, c.1850 (copied 2008) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1119772 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 26: View of Old Playhouse Close, 194-8 Canongate, from south, 1900-30 (Copied 2008) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1098971 ©Crown copyright HES)
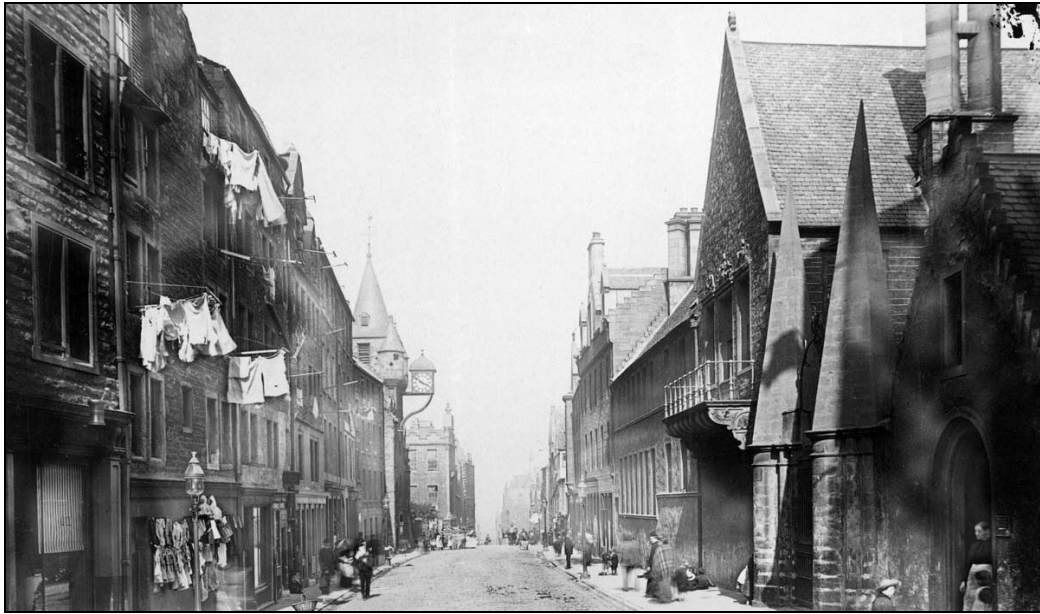
Figure 27: View of Canongate around Moray House, from west, c.1900 (copied 2010) (SC1165523 ©Crown copyright HES)

Further redevelopments undertaken in the late 1920s and 1930s tended to be part of improvement schemes. These provided tenements built in a 17th century style but with improved facilities. This was particularly so under the Canongate Improvement Scheme implemented in 1930/1 by the City Architect, Ebenezer James MacRae (1881-1951). Following his participation on a Department of Health tour looking at housing estates across Europe, MacRae brought back ideas which influenced the design of local authority housing across Edinburgh in the 1930s.[10] As part of this, he implemented redevelopment work at a number of tenements on Canongate.

Figure 28: View of 106 Canongate, from north, 2013 (DP161398 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 29: View of 206 Canongate, from north-east, 2014 (DP190123 ©Crown copyright HES)

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[10] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200699 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 30: View of 221-9 Canongate, from south-east, 2014 (DP190164 ©Crown copyright HES)

Even the prime properties of Huntly House, Acheson House and the 17th century tenements to the rear in Bakehouse Close had fallen into disrepair during the early 20th century, and these were eventually acquired by the Town Council in 1924. A major redevelopment scheme was undertaken at Huntly House by Sir Frank Charles Mears from 1927 to 1932.[11] The properties fronting Canongate and the tenements in Bakehouse Close to the rear were incorporated into one to form the City Museum. Robert Philip Andrew Hurd (1905-63) restored the adjacent Acheson House in 1936-7, recreating a 17th century corner at the heart of the Canongate area.[12]

Figure 31: View of Huntly House, prior to restoration, c.1930 (copied 2008) (B C Clayton Collection, SC1122000 ©Crown copyright HES)

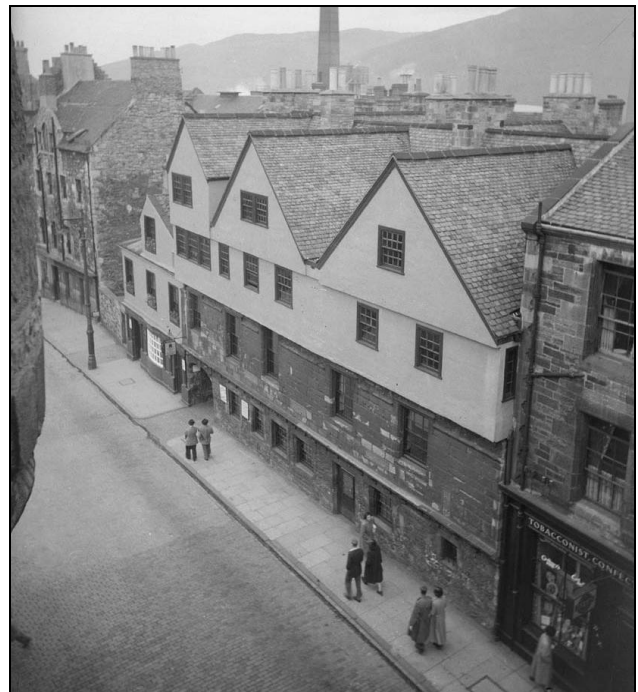*Figure 32: View of Huntly House, after restoration, c.1940 (copied 2008) (SC1124597 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[11] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202402 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[12] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202914 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 33: View of Huntly House, from north-east, 2013 (DP158595 ©Crown copyright HES)

Further tenement improvements during the 1950s and 60s were carried out by two major architectural practices that followed the so-called 'conservative surgery' approach to redevelopment undertaken by both Geddes and MacRae. The firm of Gordon & Dey (Alexander Esme Gordon (1910-93) and William Gordon Dey (1911-97)) carried out work at Moray House during the late 1940s and early 1950s, as well as restoration and reconstruction works at several tenements.[13] In these schemes original close entrances were retained, helping preserve the medieval plot layout. Robert Hurd & Partners undertook reconstruction work at numerous sites along and behind Canongate from 1953 to 1964. Again, all these schemes recreated the historic frontages using traditional materials and features.

The 1960s saw a turning point in the approach to redevelopment work in the Canongate area, as it did elsewhere. Architects and developers were beginning to turn their backs on schemes recreating traditional forms and instead were designing schemes which introduced modern architectural styles into townscapes. Gordon & Dey continued to work in the area, but this time their work provided a series of new-build facilities for Moray House College of Education to the rear of Canongate. In some instances this involved the demolition of older buildings on the sites, as at Dalhousie Land (1960-3) which replaced a three-storeyed-plus-attic Georgian terrace at the northern half of the east side of St John Street.

Figure 34: View of St John Street, from south, c.1930 (copied 2008) (B C Clayton Collection, SC1122118 ©Crown copyright HES)

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[13] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202411 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 35: View of Dalhousie Land, St John Street, from south, 2013 (DP160516 ©Crown copyright HES)

Some practices had a foot in both camps when it came to schemes for Canongate during the 1960s. Ian G Lindsay & Partners built fourteen houses and a hall at 70-80 Canongate (adjacent to Queensberry House) in 1962 in a contemporary style, but also carried out restoration work at a 17th century tenement being incorporated into Huntly House (1962-5). In addition, the practice restored the area around Bakehouse Close, Reid's Close and 95 Canongate. Sir Frank Charles Mears' practice carried out a restoration of White Horse Close, and was also involved in the restoration work at the 17th century tenement next to Huntly House at this time.

Figure 36: View of Haddington's Entry/Reid's Close, 80 Canongate, 1900-30 (copied 2009)
(Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC436869 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 37: View of Ian G Lindsay's 1962 block of flats at 70-80 Canongate, Reid's Close, from south, 2013 (DP161359 ©Crown copyright HES)

Perhaps the biggest wholesale redevelopment work for the Canongate was Basil Spence & Partners/Sir Basil Spence, Glover & Ferguson's developments at 1-3 Brown's Close/65-71 and 97-103 Canongate (1961-9). This wiped out the buildings which had stood on the site, most being deemed unfit for restoration.

Figure 38: View of 101-21 Canongate, from east, 1948 (copied 2003) (SC801736 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 39: *View of Brown's Close, looking north, 1900-30 (copied 2009) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1131011 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 40: *View of courtyard at 3 Brown's Close, from south-west, 1969 (copied 2006) (Sir Basil Spence Archive, SC1031107 ©Crown copyright HES)*

In April 1959 Basil Spence & Partners were contracted by the City of Edinburgh Corporation to design a housing development towards the bottom of the Royal Mile to replace slum tenements and make way for better housing. The practice completed the development in 1969. It consists of three blocks containing

one- and two-bedroom flats, two of which face onto the Royal Mile. There are two shops and a public house, at ground level. Behind the development is a boys' club gymnasium, Harry Younger Hall, also built by Spence's practice. The blocks are constructed of harled brickwork, stone and concrete, and include segmental concrete vaults that had become a Spence trademark. The architects incorporated plenty of open space on the site so that residents could appreciate the historic views.

Figure 41: View of Harry Younger Hall, Lochend Close, from south-west, 2014 (DP188712 ©Crown copyright HES)

Development from the late 1960s through to the end of the 20th century tended to be small-scale infill or restoration works. The breweries had expanded to occupy much of the backlands to the south of Canongate, but a series of closures in the last decades of the 20th century led to this area becoming the focus for major redevelopment work at the turn of the 21st century. The area's administrative/civic functions have reappeared in the early 21st century with the building of the Scottish Parliament in the south-eastern portion of the area, and the City of Edinburgh Council's HQ in the north-western corner.

The south side of the Canongate has seen the biggest changes in this latest phase of its history with Edinburgh University building large blocks of student accommodation along Holyrood Road. As part of the overall masterplan for the area, a modern hotel, shops and offices have also been built at the foot of Canongate/Holyrood Road nearest the Scottish Parliament.

On the north side of Canongate, similar large-scale development took place with the New Street Gasworks becoming a bus depot (1933) and later (1990s) a large covered car park, ultimately demolished in 2006. The entire site of the gasworks is undergoing further changes (2016), with modern housing being incorporated into some of the remaining buildings, plus modern blocks being added to the sites around Old Tolbooth Wynd. Further redevelopment is planned for the former gasworks site, with the Caltongate/New Waverley masterplan looking to fill the empty site with modern residential and commercial blocks.

Despite the loss of its separate burgh identity and several phases of redevelopment during the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, the Canongate area has retained much of its late medieval layout, and is still a densely-packed urban area due to the nature of the tenements within its boundary.

Figure 42: *Aerial view of Canongate area, looking south-east, 2014 (DP193143 ©Crown copyright HES)*

3.4 Continuing Development

The Canongate area continues to be redeveloped into the 21[st]century, despite its restricted site. The main impact on the area will be the New Waverley masterplan[14] for the area encompassing the south side of East Market Street and the site of the former gasworks from New Street to Old Tolbooth Wynd.

This large gap site has been the subject of controversial redevelopment plans since it was first conceived in 2001 as the Caltongate scheme. After several reworkings, a new revised plan was finally approved by City of Edinburgh Council in January 2014, and work is underway to develop several components of this plan. On completion, the scheme will provide a range of office, retail and leisure spaces, three hotels, 148 apartments and townhouses, and 40 affordable homes, with a new civic square entered from New Street. Most of the development will be new-build, but the 22 stone arches below Jeffrey Street at the west end of East Market Street are being converted to provide new retail space.

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[14] http://newwaverley.com/

4. Buildings and Townscape

The whole of the Canongate area lies within the boundary of the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site, and also forms part of the Old Town Conservation Area. While there are no scheduled monuments in the area, there are a total of **55** listed buildings (Canongate Historic Core: **47**; South Canongate: **6**; North Canongate: **2**), comprising **12** Category A (Historic Core: **11**; South: **1**; North: **0**), **34** Category B (Historic Core: **29**; South: **4**; North: **1**) and **9** Category C (Historic Core: **7**; South: **1**; North: **1**).[15]
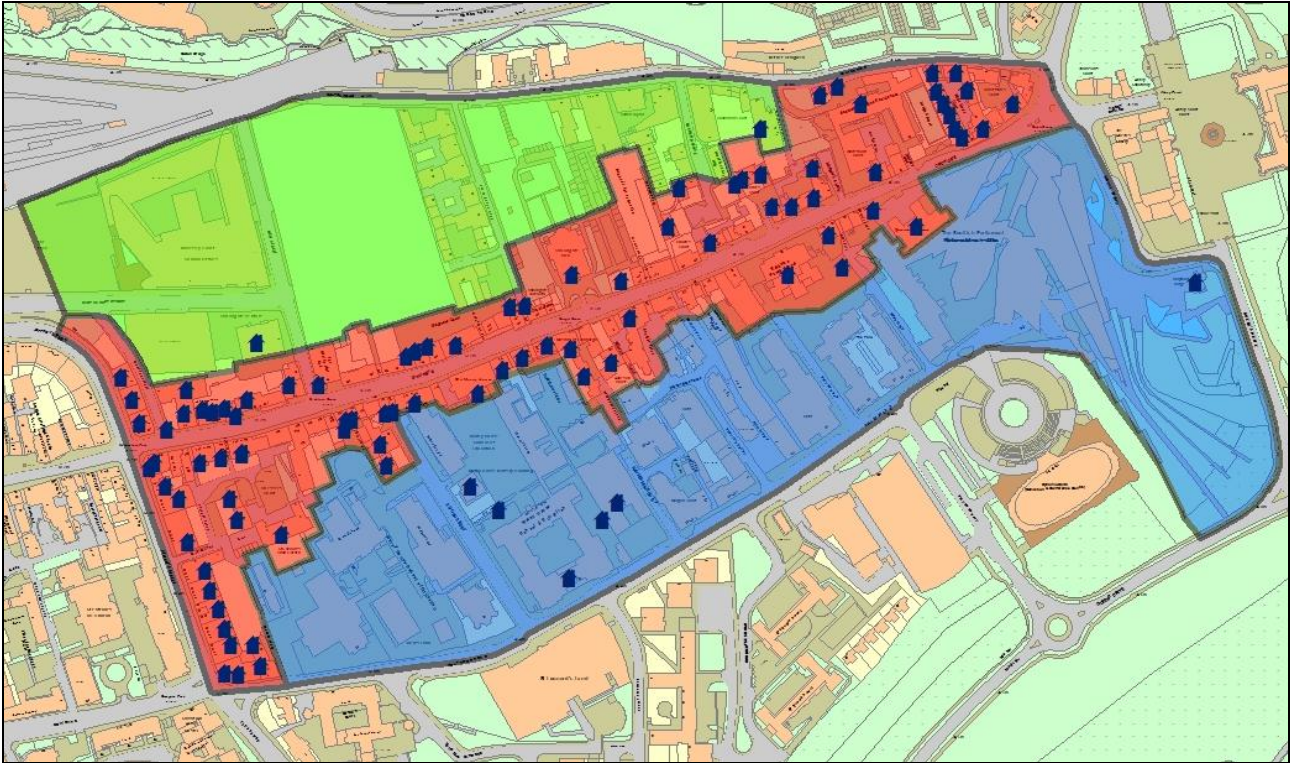
Figure 43: Map showing distribution of listed buildings in Canongate survey area
© Copyright and database right 2016 Ordnance Survey licence number 100057073

The buildings within Canongate play a vital role in understanding the area and its history. The key listed buildings are mainly the oldest and are A-listed. In particular, there is a cluster in the area at the centre of the Canongate, with Huntly House, Acheson House, the Tolbooth with the adjoining tenement, Canongate Kirk and Manse, and the Burgh Cross. Elsewhere, White Horse Close and Queensberry House at the eastern end, and Panmure House and Cadell House in the north backlands west of Canongate Kirk and Manse, provide evidence of the area's early development.

The Spence, Glover & Ferguson developments at Brown's Close/65-71 and 97-101 Canongate have a major impact on the townscape, but are recognised as a particularly important example of the firm's work. This is demonstrated in their B-listed status, awarded in 2008 following a major reassessment of Sir Basil Spence's career and achievements.

In terms of presence in the townscape, and innovative design within a historic townscape, the Scottish Parliament is a dominant feature at the east end of the area, as is the City of Edinburgh Council's headquarters in the north-west corner. The area to the south of Canongate contains a number of prominent former brewery buildings incorporated into modern developments, as well as a number of large-scale modern accommodation, office, hotel and education blocks on Holyrood Road.

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[15] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/hes/web/f?p=PORTAL:DESIGNATIONS:0 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 44: *General view of developments along north side of [Holyrood Road](#), looking west, 2014 (DP188504 ©Crown copyright HES)*

There is a variety of building types and styles in the area, although the main thoroughfare comprises mostly tenements, with a few key buildings set back from the main street, such as Canongate Kirk. The buildings are densely packed along the main street and on the closes. The buildings on the Canongate are typically four- or five-storeyed, often with attics. Towards the east end there are a number of lower buildings. A number of traditional shop fronts survive and there are also several sections of arcading, mostly in later remodelled tenements, replicating what might have originally been found on the streetscape.

Most of the buildings in the area are stone-built, though some are harled with cream, ochre or red limewash. There are a few examples of timber-fronted and brick-built properties, mostly in the backlands or in later former industrial premises.

Figure 45: *View of north-eastern elevation to Bull's Close of [The Tun](#), Holyrood Road, originally part of Younger's Holyrood Brewery, 2014 (DP188636 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 46: View of Cooper's Close, 114-120 Canongate, showing mixture of harling, stone, brick and timber cladding in backlands, 2014 (DP188649 ©Crown copyright HES)

More recent buildings tend to use concrete as a dominant building material, in particular the Scottish Parliament. Slate and pantiles dominate the rooflines across the area, as do timber-framed, multi-paned, sash and case windows. Most shop fronts retain their traditional/original forms, whether simple large plate-glass windows within stone frontages, or timber-fronted Victorian insertions.
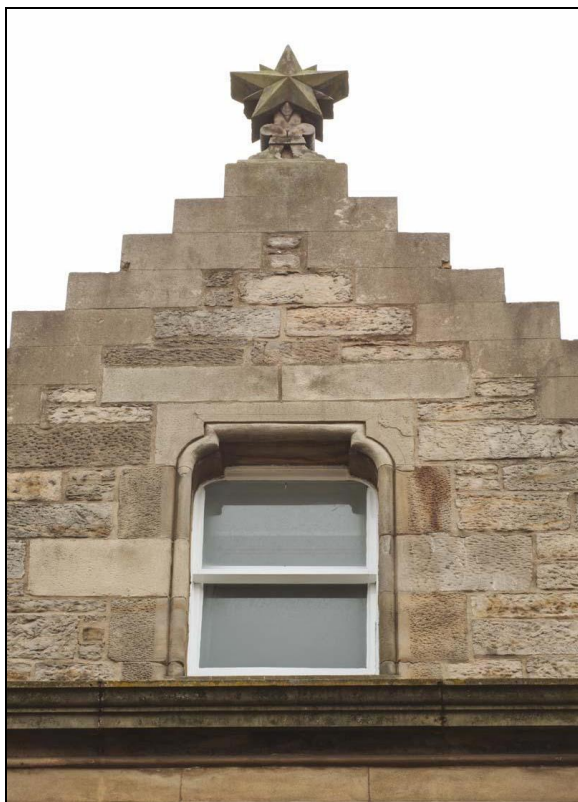
Figure 47: Detail of crowstepped gable and carved finial at 160a Canongate, above entrance to Sugarhouse Close, 2013 (DP158604 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 48: Detail of carved armorial panel above St John's Close at 176-182 Canongate, 2013 (DP158628 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 49: *Detail of decorative grille below shop window at 6-8 St Mary's Street, 2013 (DP161645 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 50: *Detail of shop window at 10-12 St Mary's Street, 2013 (DP161644 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 51: *Detail of carved Moorish figure at Morocco Land, 265-7 Canongate, 2014 (DP190155 ©Crown copyright HES)*
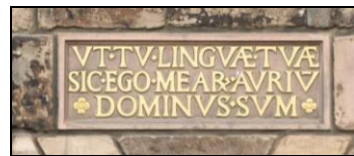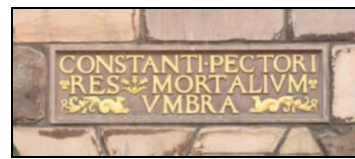
Figures 52, 53 and 54: *Detail of plaques at Huntly House Museum, 142-6 Canongate, 2013 (DP158597 (top), DP158598 (centre) and DP158599 (bottom) ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 55: *Detail of windows at 167-9 Canongate, 2014 (DP190170 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 56: *Aerial view of Scottish Parliament, showing roofing materials, 2014 (DP193138 ©Crown copyright HES)*

5. Public and Private Spaces

Canongate has open space on two sides, with Holyrood Park to the south-east, and Calton Hill to the north. Within the Canongate area itself, there are pockets of open space, for example, the landscape created around the Scottish Parliament, designed by Kenny Fraser, Principal Landscape Architect at RMJM Scotland Ltd from 1999.[16] At the time of writing (2016) the large car park within the University of Edinburgh's Moray House site is due to be remodelled to provide a large garden space once again. There are large open spaces (2016) where gap sites are being redeveloped at the University and New Street (Caltongate/New Waverley). However, these are derelict building sites and will be infilled with modern developments.

Figure 57: Aerial view showing civic space around Scottish Parliament, 2014 (DP193138 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 58: Aerial view showing development sites at Caltongate (top, centre), Edinburgh University (bottom, left) and car park behind Moray House (centre), 2014 (DP193134 ©Crown copyright HES)

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[16] http://www.rankinfraser.com/about-us/kenny-fraser/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 59: View of graffiti on hoardings round Caltongate/New Waverley site on New Street, from north, 2014 (DP190211 ©Crown copyright HES)

Most gardens and open spaces lie to the rear of the tenements, and the majority of these are publicly accessible. One in particular, Dunbar's Garden in Dunbar's Close, has been restored as a representation of a 17th century garden, with formal planting as well as herbs and fruit trees.

Figure 60: View of recreated 17th century garden at Dunbar's Close, from south-west, 2014 (DP188655 ©Crown copyright HES)

A small area marked on the Ordnance Survey 4th Edition 1:2500 map (Midlothian Sheet III.8) of 1931 (see Figure 61 below) as 'R.G.' (rough ground), now to the rear of the Basil Spence development at 65-95 Canongate, has been taken over as a 'community garden' in the early 21st century. This has created a communal grassed area with trees and bushes planted around it and smaller sections partitioned with timber fences as individual plots for residents to use as they wish. This has added to the publically accessibly green space within the urban core of the City.

Figure 61: Extract from Ordnance Survey 4th Edition 1:2500 map (Midlothian Sheet III.8), 1931, showing site of community garden marked 'R.G.' for 'rough ground' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figures 62 and 63: Views of Community garden in Campbell's Close, from south-east (top) and south-west (bottom), 2014 (DP207834 (top) and DP207835 (bottom) ©Crown copyright HES)

6. Trees, Plants and Landscaping

Although a fairly densely packed urban area, Canongate has small pockets of green space in the backlands of the tenements. Canongate Kirkyard and the Callander House/Whitefoord House complex provide the largest areas of trees and planting in the area.

Figure 64: *Aerial view showing green space in north-eastern area of Canongate, with Whitefoord/Callander House complex (left) and Canongate Kirkyard, 2008 (DP049571 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The only other area of planting in the area is around Chessel's Court, including the former St Saviour's Child Garden to the south of the main Chessel's Court block, east of Gullan's Close, which is also a 'green' space.

Figure 65: *Aerial view showing green space around Chessel's Court and Gullan's Close, with St Saviour's Child Garden just above redevelopment works at University of Edinburgh, 2014 (DP193133 ©Crown copyright HES)*

7. Industry

Industrial development has been a major factor in the way the Canongate area has evolved throughout its history. Industry in the area largely continued to follow the medieval distribution of various crafts, though the scale of operations grew during the 19th century. A series of distribution maps are included in Appendix A to illustrate the type of industries existing in the Canongate area at six different points in time, comparing them with relevant contemporary maps showing overall development of the area.

Even from the earliest times of the burgh, small-scale industries and crafts operated within the tenements and their backland properties. In particular, early trades such as shoemakers, tailors, weavers and hatters, along with stablers and coachmakers, were established to service the merchants and resident population of the burgh, and also to trade outwith the burgh boundaries, especially with the adjoining burgh of Edinburgh. Grocers, bakers, brewers and vintners also established themselves in the area, to feed and water the population. Up until the late 18th century, however, the land to the rear of the main thoroughfare, Canongate, remained largely undeveloped, and was utilised to grow food for the residents (north side), or as ornamental gardens for the wealthier landowners in the burgh (south side). John Ainslie's map of 1780 shows the land behind Canongate properties as either filled with trees (south) or subdivided into what looks like small fields (north).

Figure 66: *Extract from John Ainslie's 'City of Edinburgh' map, 1780, showing use of land behind Canongate (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Using historic maps, it is very clear how industrialised the Canongate area became during the course of the 19th century. William Edgar's map of 1765 demonstrates how few large-scale industrial activities were going on in the Canongate area in the mid- to late 18th century. There is no evidence of industrial premises or activities noted on the map, apart from 'Crichton's Coach Works' on Crichton's Close, though there is also a 'Fleshmarket' marked on the map at the head of the Canongate just east of Leith Wynd. There was undoubtedly some industry within the area, but these were obviously not of sufficient scale to warrant being noted on this map. Even John Ainslie's map of 1780 does not show any industrial sites, but it does show Chessel's Court being used as an Excise Office, indicating that, like all burghs, a substantial amount of trade was crossing the burgh boundary, which needed an office for collection of taxes on all these goods. This system of tax collection within burghs only stopped with the arrival of the railways, as the railway companies refused to pay duties for entering and leaving burghs.

In addition to historic maps, there are various trade directories from the late 18th century, which list occupations and trades being carried out in Edinburgh and associated areas of Canongate and Leith. These include occupations such as brewers, various smiths, printers, and other trades, many of which would still be carried out in rooms within, or outbuildings associated with, residential properties.

Figure 67: *Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, showing 'Crichton's Coach Works' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Although originally a base for the townhouses of the landed gentry during the 16th to 18th centuries, the south side of the Canongate became a major focus for industry during the early 19th century. In particular, the number and size of breweries in the area grew substantially during this century. Canongate is well-known historically as a centre for Edinburgh's brewing industry, and the 'cottage-industry' style of brewhouses within tenements and their backlands expanded into commercial operations making use of underground springs already being accessed via a number of wells the length of the Canongate. It is on Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817 that we first see larger-scale commercial brewing come to Canongate backlands. There are four breweries noted on this map (Mr Caddle's Brewery (*1* on map below); Mr Stein's Brewery (*3*); Richard Young's Brewery (*4*); Mr Berwick's Brewery (*5*)), along with 'Mr Cafrae's Coach Works' (also *5*) where Crichton's was noted on William Edgar's map of 1765, and a tan works directly behind St Mary's Wynd (*2*).

Figure 68: *Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh', 1817, showing location of industrial premises (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

As early as 1681 a reservoir stood at the top of the Royal Mile, on Castlehill.[17] This sent water by the power of gravity downhill to five wells along the High Street, and later further down the hill to reach the Grassmarket and Canongate. This series of wells provided residents of the Old Town with the water required for their daily lives at home and at work. The original Castlehill Reservoir was replaced with the present building (the Tartan Weaving Mill and Exhibition since c.1995) in 1849-51 to designs by engineers Rendel & Beardmore[18] (James Meadows Rendel (1799-1856)[19] and Nathaniel Beardmore (1816-72)[20]). Prior to piped water becoming more widely available in all homes in the late 19th century, water was gathered from wellheads and drinking fountains located at various sites along the length of the Royal Mile. A total of three drinking fountains or wellheads still survive (though no longer in use) within the Canongate boundary: one outside Queensberry House; one in the courtyard behind the Brown's Close development; and one adjoining the west boundary wall of Canongate Kirkyard, in Old Tolbooth Wynd.

Figure 69: View of Wellhead, Queensberry House, 64 Canongate, from north, 2013 (DP161337 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 70: View of Drinking Fountain in courtyard behind 65-71 Canongate/Brown's Close, 2014 (DP207837 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 71: View of Wellhead, Old Tolbooth Wynd, from west, 2014 (DP190188 ©Crown copyright HES)

The area around Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags contains hard water which proved to be ideal for brewing. This water is found in what is often referred to as the 'Charmed Circle': stretching from Holyrood, through Canongate, Cowgate and Grassmarket, all the way to Fountainbridge.[21] Historically, breweries were established within all these areas to take advantage of this vital raw material.

The number and scale of breweries, especially to the south of Canongate, expanded several times during the mid- to late 19th century, with most sinking their own boreholes on site to tap into an uninterrupted and more easily controlled water supply, thus avoiding any contamination. Several large breweries also established themselves nestled at the foot of Calton Hill, on the northern side of North Back of Canongate/Calton Road, during this period. Some of these had part of their premises on the south side of the road, within the Canongate survey area boundary. The bottom edge of Robert Kirkwood's 1819 'Plan

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[17] Paxton, R & Shipway, J, 2007, *Civil Engineering Heritage: Scotland – Lowlands and Borders*, London, pp 148-9
[18] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=232045 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[19] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Meadows_Rendel_(engineer) [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[20] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathaniel_Beardmore [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[21] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beer_in_Scotland [Accessed 01/02/2016]

and Elevation of the New Town of Edinburgh' also shows the north side of North Back of Canongate with a representation of these brewery buildings at the foot of Calton Hill.

Figure 72: Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan and Elevation of the New Town of Edinburgh', 1819, showing brewery buildings at the foot of Calton Hill, from Low Calton to North Back of Canongate (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 73: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056, 1852, showing location of breweries (1: Craig End and Calton Hill Breweries; 2: Edinburgh and Leith Brewery; 3: Holyrood Brewery; 4:Abbey Brewery) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

The 19th century saw an increase in the number of breweries across Scotland – by 1840, there were 280 operating. By the turn of the 20th century Edinburgh was home to 35 breweries, and Canongate had become one of the main areas for brewing operations in the city.[22] As the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:2500 map (Midlothian III.8) of 1896 (below) shows, the south side of Canongate was almost entirely given over to breweries. This continued to be the case into the mid-20th century, as the later Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map (Plan NT2673) of 1946 shows.

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[22] http://www.scottishbrewing.com/history/history.php [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 74: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:2500 map (Midlothian III.8), 1896, showing extent of breweries in South Canongate (1: Edinburgh and Leith Brewery and St Mary's Brewery; 2: Holyrood Brewery; 3: Abbey Brewery) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

A range of amalgamations, mergers and takeovers occurred in the brewing industry from c.1930, with Canongate becoming home to some of the biggest names in brewing: Scottish Brewers (1931) and subsequently Scottish & Newcastle (1960 until closure in 1986). As a result of these amalgamations, which continued until the 1980s, many of the activities carried out in the breweries in Canongate were centralised in larger, purpose-built factories outwith the confines of the constrained city centre site, or elsewhere in Scotland or the UK.
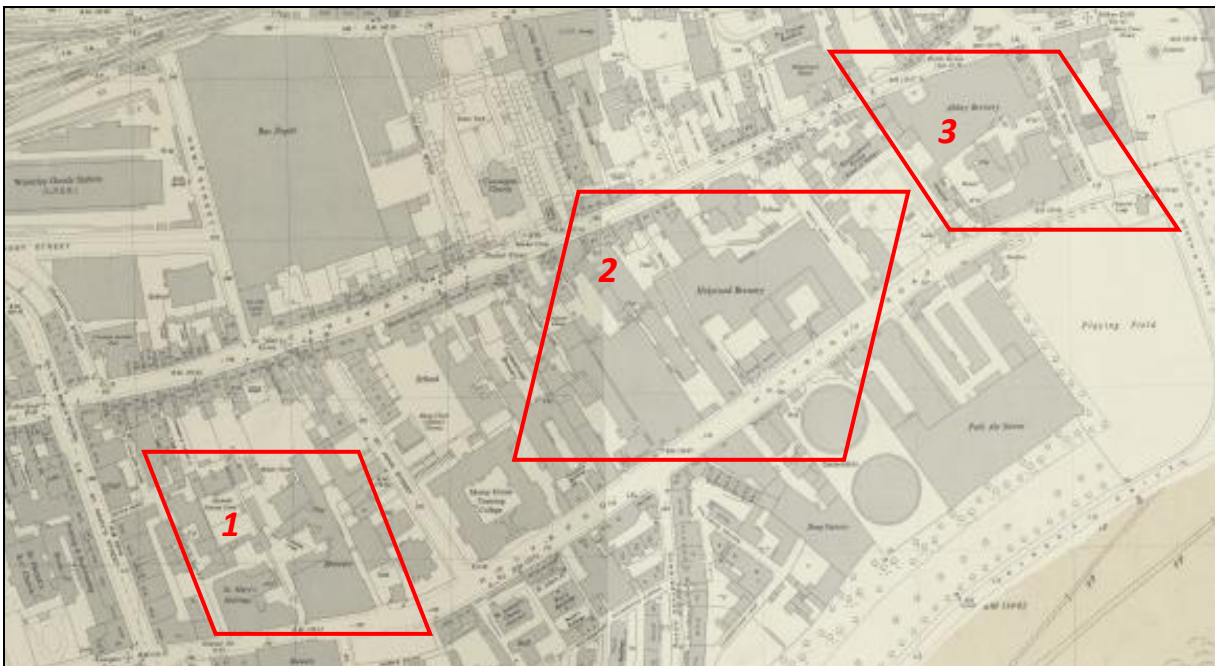
Figure 75: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map (Plan NT2673), 1946, showing extent of breweries in South Canongate (1: Edinburgh and Leith Brewery and St Mary's Brewery; 2: Holyrood Brewery; 3: Abbey Brewery) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 76: *View of tun room and clock tower of [Holyrood Brewery](), Holyrood Road, 1977 (copied 2000) (John R Hume Collection, SC510189 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 77: *View of Holyrood Road elevation of [Abbey Brewery](), 1998 (copied 2003) (SC801757 ©Crown copyright HES)*

By the late 1980s most of the brewery buildings had fallen out of use. The resulting derelict sites have formed part of a number of new developments, including the Scottish Parliament, University accommodation, a hotel, commercial and retail premises, and further proposed (2015) private residential

and commercial premises (Caltongate/New Waverley). However, there are some remnants, including a maltings incorporated into student accommodation in Sugarhouse Close (2015), and office accommodation around Hammermen's Entry and Jackson's Close. The footprints of the breweries have also been respected with their sites being infilled, retaining original routeways through the burgage plots.

Figure 78: Aerial view of Canongate showing retention of routeways and burgage plots within streetscape of new developments, 2014 (DP193148 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 79: View of Jackson's Entry elevation of The Tun, incorporating former brewery building into modern development, 2014 (DP188635 ©Crown copyright HES)
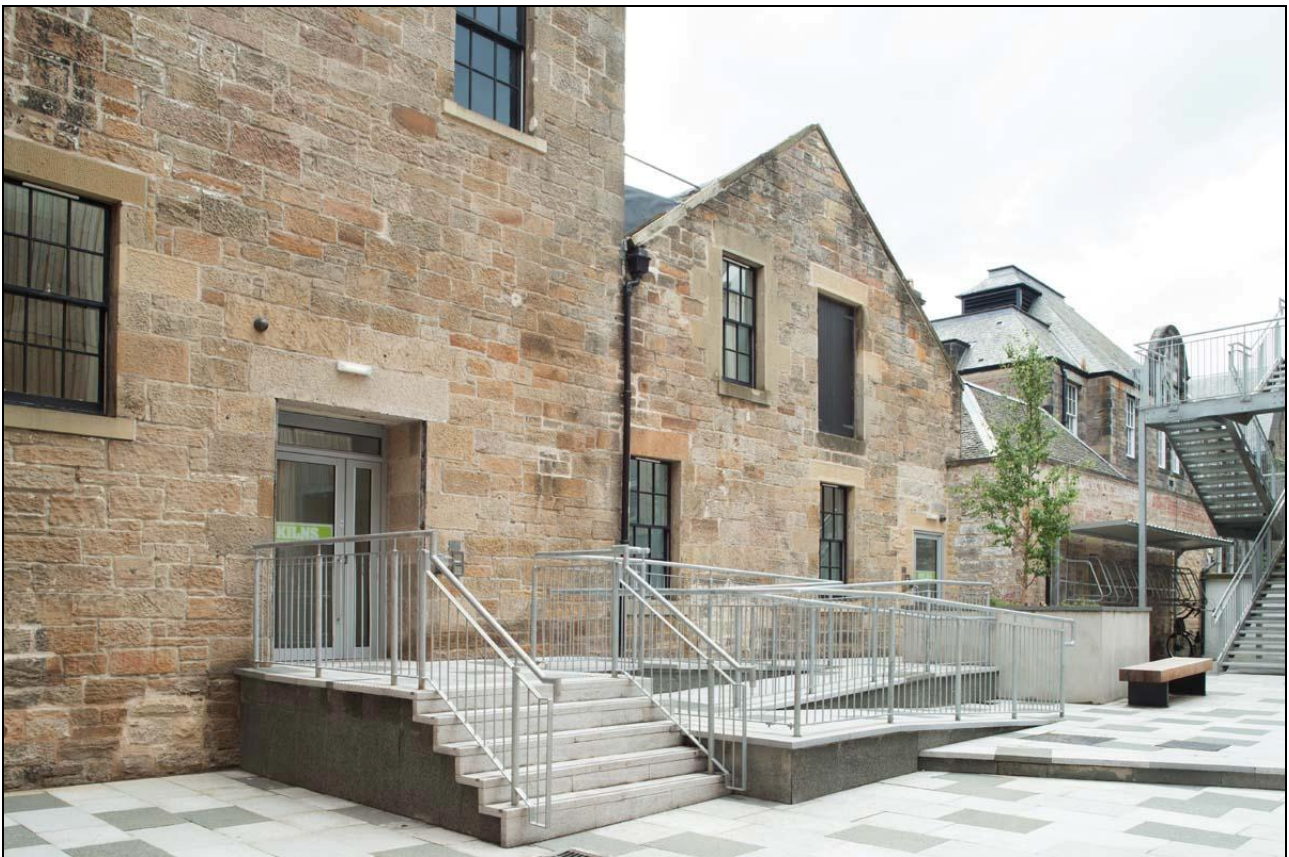
Figure 80: *View of converted [brewery buildings in Sugarhouse Close](#), 2013 (DP158559 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 81: *View of former clock tower from Holyrood Brewery at [111 Holyrood Road](#), 2014 (DP188516 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 82: *View of modern housing incorporating boundaries of Old Tolbooth Wynd, 2014 (DP190181 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Apart from brewing, the north-western corner of the Canongate townscape was dominated for much of the 19th and early 20th centuries by Edinburgh's first purpose-built gasworks on New Street and Calton Road. Established in 1817, and shown in its first stages of development on James Kirkwood & Sons' map of 1821

and John Wood's map of 1823, the Edinburgh Gas Light Company had its origins in two (unknown) shopkeepers on South Bridge, who set up gas producing equipment in their cellar in 1816.[23] An Act of Parliament was passed in 1818 which allowed for gas production to light the city. Gas lighting was first introduced in 1819, with eighteen pillars erected on North Bridge for gas lamps.[24] In the Old Town, oil lamps were converted to be lit by gas, but the New Town had new lamp standards put in place. The Holyrood Flint Glass Works on South Back of Canongate produced many of the glass lanterns for the lamps.[25] By the mid-1820s, a total of 6,000 gas lamps had been erected in Edinburgh.[26] The gasworks on New Street gradually expanded to fill the site between New Street and Old Tolbooth Wynd, but in 1881, electric lighting first came to the city.[27] This marked the beginnings of the decline in the gasworks, and by 1906, the majority of gas production had moved to the major gasworks at Granton.[28] The New Street site had become too cramped and the move offered a larger site with more capacity for expansion. Following the closure of the gasworks, part of the site was used between 1900 and 1925 as Bathgate Park, an ash-covered football pitch for junior team Edinburgh Emmet.[29] The entire site was subsequently taken over as a bus depot in 1928, extended in 1934, and latterly a large car park (demolished 2006).[30] It is currently (2016) earmarked for the proposed Caltongate/New Waverley redevelopment masterplan for this part of Canongate.

Figure 83: *Extract from James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh', 1821, showing earliest buildings of Edinburgh Gasworks (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[23] Chambers, Robert, 1825, *Walks in Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, p 211 [Online] Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=E10LAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA211&dq=robert+chambers+walks+in+edinburgh+gas&hl =en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiHmYPO_ezKAhWFtRoKHX4xAaUQ6AEILjAA#v=onepage&q=robert%20chambers%20walks% 20in%20edinburgh%20gas&f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[24] Shakhmatova, K, Chuchra, K J & Francey, S, 2012, *A History of Street Lighting in the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site*, Edinburgh, p 10 [Online] Available from: http://www.ewht.org.uk/uploads/downloads/Lighting%20project%20- %20publication%20ver%206%20Feb%202012.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[25] *Ibid*, pp 16-17

[26] Chambers, W, 1830, *The Book of Scotland*, Edinburgh, p 89 [Online] Available from: http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044081258691#view=1up;seq=103 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[27] Shakhmatova et al, p 24

[28] Coghill, H, 2012, *Lost Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, p 237

[29] https://www.facebook.com/lostedinburgh/photos/a.251802618210762.62536.162922127098812/935877403136610/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[30] http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/10/12_edinburgh_today_-_waverley_valley.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]
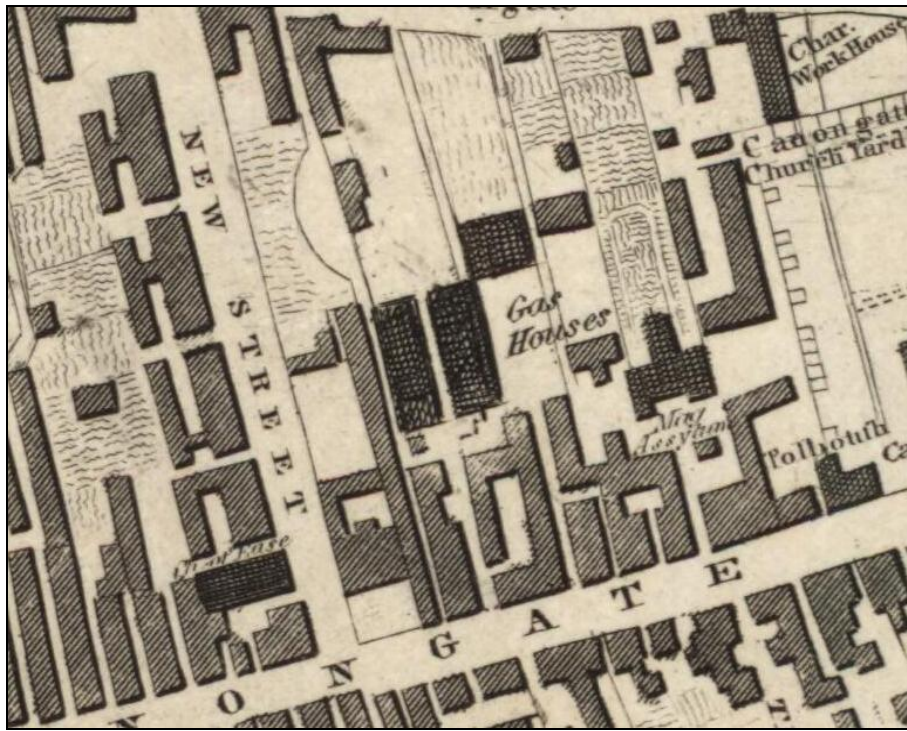
Figure 84: *Extract from John Wood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh', 1823, showing earliest buildings of Edinburgh Gasworks (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Elements from several of the buildings still survive and the gasworks themselves incorporated a number of smaller existing buildings, rather than knock down and rebuild. The former Magdalene Asylum can be seen incorporated into the gasworks on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877, with its curved northern wing adjoining a large coal shed. A former tobacco pipe manufactory was also incorporated into the south-western corner of the gasworks. Part of the gasworks' boundary to Old Tolbooth Wynd survives, and is seen in the arched brickwork of the boundary wall here. Other buildings have been reused for later industrial purposes, and some have been incorporated into modern developments along Old Tolbooth Wynd.

Figure 85: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing former Magdalene Asylum and Tobacco Pipe Manufactory incorporated into Edinburgh Gasworks (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Figure 86: *View of boundary wall and buildings of former Gasworks, Old Tolbooth Wynd, from north-east, 2014 (DP190184 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 87: *View of boundary wall and buildings of former Gasworks, Old Tolbooth Wynd, from south-east, 2014 (DP190187 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 88: *View of part of boundary wall of former Gasworks incorporated into modern housing in Old Tolbooth Wynd, from south-east, 2014 (DP190183 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The histories of brewing and gas supply in the Canongate area converged when a series of contaminations occurred in the early 20th century which affected the water supply for the breweries adjacent to the gasworks. Between 1905 and 1908, the firm James Muir & Son, which ran the Calton Hill Brewery in the North Back of Canongate sued the Edinburgh & Leith Gas Commissioners for damages as a result of the contamination which meant the water supply for the brewery was unfit for use in their brewing.[31] As a result, the gas company had to pay substantial damages and also sunk new wells for the affected breweries.

The area to the north of Canongate was the home of two iron foundries. The Shotts Iron Company had established itself in Greenside Lane in 1816-18, before setting up the Shotts New Iron Company at Caltonhill Foundry in North Back of Canongate around 1818. James Blackie is listed in Post Office Directories as the manager of Calton(hill) Foundry at North Back of Canongate from 1823 to 1834. From 1834, the Directories list 'J Blaikie' as the manager of Calton Foundry at 27 North Back of Canongate. The period 1838-53 has James Blaikie & Sons, founders and engineers listed at Panmure Foundry, and from 1853 to 1859 they were listed as iron founders at Canongate Foundry in Tolbooth Wynd.[32] Kay &

[31] Thorsheim, Peter, 2006, *Inventing Pollution: coal, smoke and culture in Britain since 1800*, Ohio, p 142 [Online] Available from:
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AajOxKkjCUYC&pg=PA142&dq=james+muir+%26+sons+damages+brewery&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiYkMO_qd7JAhWFbRQKHXWnBOgQ6AEIJDAB#v=onepage&q=james%20muir%20%26%20sons%20damages%20brewery&f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016];
Gas Journal, 1908, Vols 101-102, pp 516, 948, 954 [Online] Preview snippet pages available from:
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YrMiAQAAMAAJ&q=james+muir+%26+sons+damages+brewery&dq=james+muir+%26+sons+damages+brewery&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiYkMO_qd7JAhWFbRQKHXWnBOgQ6AEILjAD [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[32] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1818-19*, Edinburgh, p 294; *Ibid, 1823-4*, p 123; *Ibid, 1833-4*, p 8; *Ibid, 1834-5*, p 9; *Ibid, 1837-8*, p 10; *Ibid, 1853-4*, p 52; *Ibid, 1858-9*, p 85

McFarlane, engineers and iron founders are listed at 51 North Back Canongate from 1875 to 1885.[33] This must have been the Panmure Foundry as Canongate Foundry is replaced by a vast Coal Shed for the gasworks on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877.
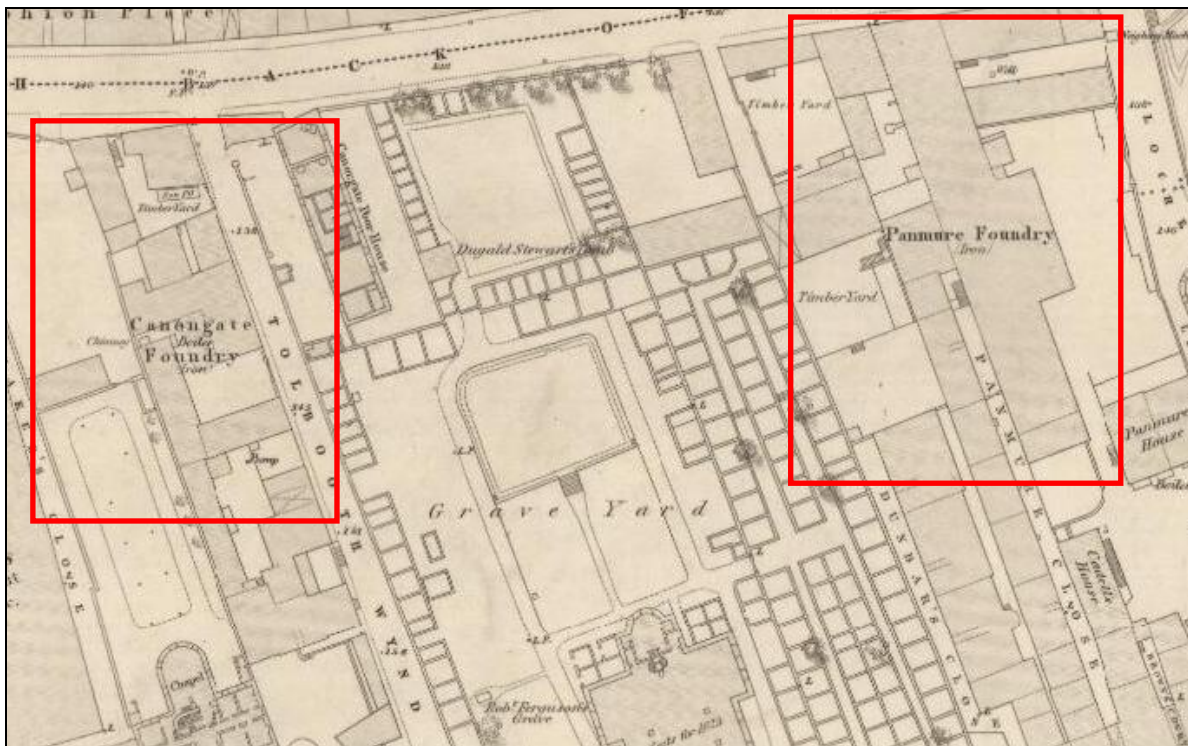
Figure 89: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing Canongate Foundry (left) and Panmure Foundry (right) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

One other factor which helped shape the townscape of Canongate was the building of the railway on its northern boundary. The North British Railway Company was established in 1844, and its first line was the Edinburgh to Berwick-Upon-Tweed section of what is now known as the East Coast Main Line. Completed in 1846, the railway line cut into the north-western corner of Canongate, running along the burgh boundary in a long tunnel to avoid cutting into the side of the volcanic Calton Hill.[34]

Figure 90: Extract from James Kay's 'Plan of Edinburgh', 1836, before development of railway (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

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[33] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1875-6*, Edinburgh, p 105; *Ibid*, *1884-5*, p 128
[34] http://www.nbrstudygroup.co.uk/nbr/brief_history.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 91: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1ˢᵗ Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing railway running through the north of Canongate (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

As the railway expanded, more land in the north-western corner of Canongate was given over to associated buildings, sidings and goods sheds. By the Ordnance Survey 2ⁿᵈ Edition 1:1056 map of 1877, the north side of MacDowall Street had been filled with sidings and a goods shed, and by 1891, a large goods station had been established to the north of Jeffrey Street. By the turn of the century Waverley Station had expanded to the east of North Bridge, and New Market Street was formed skirting around the former goods station site. Little changed at the site until there was a downturn in goods transportation by rail following the restructuring of the railways via the Beeching Report in the mid-1960s and which continued into the 1980s.[35] This decline ultimately led to the loss of the goods station and a car park was built here. The site is now occupied by the City of Edinburgh Council's headquarters, which opened in 2007.

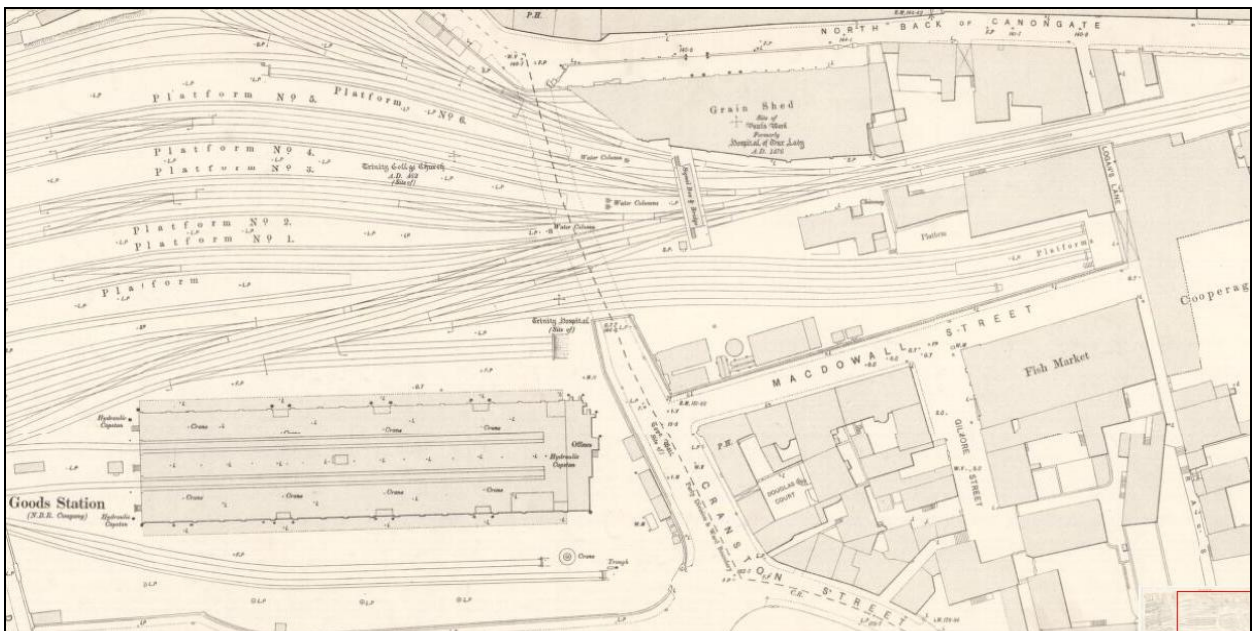*Figure 92: Extract from Ordnance Survey 3ʳᵈ Edition 1:1056 map, 1894, showing goods station (left) and grain shed in former St Paul's Work (top) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[35] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rail_freight_in_Great_Britain [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 93: *View of [goods station at Waverley Station](#), from west, c.1900 (copied 2014) (SC1432916 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The arrival of the railway, and its subsequent expansion, influenced the industrial nature of Canongate. Raw materials could easily be brought in by rail, and manufactured goods sent out via train. A number of smaller-scale industries and factories established themselves in Canongate after the arrival of the railway. These included:

- a tobacco pipe manufactory on Big Jack's Close, just south of the Gasworks (**1** on map in Figure 94 below);
- an aerated water works, attached to Balmoral Brewery adjacent to Callander House and Whitefoord House (**8** on map in Figure 95 below);
- a rope walk on Logan's Close/Rae's Close (**2**);
- the aforementioned foundries – Canongate Iron Foundry (**3**) on Old Tolbooth Wynd, Panmure Iron Foundry (**4**) on Panmure Close, Type Foundry (**5**) at Whitefoord House, and Brass Foundry at Milton House (first shown on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877);
- Holyrood Flint Glass Works (**6**), though on the site earlier, on Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817 as 'Mr Ford', for William Ford who established the works
- a cluster of tanneries in the St Mary's Wynd/Gullan's Close/Boyd's Entry area (**7**), but shown as a tan works on Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817;
- St Mary's Corn Mill (**9**) between St Mary's Street and Gullan's Close);
- a confectionery works (Holyrood Works (Confectioner) (**10**);
- a number of smithies were noted on all three Ordnance Survey 1:1056 maps (1852, 1877 and 1894) in various locations within Canongate, providing a range of services within the burgh. Most of these were in fact attached to the larger complexes of the gasworks, a cooperage in Abbeyhill, and the Abbey Brewery.

While Canongate attracted a large range of craft industries during its history, the arrival of the railway on its north-eastern boundary was undoubtedly an influencing factor in new larger-scale industries setting up in the area. Proximity to good transport links was vital for bringing in raw materials, as well as distributing finished products. The goods yards at the station fell out of use and closed about the same time as the amalgamated Scottish & Newcastle Brewery was moving from the Canongate's restricted site to larger, purpose-built premises on the outskirts of Edinburgh, in the 1980s.

Figure 94: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1ˢᵗ Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing location of various industries (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
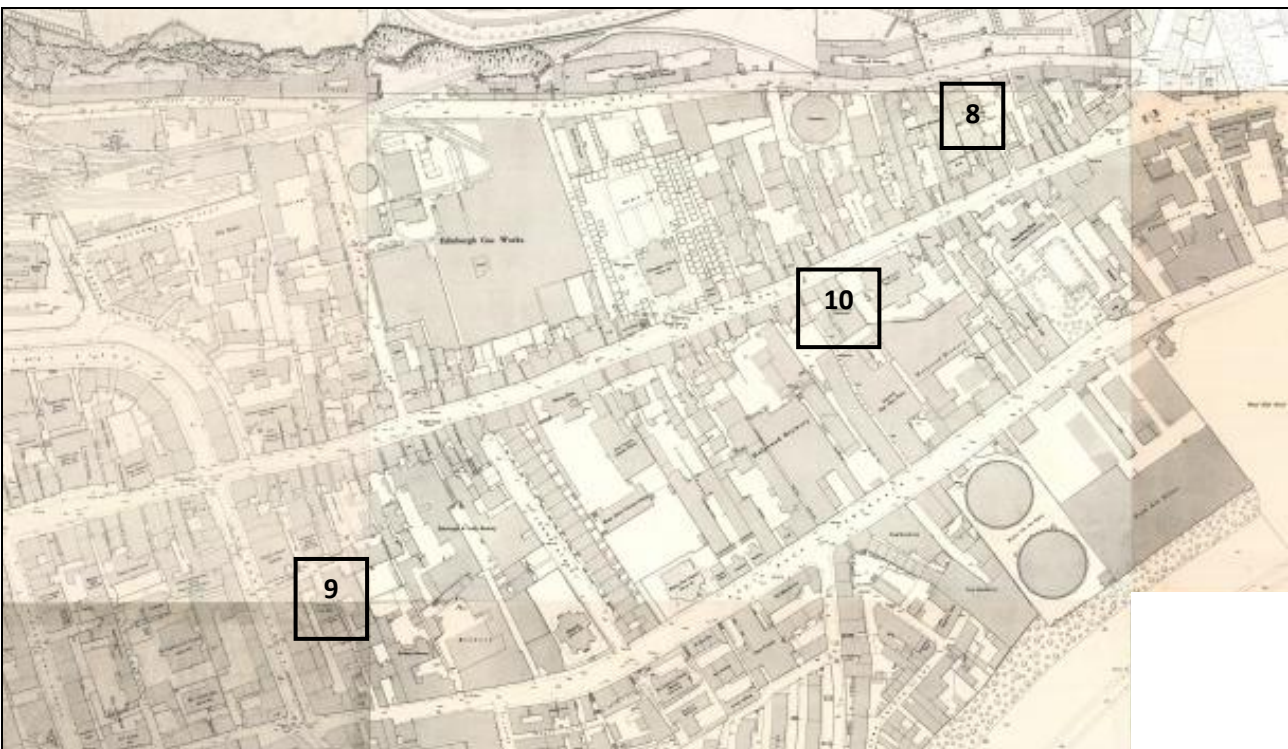

Figure 95: Extract from Ordnance Survey 3ʳᵈ Edition 1:1056 map, 1894, showing location of various industries (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

8. Areas of Townscape Character

The survey area used the former burgh boundary as the basis for defining the area of study. Based on the historical development and form of the buildings and streetscape within the boundary of the study area, three distinct Areas of Townscape Character were identified, and key defining components of these are outlined below. The three areas are:

- Canongate Historic Core
- South Canongate
- North Canongate

8.1 CANONGATE HISTORIC CORE AREA OF TOWNSCAPE CHARACTER
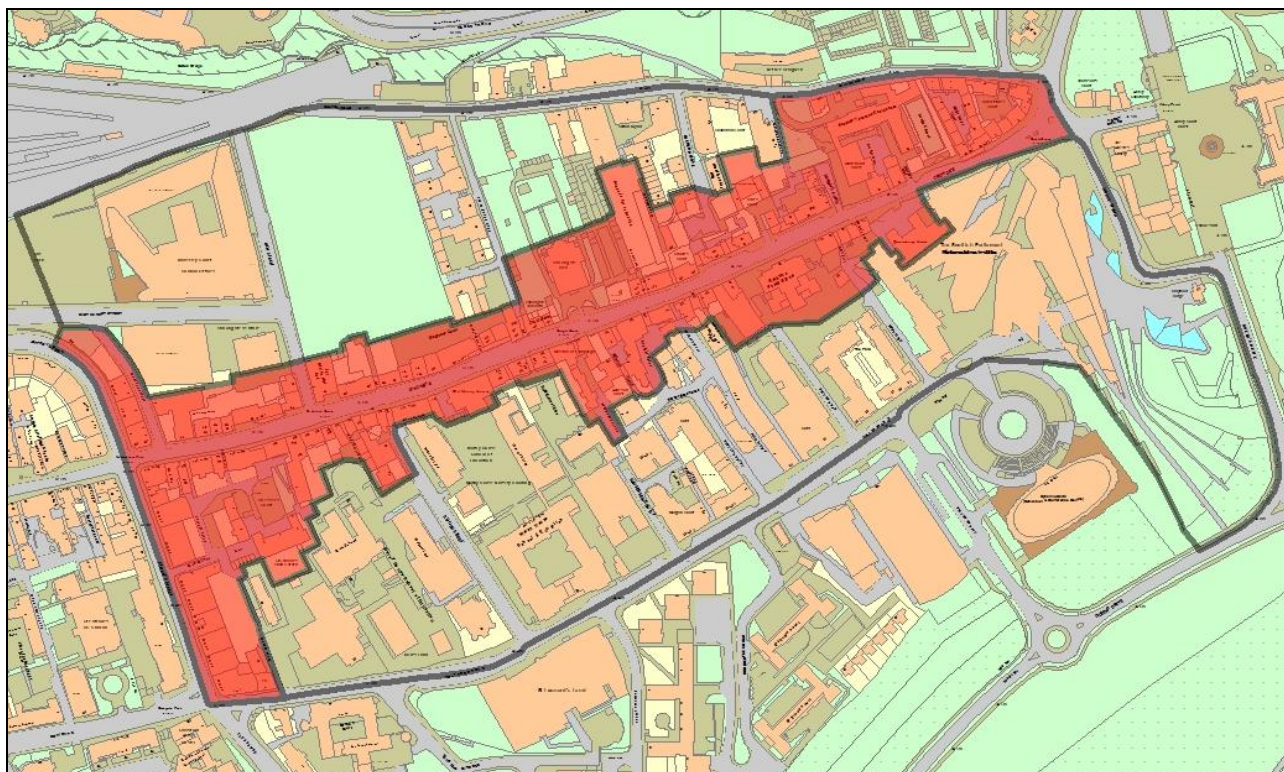
Figure 96: *Map showing boundary of Canongate Historic Core Area of Townscape Character*
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The Canongate Historic Core Area of Townscape Character incorporates the original core of the former burgh. It includes those buildings fronting the Canongate itself, plus some of the older remnants of the backlands and closes, as well as the western edge which is Jeffrey Street/Cranston Street, and St Mary's Street. The eastern boundary runs along the southernmost portion of Abbeyhill and skirts the northern frontage of the 21st century Scottish Parliament.

Historically, the south side of Canongate had seen a concentration of wealthier residents and historical figures either residing or visiting lodgings or family here. The names of various buildings and closes in the area are evidence of various Earls and Lords living here (1st Marquis of Huntly, Earl and Countess of Moray, 1st and 2nd Dukes of Queensberry, Lord Milton, Earl of Panmure, Earl of Dalhousie), taking advantage of the south-facing slopes to establish their townhouses and formal gardens. Originally, it was attractive to be close to the seat of royalty at Holyrood Palace. Other notable residents and visitors included: the Scottish poet and author Tobias Smollett (1721-71), who resided with his sister Mrs Telfer at a house at the north of St John Street/Canongate (plaque to rear of building) in 1766; Robert Burns (1759-96), who attended the Masonic lodge, Kilwinning Lodge on St John Street;[36] Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) stayed in the Moray

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[36] http://www.lck2.co.uk/new-Robert_Burns_and_The_Lodge.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

House townhouse on two visits to Edinburgh (1648 and 1650-1);[37] and Daniel Defoe (1660-1731), who is rumoured to have worked in Old Playhouse Close as a secret agent to the English Government at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Union in 1707.[38] [39] The loss of the parliament from Edinburgh to London at that date, added to the long absence of the monarchy from Scotland from 1650 to 1822, reduced Canongate's attraction to the wealthier reaches of society. The historic affluence of the residents influenced the layout, plot size and development of this section of the Canongate area; the gradual departure of much of that affluence sowed the seeds of the improvement schemes of later centuries.
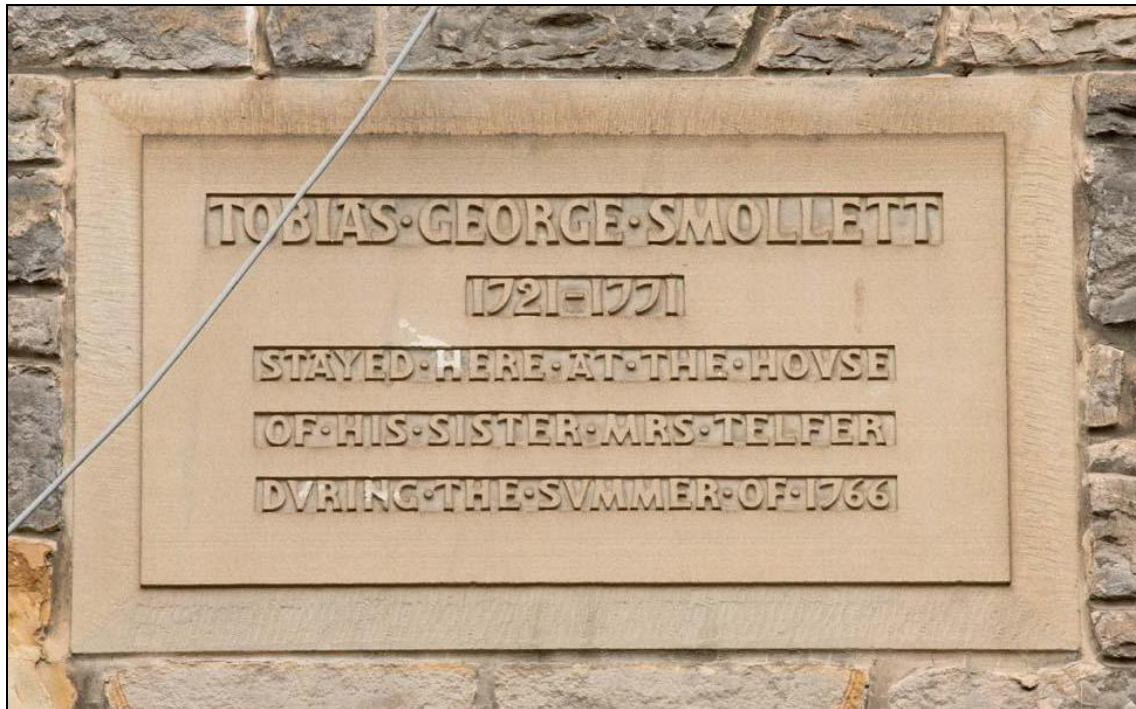
Figure 97: Detail of carved panel above pend at St John's Close, 182 Canongate, 2013 (DP158627 ©Crown copyright HES)

All of the oldest buildings surviving on the Canongate lie within this sector, and the majority of these are on the south side of the street, mostly dating from the 16th and 17th centuries. The earliest of these is Huntly House (now Museum of Edinburgh). Three early 16th century, three-storeyed-plus-attic tenements were incorporated into a single residence c.1570 by John Acheson (1559-88). His son, also called John (1583-1655), owned the property until 1609. The property became known as Huntly House after George Gordon, 1st Marquis of Huntly (1562-1636), bought it c.1630. From 1647, the Incorporation of Hammermen owned the property and the front block was extended in the late 17th century by the Master Mason to the Crown, Robert Mylne (1633-1710). The buildings have been restored retaining their original façades comprising a three-storeyed-plus-attic block to the west with rubble ground floor, ashlar first floor with bracketed stringcourse, and jettied timber-framed and harled upper floors. Adjoining to the east is a two-storeyed-plus-attic block which has a timber balcony at the north-east corner and is harled with an ochre coloured harling. An arched pend leads through to Bakehouse Close to the rear containing two 17th century, three-storeyed, rubble-built tenements, one accessed via a stone-built forestair and the southernmost by a square, gabled, timber-clad stairtower.

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[37] http://www.olivercromwell.org/moray_house.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[38] Hazlitt, William, 1840, *The Works of Daniel Defoe: with a memoir of his life and writings, Vol I*, London, p liv [Online] Available from:
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6DsCAAAAQAAJ&pg=PP13&lpg=PP13&dq=hazlitt+works+daniel+defoe+1840&source=bl&ots=mJwH6-k30L&sig=m9QeiQ2V8f9cJ7Oid8uCP7Bnqbg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi9yOyl88vJAhUBGBQKHf30B1oQ6AEILTAF#v=onepage&q=hazlitt%20works%20daniel%20defoe%201840&f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[39] http://www.royal-mile.com/closes/close-oldplayhouse.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
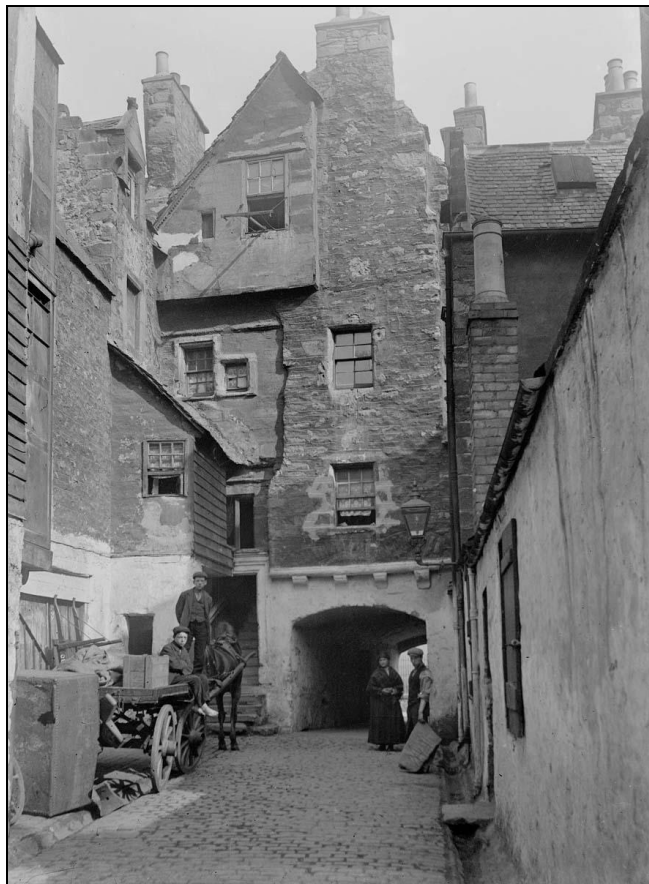
Figure 98: View of Bakehouse Close, from south, c.1920 (copied 2009) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC862077 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 99: View of Bakehouse Close, from south, 2013 (DP158586 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 100: View of Bakehouse Close, from north, 1900-30 (copied 2009) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1131421 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 101: View of Bakehouse Close, from north, 2013 (DP158583 ©Crown copyright HES)

Also accessed from Bakehouse Close, to the east of Huntly House, is Acheson House. It dates from 1633-4, and was built for Sir Archibald Acheson (c.1580-1634), a London-based MP and Privy Councillor, in the typical backland burgh style, in this case three storeys, with crowstepped gables, and multi-paned sash and case windows. An opening to the west allows access to Canongate. It would have originally been created in the 16th century with the three plots that make up the close being united within a stone frontage by the Acheson family. Following the restoration of Huntly House and Bakehouse Close tenements, Robert Philip Andrew Hurd (1905-63) restored the adjacent Acheson House in 1936-7, which has resulted in this area being one of the few corners of 17th century Canongate to survive.

Figure 102: *View of Acheson House, Bakehouse Close, from south-west, 2013 (DP158589 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The oldest building on the north side of Canongate is the former administrative and judicial centre for the burgh, Canongate Tolbooth. Dating from 1591, the Tolbooth was restored by Robert Morham (1839-1912) in 1879 and then again in 1884. Built in a so-called Franco-Scottish style, it consists of a conical-spired square-plan tower with corbelled bartizan turrets flanking the ogee-roofed, bracketed projecting clock, all above a round-arched pend leading to Old Tolbooth Wynd. The burgh cross was originally sited in the middle of the Canongate in front of the Tolbooth (as shown on James Gordon of Rothiemay's map of 1647), before being moved in 1737 to stand against the Tolbooth (noted on Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852). It was a meeting place for merchants, and also for public proclamations and major public events such as executions.

Figure 103: View of Tolbooth with market cross (centre) and Home Fountain outside Canongate Kirk, c.1907 (copied 2006) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1016544 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 104: View of eastern section of Canongate Tolbooth with forestair, 2014 (DP190171 ©Crown copyright HES)

The two-storeyed-plus-attic, four-bayed section to the east formerly contained the council chamber. This section has a forestair leading to first-floor level with cast-iron railings, and four pedimented dormers to the corbel-bracketed attic floor, topped with star and thistle stone finials.

59

Figure 105: *Detail of easternmost attic dormers at Tolbooth, 2014 (DP190174 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 106: *Detail of westernmost attic dormers at Tolbooth, 2014 (DP190175 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Within the eastern section of the Tolbooth is a large metal war memorial on the ground floor. Above this at first floor level is a carved pedimented armorial panel bearing the arms of the Canongate burgh: a stag's head with Latin inscription 'SIC ITUR AD ASTRA 1128' (which translates as 'Thus is the way to the stars').

Within the pediment above is carved 'I R 6 IUSTICIAE PIETAS VALIDE SUNT PRINCIPIS ARCES' translating literally as 'King James VI. Justice, piety, valid(ity) are princely heights'. The conical-spired square-plan tower to the west has a projecting ogee-roofed clock on brackets. This has the arms of the Canongate burgh gilded on the front elevation, and clock faces on west and east elevations. On the east face is the date 1884, which is when the clock was restored. The Tolbooth now houses 'The People's Story' museum, which tells the stories of Edinburgh residents from the 18th century to present day through a variety of displays and objects. The former jail within the building forms part of the museum display.

Figure 107: *Detail of war memorial on ground floor of Tolbooth, 2014 (DP190176 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 108: *Detail of plaque with Burgh coat of arms and date 1128, 2014 (DP190177 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 109: *Detail of clock dated 1884, 2014 (DP190173 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Continuing eastwards from the Tolbooth along the north side of the Canongate lies the picturesque White Horse Close. With origins in the 17th century, there is a datestone of 1623 in a gabled dormer on the north block of buildings. Although it appears to be one of the older closes on Canongate, it is in fact a complete re-creation having been restored twice in the last two centuries. James Jerdan (1839-1913) carried out restoration work to create working class housing in 1889, and Sir Frank Mears & Partners undertook a major restoration programme in 1964-5.[40] In spite of, or because of, these major restorations, the close and adjoining tenement still display a range of traditional vernacular architectural features including a mix of harled and exposed rubble, crowstepped gables, jettied timber and plaster bow-fronted gables accessed via a forestair (to the north elevation within the courtyard). There is a three-storeyed-plus-attic tenement facing onto the Canongate, which has a segmental-arched arcaded ground floor with rounded central arch accessing the close via a wide pend. White Horse Close is believed to have been part of the Royal Mews in the 16th century. Mary Queen of Scots' white palfrey (a high value riding horse popular with nobility at the time)[41] is believed to have been stabled here, and so gave the courtyard its name.[42] In 1745, the Jacobite officers' headquarters was within the Close and prior to this, in 1679, John Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh (1632-1708; Bishop 1679-87), had a tenement here.

The close has also been known as Davidson's Close after brass founder John Davidson, who acquired land here in 1752 from Patrick Tod, a merchant. During the mid-19th century, it was also known as Laurence Ord's Close. Laurence Ord was a merchant and burgess of Edinburgh in the late 17th century, and he rebuilt the tenement here as a courtyard with a hayloft and other houses, along with the late 17th century inn (White Horse Inn) on the Canongate elevation. William Dick (1793-1866), who founded Edinburgh's Royal School of Veterinary Studies in 1823, has a plaque to his residence within White Horse Close.[43]

Figure 110: View of White Horse Close, prior to restoration, c.1950 (copied 2011) (SC1226149 ©Crown copyright HES)

[40] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=208692 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[41] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palfrey [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[42] http://www.ewht.org.uk/visit/iconic-buildings/white-horse-close [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[43] Harris, Stuart, 1996, *The Place Names of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, pp 636-7

Figure 111: View of White Horse Close, 29 Canongate, from south, 2014 (DP188691 ©Crown copyright HES)

Contemporary with White Horse Close, on the south side of Canongate is the former townhouse of the Nisbets of Dirleton, built in 1624, at 82-4 Canongate. Although rebuilt using some original stonework by Robert Hurd & Partners in 1954, many original features of the three-storeyed-plus-attic property were retained, including the square projecting stairtower to the west and the crowstepped gables onto the Canongate elevation. There are reused inscribed lintels above and beside the entrance to 84 Canongate which translate as: 'Peace to those who enter, good health to those who depart'; and '1619 Except the Lord in vain', from Psalm 127:1, which became the motto of Edinburgh from 1647.

Figure 112: View of Nisbet of Dirleton's House, 82-4 Canongate, c.1950 (copied 2010) (SC1161593 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 113: View of Nisbet of Dirleton's House, 82-4 Canongate, 2013 (DP161362 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 114: *Detail of carved lintels at Nisbet of Dirleton's House, 82-4 Canongate, 2013 (DP161363 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Further west along the south side of Canongate are the tall pyramidal gate piers marking the entrance to Moray House. Dating from c.1625, this townhouse was built for Mary, Dowager Countess of Home (1586-1645), possibly by Scottish Master Mason and architect, William Wallace (d.1631).[44] In 1643 it passed to the Dowager Countess's daughter, the Countess of Moray (c.1610-83). The Countess's arms and monogram are contained in the pediment above the central first-floor window in the original wing to the west. The nine-bayed wing adjoining on the Canongate elevation was added shortly after it passed to the Countess of Moray, in c.1649. The British Linen Bank occupied the building between 1753 and 1790, and the three-storeyed, five-bayed south wing was added 1753-4. The building passed to the North British Railway Company in 1845, before becoming the Free Church Normal School from 1848, when the windows to the Canongate elevation were altered.[45]

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[44] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=408126 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[45] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28449 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 115: View of [Moray House](), from north-west, c.1907 (copied 2009) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC932425 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 116: View of Moray House, from north-west, 2013 (DP160520 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 117: View of Moray House, from south, c.1950 (copied 2008) (SC1103824 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 118: View of Moray House, from south, 2013 (DP160519 ©Crown copyright HES)

The townhouse had a formal ornamental garden associated with it leading down from the southern elevation to the South Back of Canongate. Two fragments of this garden survive today: the summer house where the Treaty of Union was signed (see Section 3.2, pages 11-12),[46] which is attached to the western elevation of a former maltings for Commercial Brewery; and an ornamental gateway, which has been re-sited in garden ground between Thomson's Land and the former Montessori nursery building to the north. Dating from c.1625, the gateway may have been moved to its present location, probably originally leading from the grounds of Moray House to the South Back of Canongate (now Holyrood Road). The gateway has square pilastered columns surmounted by a decorative open strapwork pediment with scrolls and swags. The cast-iron gate is a later addition.

Figure 119: View of 17th century garden gateway at Moray House, from north-east, 2013 (DP160523 ©Crown copyright HES)

Queensberry House, at the eastern end of the street, dates from 1667-70. It was built for Margaret Douglas of Balmakelly (possibly 1610-77/8).[47] The building was modified in 1681 by James Smith (1645-1731) for Charles Maitland of Halton, 3rd Earl of Lauderdale (c.1620-91), before being bought in 1686 by William Douglas, 1st Duke of Queensberry (1637-95), from whom it takes its name. James Smith, again, carried out further additions and alterations for James Douglas, 2nd Duke (1672-1711), c.1700. In 1801, the house and land was sold to the Board of Ordnance, who established an army barracks here, adding an extra storey to the house and turning the gardens into a parade ground. In 1834 the newly-formed Board of Health in Edinburgh took over Queensberry House to establish a 'house of refuge' for the destitute. The building became a geriatric hospital in 1949 until its closure in 1995. In 1997, it was acquired to form part of the

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[46] Grant, James, 1880, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, Ch5, p 33 [Online]. Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page45.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[47] http://www.geni.com/people/Margaret-Douglas-Marchioness-of-Argyll/6000000001581003105 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

redevelopment of this part of Canongate in the creation of the new Scottish Parliament (1999-2004).[48] During this conversion, the top floor added in the 19th century was removed, taking the building back to its original three storeys plus an attic.
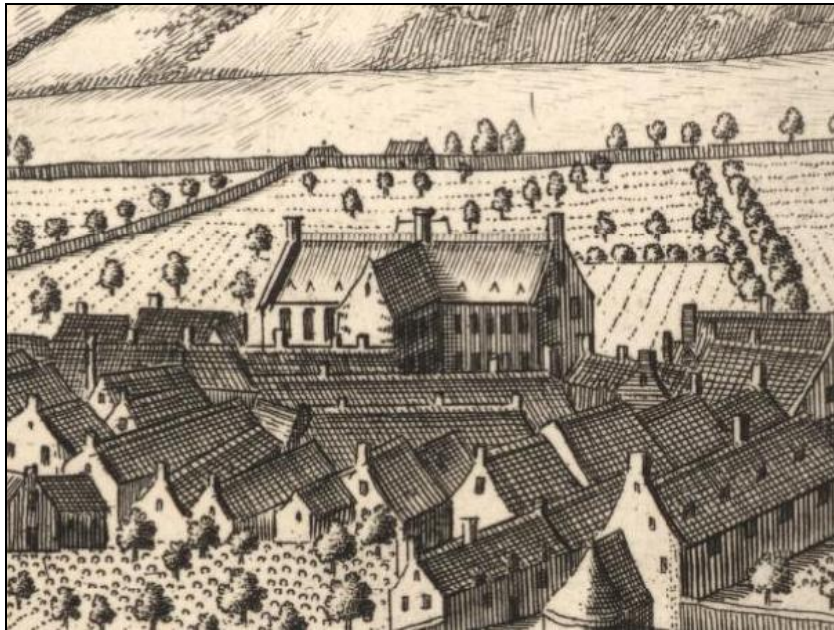
Figure 120: Extract from John Slezer's 'The North Prospect of the City of Edinburgh', 1693, showing T-plan Queensberry House (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 121: View of Queensberry House as part of the Scottish Parliament, 2013 (DP161330 ©Crown copyright HES)

The northern side of Canongate retains much of the tenemented nature of the area. It was home to the less wealthy citizens of the burgh in contrast with the larger townhouses of the gentry on the south side. One of the oldest buildings here is Canongate Kirk (1688-90) and its associated graveyard. Designed by Queensberry House architect James Smith, the Kirk was built as the parish church for residents of Canongate. A new parish church was needed in the burgh because King James VII and II had established the original parish church attached to the Palace of Holyroodhouse as the Chapel for the Order of the Thistle.

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[48] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28440 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 122: *View of Canongate Kirk, from south, 2014 (DP207894 ©Crown copyright HS)*

Just outside the Kirkyard, Canongate's Burgh Cross was the meeting place for merchants, proclamations and other major public events. It once had chains and a metal collar, known as 'jougs' attached, which were used to secure criminals for public humiliation. The cross was originally sited in the middle of the Canongate in front of the Tolbooth, before being moved in 1737 to stand against the Tolbooth. The cross was heavily restored in 1888, and was moved again to the west side of the entrance to the Kirkyard, when the Home Fountain was erected just east of the cross. This fountain was a memorial to Daniel Dunglas Home (1833-86), a renowned medium, clairvoyant and psychic.[49]

Figure 123: *View of Burgh Cross and Home Fountain, 1948 (copied 1999) (SC487937 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[49] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_Dunglas_Home [Accessed 01/02/2016]

The cross was moved to its present location in a paved enclosure within Canongate Kirkyard in 1953 and in 2004 a statue of the poet Robert Fergusson (1750-74) was erected in its place to the east of the entrance gateway to the Kirkyard. Fergusson's work had a great impact in literary circles in his short life, particularly on Robert Burns (1759-96), who paid for a memorial headstone (erected 1787) for the previously unmarked grave within the Canongate Kirkyard.[50]

Figure 124: View of statue of the poet Robert Fergusson outside Canongate Kirk, 2015 (DP205169 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 125: Detail of plaque at base of burgh cross, bearing arms of Canongate Burgh, 2014 (DP188652 ©Crown copyright HES)
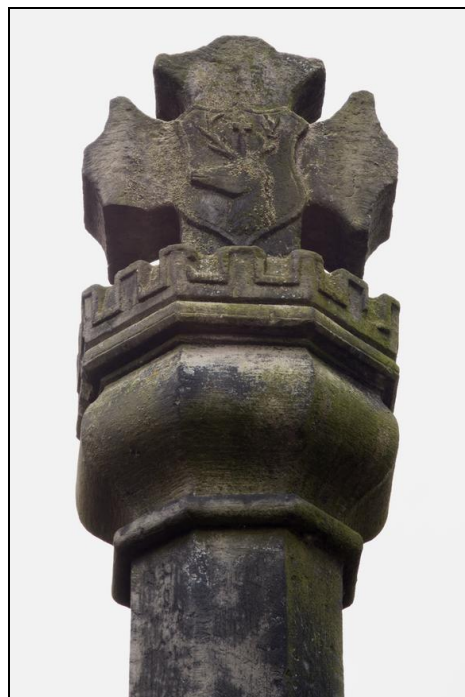
Figure 126: Detail of capital and cross-head bearing arms of Canongate Burgh, 2014 (DP188653 ©Crown copyright HES)

[50] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Fergusson [Accessed 01/02/2016]

The burgh cross is not the only cross of note in the Canongate Historic Core area. At the eastern end of Canongate, a circular pattern of cobbles in the centre of the roadway marks the site of the Girth Cross, demarcating the western limit of the Holyrood Abbey sanctuary or 'girth', which offered protection from arrest for debtors.[51] It was also used as a site of public proclamations, trading and executions.
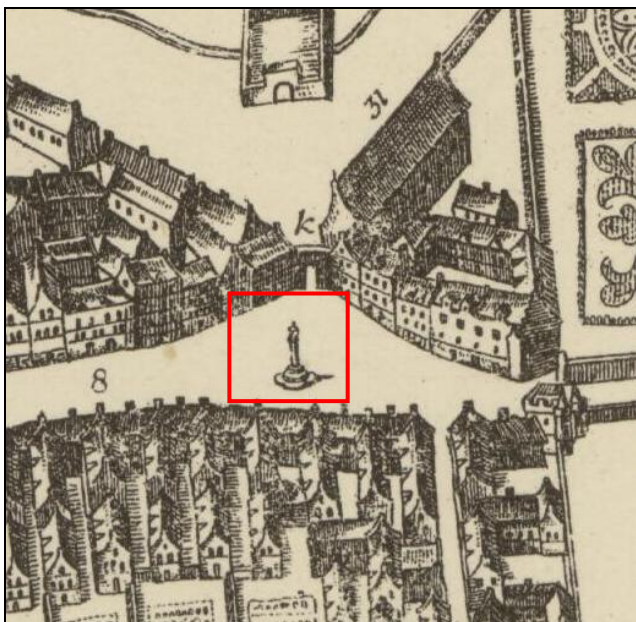
Figure 127: Extract from James Gordon of Rothiemay's 'Bird's Eye View of Edinburgh', 1647, showing representation of Girth Cross (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
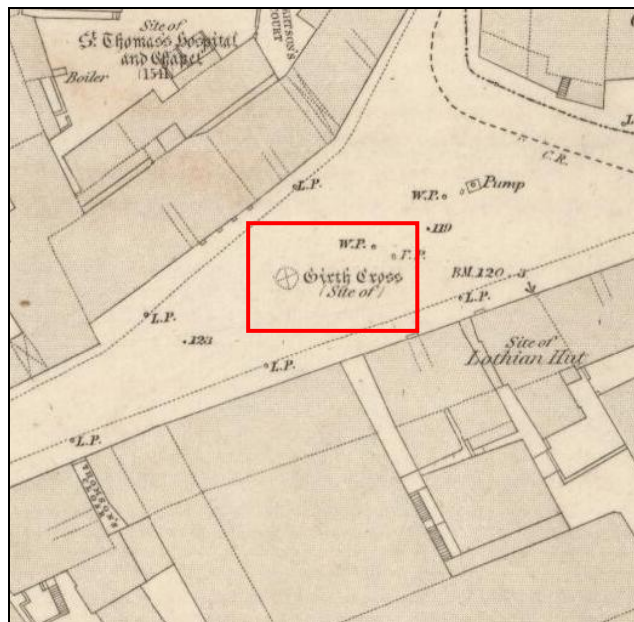
Figure 128: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing site of Girth Cross (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 129: View of cobbled marker for site of Girth Cross on Canongate roadway, 2014 (DP207844 ©Crown copyright HES)

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[51] Chambers, Robert, 1833, *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, p 263 [Online] Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=gZ0HAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR37&lpg=PR37&dq=girth+cross+robert+chambers+minor +antiquities&source=bl&ots=hTvyQDB5xr&sig=oZH4yzIS2PA2y02OqaIYNI6edZ8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiqwsy6- OfKAhXDchQKHcZBCZIQ6AEIHzAA#v=onepage&q=girth%20cross%20robert%20chambers%20minor%20antiquities&f= false [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Further up the Canongate, a Maltese cross painted on grey cobbles surrounded by red setts, inset into the road surface outside 196 Canongate, represents the site of the original standing cross of St John. This cross marked the original boundary between Edinburgh and Canongate. As the plaque on Canongate states, the Order of St John is believed to have owned land and property near this site in the medieval period. St John's Priory, dating from c.1768, is located in St John Street, just to the south-east of this marker, and is the head office for the Order in Scotland. The Venerable Order of St John of Jerusalem installed the marker and the accompanying plaque in 1987, marking the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of the Order in Scotland.

Figure 130: View of St John's Cross on the Canongate roadway, 2013 (DP160532 ©Crown copyright HES)
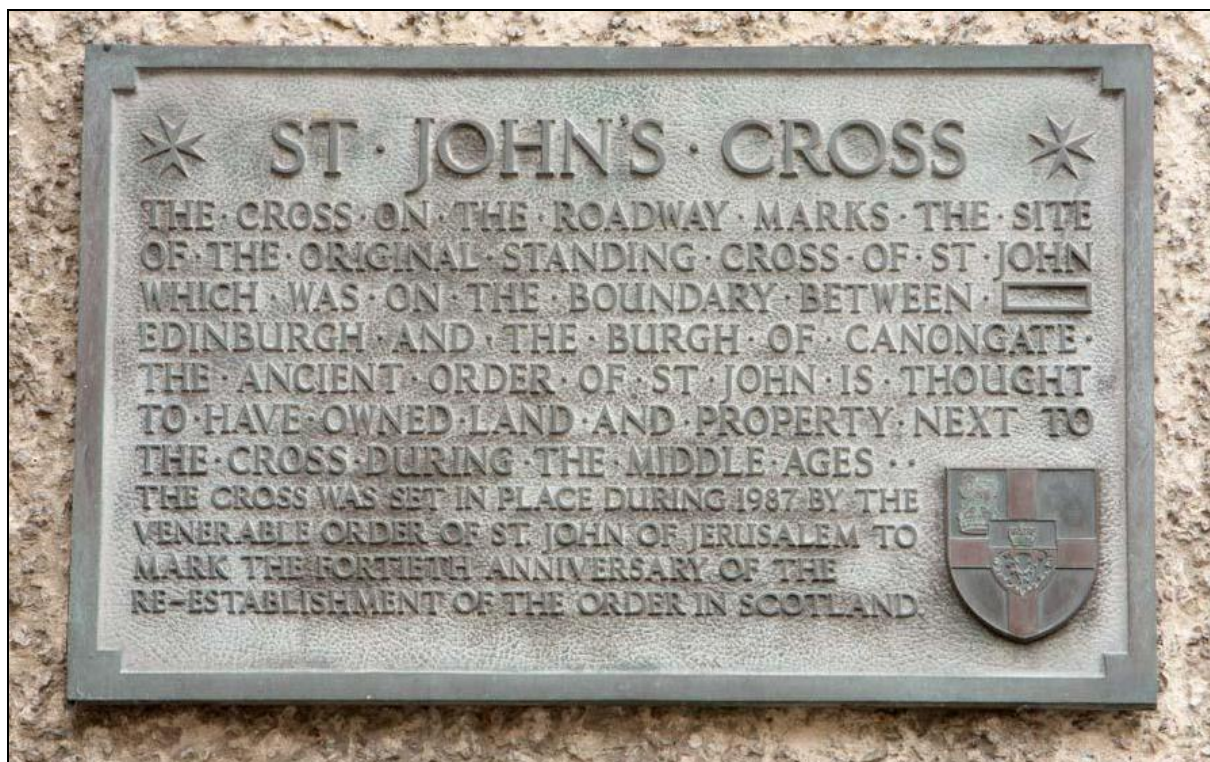
Figure 131: View of plaque about St John's Cross on tenement at 196 Canongate, 2013 (DP160533 ©Crown copyright HES)

Throughout this area of the Historic Core there are several visible references to former eminent residents of the Canongate: the economist and philosopher Adam Smith (1723-90) spent the last twelve years of his life at Panmure House, a building previously owned by members of the Scottish gentry such as the Earls of Panmure and the Countess of Aberdeen.[52] There is also mention of the Earls of Morton owning lands on the north side of Campbell's Close during the 17th and 18th centuries.[53] A plaque at Galloway's Entry notes that Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley (1545-67) stayed at George Seton (1531-86), 7th Lord Seton and Earl of Winton's townhouse, which stood on the site now occupied by Whitefoord House, prior to his marriage to Mary Queen of Scots (1542-87).[54]

Figure 132: View of Panmure House, 129 Canongate, from south-east, 2008 (DP039169 ©Crown copyright HES)

As map evidence demonstrates, the Canongate burgh continued to grow during the 18th century, and there was much infilling of plots on both sides of the thoroughfare. Set back from the main thoroughfare and dating from the early 18th century, 95 Canongate is a two-storeyed, five-bayed Classical former coaching inn and laird's house forming the north side of a courtyard, Reid's Court, enclosed by Russell House on the east, and formerly tenements, now part of Sir Basil Spence's Canongate housing development of the 1960s, on the west side. Comprising a large main block, with late 18th century piended-roof wings on the east and west sides, stretching south, the whole building is whitewashed with original timber-framed, multi-paned sash and case windows. The building became a manse for the nearby Canongate Kirk in 1951.[55] The building was restored in 1958 by Ian Gordon Lindsay (1906-66) and George Hay (1911-86) including creating separate dwellings within the later wings. Reid's Court takes its name from James Reid, a coachmaker who had land 'opposite Milton's Lodging' (Milton House, where Royal Mile Primary School now stands) during the late 17th century.[56] A drawing of this property can be seen in the Edinburgh Dean of Guild archives

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[52] Grant, James, 1883, *Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, London, pp 20-1 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page33/spread [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[53] http://www.royal-mile.com/closes/close-campbells.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[54] http://www.royal-mile.com/closes/close-gallowaysentry.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[55] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/hes/web/f?p=PORTAL:DESIGNATION:::::DES:LB28429 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[56] *Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs, 1773-4*, Edinburgh, p 67; *Ibid*, *1774-5*, p 78; *Ibid*, *1775-6*, p 78

dated 22nd March 1786. At this time it was owned by a Mrs Ann Miller of Wakenshaw (Northumberland), who was looking to extend the existing building.[57] It is also suggested in several sources that an Andrew Reid, brewer and magistrate lived here c.1770, but this may refer to Reid's Close opposite.[58]

Figure 133: *View of west wing of Canongate Manse, Reid's Court, 95 Canongate, from south-east, 2014 (DP190190 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 134: *View of east wing of Canongate Manse, Reid's Court, 95 Canongate, from south-west, 2014 (DP190191 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[57] https://sites.google.com/site/edinburghdeanofguild/home/january-to-december-1786 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[58] Harris, Stuart, 1996, *The Place Names of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, p 525

Perhaps the most substantial development of the early to mid-18th century took place in the backlands to the south of 240 Canongate. Two four-storeyed-plus-attic-and-basement tenements at 1 and 2 Chessel's Court were built in the early part of the century, with the central three-storeyed-plus-basement block of 3-6 Chessel's Court to the south-east built 1742-8 by wright (master-carpenter) and merchant Archibald Chessel (c.1700-c.1770) to provide 'mansion flats' for relatively wealthy citizens. The east and west wings at 3-6 Chessel's Court were added c.1765. By 1769 the buildings were operating as the Canongate's Excise Office, and it was here that the infamous Deacon (William) Brodie (1741-88) attempted one of his armed robberies in 1788, a raid which led to his capture and execution by hanging.[59] The restoration by Hurd's practice retained the traditional features of the 18th century buildings including the harled façades in traditional colours, and the multi-paned sash and case windows. No 1 has a canted stairtower projecting in the fourth bay, while No 2 has a central wallhead gable on its front elevation. Internally at Nos 3-6, a range of 18th century decorative features such as Rococco chimneypieces and painted panelling has also been preserved.[60] [61]

Figure 135: *View of 1 and 2 Chessel's Court, 242-4 Canongate, from east, 2013 (DP160537 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[59] http://www.scottish-places.info/people/famousfirst1161.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[60] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28454 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[61] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB51171,chessel [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 136: View of Chessel's Court, 240 Canongate, from north, c.1900 (copied 2002) (SC716142 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 137: View of [3-6 Chessel's Court, 240 Canongate](), from north-west, 2013 (DP160535 ©Crown copyright HES)

During the early 19th century, 3-6 Chessel's Court operated as the Institution for Education of Deaf and Dumb Children. This is noted on various historical maps including Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs', 1817, as well as an engraving by James & Henry Sargant Storer from 1819. This institution was founded in 1810 and moved to a site in Henderson Row in 1823, before being merged with Donaldson's School in 1938.[62]

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[62] http://www.donaldsons.org.uk/media/20118/Donaldsons%20Background%20History.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 138: Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs', 1817, showing 'Deaf & Dumb Institution' in Chessel's Court (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 139: Engraving by J & H S Storer showing 'Deaf and Dumb Institution' in Chessel's Court, 1819 (copied 2011) (DP094907 ©Crown copyright HES)

The pioneering town planner, Sir Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) bought the properties at 1 and 2 Chessel's Court in the late 19th/early 20th century to prevent them from being demolished as part of a scheme of slum clearances. As part of this, he and his wife, along with the pioneering Lileen Hardy (n.d.) created one of several children's gardens in the Old Town of Edinburgh: the St Saviour's Child Garden Nursery which was opened in 1906 in Brown's Close, and moved to Chessel's Court in 1908.[63] The garden continued to provide access to fresh air and schooling to kindergarten age children until 1977, having been taken over and run by Old St Paul's Church in nearby Jeffrey Street. The restoration of the court in the 1960s provided a range of residential and commercial premises, whilst maintaining the nursery school with its associated garden and schoolhouse.[64]

Another mid-18th century addition to the Canongate townscape was Cadell House, lying in a long burgage plot to the north of Canongate. This three-storeyed, six-bayed former merchant's house is built of rubble stonework with a piended or hipped roof and a central chimneystack. Along with many other properties in the vicinity, Cadell House was restored in 1954 as flats. This was built as the Edinburgh residence for the Haddington merchant William Cadell (1668-1728). Cadell was a journeyman glazier (skilled artisan glassworker) to trade, and the family had several industrial ventures in East Lothian. His third son, William (1707-77) founded the Carron Ironworks in Falkirk in 1759 with two partners. His son in turn, also William (1737-1819) managed the Carron Ironworks and set up the family seat nearby, establishing the Cadells of Grange.[65]

**Figure 140:** *View of Cadell House, Panmure Close, 129 Canongate, from north-west, 2014 (DP188668 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[63] http://www.greenyondertours.com/documents/NaturePlayNotes.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[64] Bareham, Jean, 2013, *Hidden Gardens of the Royal Mile: unexpected green gems in Edinburgh's Old Town*, Edinburgh, pp 80-4
[65] http://www.cadell.com/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]

To the east of Cadell House, set back from the main street, is Whitefoord House, which had been built 1768-70 by architect Robert Mylne (1733-1811) for Sir John Whiteford of Blairquhan and Ballochmyle (1734-1803), was subsequently owned by Sir William MacLeod Bannatyne (1743-1833).[66] However, it was extended and put to use as a type foundry operated by Duncan Sinclair & Sons in 1839, producing type for the printing trade, which was prolific throughout Canongate and neighbouring Edinburgh at that time. Sinclairs ran the foundry until 1857.[67] A 'Miss Sinclair' is noted in Post Office Directories as residing at 'Whiteford House, 53 Canongate' from 1858 to 1867.[68] However, in 1861-6, John Milne & Co, type founders, ran the type foundry from here.[69] The contents of the foundry were 'dispersed by public auction' in 1870, and Marr Typefounding Company were believed to have taken on the premises.[70] Not until 1875-6 does James Marr & Co appear in the Post Office Directories, first under New Street, then in 1876-7 Marr Typefounding Company are listed against 'Whiteford House', and remain there until moving to new premises in McDonald Road in c.1900.[71]
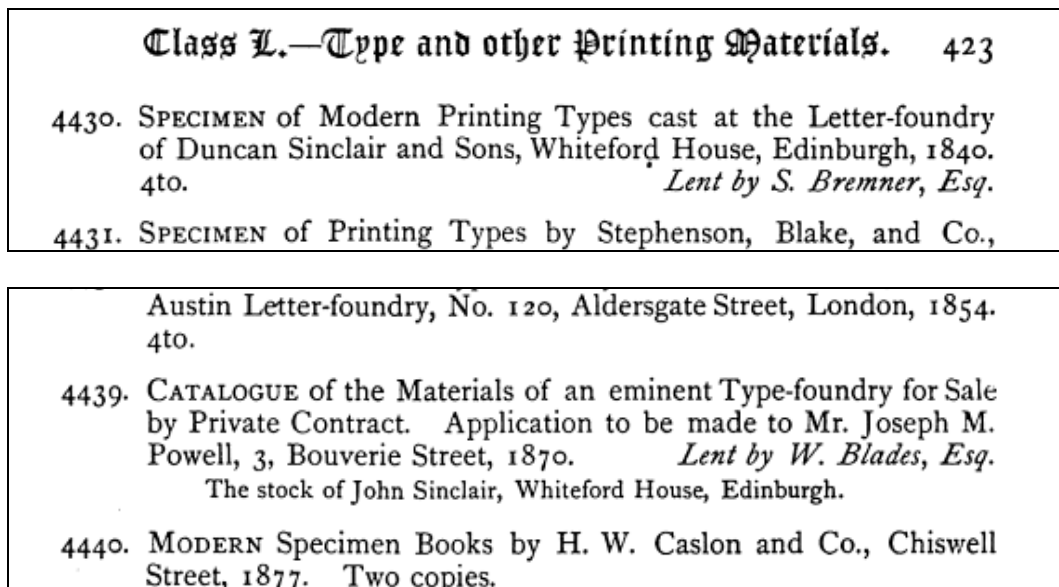
Figures 141 and 142: *Listing referring to catalogue of items for sale from Sinclair's foundry at Whitefoord House (copied from George Bullen (2014) 'Caxton Celebration, 1877', Cambridge University Press, via Google books[72])*

[66] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/hes/web/f?p=PORTAL:DESIGNATION:::::DES:LB28428 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[67] Reed, Talbot Baines, 1887, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, London, pp 265-6 [Online] Available from https://archive.org/details/historyofoldengl00reed [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[68] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1857-8*, Edinburgh, p 195; *Ibid*, *1866-7*, p 180

[69] *Ibid*, *1860-1*, p 215; *Ibid*, *1865-6*, p 138

[70] Reed, Talbot Baines, 1887, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, London, p 266 [Online] Available from https://archive.org/details/historyofoldengl00reed [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[71] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1875-6*, Edinburgh, p 136; *Ibid*, *1876-7*, p 140; *Ibid*, *1900-1*, p 234

[72] Bullen, George, 2014, *Caxton Celebration,* 1877, Cambridge University Press [Online] Available from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=XGcZAwAAQBAJ&pg=PA423&dq=sinclair+whiteford+foundry+catalogue&hl=en &sa=X&ei=_x2HVNWFFsb9UrjSg4gB%23v=onepage&q=sinclair%20whiteford%20foundry%20catalogue&f=false#v=sni ppet&q=sinclair%20whiteford%20foundry%20catalogue&f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016]
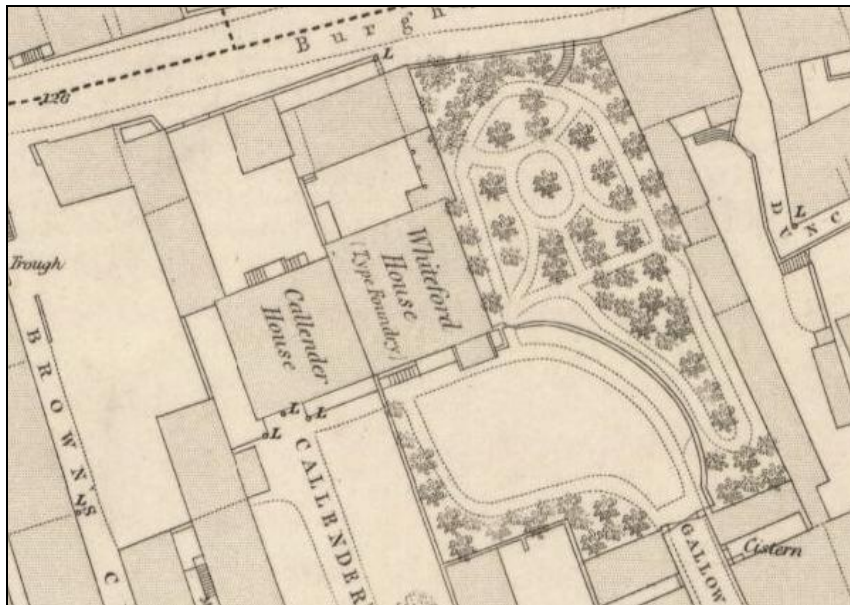
Figure 143: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing Whiteford House as Type Foundry (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Whitefoord House was converted to a veterans' residence in 1911, and in 1926, Lady Haig's Poppy Factory was established in one of the rooms in Whitefoord House.[73] This proved to be a short term arrangement with a purpose-built factory being constructed in 1927 to provide work for resident veterans. The factory operated here until moving to new premises at Marryat Hall, 24 Calton Road (within Panmure Close) in 1931, and in 1965 moved to larger premises at Logie Green Road/Warriston Road, where it remains today.[74] The original factory at Whitefoord House has been converted into a hall as part of the residences complex, while the later factory off Calton Road has been demolished.

Figure 144: View of former poppy factory at Whitefoord House, from south, 2014 (DP190206 ©Crown copyright HES)

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[73] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/hes/web/f?p=PORTAL:DESIGNATION:::::DES:LB28428 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[74] http://www.ladyhaigspoppyfactory.org.uk/factory-history/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 145: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:1250 map (Plans NT2673NE and NT2673NW), 1946, showing Lady Haig's Poppy Factory (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Following the incorporation of Canongate burgh into the larger adjacent burgh of Edinburgh in 1856, major improvement schemes were implemented to ease access around the newly expanded city, and to improve living conditions for some of the residents. The first, and perhaps most dramatic in terms of impact on the townscape, of these was when St Mary's Street was built in 1867-9 as a result of the Edinburgh City Improvement Act 1867. More or less following the line of St Mary's Wynd, the tenements built on the east side replaced smaller-scale houses which were severely overcrowded. Designed by architects David Cousin (1809-78) and John Lessels (1809-83) in a Scots Baronial style, they feature turrets, crowstepped gables and carved stone finials, with much improved facilities internally.[75] [76] [77]

[75] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB30166,st%20mary's%20street [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[76] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB30167,st%20mary's%20street [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[77] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB30168,st%20mary's%20street [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 146: Extract from John Bartholomew's 'Hislop's New Plan of Edinburgh & Leith', 1865, showing Leith Wynd and St Mary's Wynd (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 147: Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056, 1877, showing Jeffrey Street, Cranston Street and St Mary's Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 148: *Copy of drawing showing St Mary's Wynd from Cowgate, 1868 (copied 2010) (Jane Stewart Smith Collection, DP158544 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 149: *View of west side of St Mary's Street, 1900-30 (copied 2009) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1131309 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 150: *View of 2-4 St Mary's Street and* 274-8 Canongate*, from south-east, 2013 (DP161312 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Jeffrey Street was built as a continuation of St Mary's Street north of the Canongate/High Street junction. The southern section of Jeffrey Street and the northern section of Cranston Street to the east roughly followed the line of Leith Wynd up to Calton Road/North Back of Canongate. These improvements to the north of Canongate were built between 1873 and 1891, again in a Scots Baronial style. The corner block at 287-9 Canongate, 1 Cranston Street and 2 Jeffrey Street were designed by architects' firm George Beattie & Sons, while 4-18 Jeffrey Street were built in 1891 to designs by James Lessels (c.1834-c.1905) and Henry (Harry) Ramsay Taylor (1863/4-1922).[78] [79]

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[78] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28439,jeffrey%20street [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[79] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB29192,jeffrey%20street [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 151: *View of 2-18 Jeffrey Street, from south-west, 2014 (DP190127 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Further improvements to facilities in the area continued with Royal Mile Primary School built in 1886 as Milton House Public School to designs by Robert Wilson (1834-1901).[80] It stands on the site where Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Lord Milton (1692-1766), had a large townhouse, Milton House, built in 1755-8 to designs by John Adam (1721-92), located in the garden of John Ker, 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Roxburgh's (c.1680-1741) house.[81] [82] The building was later (1835) used as a Catholic School under the Sisters of

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[80] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=224469 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[81] Black, Adam & Charles, 1843, *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, Edinburgh, p 49 [Online] Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=mJsLAwAAQBAJ&pg=PA49&lpg=PA49&dq=black+picturesque+tourist+milton+house&source=bl&ots=WzhxkL5H8U&sig=fKr3gIPDUlNyzDlb6ycW_xq36Zw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiopf2I9uzKAhXIqxoKHZe_DGwQ6AEILjAF#v=onepage&q=black%20picturesque%20tourist%20milton%20house&f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[82] Gifford, John, McWilliam, Colin, Walker, David & Wilson, Christopher, 1991, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, Yale, p 184

Charity.[83] It subsequently operated as a school for deaf and dumb children and a temporary maternity hospital before becoming the property of brass founders, James Milne & Co by 1854-5, who remained there until moving to larger premises c.1885 when the site was taken over to build the school.[84] [85] The school retains four large painted landscape panels from Milton House by the French artist William Delacour (1700-67), dating from 1758.

Figure 152: *Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, showing Milton House as 'Lord Milton's' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Figure 153: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing Milton House incorporated into Brass Foundry (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[83] Fullarton, A, 1842, *The Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland: A-H*, Glasgow, p 468 [Online] Available from: http://digital.nls.uk/gazetteers-of-scotland-1803-1901/pageturner.cfm?id=97444266 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[84] Grant, James, 1880, *Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, London, p 34 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page46/single [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[85] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1854-5*, Edinburgh, p 135

Figure 154: View of Royal Mile Primary School (Milton House Public School), from north-west, 2013 (DP161364 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 155: Detail of carved pediment datestone at Royal Mile Primary School, 2013 (DP161365 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 156: *View of one of four large painted landscape panels from Milton House, relocated within Royal Mile Primary School, 1983 (copied 2003) (SC801734 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Following his participation on a Department of Health tour looking at housing estates across Europe, City Architect Ebenezer James MacRae (1881-1951) brought back ideas which influenced the design of local authority housing across Edinburgh in the 1930s. One of the projects was the Canongate Improvement Scheme which he instigated in 1930-1. As part of this, he implemented redevelopment work at Nos 100-110, 206-8 and 221-9 Canongate.[86] Each of these displays several features of the vernacular architecture expected in a traditional Scottish burgh, but are in fact recreations designed to maintain the scale and appearance on the streetscape. These tenements are three-storeyed with gabled dormers lighting the attic floor, have rusticated rubble stonework to their main elevations and traditional sash and case multi-paned windows, some with relieving arches above them.

As noted earlier, the firm of Gordon & Dey (Alexander Esme Gordon (1910-93)[87] and William Gordon Dey (1911-97)[88]) carried out work at Moray House during the late 1940s and early 1950s, as well as restoration and reconstruction works at several tenements: St John's Land, 176-184 (1955); 194-8, Old Playhouse Close and 200 Canongate (1956-7).[89] Like MacRae's tenement improvements, Gordon & Dey also used the traditional vernacular style in recreating the main street elevations, with rusticated stonework (176-184) or harling (194-8), multi-paned sash and case windows, and gabled attic and garret dormers (194-8). In both cases, the original close entrances were also retained, helping preserve the medieval plot layout.

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[86] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200699 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[87] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=203479 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[88] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=204378 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[89] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202411 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 157: View of 176-182 Canongate, from north-west, 2013 (DP158629 ©Crown copyright HES)

Old Playhouse Close was the site of the first theatre in what is now the city of Edinburgh, which means Canongate had a theatre before its neighbour, the much larger burgh of Edinburgh. The Playhouse was established here in 1747 by a well-known London actor, Mr John Ryan.[90] It is believed that the dormers which still remain in the attic and the garret originally lit the dressing rooms for the theatre.[91] The theatre continued to operate until 1769, falling out of use soon after the Theatre Royal was built in 1767 at the northern end of North Bridge within Edinburgh. There was a great deal of opposition to theatres in the 18th century from the Church of Scotland and the City Magistrates of Edinburgh who believed they were a bad influence on the townsfolk. As noted earlier, the close was also home to Daniel Defoe at the time of the Treaty of Union in 1707.[92] Gordon & Dey retained much of the original façade and window arrangement in their restoration work, but replaced the ground floor shops with more living accommodation, and installed traditional multi-paned sash and case windows throughout.

[90] Grant, James, 1883, *Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, London, pp 23-5 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page35/spread [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[91] *The Book of The Old Edinburgh Club 1908 Vol I*, Edinburgh, p 16 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/bookoldedinburg00clubgoog [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[92] Hazlitt, William, 1840, *The Works of Daniel Defoe: with a memoir of his life and writings, Vol I*, London, p liv [Online] Available from:
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6DsCAAAAQAAJ&pg=PP13&lpg=PP13&dq=hazlitt+works+daniel+defoe+1840&source=bl&ots=mJwH6-k30L&sig=m9QeiQ2V8f9cJ7Oid8uCP7Bnqbg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi9yOyl88vJAhUBGBQKHf30B1oQ6AEILTAF#v=onepage&q=hazlitt%20works%20daniel%20defoe%201840&f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 158: *View of James Souter's shop, (Old) Playhouse Close, 194-200 Canongate, 1935 (copied 2008) (SC1103837 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 159: *View of Playhouse Close and Old Playhouse Close at 194-200 Canongate, from north, 2013 (DP160529 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 160: Detail of plaque on gate at Old Playhouse Close, 194-8 Canongate, 2013 (DP160531 ©Crown copyright HES)

Robert Hurd & Partners undertook reconstruction work at numerous sites along and behind Canongate: Chessel's Court (1956-7, 1958-66 and 1963-4); 171-97, Tolbooth area (1953-8); Nisbet of Dirleton's House at 82-4 (1954); 246-8 and 250-4 (1955); Bible Land, 183-7 and Shoemakers' Land, 195-7 (1956); 189-91 (1957); 202-54 (1958); Morocco Land at 265-7 (1960); and Ian McKerron Begg (b.1925) of R A Hurd & Partners restored Russell House, 3 Canongate (1976).[93] Again, all these schemes recreated the frontages using traditional materials and features.

Of Robert Hurd & Partners' work, the stretch from 185 to 197 Canongate has long associations with the Incorporation of Cordiners (shoemakers). The 17th century tenement at 195-7 Canongate, known as Shoemakers' Land, was rebuilt and added to in 1725 by the Incorporation. The restoration of this five-storeyed, six-bayed block retained the traditional features of the tenement, including rusticated rubble stonework, timber-framed multi-paned sash and case windows and a carved panel in one of the central bays between first and second floors. This panel contains the date '1725' along with the emblem of the Incorporation and the inscription 'Blessed is he that wisely doth the poor man's care consider', taken from Psalm 41.1.[94]

Figure 161: Detail of datestone on Shoemakers' Land, 195-7 Canongate, 2014 (DP190119 ©Crown copyright HES)

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[93] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202914 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[94] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28437 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 162: *View of Shoemakers' Land,* 195-7 Canongate*, from south-west, 2014 (DP190118 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Continuing with the practice's work, just east of Shoemakers' Land, at 185-7 Canongate, is the restored front elevation of Bible Land. This 17th century tenement, dated 1677, was also built for the Incorporation of Cordiners (shoemakers). Their work on this four-storeyed-plus-attic, five-bayed block again retained the traditional features of the tenement, including rusticated rubble stonework, timber-framed multi-paned sash and case windows and a pedimented panel above the timber door accessing the upper floors. This panel bears the shoemakers' knife with flanking cherubs above an open book which is inscribed with a quote from Psalm 133.1: 'Behold how good a thing it is and how becoming well, Together such as brethren are in unity to dwell'. There is an ogee-capped dome above the stairway bay.[95]

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[95] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28434 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 163: View of Bible Land, 185-7 Canongate, from east, 1900-30 (copied 2009) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1131442 ©Crown copyright HES)
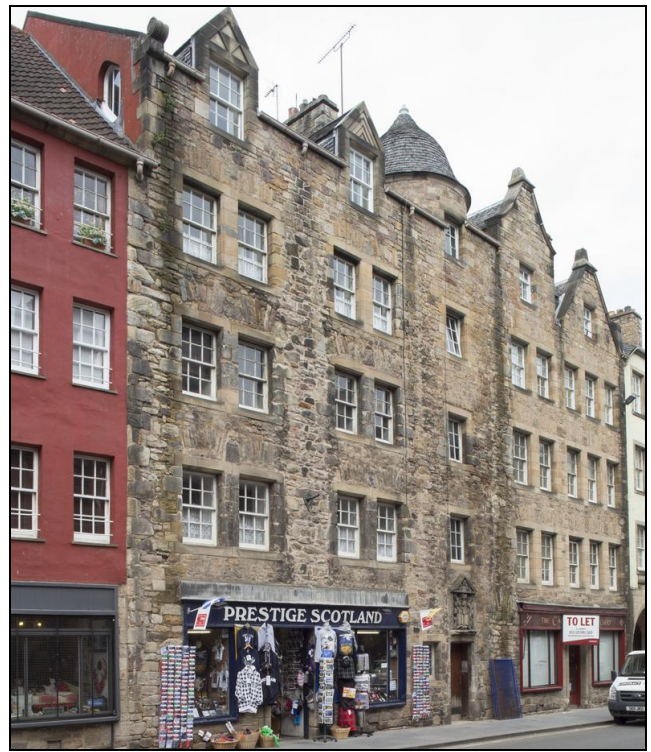

Figure 164: View of Bible Land, 185-7 Canongate, from south-west, 2014 (DP190121 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 165: Detail of decorative panel above doorway at Bible Land, 185-7 Canongate, 2014 (DP190122 ©Crown copyright HES)

Further west on the north side at 265-7 Canongate is Morocco Land, a four-storeyed-plus-attic, four-bayed tenement dating from the late 17th/early 18th century. Again, Hurd & Partners retained the traditional features of this tenement, including rusticated rubble stonework, timber-framed multi-paned sash and case windows and a carved effigy just left of the western bay between first and second floors. The carved effigy, wearing a turban and beads, is said to represent the Emperor of Morocco, who was a royal patron of Andrew Gray (d.1663), a resident of the tenement. In 1633, Gray had been involved in a riot which ended up setting fire to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh's house (Sir Alexander Clerk of Pittencrieff). He was convicted and sentenced to execution but escaped and fled the country. He was sold as a slave in Morocco, where he rose in rank, impressing the Emperor of Morocco, before winning his freedom and returning to Scotland. On his return during the height of the plague in Edinburgh in 1645, Gray cured the Lord Provost Sir John Smith of Groathill's daughter of plague then married her. They lived in this tenement on the Canongate.[96][97]

Figure 166: Copy of 'Knox Series' postcard showing Morocco Land, 265-7 Canongate, c.1900 (copied 1999) (SC426767 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 167: View of Morocco Land, 265-7 Canongate, from south-west, 2014 (DP190154 ©Crown copyright HES)

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[96] Harris, Stuart, 1996, *The Place Names of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, pp 442-3
[97] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28438 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 168: *Detail of carved Moorish figure between first and second floors of Morocco Land, 265-7 Canongate, 2014 (DP190155 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Reid's Close and Vallance's Entry lie directly across Canongate from Reid's Court, which may explain some confusion in the naming history of the two. In 1962 Reid's Close and Vallance's Entry were redeveloped when Ian G Lindsay & Partners built what is now 70-80 Canongate in a contemporary style. This block along with other interventions by Hurd & Partners and other practices replaced large areas of tenements which had fallen into disrepair. At the same time, Lindsay & Partners began restoration work at a 17th century tenement being incorporated into Huntly House (1962-5) and Bakehouse Close, as well as restoring the area around Reid's Court and 95 Canongate.

Figure 169: *View of Reid's Close and Vallance's Entry, 70-80 Canongate, from north-west, 2013 (DP161360 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The section to the west of Queensberry House contains the most post-war infill in the Canongate. As well as Lindsay & Partners' 70-80 Canongate, on the north side of the street there are the Basil Spence & Partners/Sir Basil Spence, Glover & Ferguson's developments at 1-3 Brown's Close/65-71 and 97-103 Canongate (1961-9). While the Spence development appears out of character with the rest of the street, several elements of the design mimic the historic nature of the area. The proportions of the buildings' window and storey height blend in with neighbouring properties, while the rubble stonework and beige and red coloured rendering reflect the mixture along the length of Canongate. The arcading at entrances to back courtyards and communal stairways is reminiscent of arcading found at Robert Hurd & Partners' 1956-7 rebuilding of 249-61 Canongate and elsewhere on the Royal Mile (in particular at Gladstone's Land, 481-9 Lawnmarket).

Figure 170: View of 1-3 Brown's Close/65-71 Canongate, from south-west, 2014 (DP188678 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 171: View of stairway to rear of 1-3 Brown's Close/65-71 Canongate, 2014 (DP188682 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 172: View of 97-103 Canongate, from south-east, 2014 (DP188670 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 173: *View of arcaded entrance at 97-103 Canongate, from south-west, 2014 (DP188672 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The last few decades of the 20th century saw Canongate fall into a decline once again, with little development work being carried out. One of the few larger schemes carried out during this period was at the east end of Canongate, which involved restoration of the 17th century tenement at 5 Canongate in 1972-6 by Robert Hurd & Partners. The tenement was named Russell House after Sir Robert Russell (1890-1972), one of several individuals who campaigned for the building to be saved from demolition.[98] The tenement retains a harled frontage, three crowstepped gables at attic level, along with timber-framed, multi-paned sash and case windows throughout. There is an inscribed lintel reading 'WL MA 1697' above the entrance door, probably a fragment from an original building on the site.

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[98] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28426 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 174: *Detail of crowstepped gables on front elevation of* 5 Canongate*, 2014 (DP188699 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 175: *Detail of carved lintel above entrance doorway at 5 Canongate, 2014 (DP188701 ©Crown copyright HES)*

As part of earlier work commissioned in 1894 by Sir Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) to improve the Watergate area at the eastern end of the Canongate, one tenement was restored and another completely rebuilt in a 16th/17th century vernacular style with jettied gabled dormers, crowstepped gables and corbelled turrets, subsequently replaced by the present structure in a 1972 redevelopment scheme. The 18th century tenements on this site replaced the former St Thomas's Hospital and Chapel, which comprised a chapel and an almshouse built in 1541 by George Crichton (d.1544), Bishop of Dunkeld from 1526 to 1544.[99] Canongate's magistrates bought the chapel and its lands in 1617, and converted it into a hospital for the

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[99] Harris, Stuart, 1996, *The Place Names of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, p 530

poor of the burgh.[100] The hospital in turn was converted to a coachhouse in 1747 before being demolished in 1787 to make way for new tenements.[101]
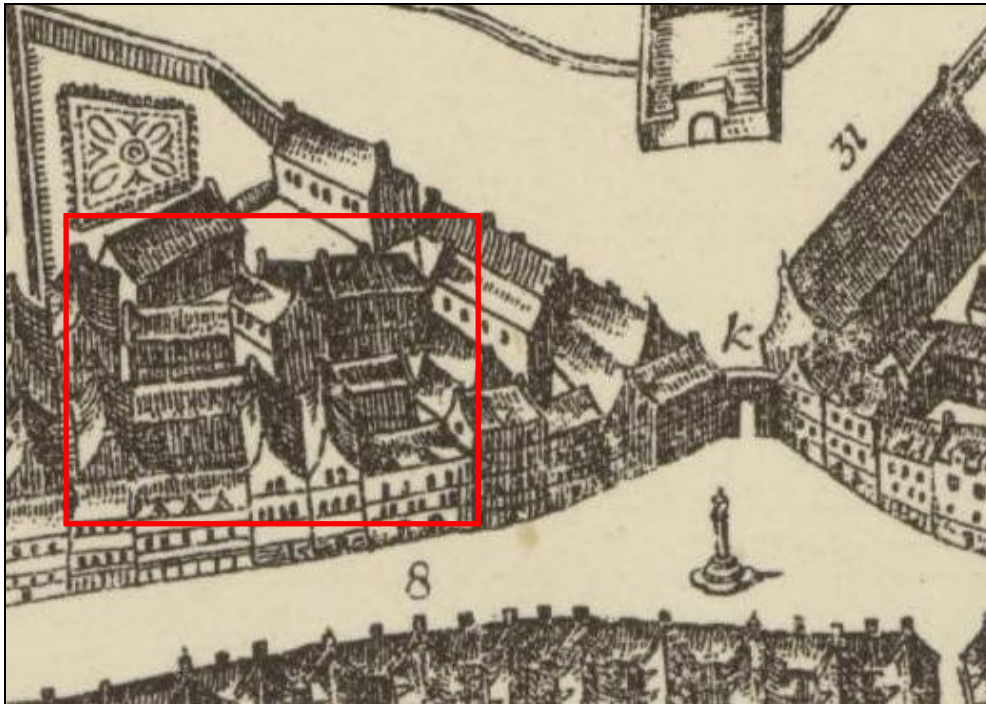
Figure 176: Extract from James Gordon of Rothiemay's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1647, showing a depiction of St Thomas's Hospital and Chapel (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
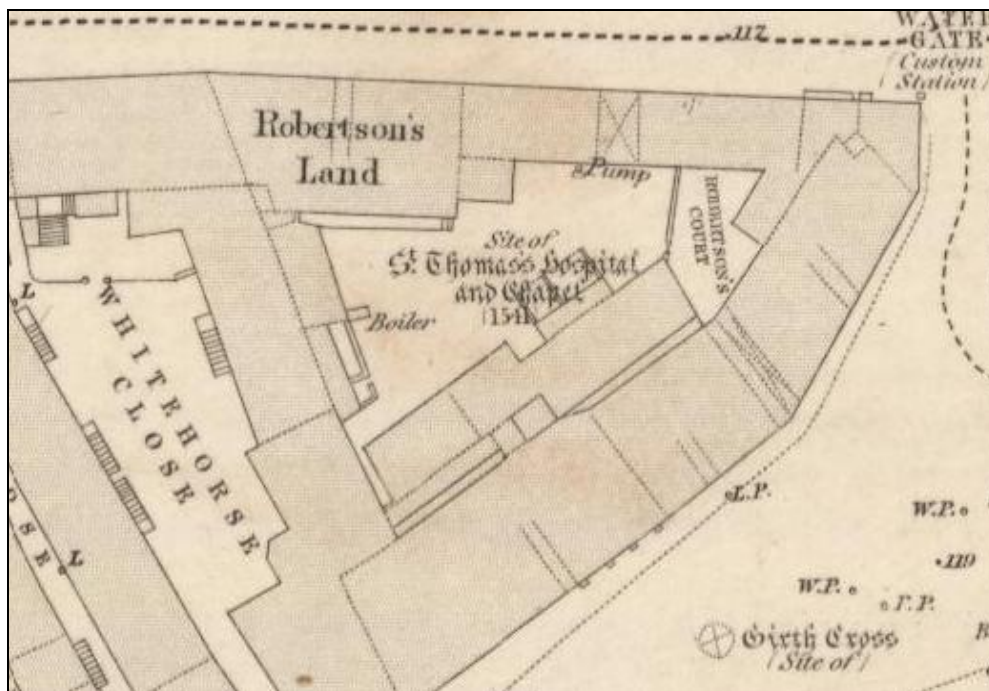
Figure 177: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1,056 map, 1852, showing site of St Thomas's Hospital and Chapel (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

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[100] Fullarton, A, 1842, *The Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland: A-H*, Glasgow, p 454 [Online] Available from: http://digital.nls.uk/gazetteers-of-scotland-1803-1901/pageturner.cfm?id=97444266 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[101] Coghill, Hamish, 2012, *Lost Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, p 39

Figure 178: *View of [Robertson's Court and 11-15 Canongate](), from east, 1965 (copied 2010) (SC1205829 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Adjoining Russell House on both sides are blocks of flats built in 1971 by Frank C Mears & Partners, as part of the same redevelopment scheme that included the restoration of Russell House. These flats have a mixture of cream, beige and brown harling and varying roof levels. The flats carry on into Calton Road, to enclose the land previously known as Robertson's Land, and Robertson's Court. The Court takes its name from William Robertson, a cowfeeder at Croft-an-Righ, who acquired a bakehouse and dwellings here in 1797.[102]

Figure 179: *View of [5 Canongate]() and [11-15 Canongate](), from south, 2014 (DP188697 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[102] Harris, Stuart, 1996, *The Place Names of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, p 530

Figure 180: *View of 5 and 11-15 Canongate/Robertson's Court, from east, 2014 (DP188702 ©Crown copyright HES)*

More recently, in 1996-8, Richard Murphy Architects designed a new-build property at 112 Canongate, which again reverted back to incorporating some of the features seen in the Bakehouse Close area of Canongate, with timber cladding to jettied upper storeys.

Figure 181: *View of 112 Canongate, from north-west, 2013 (DP161410 ©Crown copyright HES)*

SUMMARY

This sector is dominated by the Canongate itself. As it has done for centuries, this road serves a crucial function as the spine of the burgh, but also as the major artery linking Edinburgh with Holyrood Palace, and now to the Scottish Parliament. Though it has retained much of its urban form, it has also seen a remarkable amount of improvement and redevelopment since the late 19th century, notably immediately after WWII when a traditionalist approach to conserving existing buildings and building new ones was implemented. At lower levels, the buildings on the main street are largely commercial, and in particular retail. At upper levels and off the main street, there is a substantial amount of residential property.
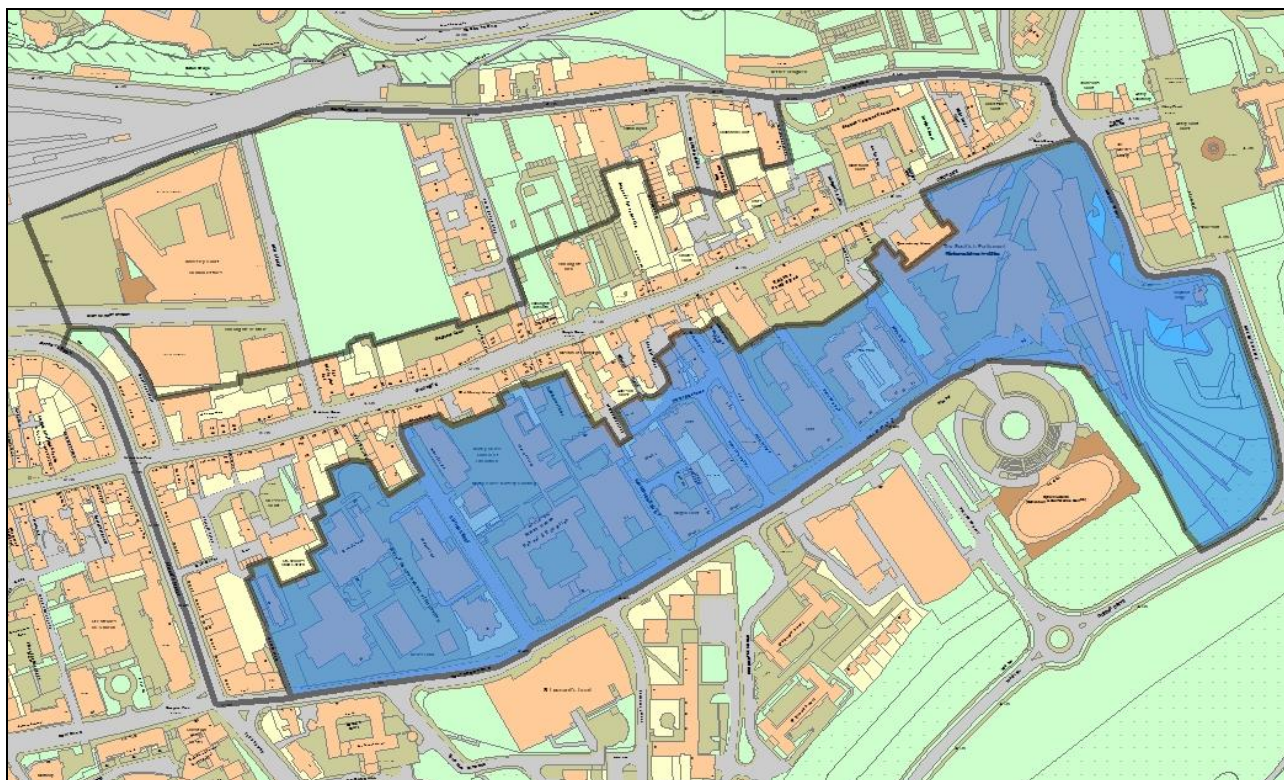
8.2 SOUTH CANONGATE AREA OF TOWNSCAPE CHARACTER

Figure 182: *Map showing boundary of South Canongate Area of Townscape Character*
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The South Canongate Area of Townscape Character lies to the south side of the Canongate and is bounded by Gullan's Close to the west and Holyrood Road to the south. Its eastern boundary runs along Horse Wynd in front of Holyrood Palace, and encompasses the civic space around the Scottish Parliament.

This area was originally occupied by the formal gardens for the townhouses on Canongate, taking advantage of the south-facing slopes overlooking Holyrood Park – King's Park or Queen's Park depending on the reigning monarch. The names of some of the surviving buildings, closes and wynds in the area between Canongate and Holyrood Road (formerly South Back of Canongate) reflect this historical connection: Queensberry House (Duke of Queensberry); Moray House College (Earl of Moray); Dalhousie Land (Earl of Dalhousie who lived at 4 St John Street); Charteris Land (Lady Betty Charteris who also lived on the west side of St John Street).[103]

Much of the historic nature of this area was lost with the 19th century industrialisation of the backlands on this side of Canongate. Map and documentary evidence illustrate the high class nature of the area's earlier history. Within the boundary of the site now occupied by the Scottish Parliament stood a small townhouse known as Lothian Hut, which was erected c.1750 by William Kerr, 3rd Marquis of Lothian (c.1690-1767). The Marquis died in the townhouse, and his son, William Henry Kerr, 4th Marquis of Lothian (1710-75), resided there with his wife Lady Caroline d'Arcy (d.1778).[104] Following her death, the townhouse was rented to Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), a renowned Scottish philosopher, who also taught economics at the University of Edinburgh to the likes of Sir Walter Scott and Henry Thomas Cockburn, until c.1802. A monument stands on Calton Hill to Stewart, who is buried in Canongate Kirkyard and the University's School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences is now based in the Dugald Stewart Building

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[103] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/estates/st-john-street [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[104] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marquess_of_Lothian [Accessed 01/02/2016]

(2008) on Charles Street. Lothian Hut was demolished in 1825 to make way for the beginnings of what became the Abbey Brewery in this area.[105]
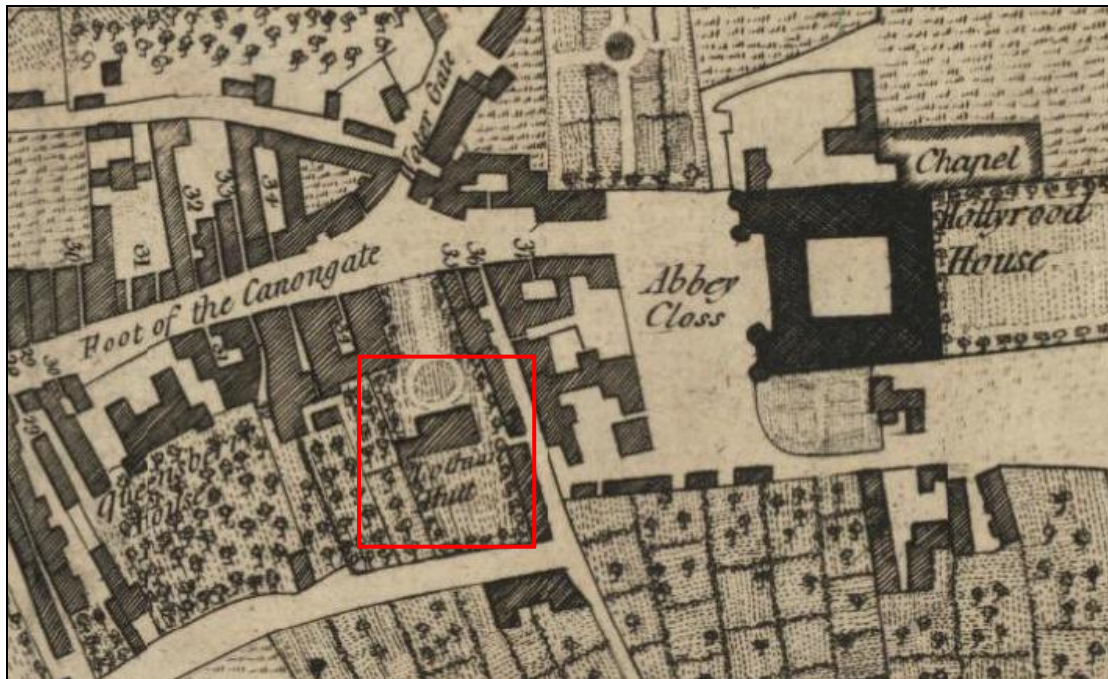
Figure 183: Extract from John Ainslie's 'City of Edinburgh' plan, 1780, showing Lothian Hut (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
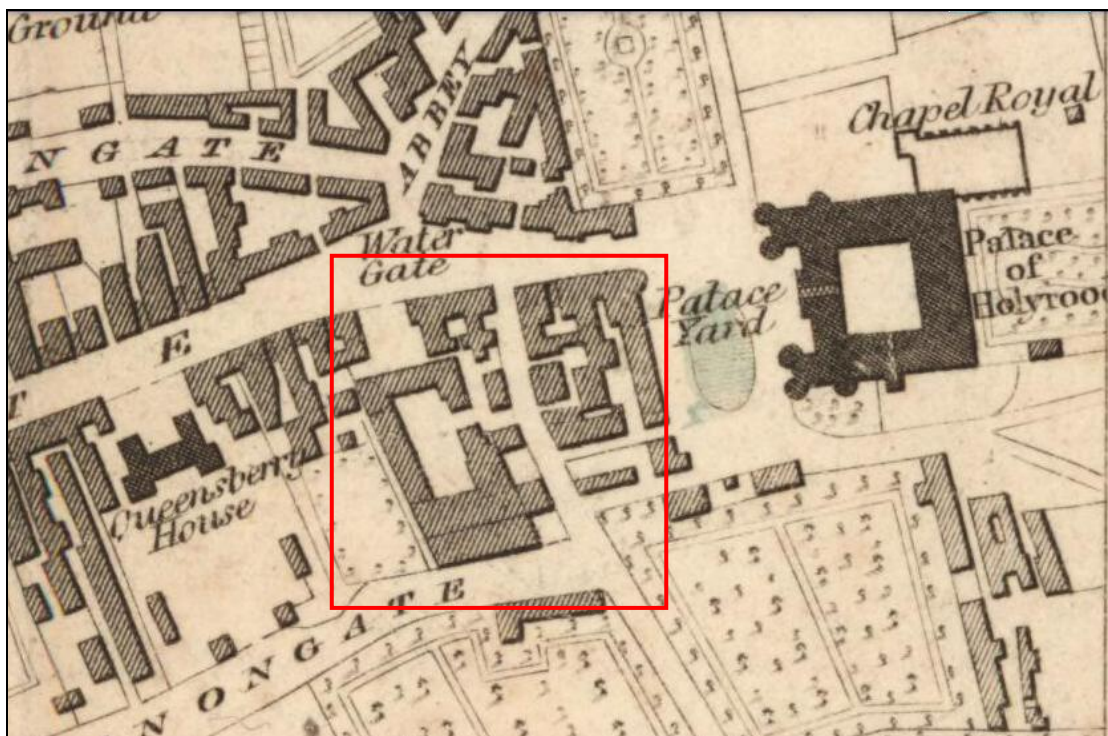
Figure 184: Extract from James Kay's 'Plan of Edinburgh', 1836, showing site of Lothian Hut, occupied by new buildings (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

As early as Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817, the south side of Canongate had begun to be occupied by small-scale industries (but large enough to warrant inclusion on the map), including a coach works

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[105] Grant, James, 1883, *Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, London, pp 38-9 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page51/spread [Accessed 01/02/2016]

(Crichton's Coach Works noted on William Edgar's map of 1765 has become Carfrae's Coach Works by the time of Kirkwood's map of 1817), three breweries and a tan works in Gullan's Close. These three breweries were all established around the turn of the 19th century. Robert Stein's Brewery, situated in Old Playhouse Close, was built in 1800.[106] The brewery was advertised for sale in *The Caledonian Mercury* newspaper on 24th September 1821.

Figure 185: Notice in 'The Caledonian Mercury', 24th September 1821, regarding sale of Robert Stein's Brewery (taken from
http://www.kennetpans.info/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=347&Itemid=528 [Accessed 01/02/2016])

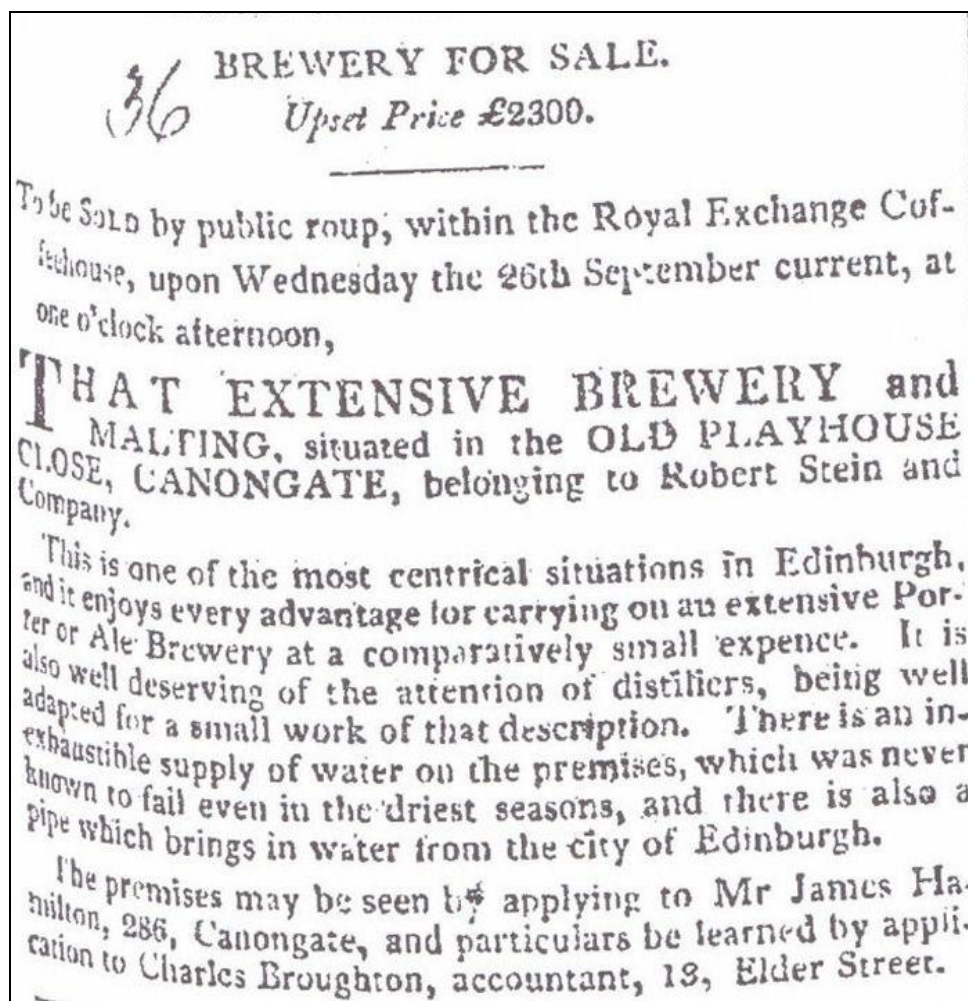The site was bought by Robert Disher, who set up the Edinburgh & Leith Brewing Company operating from here, listed at 200 Canongate in the Post Office Directory of 1824-5.[107] Disher was a pioneer of Edinburgh Pale Ale, and his approach to brewing this beer, which made good use of the hard water in the Canongate area, produced such a successful drink, that it was soon copied by other brewers in the vicinity. This brewery was taken over by John Aitchison & Co Ltd in 1828. Brewing ceased on the site in 1958. The following year, it was acquired by Hammonds United Breweries. This company merged with John Jeffrey & Co in 1960, being renamed Aitchison Jeffrey Ltd. The new company used the site for bottling for a further year before selling the site to Moray House College.[108] Their plans did not include the existing buildings: they were demolished to make way for Charteris Land which was opened in 1969.[109] [110]

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[106] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_Edinburgh_history [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[107] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1824-5*, Edinburgh, p 81
[108] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/ja.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[109] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/estates/charteris-land [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[110] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moray_House_School_of_Education [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Alexander Berwick, Brewer is first listed in Gentle's Close, Canongate, in the Post Office Directory of 1806-7.[111] Documentary evidence suggests that brewing had been operating on this site since the mid-18th century, though it is not noted on maps until 1817. Probably taking over the brewery of James Gentle (listed as a brewer in Gentle's Close in Williamson's Directory of 1774-5), Alexander Berwick & Co operated from a site at Gentle's Close and Wilson's Court until the brewery was sold in 1858. The purchaser was the large brewing firm of William Younger & Co, who subsequently expanded the brewery to create the beginnings of their Holyrood Brewery.[112] The company operated at the Holyrood Brewery and Abbey Brewery at the foot of Canongate under a variety of names, through mergers and takeovers, ultimately becoming part of Scottish & Newcastle Breweries. Abbey Brewery closed in 1956 and was remodelled as Scottish & Newcastle's headquarters, while Holyrood Brewery closed in 1986.[113]

Figures 186, 187 and 188: *First references to brewery under different ownership in Gentle's Close in Williamson's Directory 1774-5, p.37 (top); Post Office Directory 1806-7, p.18 (centre); and Post Office Directory 1865-6, p.209 (bottom) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland http://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/pageturner.cfm?id=83686240 [Accessed 01/02/2016])*

Richard Young's Brewery is the third brewery illustrated on Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817. It is shown on South Back of Canongate (now Holyrood Road), in the area between present-day Hammermen's Entry and Slater's Steps. 'Richard Young, brewer' is listed at East Campbell's Close, Cowgate from 1804 in various Directories, and is probably the same one later noted in the Post Office Directory of 1812-13 at 179 Canongate, 1 St John Street in the 1813-14 Directory and finally at South Back of Canongate in the 1817-18

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[111] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1806-7*, Edinburgh, p 18
[112] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/bk.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[113] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/wy.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Directory.[114] There is a reference in a Dean of Guild petition dated 20th February 1812, from Richard Young, Brewer to build a brewery and malting at Hammermen's Close, 146 Canongate,[115] which fits in with the listing in the 1812-13 Directory, and the brewery noted on Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817. Dean of Guild records available online also note petitions to 'extend a barn or granary' in 1817[116] and also to build two tenements on South Back of Canongate in 1823.[117]

Figure 189: Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs', 1817, showing breweries and coach works (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Other breweries which established themselves in this area include St Mary's Brewery and Commercial Brewery. St Mary's Brewery had its origins in 1864, after James Simson, who established the Abbey Brewery in Melrose in 1839, decided to open a new brewery here. Operating under the firm Simson & McPherson Ltd, the brewery was acquired by the much larger firm of Robert Deuchar Ltd in 1900. St Mary's Brewery closed in 1901, continuing as a maltings until 1967 when it was sold to Moray House College by the then owners, Scottish & Newcastle Breweries.[118] The College demolished the brewery buildings in 1967-8, and a new Science Department building, St Mary's Land, was opened in 1977, designed by Gordon & Dey.[119] The building occupied the site of the brewery until its demolition in 2013 as part of another phase of redevelopment for more student accommodation and teaching facilities.

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[114] *Denovan & Co's Edinburgh & Leith Directory 1804-5*, p 219; *The Post Office Annual Directory 1812-13*, Edinburgh, p 287; *Ibid*, *1813-14*, p 291; *Ibid*, *1817-18*, p 294
[115] https://canmore.org.uk/event/668548 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[116] https://sites.google.com/site/edinburghdeanofguild3/home/january-to-december-1817 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[117] https://sites.google.com/site/edinburghdeanofguild3/home/january-to-december-1823 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[118] Richmond, Lesley & Turton, Alison (eds), 1990, *The Brewing Industry: a guide to historical records*, Manchester, p 301
[119] https://canmore.org.uk/event/702805 [Accessed 01/02/2015]

Commercial Brewery was founded in 1868 on land between present-day Moray House Paterson's Land, and Holyrood Brewery. It was operated by Morison & Thomson until being acquired by J & J Morison in 1877. In 1960, it was taken over by Scottish Brewers Ltd and ceased to brew.[120] The westernmost building of the Commercial Brewery complex still remains, having been converted to student accommodation as part of the Sugarhouse Close development.

Figure 190: *View of Sugarhouse Close student accommodation, Holyrood Road, incorporating part of Commercial Brewery buildings (right), 2014 (DP188514 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Another industry which established itself in the south-western corner of the south Canongate was tanning. On the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852, there are two tanneries nestled in the backlands of St Mary's Wynd, and onto Gullan's Close. James Dempster, weaver, owned a tannery in Gullan's Close, which he sold to Robert Walker, also a tanner, in 1740. Walker subsequently sold the land to Archibald Chessel, who built Chessel's Court.[121] Various street directories have tanners listed at various dates within the vicinity: John Learmonth in St Mary's Wynd;[122] James Milne in Boyd's Close;[123] Alexander Sprott in South Back of Canongate;[124] and John Rutherford in Gillon's Close (previously Boyd's Close).[125] There continue to be tanners listed in the area into the latter half of the 19th century, and a tannery is shown in this location on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877, but is no longer there on the Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map of 1894. Traditional tanning was in decline throughout the country during the last quarter of the 19th century. For instance, in 1847, the Fraternity of Tanners in Linlithgow dissolved itself and the 1851 census for Linlithgow sees a decline in numbers and an ageing population in the trade.[126] Large-scale tanneries took over the trade elsewhere, particularly in Leith, and used the railways to ship goods.

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[120] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/jjm.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[121] Boog Watson, Charles B, 1923, *'Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh'*, The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol 12, p 111 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/bookofoldedinbur12olde [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[122] *Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs 1773-4*, Edinburgh, p 45

[123] *Ibid*, *1775-6*, p 66

[124] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1799-1800*, Edinburgh, p 240

[125] *Ibid*, *1824-5*, p 189

[126] Adamson, A, 2010, *Linlithgow 1851: a moment in time*, Createspace, p 76
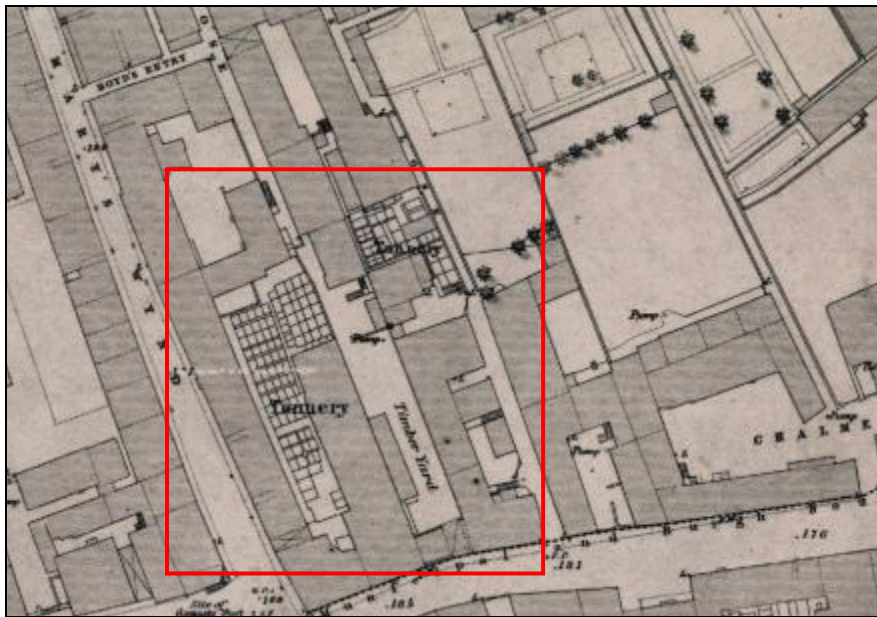
Figure 191: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1ˢᵗ Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing tanneries behind St Mary's Wynd/Gullan's Close (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Shortly after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, the Caledonian Glasshouse was established on North Back of Canongate, producing the distinctive drinking glasses later associated with Jacobites – distinctive due to particular emblems engraved on the bowl of the glass and having 'air-twisted' stems. In 1812, William Ford took over the Caledonian Glasshouse and operated it in North Back until moving his operations to Bull's Close, off South Back of Canongate in 1817, just before he died.[127] The first indication of the glassworks on the site is 'Mr Ford' noted on Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817, adjacent to Mr Carfrae's Coach Works, just west of Milton House.

Figure 192: *Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs', 1817, showing 'Mr Ford'(Holyrood Flint Glassworks) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[127] http://www.scotlandsglass.co.uk/cms/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=59&Itemid=56 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Glassmaking was a growing industry throughout the Lothians, and in 1824, William Bailey established the Midlothian Glassworks in Portobello,[128] a separate burgh established in 1833 and incorporated into Edinburgh in 1896.[129] John Ford, nephew of William Ford, appears to have been working for Bailey, as the Post Office Directories of 1824-5 through to 1827-8 show John Ford of Midlothian Glassworks, with a house at South Back of Canongate.[130] By the time of the 1828-9 Directory, Midlothian Glassworks have an address listed at Holyrood Street. Ford is subsequently listed alongside William Bailey & Co (1830-1), which is renamed Holyrood Flint Glassworks by the 1836-7 Directory.[131]

Figure 193: Detail of gas lamps on Princes Street, c.1890 (copied 1999) (SC466060 (cropped) ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 194: Detail of gas lamps on Princes Street, c.1890 (copied 2008) (SC1120430 (cropped) ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 195: Detail of gas lamps at General Register House, c.1940 (copied 2008) (B C Clayton Collection, SC1125079 (cropped) ©Crown copyright HES)

The Holyrood works became well known for producing fine quality engraved glassware. In 1839-40 they are listed as 'flint glass manufacturer to the Queen', having been granted the licence by Queen Victoria.[132] The glassworks produced a range of products, including the glass for the lanterns on top of the gas lamps which were erected across Edinburgh during the mid- to late 19th century.[133] The business briefly had a shop on North Bridge, and then later on Princes Street.[134] While the glassworks closed in 1904 and disappeared from the Post Office Directory in 1905-6, the shop continued to trade on Princes Street until 1926-7, then George Street until at least 1959-60.[135] The glassworks was demolished and a tenement built on the site in 1907 by James Bow Dunn (1861-1930), incorporating sculptured panels depicting glass-blowing and glass-

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128 http://www.scotlandsglass.co.uk/cms/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=59&Itemid=56 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

129 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portobello,_Edinburgh [Accessed 01/02/2016]

130 *The Post Office Annual Directory 1824-5*, Edinburgh, p 75; *Ibid, 1825-6*, p 62; *Ibid, 1826-7*, p 62; *Ibid, 1827-8*, p 63

131 *Ibid, 1828-9*, p 61; *Ibid, 1830-1*, p 64; *Ibid, 1836-7*, p 33

132 http://www.scotlandsglass.co.uk/cms/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=59&Itemid=56

133 Shakhmatova, Chuchra and Francey, K, K J and S, 2012, *A History of Street Lighting in the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site*, Edinburgh, pp 16-17 [Online] Available from: http://www.ewht.org.uk/uploads/downloads/Lighting%20project%20-%20publication%20ver%206%20Feb%202012.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

134 *Ibid, 1844-5*, p 45; *Ibid, 1845-6*, p 45; *Ibid, 1891-2*, p 97

135 *Ibid, 1926-7*, p 174; *Ibid, 1927-8*, p 177; *Ibid, 1959-60*, p 148

cutting which originally adorned the 1871 glassworks building.[136] This tenement in turn was demolished in the mid-1990s to make way for expansion of the Holyrood Brewery which was accessed through an arched entrance under the tenement.

Figures 196 and 197: *Detail of carved panels from Holyrood Flint Glassworks reused in tenement at 79-83 Holyrood Road (now demolished), showing glass-cutting (left) and glass-blowing (right), 1980 (copied 2008) (SC1107181 (left) and SC1107182 (right) ©Crown copyright HES)*

As well as attracting industries, the south side of Canongate also became a focus for education. With three of the Canongate area's seven schools located here in the mid-19th century (St Thomas's Episcopal School, Gibb's Close; Moray House Normal School, Free Church; and Holy Cross Roman Catholic School, Carfrae's/Gentle's Close), this area's prominence in education was strengthened during the mid- to late 19th century as the Moray House Normal School grew into a College of Education with the establishment of a Training Department in 1878-9 around St John Street.[137] The college expanded further on the former lands of the Earl of Moray in the early 20th century, when the Moray Free Church, built in 1862 to designs by Frederick Thomas Pilkington (1832-98),[138] along with other two-storeyed buildings, were demolished. Paterson's Land was built on the cleared site in 1911-13 to form the main training facility on one site. Designed by Alan Keith Robertson (1881-1925), this courtyard-plan, three-storeyed quadrangle was built in a Classical style and remains relatively unaltered externally.[139] [140]

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[136] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=300074 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[137] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/history/part-four [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[138] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=208418 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[139] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=218723 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[140] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB29090,paterson's%20land [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 198: View of buildings on corner of Holyrood Road/St John Street demolished for Paterson's Land, c.1920 (copied 2008) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1122187 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 199: View of Moray Free Church, Holyrood Road, c.1900 (copied 2008) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1122195 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 200: View of Paterson's Land, Holyrood Road, 1929-35 (copied 2008) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1098182 ©Crown copyright HES)

During the 20th century, Moray House continued to expand in this area. To the north of Paterson's Land, on the eastern boundary of the former Earl of Moray's estate, the Demonstration School was built 1929-30 to designs by Frank Wood (1900-89).[141] Earlier buildings associated with the Normal School of 1848 were demolished to make way for this building, which provided the space for student teachers to practice teaching in advance of going into schools. The building was renamed Thomson's Land in 1994/5 after Sir Godfrey Thomson (1881-1955), who was Principal of Moray House College 1925-51.[142]

At the same time, a small single-storeyed nursery school was erected at Moray House, purpose-built in 1929-32 to designs by Frank Wood.[143] The building has sliding multi-paned glazed panels and a verandah to its east, west and south elevations, to take full advantage of the light. Planned by Annie MacKenzie, the Infant Mistress at Moray House Demonstration School,[144] the design is based on principles set out by Italian-born Maria Montessori (1870-1952). Montessori's focus was on creating an educational environment which was suited to children's needs.[145] This included allowing children to learn at their own pace, and all furniture and fittings inside were designed specifically for children. Some of the original low-height coat peg numbers still exist inside. The nursery closed in 1988 and currently houses the Moray House reception centre and archive store. Prior to the nursery being built in 1929, a series of women's hostels stood on the site from the mid-19th century, in particular the House of Industry at 19 St John Street noted in several Post Office Directories from 1833-4 to 1862-3, St John Street Industrial School from 1863-4 to 1877-8.[146]

Figure 201: *View of former Montessori nursery building at Moray House, from south, 2013 (DP158617 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[141] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202931 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[142] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/estates/thomsons-land [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[143] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB29729 [Accessed 01/02/20106]

[144] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/estates/nursery-school [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[145] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria_Montessori [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[146] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1833-4*, Edinburgh, p 155; *Ibid, 1862-3*, p 363; *Ibid, 1863-4*, p 155; *Ibid, 1877-8*, p 373

During the 1960s through to the 1980s, new modern teaching blocks were erected around St John Street. Gordon & Dey were the architects for this work. Between 1960 and 1977 a number of older buildings were demolished and five new buildings were erected. The first of these was Dalhousie Land (1960-3),[147] which was named after George Ramsay, 8th Earl of Dalhousie (c.1730-87).[148] Ramsay lived in a house on the east side of St John Street (No 5) [149] and this was part of the terrace which was demolished to make way for the new building. An additional five-storeyed teaching block was also built on St John Street in 1967. Charteris Land, named after Lady Betty Charteris who also lived on the west side of St John Street,[150] was built in 1971 on land formerly occupied by Aitchison Brewery on the west side of St John Street. This building incorporates four sculptured panels cast in reinforced concrete on the front elevation, designed by David 'Dusty' Miller (1931-2001), a member of staff at Moray House, and each representing four concepts: The Maze; Growth and Development; Assimilation of Knowledge; and Community.[151] Further west towards Gullan's Close, Chessel's Land was built in 1974 just south of Chessel's Court, with St Mary's Land built in 1977 on land previously occupied by St Mary's Brewery, hence the name.[152] Both of these, along with Weir's Land, also built in the late 1970s, have been demolished during redevelopment works on this site (2015).

Figure 202: Detail of three of four sculptured stones at entrance to Charteris Land, St John Street, 2015 (DP205187 ©Crown copyright HES)

[147] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=408033 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[148] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Ramsay,_8th_Earl_of_Dalhousie [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[149] Mackenzie, Allan, 1888, *History of the Lodge Canongate Kilwinning No.2: compiled from the records 1677-1888*, Edinburgh, p 26 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/cu31924030291771 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[150] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/estates/st-john-street [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[151] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/estates/charteris-land [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[152] http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/about-us/maps-estates-history/history/part-six [Accessed 01/02/2016]

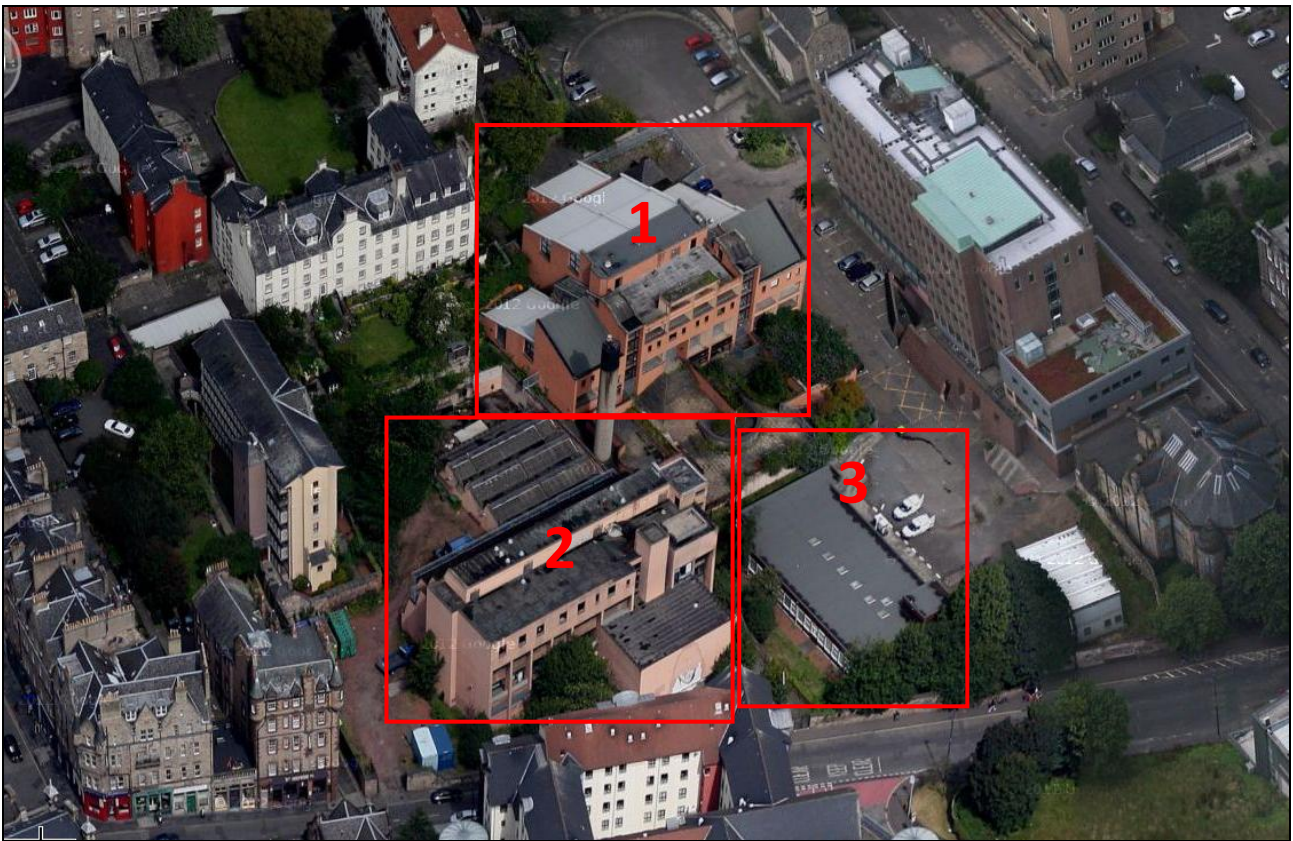***Figure 203:*** *Aerial view showing:* **1** *– Chessel's Land;* **2** *– St Mary's Land; and* **3** *– Weir's Land (© Google, c.2013)*

The 20th century saw large-scale redevelopment along the closes leading up from Holyrood Road on brewery lands in the southern half of Canongate. In particular, as discussed above, various buildings for Moray House were erected on St John Street and on the adjoining site to the west. This site has recently (2015) been redeveloped by University of Edinburgh to create student accommodation and other Faculty of Education buildings. The only remnant of the brewery site was the boundary wall along the north side of Holyrood Road. During the current work the south section of the wall was demolished, though the west wall still remains as evidence of the former use of the site.

Probably the most significant redevelopment in this sector to date was the construction of the new Scottish Parliament (1999-2004), with associated landscaping. Designed by Enric Miralles (1955-2000), the building was overseen by the architectural firms EMBT and RMJM.[153] As well as introducing an internationally important building to the area, this has changed the nature of activity within the burgh. The Parliament is a major focus for legislators, supporting services, the media, visiting officials and the general public. It has brought many new people and different industries to the burgh, and provided a counterweight to the more affluent west end. A large open civic space was created as part of the overall development of the area. This has been designed in such a way to link the space and the urban streetscape into the natural landscape of Holyrood Park, in accordance with Miralles' vision of the Parliament 'sitting in the land'.[154] Shallow ponds with polished concrete seating around them, geometric-shaped areas of grass and trees integrate with concrete bollards designed as security measures for the Parliament building, also creating a link to the wilder landscape of Holyrood Park nearby. This open space at the foot of the Canongate is a striking contrast to the heavily developed brewery site that once stood here.

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[153] http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/visitandlearn/16110.aspx [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[154] http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/visitandlearn/15914.aspx [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 204: Aerial view of Scottish Parliament, 2014 (DP193159 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 205: Aerial view showing civic space in front of entrance to Scottish Parliament, 2014 (DP193138 ©Crown copyright HES)

Further west along Holyrood Road, a number of developments have taken place in the Holyrood quarter, with five-, six- and seven-storeyed blocks of flats, offices and a hotel built in the former brewery lands between Paterson's Land and the Scottish Parliament. These have kept the cavernous enclosed nature of the thoroughfares linking Holyrood Road and Canongate, as well as following former burgage plots as closely as possible.

During the last sixteen years, the streetscape of Holyrood Road has altered dramatically. Almost no plot has remained untouched in the redevelopment works which have been ongoing since the late 1990s. With the closure of the breweries came the opportunity to revive an area which had been falling into decline and disrepair. The earliest buildings of this major redevelopment within the Canongate survey area on the north side of Holyrood Road all date from 1998: Morgan Court, 59-61 Holyrood Road (Ungless & Latimer Architects);[155] [156] Parkgate, 63-7 Holyrood Road; and MacDonald Holyrood Hotel, 81 Holyrood Road (Hendry & Legge Architects).[157] These all have similar design features including a mix of light coloured cast stone/Fyfestone at ground floors and sections of harling (mostly cream, but also blue and ochre at 59-61) at upper floors. Large areas of glazing have been incorporated, especially at attic floor level, steel railings enclose balconies/balconettes, and there is a range of flat, monopitch and pitched roofs giving interest to the roofline.

Figure 206: *View of Morgan Court, 59-61 Holyrood Road, from south-east, 2014 (DP188509 ©Crown copyright HES)*

[155] http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-522-679-C [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[156] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=416469 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[157] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=416797 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 207: *View of Parkgate, 63-7 Holyrood Road, from south-east, 2014 (DP188508 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 208: *View of MacDonald Holyrood Hotel, 81 Holyrood Road, from east, 2014 (DP188506 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Later developments in the area dating from the early 21st century also display similar materials and features in their designs. Completed c.2001, The Park, 85-91 Holyrood Road, to the east of MacDonald Holyrood Hotel, is a six- and seven-storeyed, U-shaped block of flats with a two-storeyed office in the central block to Holyrood Road. Designed by Campbell & Arnott Architects in association with Teague Homes,[158] it is also faced with light-coloured stone with cream harled sections to side elevations. Each block has monopitched roofs and large glazed areas at attic level with balconies enclosed by steel railings.

Figure 209: *View of The Park, 85-91 Holyrood Road, from east, 2014 (DP188502 ©Crown copyright HES)*

To the west of MacDonald Holyrood Hotel is the large glazed angled block of The Tun. Completed in 2002 and designed by Allan Murray Architects,[159] this office block sits on the plot occupied until 1995 by Scottish & Newcastle's Holyrood Brewery, which closed in the late 1980s. The front portion is composed of angled concrete columns clad in pre-patinated copper, weathered zinc and glass, and it leans out over the pavement on Holyrood Road. The rear of the building incorporates part of the former brewery and retains the brick façade and window openings of the 19th century structure. The oversized lanterns in the roof mimic the louvred ventilated shafts of the former maltings.

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[158] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=416798 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[159] http://www.ama-ltd.co.uk/tun.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 210: *View of [The Tun, Holyrood Road](#), from south-west, 2014 (DP188631 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The most recent buildings on Holyrood Road have been built by the University of Edinburgh, mostly providing student accommodation. The Sugarhouse Close development incorporates former brewery buildings with the two blocks on either side of the close itself connected via a glazed corridor running across the close. Designed by Oberlanders Architects, the development was completed in 2012,[160] and re-uses some stone buildings from the brewery in the rear section. The front section onto Holyrood Road comprises a cast stone ground floor and metal-clad upper levels.

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[160] http://www.oberlanders.co.uk/projects/student-residencies/sugarhouse-close-edinburgh [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 211: View of Sugarhouse Close, Holyrood Road elevation, from south-east, 2014 (DP188512 ©Crown copyright HES)

Figure 212: View of Sugarhouse Close development, from north, 2015 (DP205181 ©Crown copyright HES)

At the time of compiling this report (2015) redevelopment to the far west of the north side of Holyrood Road is also being carried out by Oberlanders Architects and Balfour Beatty for the University of Edinburgh to provide student accommodation on the site of former Faculty of Education buildings dating from the 1970s and 1980s, which themselves were built on the site of breweries.[161]

Figure 213: *View of University of Edinburgh student accommodation under construction at Holyrood Road, from east, 2015 (DP205189 ©Crown copyright HES)*

SUMMARY

Although originally a base for townhouses and associated formal gardens of the landed gentry, the south side of the Canongate became a major focus for industry during the 19th century and remained so until closures in the late 20th century. Although all of the industry has now gone from the area, there are still remnants with some parts of buildings being adapted and reused, or the footprint of their sites being infilled, retaining original routeways through the burgage plots.

The area has been substantially changed during the late 20th/early 21st century period, particularly with the redevelopment of the brewery lands to create the Scottish Parliament. The majority of the plots along Holyrood Road have been regenerated with a range of multi-storeyed, large-scale modern residential, retail and educational developments, replacing the 19th century industrial landscape with a late 20th/early 21st century townscape.

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[161] http://www.oberlanders.co.uk/projects/student-residencies/holyrood-north-post-graduate-urban-village [Accessed 01/02/2016]
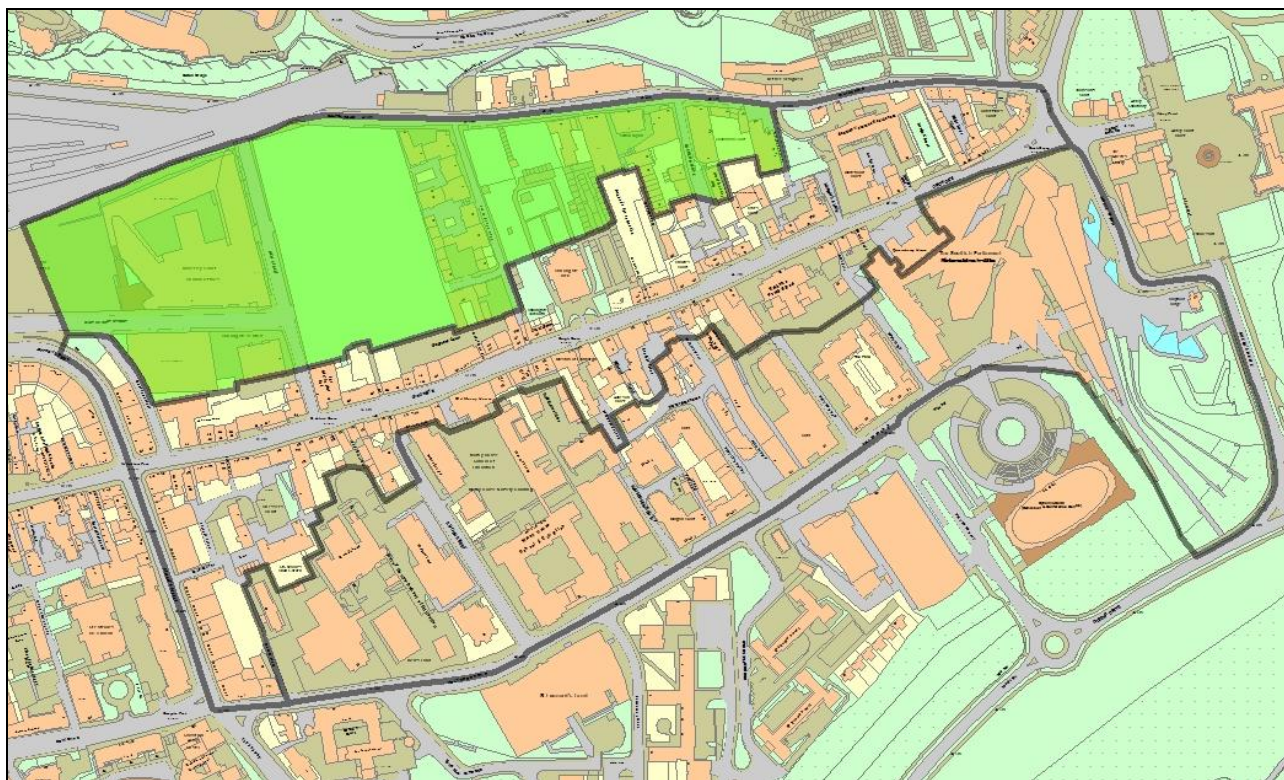
8.3 NORTH CANONGATE AREA OF TOWNSCAPE CHARACTER

Figure 214: *Map showing boundary of North Canongate Area of Townscape Character*
© Copyright and database right 2016 Ordnance Survey licence number 100057073

For the purposes of this survey the North Canongate Area of Townscape Character lies to the north side of the Canongate backlands and is bounded by Cranston Street to the west, Calton Road and part of the railway track to the north and Campbell's Close to the east.

8.3.1 Lost Sites on the Boundary with North Canongate Area

The north side of Canongate was historically a focus for institutions to support its poorer and less fortunate residents. A number of charitable hospitals, poorhouses and correctional institutions were located in, or adjacent to, this part of Canongate burgh. Just outwith the north-western corner of this sector, where the railway line now marks the boundary of the survey area, were the earliest of these charitable institutions: Trinity Kirk and Hospital; and St Paul's Work (shortened over time to Paul's Work). These institutions stood on either side of Leith Wynd, a customs port on the edge of Edinburgh town, though not leading directly into the town itself.

Trinity Kirk, latterly known as Trinity College Church, was established by Mary of Guelders (1434-63) in 1460 in memory of her husband King James II (1430-60).[162] The Kirk had an associated hospital which was available for the poorer residents in the area. It continued to be run as a religious hospital and almshouse until the 1530s, and in 1560 it became property of the Town Council. The buildings which made up the Trinity site were demolished in 1848 to make way for the construction of Waverley Station. The Kirk itself was carefully dismantled, with the stones being numbered for rebuilding on another site. The Town Council received £16,000 from the North British Railway Company to carry out this reconstruction work, but the money was never used for the purposes it was meant for. Eventually, one transept and the choir of the Kirk were rebuilt in 1872 on Jeffrey Street, though the majority of these remains were subsequently demolished in 1964. Only a small portion of the original fabric survives on Chalmers Close, where it served as the Brass

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[162] RCAHMS, 1951, *The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland. An inventory of the ancient and historical monuments of the city of Edinburgh with the thirteenth report of the Commission*, Edinburgh, p 36

Rubbing Centre until 2010.[163] Owned by City of Edinburgh Council's Museums & Galleries, it is now a small multi-purpose venue for events and activities.[164]

Figure 215: Engraving showing Trinity College Church and Paul's Work (right), drawn by R W Billings and engraved by J H Le Keux, published by William Blackwood & Sons, 1847 (copied 2004) (SC932484 ©Crown copyright HES)

*Figure 216: Extract from James Gordon of Rothiemay's 'Bird's Eye View of Edinburgh', 1647. Places labelled are given in the legend as: **p** – The College Kirk; **t** – Trinity Hospital; **i** – Leith Wynd Port; **u** – S. Paul's Work; **24** – The Correction House; **58** – Leith Wynd (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[163] http://www.scotsman.com/heritage/people-places/lost-edinburgh-trinity-college-church-1-3052395 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[164] http://www.edinburghmuseums.org.uk/Venues/Brass-Rubbings-Centre-(1)/About [Accessed 01/02/2016]

St Paul's Work (or simply Paul's Work) is widely believed to have been founded in 1479 by Thomas Spens, Bishop of Aberdeen, (c.1415-80; Bishop 1457-80) to provide refuge for twelve poor men. The building consisted of a small chapel and a hospital facility. The magistrates of the Town Council acquired the buildings in 1560 and converted them into a workhouse. In 1619-20, it seems to have been in use by a Dutch firm of cloth manufacturers and weavers from Delft. Shortly after this, it was rebuilt and put to use as a 'house of correction'. Continuing in this use until c.1750,[165] part of the grounds and some buildings were bought by a Canongate merchant, James MacDowall, who subsequently developed MacDowall Street as a road of dwelling houses.[166] In 1805, the remaining buildings of St Paul's Work were occupied by James Ballantyne (1772-1833) who established his Edinburgh printing press here.[167] Ballantyne was a great friend of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), and many of the novelist's works were printed from here. After his death in 1833, Ballantyne's firm continued to be listed under 'Paul's Work in Post Office Directories until 1871-2, when 'Ballantyne & Co, printers' are listed under 'Paul's Work, Newington'.[168]

St Paul's Work ceased to operate as a house of correction when the Edinburgh Bridewell was erected on Calton Hill in 1791. Designed in a semi-circular plan by Robert Adam (1728-92),[169] this five-storeyed building hosted both male and female inmates convicted of petty crimes, including the homeless, vagrants and prostitutes, who were expected to work for their board. Adjacent to this was the Felons' Jail (to the west) and the Debtors' Jail (to the east), both 1815-17 by Archibald Elliot (1760-1823). The Bridewell was demolished c.1884 when a new jail layout was built. This later building subsequently began to be demolished in 1930 to make way for St Andrew's House, completed to designs by Thomas Smith Tait (1882-1954) in 1939.[170]

Figure 217: Engraving showing Bridewell and Jail Governor's House, drawn by Thomas H Shepherd, 1829 (copied 2011) (DP094899 ©Crown copyright HES)

[165] Coghill, H, 2012, *Lost Edinburgh, Edinburgh*, pp 42-3
[166] Mackay, John, 1900, *History of the Burgh of Canongate (2nd ed)*, Edinburgh, pp 157-9 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/historyburghcan00mackgoog [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[167] http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/biography/ballant.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[168] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1871-2*, Edinburgh, p 12
[169] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=420732 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[170] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Calton_Hill [Accessed 01/02/2016]

8.3.2 Charitable Institutions within North Canongate Area

The concentration of charitable institutions for the poorer, and subsequently less healthy, sections of society in this part of Canongate may perhaps be a result of locational advantage. Being close to the burying grounds of both Calton Hill and Canongate made it easier for often diseased bodies to be disposed of and interred relatively quickly.

Canongate Kirk (1688-90), in the Historic Core area of Canongate, was built as the parish church for residents of Canongate burgh because King James VII of Scotland and II of England had established the original parish church attached to the Palace of Holyroodhouse as the Chapel for the Order of the Thistle.[171] The associated Kirkyard stretches from the rear of the Kirk down to Calton Road. The first burials took place in this location in 1672,[172] with a designated burying ground laid out when the Kirk was built. In 1761, a poorhouse was established to the west of the Kirkyard, onto Old Tolbooth Wynd.[173] This can be seen on William Edgar's map of 1765 just west of the Kirkyard (see Figure 218 below).
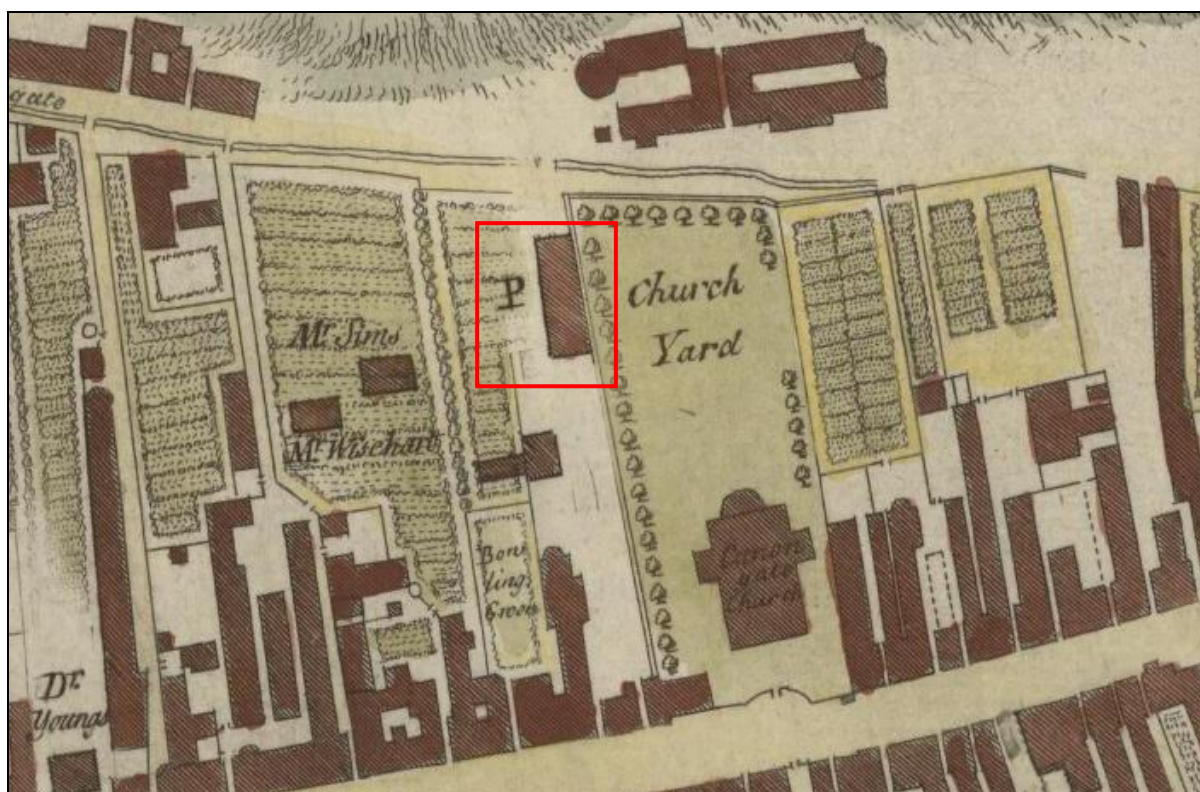
Figure 218: Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, showing 'Canongate Church', 'Churchyard' and 'Canongate Charity Work House' (P) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

The poorhouse was funded by door collections from the church, along with voluntary donations, and was managed by an annual selection of members from public bodies such as the Trades Incorporations in the Canongate area. The poorhouse was renamed 'Canongate Charity Workhouse' in 1773, still offering assistance to those most in need until being put to use as an epidemic hospital in 1871.[174] Following the implementation of the Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1867, the Royal Infirmary was refusing to accept

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[171] http://www.canongatekirk.org.uk/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[172] McKee, Kirsten, 2011, *Edinburgh Graveyards Project: Documentary Survey for Canongate Churchyard*, World Monuments Fund in Britain, p 4 [Online] Available from: http://www.ewht.org.uk/uploads/graveyards/Greyfriars%20documentary%20survey.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[173] http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Edinburgh/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[174] http://www.lhsa.lib.ed.ac.uk/exhibits/hosp_hist/city.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]

cases of infectious diseases such as smallpox and cholera, so the local authority was required by law to provide suitable accommodation for such patients.[175]

Figure 219: *Extract from Alfred Lancefield's 'Johnston's plan of Edinburgh & Leith', 1851, showing Canongate Charity Workhouse (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*
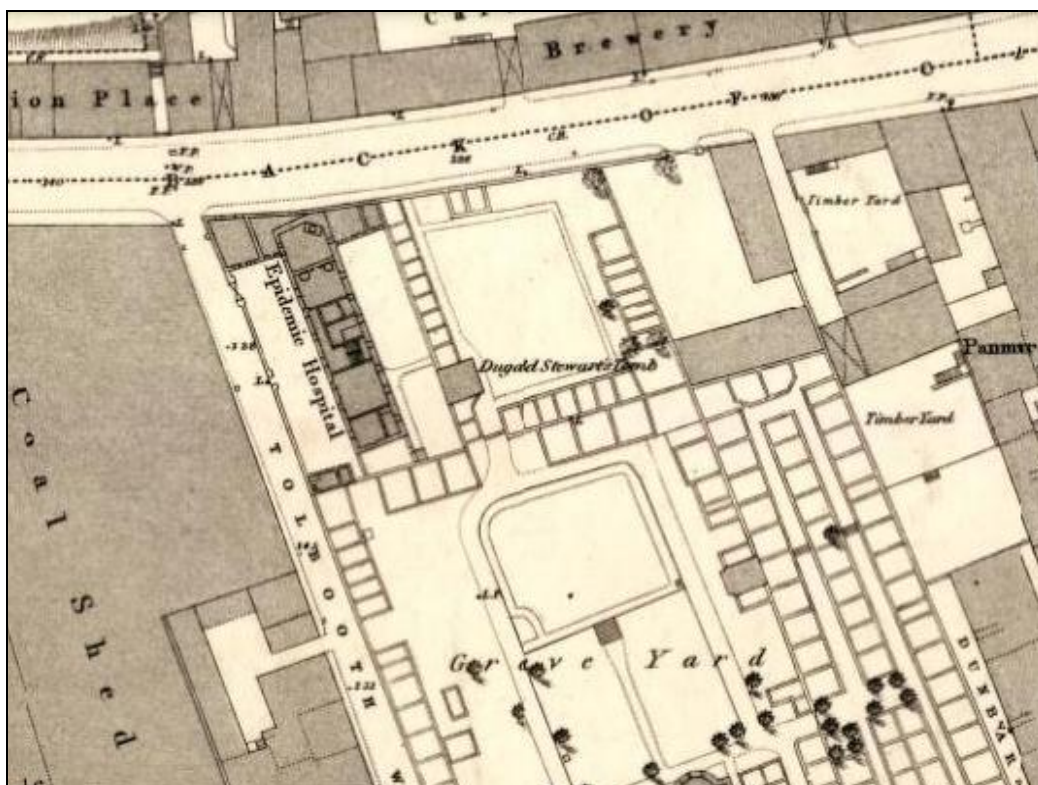
Figure 220: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing 'Epidemic Hospital' at north-west of Kirkyard (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

The Canongate Charity Workhouse was one of several buildings across Edinburgh which were converted to this purpose. The building continued to operate as an epidemic or fever hospital until the Royal Infirmary in High School Yards off Infirmary Street became the City Fever Hospital in the 1880s.[176]

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[175] http://www.lhsa.lib.ed.ac.uk/collections/LHB23/lhb23_tlfa.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[176] http://www.lhsa.lib.ed.ac.uk/exhibits/hosp_hist/city.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]
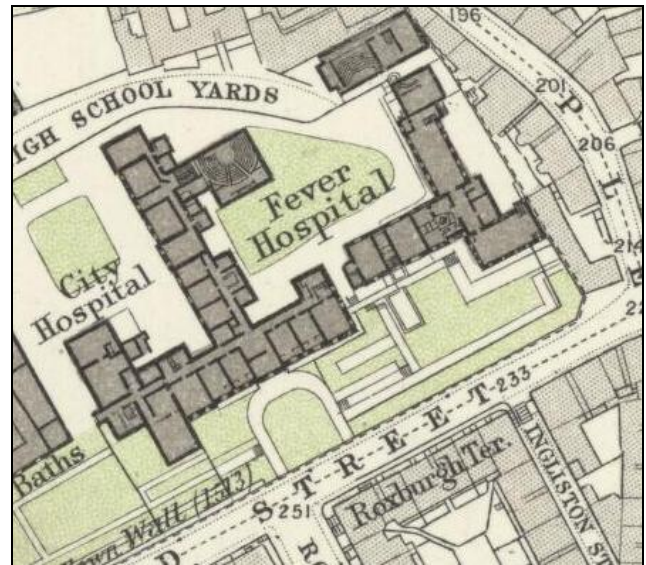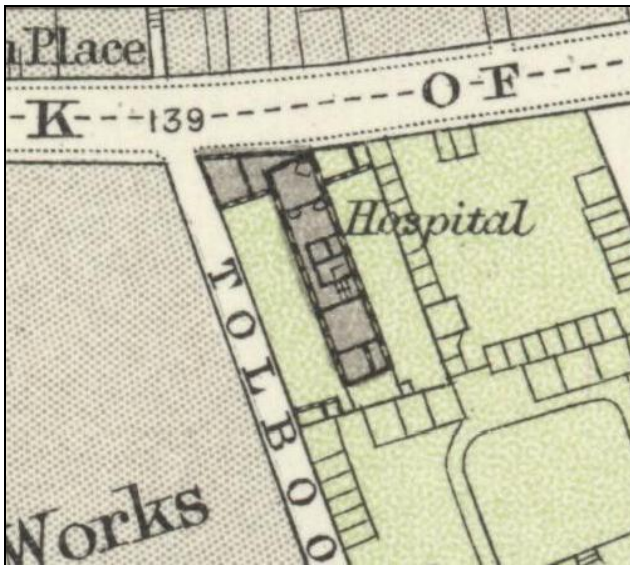
Figures 221 and 222: *Extracts from John Bartholomew's 'Plan of Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs', 1891-2, showing former workhouse as 'Hospital' and 'Fever Hospital' in High School Yards, next to the 'City Hospital' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

In the early 20th century, the former poorhouse was taken over by the 'Distress Committee'. At this time, there was a great deal of concern over the welfare of unemployed men, which led to the passing of the Unemployed Workmen Act 1905. The Act resulted in the establishment of a number of so-called 'Distress Committees' in larger towns and cities. These committees had responsibility for giving single grants to businesses or local authorities to help them employ more workers.[177] During the period 1907-16, the Edinburgh Distress Committee ran the 'Help Factory' in the former poorhouse in Old Tolbooth Wynd.[178]

Figure 223: *View of former workhouse and hospital operating as 'The HELP Factory', c.1906 (copied 2014), with the roofline of part of Calton Hill Brewery in the foreground and the gasworks in background (Scottish Gas Collection, SC1432909 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[177] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unemployed_Workmen_Act_1905 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[178] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1907-8*, Edinburgh, p 168; *Ibid*, *1915-16*, p 99

Based on map evidence, the building was partly demolished and rebuilt between 1931 and 1948. In its new form it became a garage, operating as such until it too was demolished in 2008 as part of a major residential development spanning the north and south sides of Calton Road, taking in this site and the site of the former Calton Hill Brewery opposite.

Figure 224: *Aerial view showing garage on site of Canongate Poorhouse at Calton Road/Old Tolbooth Wynd, 2007 (DP037718 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 225: *Aerial view showing site at Calton Road/Old Tolbooth Wynd under redevelopment, 2014 (DP193141 ©Crown copyright HES)*

In 1797, a Magdelene Asylum was proposed for the Canongate area, and in 1805-7, the asylum (built to designs by architect John Paterson (d.1832))[179] opened in North Canongate as a halfway house for women coming out of prison. Named after Mary Magdalene, often characterised as a reformed prostitute, these were institutions which sought to provide refuge for women wanting to leave prostitution. The women were employed in sewing, spinning and washing, which helped support the upkeep of the institution. In 1840, Dr William Tait (n.d.) took over the asylum, and eventually moved the institution to new premises at Springwell House in the then rural location of Dalry where it existed until its closure in 1950.[180] The original building in Canongate was incorporated into the ever-expanding gasworks.

Figure 226: Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs', 1817, showing first representation of Magdalene Asylum (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 227: Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing footprint of former Magdalene Asylum as part of Edinburgh Gasworks (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

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[179] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202022 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[180] http://www.scot-pep.org.uk/sites/default/files/issuu/sex_work_in_society_history_edinburgh_0.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

As mentioned previously, there was a range of educational establishments throughout the Canongate area. The origins of education provision in the burgh lie within North Canongate itself, when a High School was erected in 1704 near Coull's Close.[181] This school can be seen in Figure 228 in an extract from William Edgar's map of 1765, adjacent to the former fleshmarket for the burgh.
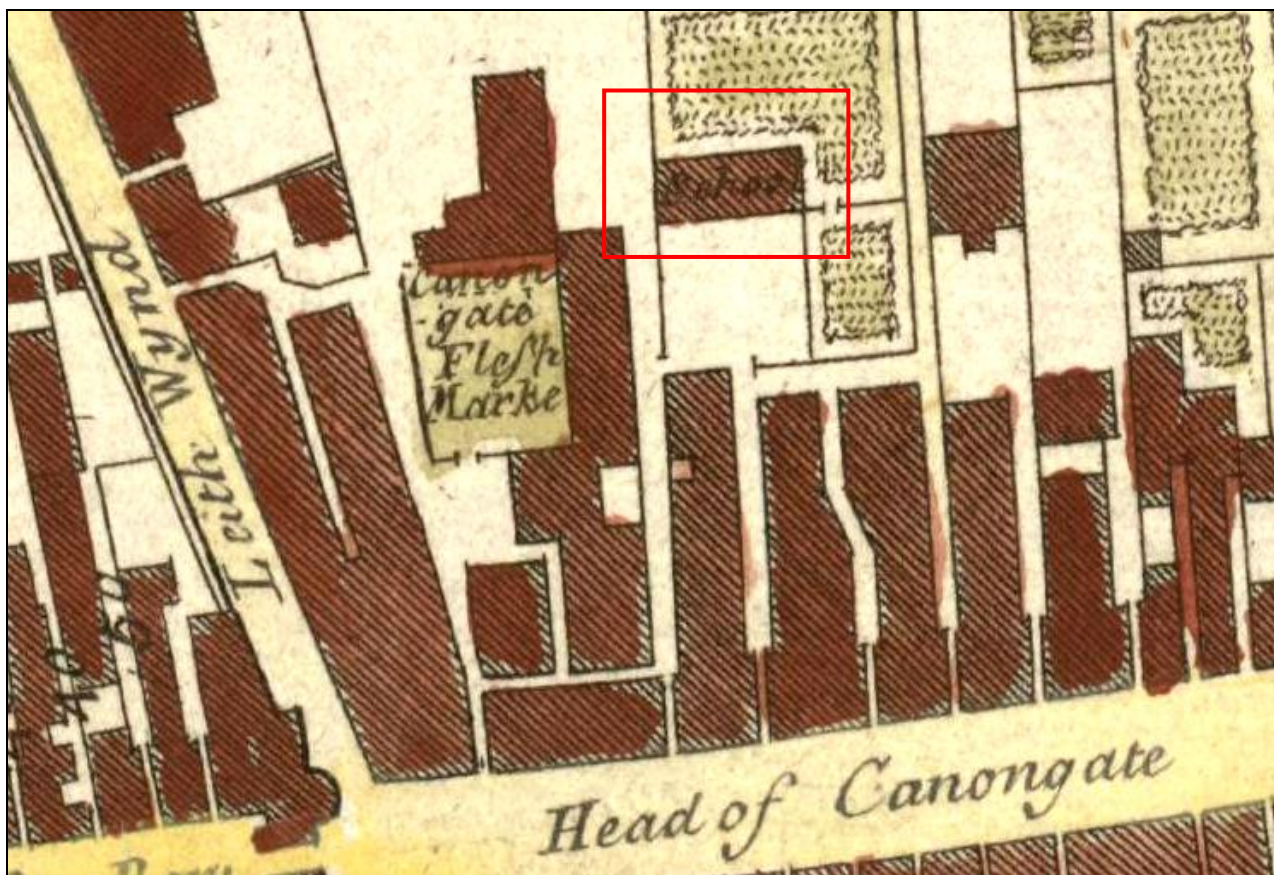
Figure 228: Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, showing Canongate High School (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Prior to this, a Charter by James V in 1529 noted a 'Grammar School of Canongate', which was run by the monks of Holyrood.[182] Later schools established in the North Canongate area included a Highland Society School at the eastern end between Lochend and Little Lochend Closes. The Highland Society of Edinburgh was established in 1784 to promote improvements in the Highlands of Scotland, later extending its remit to cover all agricultural districts in Scotland. The Society held its first agricultural show in the grounds of Queensberry House in 1822. In 1948 it became known as the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, which runs the annual Highland Show at Ingliston Showground on the western outskirts of Edinburgh.[183]

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[181] Grant, James, 1883, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, chapter 3, p 17 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page29.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[182] Grant, James, 1881, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, Vol IV*, chapter 35, p 287 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume4/page107/single [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[183] http://royalhighlandshow.org/history [Accessed 01/02/2016]
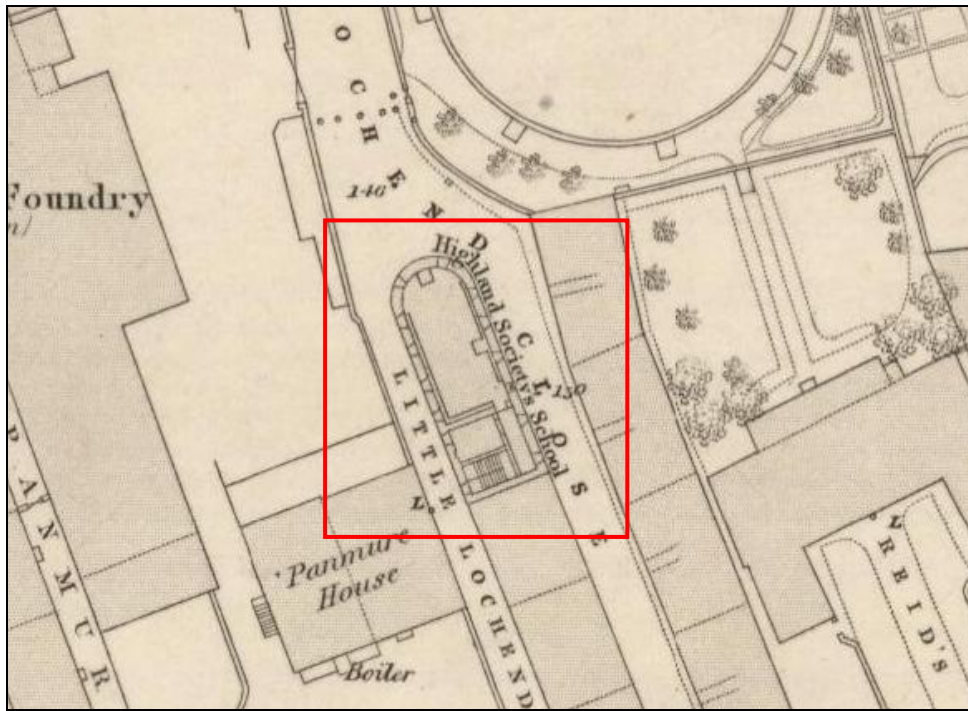
Figure 229: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing Highland Society School on Lochend/Little Lochend Closes (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

The area between Leith Wynd (Jeffrey Street/Cranston Street) and New Street, was where the original High School stood until being replaced by a new Board School in the 1870s. A variety of schools were operating in the vicinity during the late 19th century as the maps from 1852 onwards show. In the 1850s the site of the former High School was occupied by a United Presbyterian School, with Canongate Sessional School fronting onto Canongate (within the Historic Core area).

Figure 230: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing United Presbyterian School (left) and Canongate Sessional School (right) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

By 1876 the chapel on New Street had become a school for boys and girls and this had expanded by John George Bartholomew's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh, Leith and Suburbs' of 1893 to become a Board School

133

with two buildings between New Street and Cranston Street. Architect to the Edinburgh School Board, Robert Wilson (1834-1901) designed the original school at New Street which opened in 1879. With his assistant John Alexander Carfrae (1868-1947), he carried out the expansion to create the infant school in 1900-1.[184] This two-storeyed red sandstone building was built in the same style as many of Wilson's other Board Schools throughout Edinburgh, including the Milton House Public School further east along Canongate. Large multi-paned sash and case windows allow plenty of light into the classrooms. It has shaped gables to the outer bays on the East Market Street elevation, decorative carved scrolls above the entrance doorway on New Street, and carved angels in the central bay of the East Market Street elevation.

Figure 231: View of North Canongate School and Infant School, from west, c.1900 (copied 2014) (Scottish Gas Collection, SC1432917 ©Crown Copyright HES)

Figure 232: View of former North Canongate School on New Street/East Market Street, from north-east, 2008 (DP050335 ©Crown Copyright HES)

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[184] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=201441 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
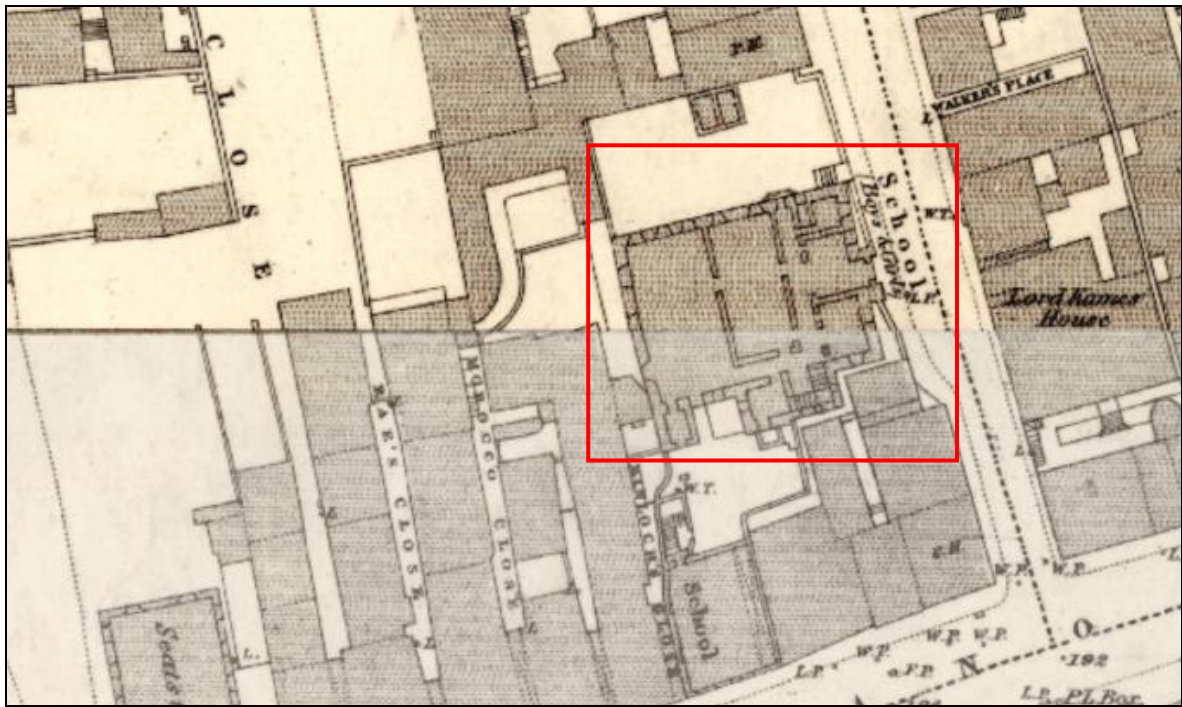
Figure 233: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 2ⁿᵈ Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing school on New Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Figure 234: *Extract from John Bartholomew's 'Plan of Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs', 1891-2, showing Canongate Board School, and annexe on New Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

In the 1930s, the western building of the Board School was demolished and replaced by a large depot, while the New Street premises became a school of building in 1943, later becoming offices in 1968. In 1981, this building was renamed 'Canongate Venture', offering space for small businesses and workshops until it closed in 2006.[185] The depot to the west was demolished in 2014 as part of the early stages of the Caltongate/New Waverley development around New Street.

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[185] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB29393 [Accessed 01/02/2016]
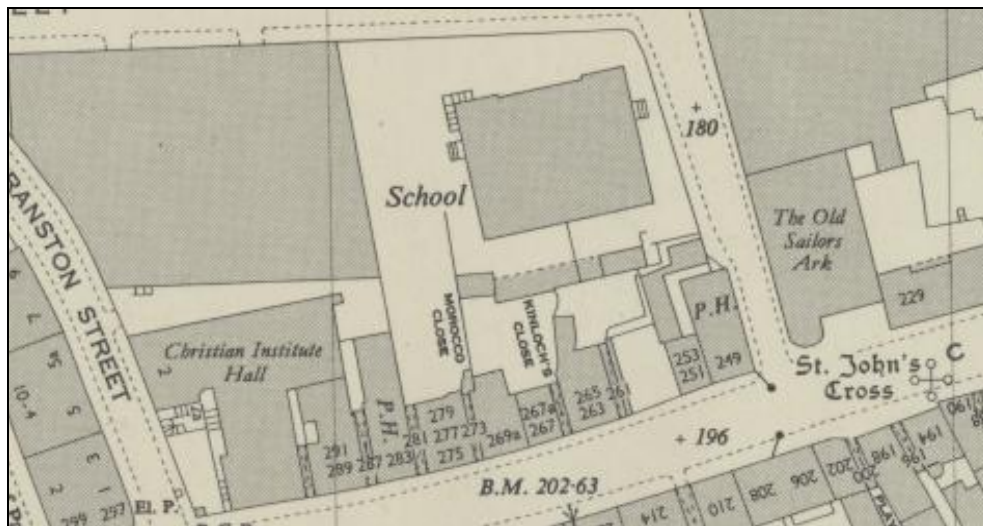
Figure 235: Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:1250 map, 1946, showing Canongate School, with a depot on the site of the former Board School to the west (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

8.3.3 Developments in North Canongate

Figures 236 and 237: Extracts from James Gordon of Rothiemay's 'Bird's Eye View of Edinburgh, 1647 (top) and William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765 (bottom), both showing the nature of the backlands to the north of Canongate (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

The character and nature of development in this section is very different from the southern section, dating back to its origins, when it developed as a more densely-packed range of tenemented properties with agricultural land in their backlands, as opposed to the larger townhouses and formal gardens on the south

side of the street. Despite this, there is still some evidence of notable residents in the area, but most of the names associated with the area are merchants, burgesses and baillies of the Canongate burgh.

Despite its proximity to the charitable institutions for the poorer sections of Canongate's society outlined above, the western portion of North Canongate began to develop into a desirable residential area in the late 18th century. A local merchant, James MacDowall, bought land and associated buildings from St Paul's Work and developed a new residential street, eponymously named MacDowall Street.[186] The street first appears (though unnamed) on John Ainslie's map of 1804. By the time of Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817, MacDowal[l] Street was intersected by Gilmour/Gilmore Street (spellings change across maps).
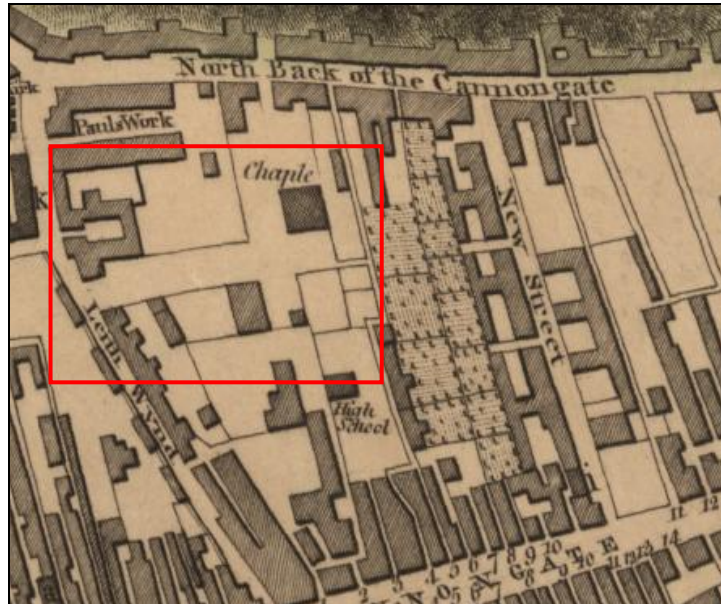
Figure 238: *Extract from John Ainslie's 'Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith' map, 1804, showing unnamed MacDowall Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*
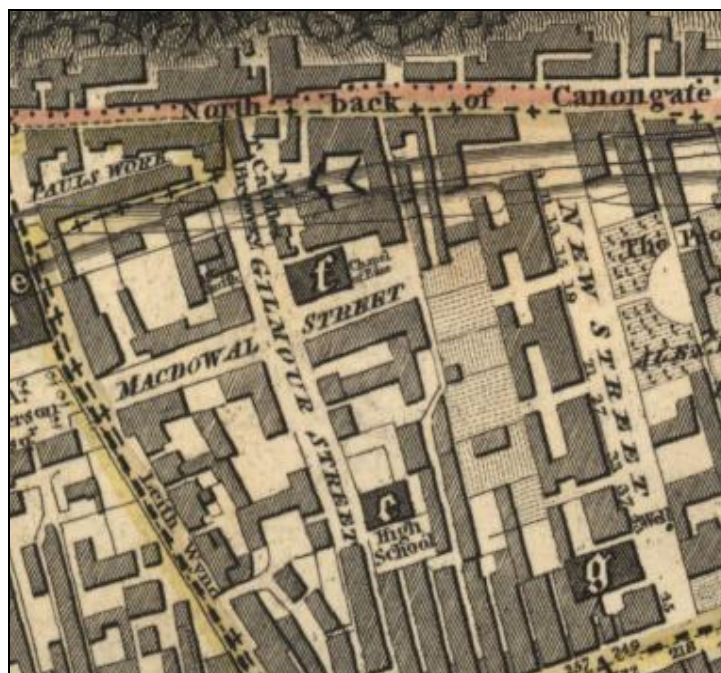
Figure 239: *Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs', 1817, showing MacDowal[l] and Gilmour Streets (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[186] Ballantyne & Company, 1909, *The Ballantyne Press and Its Founders 1796-1908*, Edinburgh, p 20 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/ballantynepressi00balluoft [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Both streets survived until the arrival of the railway in 1848, when the northern side of MacDowall Street was given over to the railway line as well as associated timber yards, and goods sheds. By the time of the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877, a fishmarket had been established on the north-eastern corner of Gilmore Street and MacDowall Street, taking advantage of the neighbouring railway for transportation of fresh fish into the area, possibly from Leith. These streets were swept away as the railway goods yards expanded at the turn of the 20th century, and East Market Street was created leading from Cranston Street to New Street.
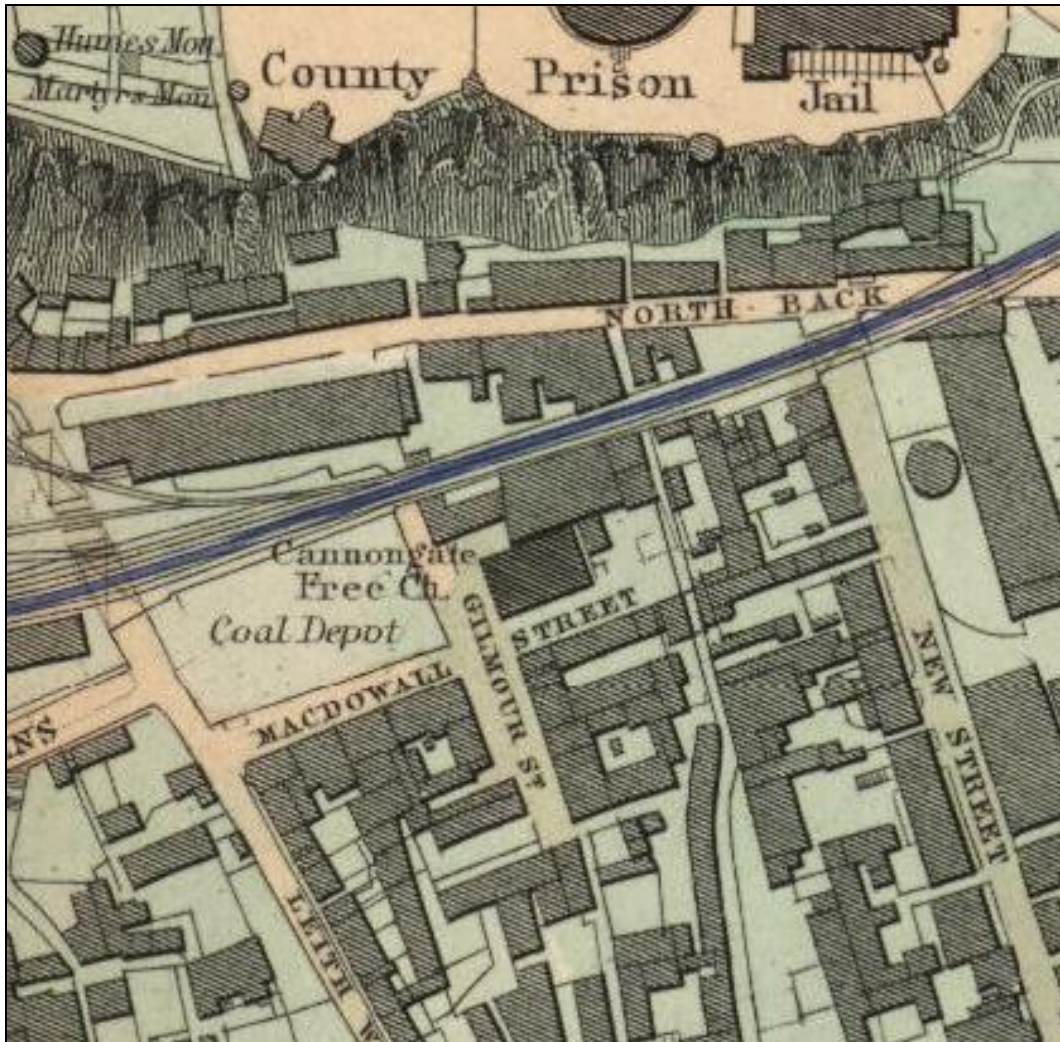
Figure 240: *Extract from Alfred Lancefield's 'Johnston's Plan of Edinburgh and Leith', 1851, showing railway to north of MacDowall Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*
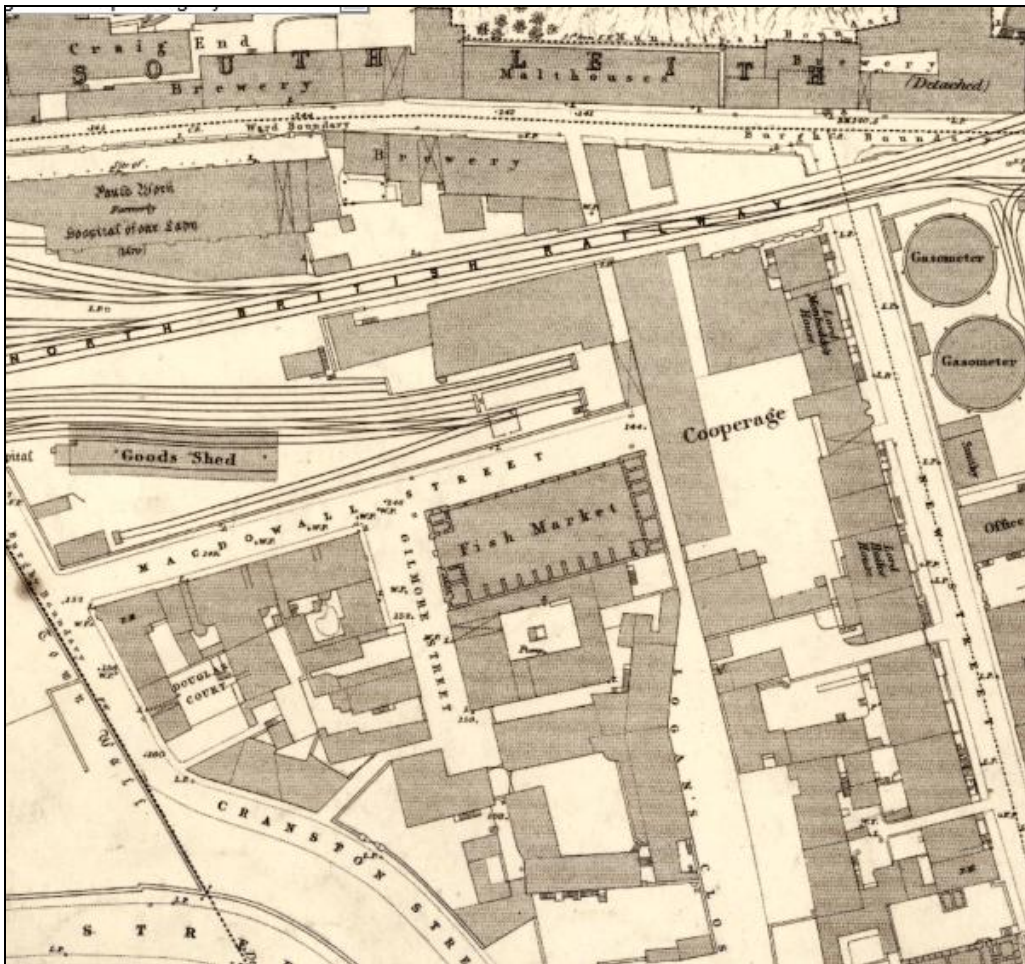
Figure 241: Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing Goods Shed and Fishmarket on MacDowall Street and Gilmore Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 242: Extract from Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map, 1894, showing Fishmarket and extended railway sidings at MacDowall Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
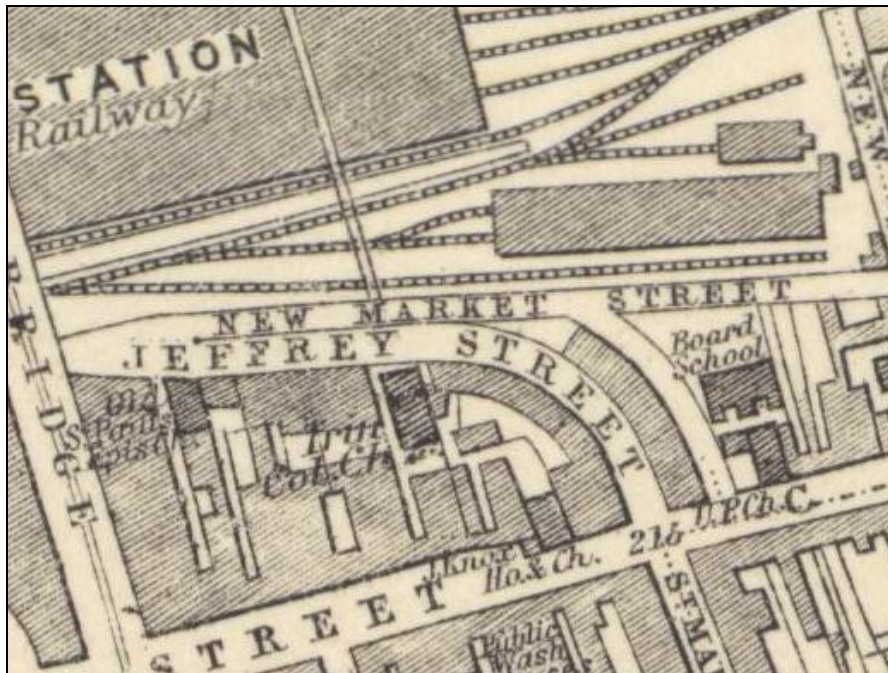
Figure 243: Extract from John George Bartholomew's 'Plan of Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs', 1901-2, showing New Market Street and extended Waverley Station replacing MacDowall and Gilmore Streets (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Around 1760, the main thoroughfare from Canongate down to North Back of Canongate, New Street, was built. Originally, and briefly, it was known as Young Street,[187] probably after Dr Thomas Young (1725-83), a pioneering Professor of Midwifery at University of Edinburgh (1756-83)[188] who had a home at the southern (Canongate) end of the street, as shown on William Edgar's map of 1765.
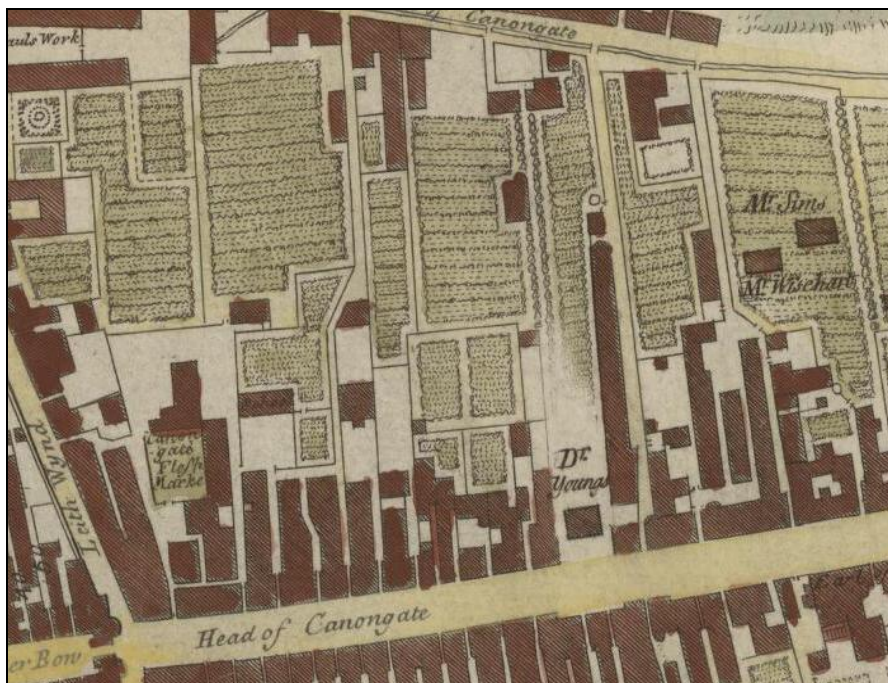
Figure 244: Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, showing 'Dr Young's' house at the south end of what became New Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

[187] Grant, James, 1883, *Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, p 18 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page30/single [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[188] http://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/85223 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

The street was private, closed off from the public thoroughfares by posts and chains. Although officially made public in 1786, it was still treated as a private road until 1819.[189] As the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852 denotes, the street was occupied by eminent residents including:

- James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-99), a Scottish judge and philosopher and one of the proprietors of Canongate Theatre (1754-67);[190]
- Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), also a judge, advocate and philosopher, founder member of Philosophical Society of Edinburgh and agricultural improver;[191]
- Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (1726-92), another advocate, judge and historian.[192]
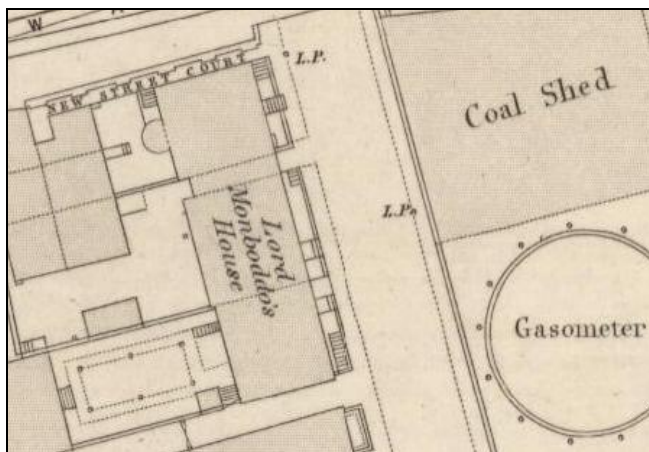
Figures 245, 246 and 247: *Extracts from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing New Street with residences of Lord Monboddo (top left), Lord Hailes (top right) and Lord Kames (bottom) marked (Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[189] Boog Watson, Charles B, 1923 *'Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh'*, The Book of The Old Edinburgh Club Vol 12, p 95 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/bookofoldedinbur12olde [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[190] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Burnett,_Lord_Monboddo [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[191] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Home,_Lord_Kames [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[192] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Dalrymple,_Lord_Hailes [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Other names are mentioned in James Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh* as residents of the street:[193]

- Colonel Sir Philip Ainslie (1728-1802) inherited the Pilton estate from his father in 1773 but also lived at St Andrew's Square after retiring from the army (his son Philip Barrington Ainslie (1785-1869) gave his name to Ainslie Place);[194]
- Lady Elizabeth (Betty) Anstruther (nee Hamilton) (n.d.), wife of the late Sir Philip Anstruther (1661-1722);[195] and
- Christian Ramsay (born 1719, 1720 or 1724), daughter of poet Allan Ramsay (1686-1758).[196]

The Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877 shows the buildings on the west side of New Street with stairs leading up to their entrances, with railings in front, typical of many terraced townhouses across Edinburgh, probably enclosing a basement area. These houses were probably similar in style to those originally found on the eastern side of St John Street in South Canongate Area (demolished and replaced by Dalhousie Land in 1960-3).
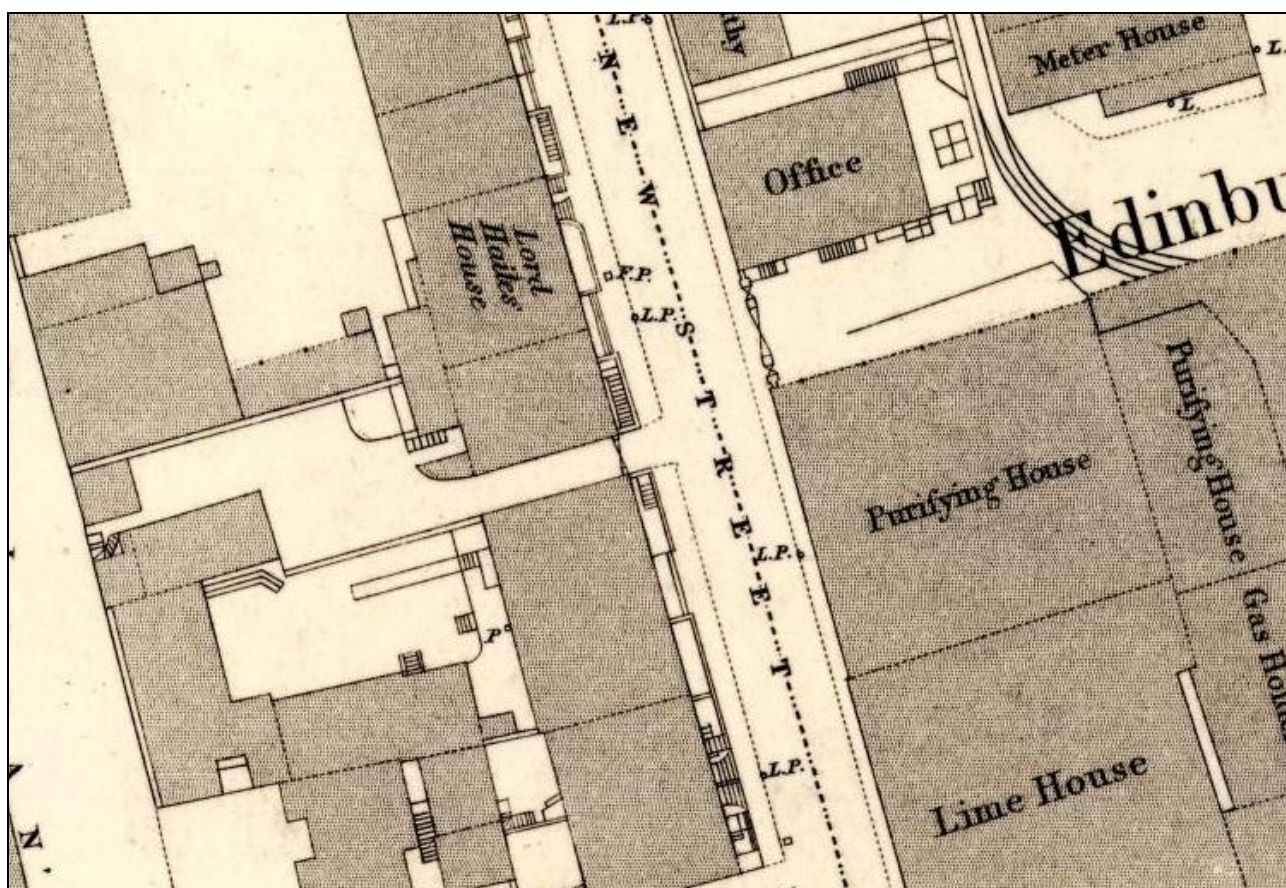
Figure 248: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877, showing entrance steps and railings marked in front of terraced houses (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

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[193] Grant, James, 1883, *Old and New Edinburgh, Vol III*, p 18 [Online] Available from: http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page30/single [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[194] http://landedfamilies.blogspot.co.uk/2013/08/63-ainslie-of-pilton-great-torrington.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[195] http://landedfamilies.blogspot.co.uk/2014/12/151-carmichael-anstruther-of-elie-house.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[196] Cadell, T & Davies, W, 1800, *The Poems of Allan Ramsay Vol 1*, p lii [Online] Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=rqQ_AAAAYAAJ&pg=PR52&lpg=PR52&dq=christian+ramsay+allan+poet+1719+1720+1724&source=bl&ots=2e4rxpkOFj&sig=9nifPj3X0CgxdJY5TIkXCUK6GTA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CCAQ6AEwAGoVChMI2srOvLL0yAIVAb8aCh0dCgw1%23v=onepage&q=christian%20ramsay%20allan%20poet%201719%201720%201724&f=false%23v=snippet&q=christian%20ramsay%20allan%20poet%201719%201720%201724&f=false#v=snippet&q=christian%20ramsay%20allan%20poet%201719%201720%201724&f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 249: *View of St John Street, from north-west, 1900-30 (copied 2008) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1098981 ©Crown Copyright HES)*

The arrival of the gasworks on New Street in 1817, and its subsequent expansion, saw a change in the demographics of the street. The publication 'Considerations Relative to Nuisance in Coal-Gas Works, with remarks on the Principles of Monopoly and Competition', by Oil-Gas Works (Tanfield) in 1828[197] contained a discussion on the negative effects of gasworks in close proximity to residential areas. The publication cites a Mr Thomas Meggat, Writer to the Signet, who lived in New Street from 1806-7 until 1819-20 (Post Office Directories list him (as 'Megget') at 7 New Street until 1811-12,[198] then 28 New Street from 1812-13 to 1819-20).[199] Meggat states that New Street was inhabited by professional people and landed gentry prior to the gasworks being established here. However, once the gasworks is well and truly established, residents' health was affected, particularly suffering from headaches and nausea. This was put down partly to gas escaping from the retorts on site making its way into the houses, and partly from contaminated water getting into the common drains serving every house. Legal action was taken by some of these wealthier former residents, resulting in compensation payments.

The wealthier residents left New Street, mostly heading for the New Town (which began to be built in 1765), but it proved difficult for them to sell their properties, and when they did sell, the value had depreciated by up to a fifth.[200] Many of the properties which did not sell were sub-divided into flats and then rented at very low rates, which lowered the standing of the street still further. The industrialisation of the Canongate area as a whole probably contributed to this move out of the 'Old Town', and the lowering of standards of living in the Canongate and High Street as more dwellings were squeezed into the buildings,

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[197] Oil-Gas Works (Tanfield), 1828, *Considerations Relative to Nuisance in Coal-Gas Works, with remarks on the Principles of Monopoly and Competition* [Online] Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=O8ErAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA22&lpg=PA22&dq=thomas+meggat+writer&source=bl &ots=lYLq9gbDFe&sig=kktwM1tGBD9WZjBbpmmKXojHQx0&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CCAQ6AEwAGoVChMIuuLMvbT0yAIV CokaCh0G_wi7%23v=onepage&q=thomas%20meggat%20writer&f=false#v=snippet&q=thomas%20meggat%20writer &f=false [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[198] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1806-7*, Edinburgh, p 132; *Ibid*, *1811-12*, p 171

[199] *Ibid*, *1812-13*, p 176; *Ibid*, *1819-20*, p 232

[200] See footnote **196** above

with no improvement to facilities and sanitation. This ultimately resulted in the awful living conditions and overcrowding which instigated much of the redevelopment schemes during the early 20th century.

In terms of industrial activity, looking at the Ordnance Survey 1st, 2nd and 3rd Edition 1:1056 maps of 1852, 1877 and 1894, the area was dominated east to west by the Edinburgh Gasworks, Canongate Iron Foundry, Canongate Kirkyard, Panmure Iron Foundry, the Gasometer, Balmoral Brewery (1877), Type Foundry and Aerated Water Works (1894). On the north side of Calton Road (outwith the survey areas but still relating to the area's development and character) there were various breweries nestled at the foot of the steep, craggy outcrop of Calton Hill.

Like the South Canongate area, in the northern part of the burgh a wide range of small-scale craft industries had operated in the backland properties since medieval times. The early 19th century saw the start of the Industrial Revolution and some of these crafts expanding. Robert Kirkwood's map of 1817 provides the first labelled indication of this, with 'Mr T. Caddles Brewery' noted at the foot of Gilmour Street where it joins North Back of Canongate. The Post Office Directory of 1815-16 has the first listing of 'Caddell and Company brewers' at 'head of no. Back of Canongate'.[201] This appears to have been a short-lived existence as it has disappeared by the Directory of 1819-20.

Figure 250: Extract from Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs', 1817, showing 'Mr T Caddle's Brewery' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

As previously mentioned, the geology and water quality around Calton Hill meant that it was ideally suited for brewing. Indeed, smaller-scale brewing had been carried out in North Back of Canongate long before the 19th century, and Andrew Drybrough had established a brewery in Edinburgh before 1750. James Drybrough set up a brewery in Tolbooth Wynd then moved to the south side of North Back of Canongate in 1782, trading as Andrew Drybrough & Co.[202] 'Dryburgh, James' is listed in Williamson's Directory of Edinburgh 1784-5 as 'brewer, north back of Canongate'.[203] William Bell's map of 1813 notes 'Mr Dryburgh'

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[201] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1815-16*, Edinburgh, p 42
[202] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/dry.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[203] *Williamson's Directory of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs 1784-5*, Edinburgh, p 24

against land and buildings just north of Gilmore Street, on the south side of North Back of Canongate, which is probably this brewery. In 1874, the firm expanded to occupy land on the north side of North Back of Canongate, establishing Craigend Brewery at the foot of Calton Hill, just outside the boundary of North Canongate.[204] Dryborough & Co continued to occupy sites in North Back of Canongate until moving to Duddingston on the outskirts of Edinburgh c.1894.[205]
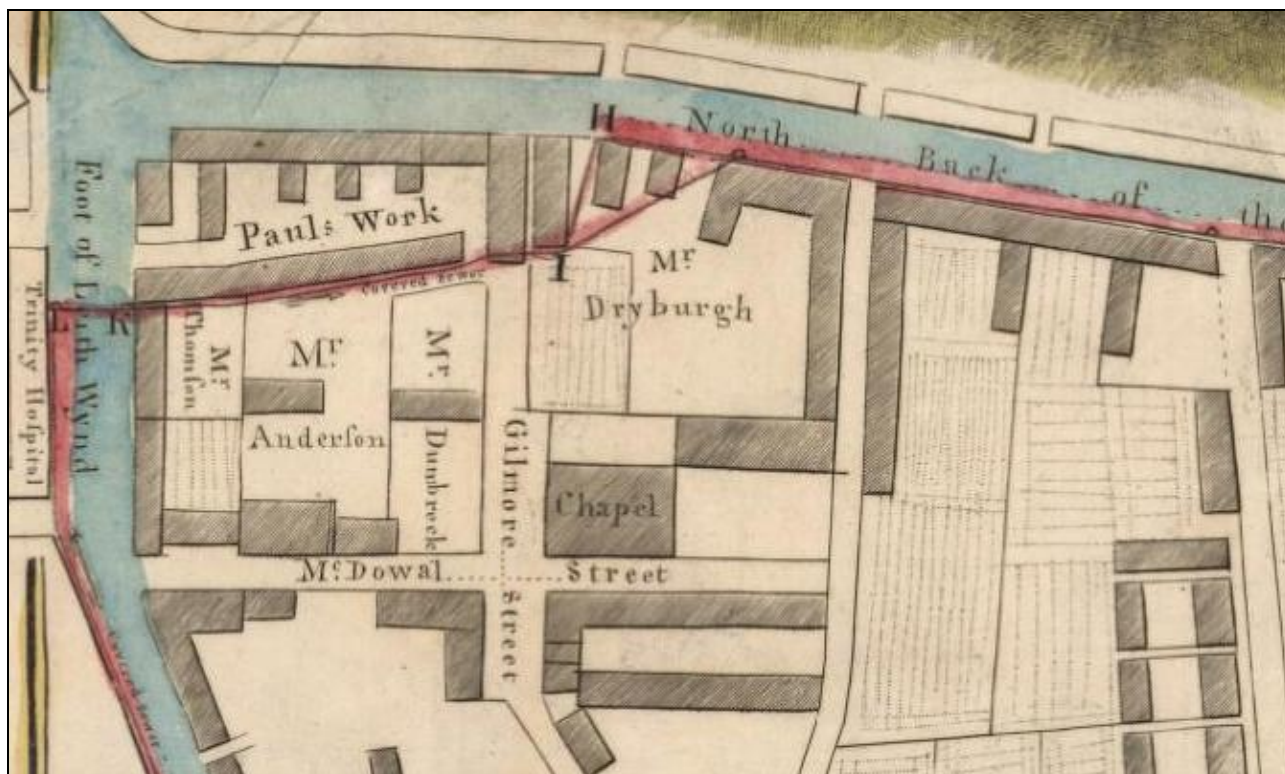
Figure 251: Extract from William Bell's 'Plan of the Regality of Canongate', 1813, showing land and buildings owned by 'Mr Dryburgh' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

The foot of Calton Hill attracted a range of maltings and brewery buildings during the early 19th century, and some of the breweries established here also had premises within the North Canongate area. Craigwell Brewery was established by John Blair in 1822 at North Back of Canongate (again outwith the North Canongate area boundary), opposite Campbell's Close. Charles Blair acquired his father's firm in 1873, and renamed the firm Charles Blair & Co. In 1894, this brewery expanded into the south side of North Back of Canongate, establishing a large maltings here. It became known as Balmoral Brewery. The brewery regularly suffered from problems with its water supply. As a result, just before WWI, a new well was sunk by Robert Henderson & Co, mineral boring and well-sinking contractors. The firm was eventually bought over by Mackays of St Leonards Brewery, and the maltings was used as a bottling plant, before being sold in 1955.[206] The maltings building was eventually converted to offices and flats by Nicholas Groves-Raines Architects in 1982,[207] but retains its pagoda-style roof as well as a few other features, such as the projecting timber housings for hoists to bring materials to upper floors, original window and door openings adapted for residential use and restored stonework throughout. Craigwell Brewery, itself on the north side outwith the boundary, was also converted to flats in 1987,[208] retaining some of the features of the building, including the carved emblem above the former arched entrance into the brewery courtyard.

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[204] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/dry.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[205] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1893-4*, Edinburgh, p 84 (at North Back of Canongate); *Ibid*, *1894-5*, p 85 (at Railway Station, Duddingston)

[206] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/gb.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[207] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28412 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[208] http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-487-500-C&scache=38zmy8xdav&searchdb=scran&PHPSESSID=a2oej0gp7tgoql1t665msgntg2 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 252: *Detail of carved emblem above arched entrance to former brewery courtyard, Craigwell Brewery, 2014 (DP207817 ©Crown Copyright HES)*

Figure 253: *Detail of carved 'Craigwell Brewery' above arched entrance to former brewery courtyard, Craigwell Brewery, 2014 (DP207818 ©Crown Copyright HES)*

Figure 254: *View of Craigwell Brewery, converted to flats, from west, 2014 (DP207819 ©Crown Copyright HES)*

Figure 255: *View of Calton Road elevation of former maltings, [136-8 Calton Road](), from north-west, 2013 (DP188708 ©Crown Copyright HES)*

An 'aerated water works' is marked to the south of the brewery buildings, on the Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map of 1894. When soft drinks became popular during the Victorian temperance movement, aerated water works were often set up to make use of the excess carbon dioxide created during the brewing process.[209] This particular works was operated by Thomas Wallace, who had operated as 'lemonade manufacturer' at 50 St Mary's Street between 1875 and 1878. Wallace is then listed at 67 Canongate from 1878 until joining with Andrew S McOnie to form Wallace & McOnie from 1892 until 1897. From 1897 until 1902, McOnie ran the firm in this location.[210] This site was remodelled in 1911 to become part of the Scottish Veterans' Residences.[211]
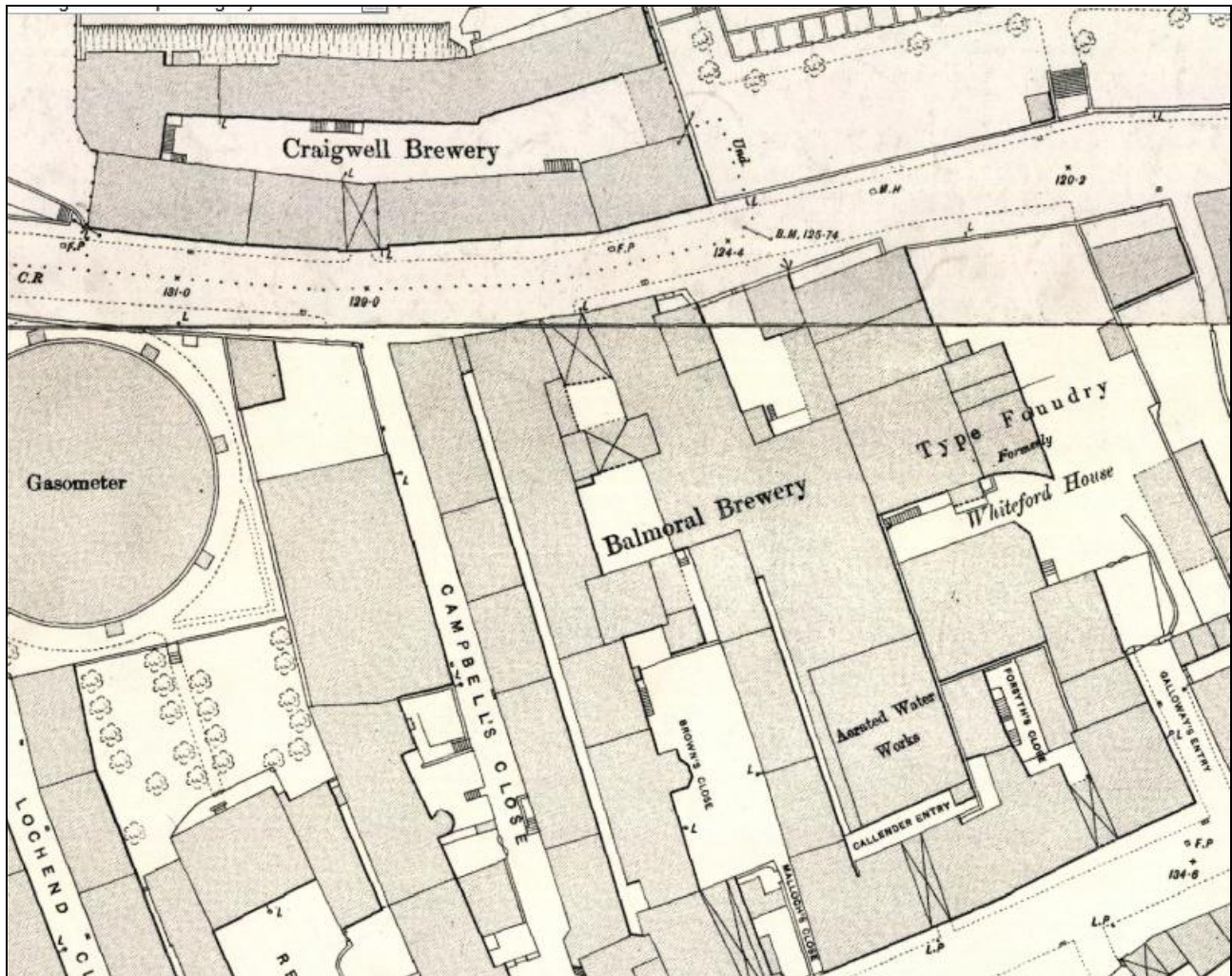
Figure 256: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map, 1894, showing Craigwell and Balmoral Breweries (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

[209] Bennison, Brian Robert, 1992, *The Brewing Trade in North-East England, 1869-1939*, Thesis submitted for PhD at University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, p 130 and footnote 74, p 400 [Online] Available from: https://theses.ncl.ac.uk/dspace/bitstream/10443/199/1/bennison92.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[210] *The Post Office Annual Directory 1875-6*, Edinburgh, p 219; *Ibid, 1876-7*, p 225; *Ibid, 1877-8*, p 229; *Ibid, 1878-9*, p 235; *Ibid, 1892-3*, p 316; *Ibid, 1897-8*, p 217; *Ibid, 1901-2*, p 234

[211] http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/designation/LB28428 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 257: View of [Balmoral Brewery maltings on Calton Road](#), *from north-north-east, 1967 (copied 2000) (John R Hume Collection, SC589952 ©Crown copyright HES)*

Figure 258: View of Balmoral Brewery malting, converted to housing, from north-east, 2013 (DP188706 ©Crown copyright HES)

The development which perhaps had the biggest impact on the North Canongate area was the arrival of the gasworks in 1817.[212] From 'Gas Works' noted on the James Kirkwood & Sons map of 1821, the site continued to expand during the 19th century as the demand and availability of gas power for lighting grew until, by 1893, the gasworks completely filled the land between New Street to Tolbooth Wynd.

Figure 259: Extract from James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh', 1821, showing 'Gas Works' east of New Street (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 260: Extract from Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map, 1894, showing extent of 'Edinburgh Gas Works' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

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[212] Groome, Francis H, 1884, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland Vol II*, Edinburgh, p 526 [Online] Available from: http://digital.nls.uk/gazetteers-of-scotland-1803-1901/pageturner.cfm?id=97376066 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Gas lighting was an innovation for Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith. A number of gasworks were established across the area, and the site to the east of New Street was developed as the centre for Canongate's supply. This was one of the earliest gasworks in the UK, following the development of a system for using gas for lighting by Friedrich Accum (1769-1838), a German chemist who developed the process of gas production, and opened London's first gasworks in 1814.[213] The development of electricity at the turn of the 20th century meant a downturn in the gas production within Canongate, and the Ordnance Survey six-inch (1:10 560) maps of 1909 and 1920 have the site labelled as 'Old Gas Works'. The gasworks had in fact closed by 1906, and the site became a bus depot in 1928 (extended in 1934), then a large car park from the 1990s, before being demolished in 2006. The site remains derelict (2016) whilst the Caltongate/New Waverley masterplan has been going through the planning process.

The gasworks had a huge impact on the skyline of Canongate as well as the scale of its footprint. The gasworks had a huge brick-built chimney, built in 1847, which dominated this part of the townscape.[214] As noted on the Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map of 1894, this chimney was 329 feet (100m) high. It was demolished in 1930.[215] Some sections of the gasworks' walls still remain, including a section in Old Tolbooth Wynd which has a range of recessed arched blind openings in a brick wall, as well as some other buildings and parts of boundary walls incorporated into modern housing developments.[216]

Figure 261: View of Gasworks site from Calton Hill, 1900-1930 (copied 2009) (Francis M Chrystal Collection, SC1131441 ©Crown copyright HES)

[213] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Accum [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[214] Groome, Francis H, 1884, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland Vol II*, Edinburgh, p 526 [Online] Available from: http://digital.nls.uk/gazetteers-of-scotland-1803-1901/pageturner.cfm?id=97376066 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[215] http://www.scotsman.com/heritage/people-places/capital-s-industrial-achievements-brought-back-to-light-1-2524588 [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[216] HES, 2016, *Canongate Walk: remnants of history* (available from www.canmore.org.uk)

Figures 262, 263 and 264: *Views showing remnants of former Gasworks buildings off Old Tolbooth Wynd, 2014 (DP207864 (left); DP207867 (top right); DP190182 (bottom right) ©Crown copyright HES)*

The North Canongate area was the home of other industries, with two iron foundries being established in the eastern half of the area. The Shotts Iron Company, established in Greenside Lane in 1816-18, set up as Shotts New Iron Company at Caltonhill Foundry in North Back of Canongate between 1818 and 1823.[217] James Blackie was manager of Calton(hill) Foundry at North Back of Canongate from 1823 to 1834 (according to the Post Office Directories).[218] From 1834, 'J Blaikie' was noted as manager of Calton Foundry at 27 North Back of Canongate, then James Blaikie & Sons, 'founders and engineers', were listed at Panmure Foundry 1838-53.[219] From 1853 to 1859 they were listed as iron founders at Canongate Foundry in Tolbooth Wynd.[220] Kay & McFarlane, engineers and iron founders took over Panmure Foundry at 51 North Back of Canongate from 1875 to 1885.[221] This foundry is seen as being replaced by a vast Coal Shed for the gasworks on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877 (though still depicted in its original form on other maps, e.g. John Bartholomew's 'Plan of Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs', 1882).

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[217] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1816-17*, Edinburgh, p 239; *Ibid*, *1817-18*, p 240; *Ibid*, *1822-3*, p 326

[218] *Ibid*, *1823-4*, pp 123, 361; *Ibid*, *1833-4*, pp 8, 14

[219] *Ibid*, *1834-5*, pp 9, 15; *Ibid*, *1838-9*, p 12

[220] *Ibid*, *1853-4*, p 52; *Ibid*, *1858-9*, p 85

[221] *Ibid*, *1875-6*, p 105; *Ibid*, *1884-5*, p 128
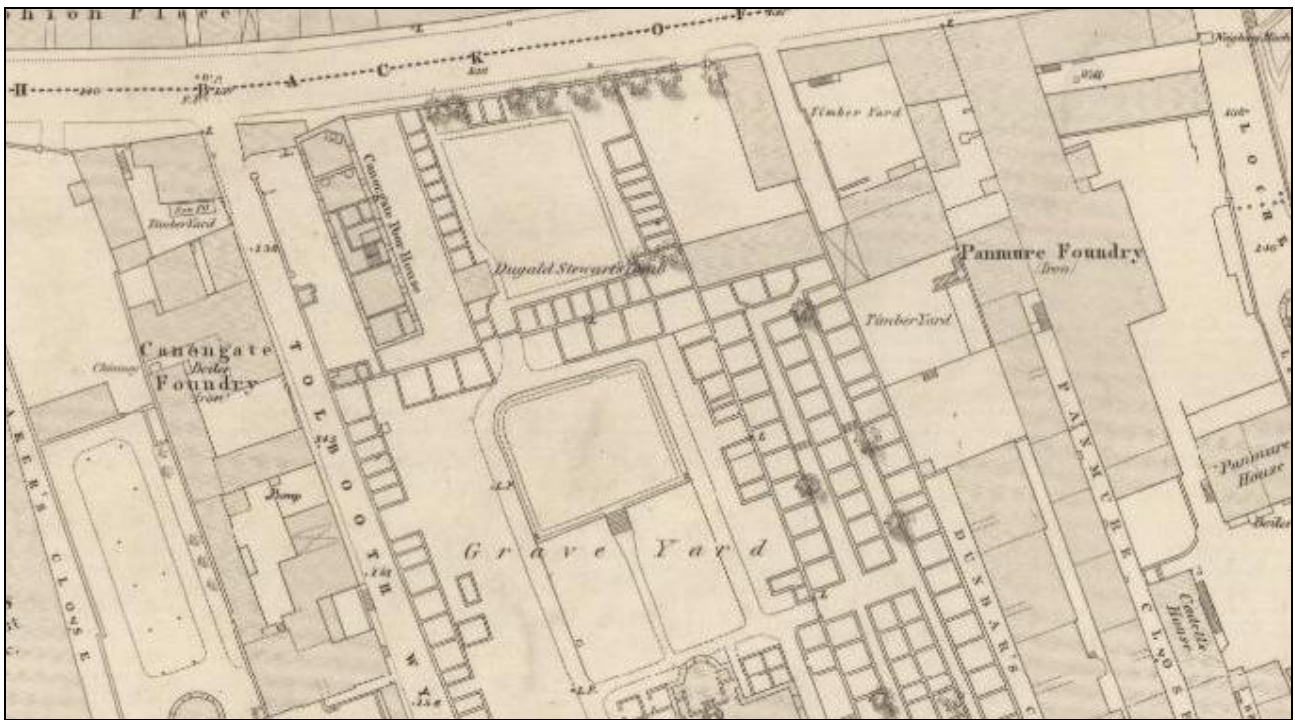
Figure 265: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing Canongate Foundry (left) and Panmure Foundry (right) (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Several small-scale, apparently random, industrial practices appear to operate in North Canongate during the mid-19th century. For instance a 'Tobacco Pipe Manufactory' is marked on the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852, just south of the gasworks off Little Jack's Close. The first recorded pipemaker in the area was a William Banks, mentioned as working in Canongate in 1622.[222] However, one of the most important manufacturers in the 19th century was Thomas White & Co (1823-76) who appear to have exported pipes to North America and West Africa.[223] The Edinburgh Post Office Directories have 'T White & Co, tobacco pipe manufacturers, dealers in pipeclay and Bath brick' listed under Jack's Close from 1838-9 to 1844-5.[224] From 1845-6 until 1866-7 'Thos White & Co, tobacco pipe manufacturers' are listed at 225 Canongate – effectively the same building, but addressed differently.[225] Between 1868-9 and 1870-1, White & Co had moved to 146 Canongate,[226] and by the time of the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877, the site at 225 Canongate had been effectively subsumed by the gasworks.

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[222] Gallagher, Dennis, 2008, *Stirling Castle Palace, Archaeological and Historical Research 2004-2008: Analysis of Clay Tobacco Pipe Fragments*, Edinburgh, p 1 [Online] Available from: http://sparc.scran.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/L2%20clay%20pipes%20report.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[223] Society for Clay Pipe Research, 1986, *SCPR Newsletter 12, October 1986*, p 31 [Online] Available from: http://scpr.co/PDFs/Newsletters/SCPR12.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[224] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1838-9*, Edinburgh, p 130; *Ibid*, *1844-5*, p 141

[225] *Ibid*, *1845-6*, p 142; *Ibid*, *1866-7*, p 207

[226] *Ibid*, *1868-9*, p 216; *Ibid*, *1869-70*, p 226; *Ibid*, *1870-1*, p 230
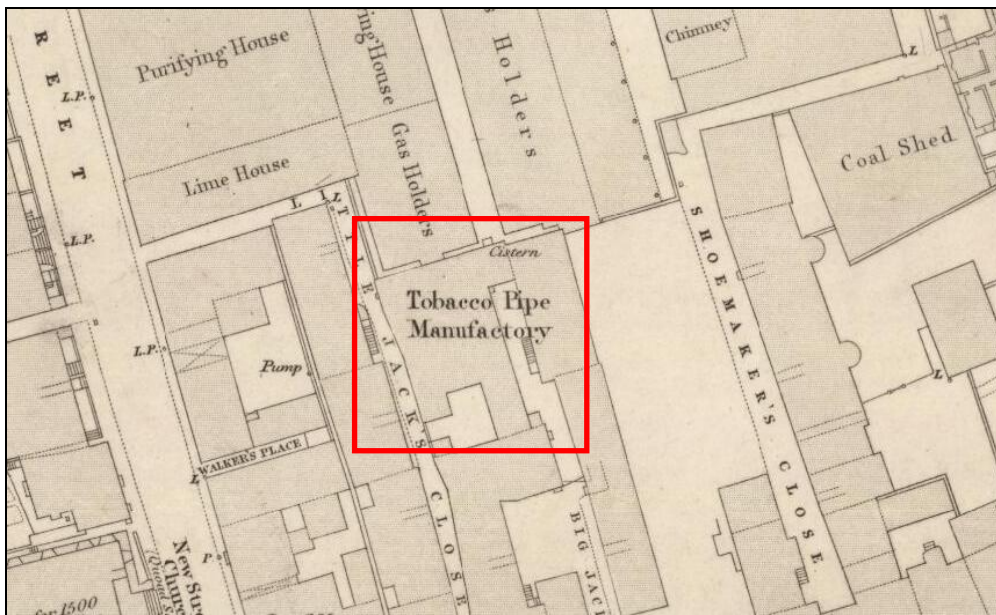
Figures 266 and 267: *Extracts from Ordnance Survey 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ Edition 1:1056 maps, 1852 (top) and 1877 (bottom), showing site of Thomas White & Co's Tobacco Pipe Manufactory, subsumed within Edinburgh Gasworks (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

A rope walk is marked on the Ordnance Survey 1ˢᵗ Edition 1:1056 map of 1852, running along Logan's Close/Rae's Close, with posts marked for winding the rope. The Post Office and other Directories show that a 'John Kilgour' was operating as a ropemaker in the area, being listed in Williamson's Directory of 1790-2 in 'Canongate head',[227] then in 'Mid Common Close, Canongate' in Directories from 1794-5 until 1804-5, when Denovan & Co's Edinburgh & Leith Directory has 'John Kilgour' as a ropemaker at 'head of Jack's Close'.[228] The rope walk was probably open on the west side, and was probably similar in style to the one shown in a vignette of Gourock Ropeworks, which provides an illustration of the ropemaking process within a rope walk in the early 19ᵗʰ century.

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[227] *Williamson's Edinburgh Directory, June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, p 55
[228] *A Directory for Edinburgh, Leith, Musselburgh and Dalkeith, 1794-5*, Edinburgh, p 108; Denovan & Co, *Edinburgh and Leith Directory, July 1804 to July 1805*, Edinburgh, p 130
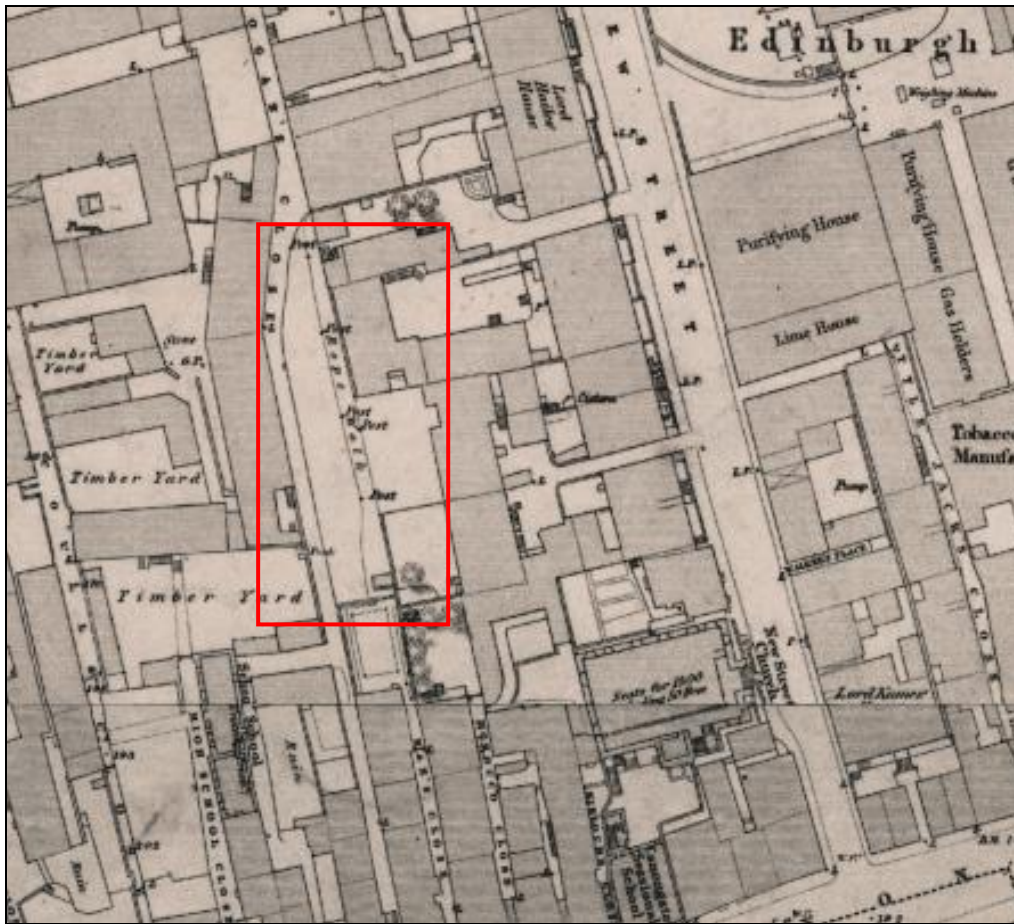
Figure 268: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing Rope Walk on Logan's Close (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*
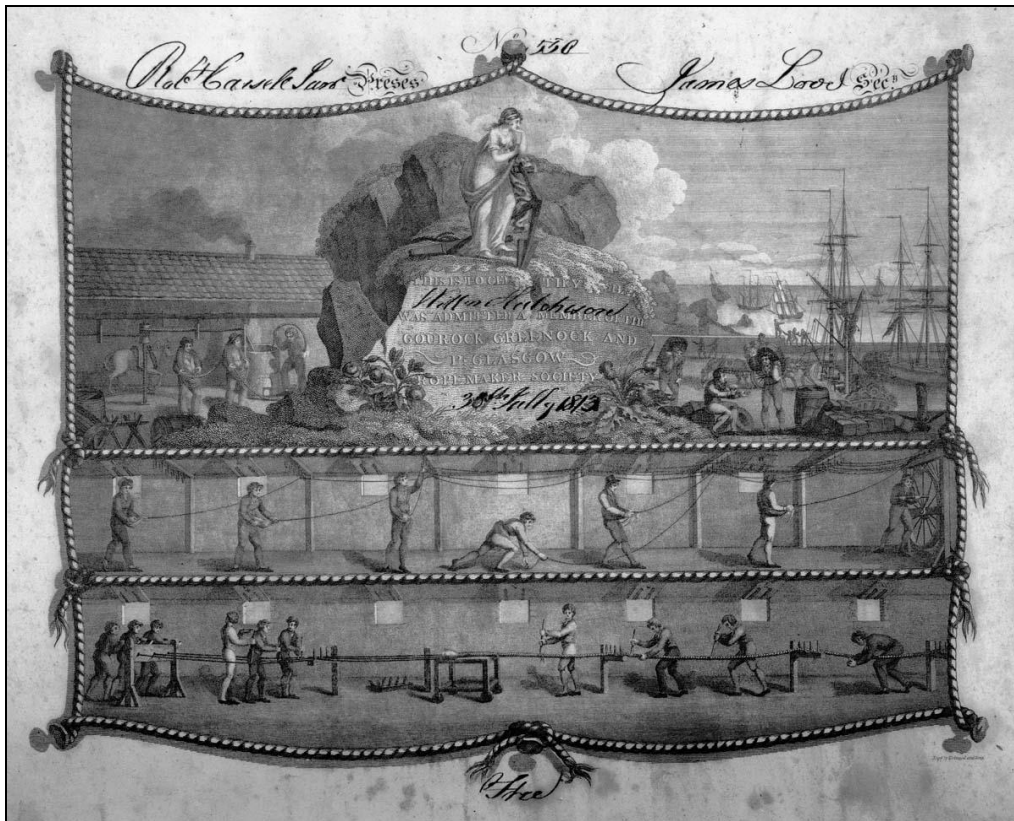
Figure 269: *Copy of vignette of Gourock Ropeworks, 1813 (copied 1997) (SC344761 ©Crown copyright HES)*

The arrival of the railway on the northern boundary of Canongate in 1848 saw an increase to industrial processes in the area, with several large timber yards setting up in the north-western section of Canongate, and an associated cooperage (see extracts from Ordnance Survey 2nd and 3rd Edition 1:1056 maps of 1877 and 1894 in Figures 272 and 273 below), probably manufacturing barrels for the nearby breweries.

Figures 270 and 271: Extracts from Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852, showing timber yards across north Canongate area (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
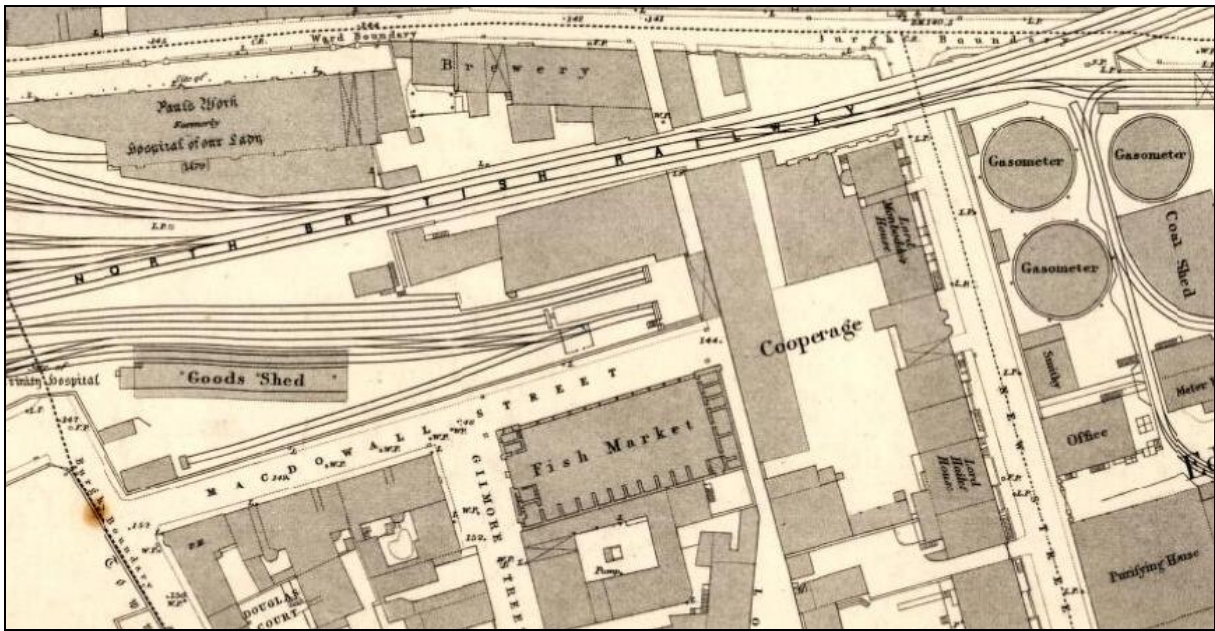
Figures 272 and 273: *Extracts from Ordnance Survey 2nd and 3rd Edition 1:1056 maps, 1877 (top) and 1894 (bottom), showing cooperage and grain shed (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Other large storage facilities were established near the railway including a grain shed on the site of St Paul's Work, and eventually a series of goods shed were replaced by a large goods station in the area between East Market Street and Calton Road. Ultimately, as road transport became more popular for goods and freight, the goods sheds and station were replaced by further tracks, and a large car park for the railway. This car park has been much reduced in size with the building of the new headquarters for City of Edinburgh Council at Waverley Court, 4 East Market Street in 2004-7. This office block houses c.1,800 staff over five floors, with a three-storeyed underground car park for 429 cars below. The development was carried out by Miller Construction to designs by BDP (Building Design Partnership) Architects, Glasgow. The building was designed to be sustainable with a range of 'thermally efficient' materials being used along with landscaped grass roof terraces, solar panels and water collection systems. Like the other 21st century insertions into this area of Canongate, there is a mix of natural stone, aluminium cladding and large areas of glazing partly enclosed within steel framing. The building has several large atriums to bring natural light into

the building.[229] Outside the main entrance on East Market Street is a sculpture of a man wearing a white shirt and black trousers standing on top of a multi-coloured scaffold tower. Entitled 'Everyman', the sculpture was designed by Stephan Balkenhol (b.1957) from Hessen, Germany, and is said to represent 'Joe Public'.[230] The construction of the Council's HQ has brought a new range of jobs and activities into this sector, with knock-on effects into the rest of the Canongate.
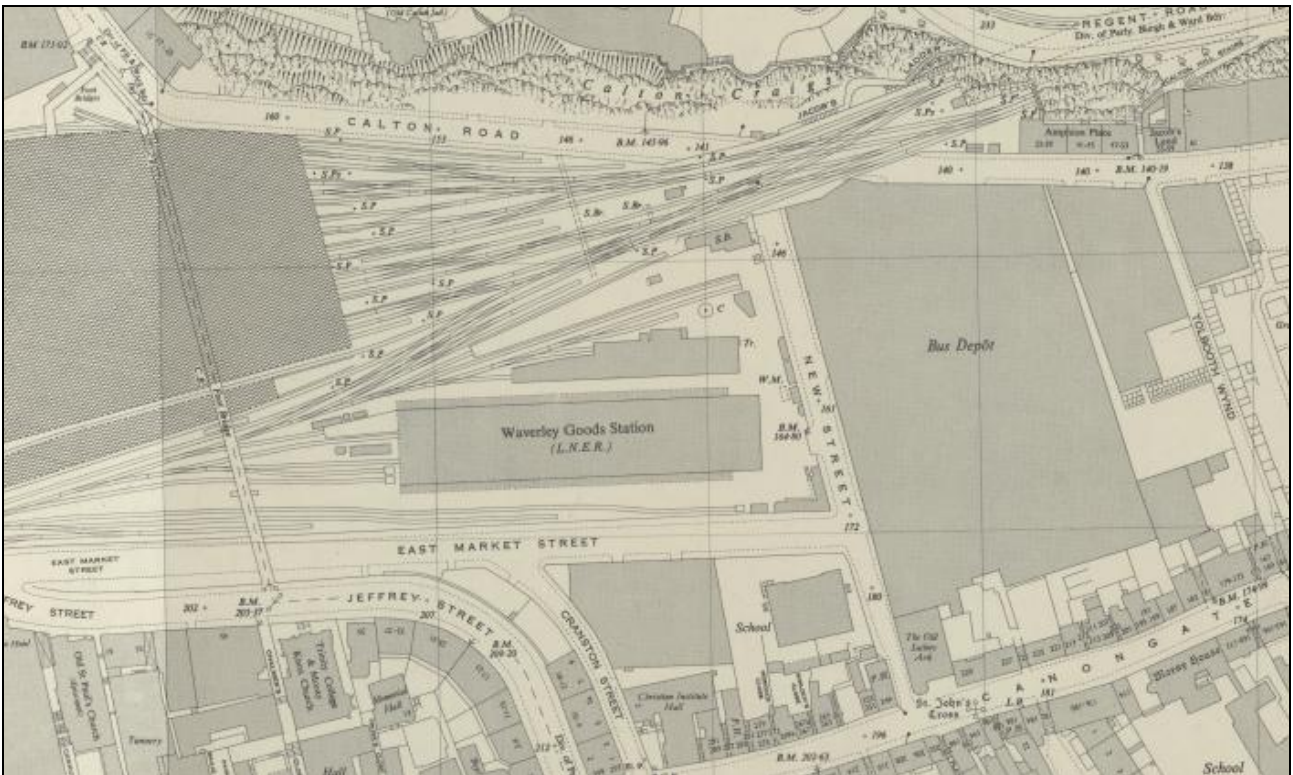
Figure 274: *Extract from Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, 1946, showing Waverley Goods Station (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Figure 275: *View of City of Edinburgh Council's HQ, Waverley Court, 4 East Market Street, from south-west, 2014 (DP190145 ©Crown copyright HES)*

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[229] http://www.edinburgharchitecture.co.uk/BDP-Architects-Council-HQ [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[230] http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/0_B/0_buildings_-_edinburgh_city_council_hq_everyman_statue_024804.htm [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Figure 276: *Aerial view of City of Edinburgh Council's HQ showing E-plan of building, 2014 (DP193141 ©Crown copyright HES)*

A 'GPO garage' is marked on the Ordnance Survey 1:1250 map of 1946 at the corner of Calton Road and Panmure Close. The main General Post Office was built further north on Waterloo Place in 1859-65. This building was associated with the main GPO as a depot garage where Post Office vehicles would be serviced and parked, and later for staff parking. This site has now been redeveloped for flats and offices.
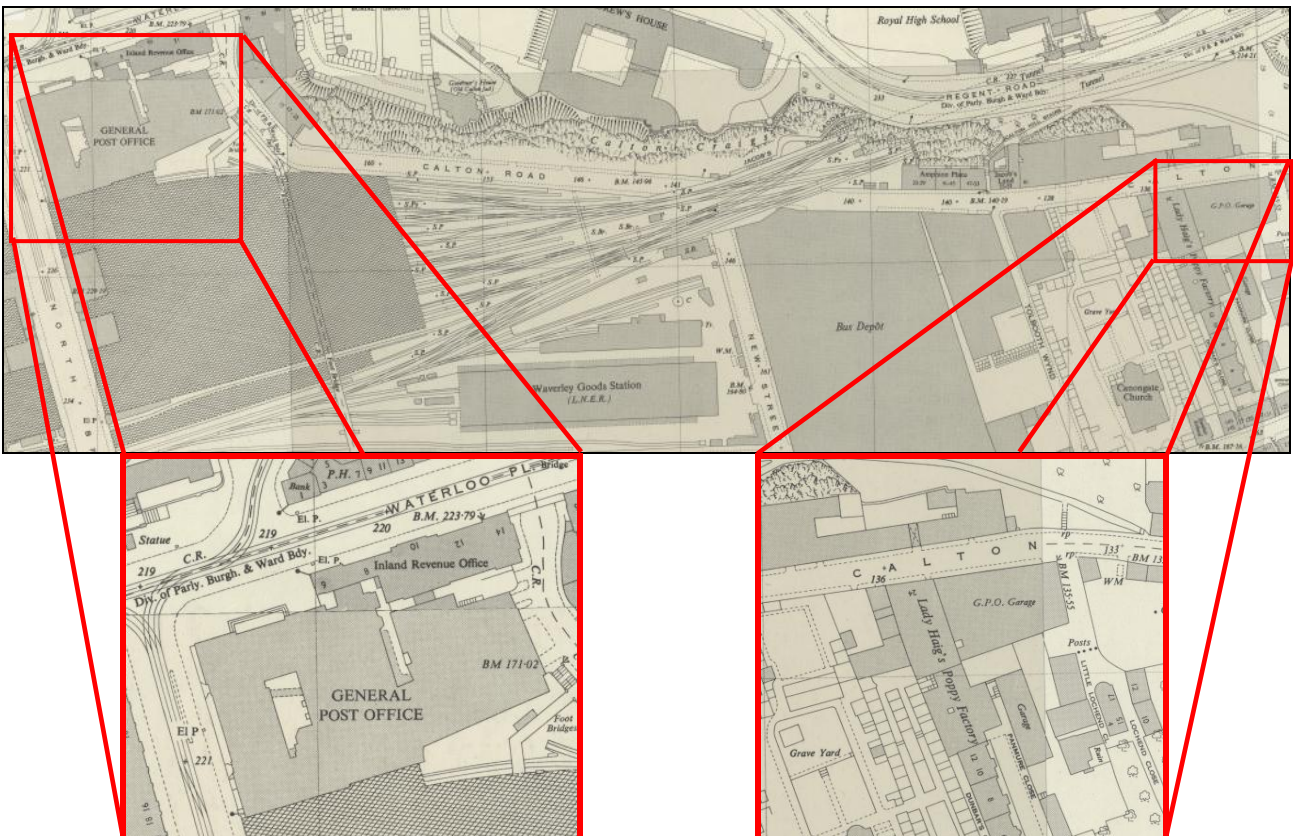
Figure 277: *Extracts from Ordnance Survey 1:1250 map, 1946, showing General Post Office on Waterloo Place (left) and 'GPO Garage' on Calton Road (right) (Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Both sides of Calton Road, and into Old Tolbooth Wynd and Lochend Close have seen a number of housing developments from the late 20th century through to the present day. Some of these developments have

159

converted old buildings on the sites or have reused some material from the buildings. These include: the site formerly occupied by Canongate Foundry and later the gasworks at the northern end of the east side of Old Tolbooth Wynd; Lochend Close, on the site of the Balmoral Brewery; the site of the Canongate Poorhouse on the west side of Old Tolbooth Wynd at its junction with Calton Road; and also just outwith the boundary of the Canongate survey area on the north side of Calton Road, making use of the buildings or remains of former breweries at the foot of Calton Hill.

Figure 278: View of modern housing on site of Canongate Foundry at foot of Old Tolbooth Wynd, from north-east, 2014 (DP190179 ©Crown copyright HES)

The four- and six-storeyed development at the foot of Old Tolbooth Wynd is composed from a variety of materials, including stone cladding, cream-coloured render and large glazed areas, particularly on corners. The roofline is varied with mono-pitched roofs to staircases, and some flat-roofed dormers onto Old Tolbooth Wynd. The site opposite, where the Canongate Poorhouse previously stood, is under redevelopment (2014) in conjunction with the former brewery site on the north side of Calton Road. These also incorporate a mix of material, including zinc-clad upper floor, white rendering and stone cladding to lower floors.

Figure 279: View of Calton Road/Old Tolbooth Wynd housing development, from south, 2015 (DP205172 ©Crown copyright HES)

160

Further west, a development (c.2002) at Holyrood Mews on Lochend Close has incorporated one historic building, and created a courtyard development with rendered and timber-clad flats adjoining. The north-eastern corner of the new-build includes a round timber-clad projecting stairtower. The north wall of the courtyard incorporates some stonework from the foundry originally on the site.[231]

Figure 280: View of [modern housing at Holyrood Mews](#) on site of Panmure Foundry, Lochend Close, Calton Road, from north, 2014 (DP188714 ©Crown copyright HES)

SUMMARY

This section of the Canongate has perhaps seen the greatest change during its history, especially since the mid-19th century, with many parts having been redeveloped repeatedly, the demolition of old streets and the development of new streets leading north from Canongate, and the multi-phase construction of the railway along its northern boundary. The high level of redevelopment and the lower status buildings in this section explain why it has no Category A listed buildings and only one Category B (former Balmoral Brewery maltings at 136-8 Calton Road/2-12 Campbell's Close) and one Category C (Canongate Venture, 5 New Street).

North Canongate has always had a residential element, though less grand than the Historic Core area. However, its distinctiveness lies in other aspects. For many centuries the North section had a unique role within Canongate as the home of the institutions which supported, or dealt with, the less able or less fortunate members of society. The second half of the 19th century saw most of these buildings demolished and the functions move elsewhere within Edinburgh. New industries and civic amenities, such as the gasworks, took their places before they were demolished in turn. The arrival of the City of Edinburgh Council HQ is, in some ways, a continuation of North Canongate's civic function.

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[231] HES, 2016, *Canongate Walk: remnants of history* (available from www.canmore.org.uk)

9. Conclusions

The history of the Canongate area has been one of constantly changing use and occupancy of buildings within its boundary, and any future redevelopment and reuse would simply be a continuation of that tradition.

Overall, the Canongate area has been constrained in its development by its setting, but has still experienced several phases of improvement schemes. This continues into the early 21st century. Much of the redevelopment in the area has adhered to the original burgh plot layout with the closes connecting Canongate with streets to north and south still very much in evidence despite the contemporary buildings erected within the confines of the burgage plots. A wide variety of building styles are represented across the area, from 16th and 17th century townhouses to major developments from present day (2016).

Improvement schemes carried out across Canongate have often represented major changes in legislation across Scotland, usually as a response to a growing recognition that living conditions have an effect on a resident population's health and wellbeing.

Whilst this report has attempted to be as comprehensive as possible, there are undoubtedly aspects of the Canongate area's historical, archaeological, industrial and social development which have not been covered.

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1852 – Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 'Large-scale Town Plan of Edinburgh (Sheets 30 and 36)'

1865 – John Bartholomew 'Hislop's New Plan of Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs'

1877 – Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 'Large-scale Town Plan of Edinburgh (Sheets 30 and 36)'

1882 – John Bartholomew 'Plan of Edinburgh and Leith with Suburbs'

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1917-18 – John George Bartholomew 'Post Office Plan of Edinburgh, Leith and Portobello'

1920 – Ordnance Survey Six-inch/1:10 560 map (Edinburghshire Sheet III.NE)

1931 – Ordnance Survey 1:2500 (Midlothian Sheet III.8)

1946 – Ordnance Survey 1:1250 (Sheets NT36/2678NW and NT36/2673NE)

1946 – Ordnance Survey 1:2500 (Sheet NT2673)

APPENDIX A:

Maps Showing Distribution of Industry Types

Introduction to Maps Showing Distribution of Industry Types

As part of the analysis of industrial activity within the Canongate study area, we took six timeslices across the area's history based on contemporary mapping and corresponding Post Office and other Directories. From the Directories, we noted the number of instances of various industry types within the Canongate boundary, grouping these under generic types of industrial activity.

The result of this analysis follows in this appendix, with extracts of the historic maps, the distribution maps and a short narrative explaining the finding for each timeslice.

The timeslices and maps chosen were:

A.1: Williamson's Directory 1773-4 and William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765

A.2: Post Office Directory 1799-1800 and John Ainslie's 'Old and New Town of Edinburgh and its Environs', 1804

A.3: Post Office Directory 1819-20 and James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh', 1821

A.4: Post Office Directory 1853-4 and Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852

A.5: Post Office Directory 1876-7 and Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877

A.6: Post Office Directory 1893-4 and Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map, 1894

A.1:

Williamson's Directory 1773-4

and

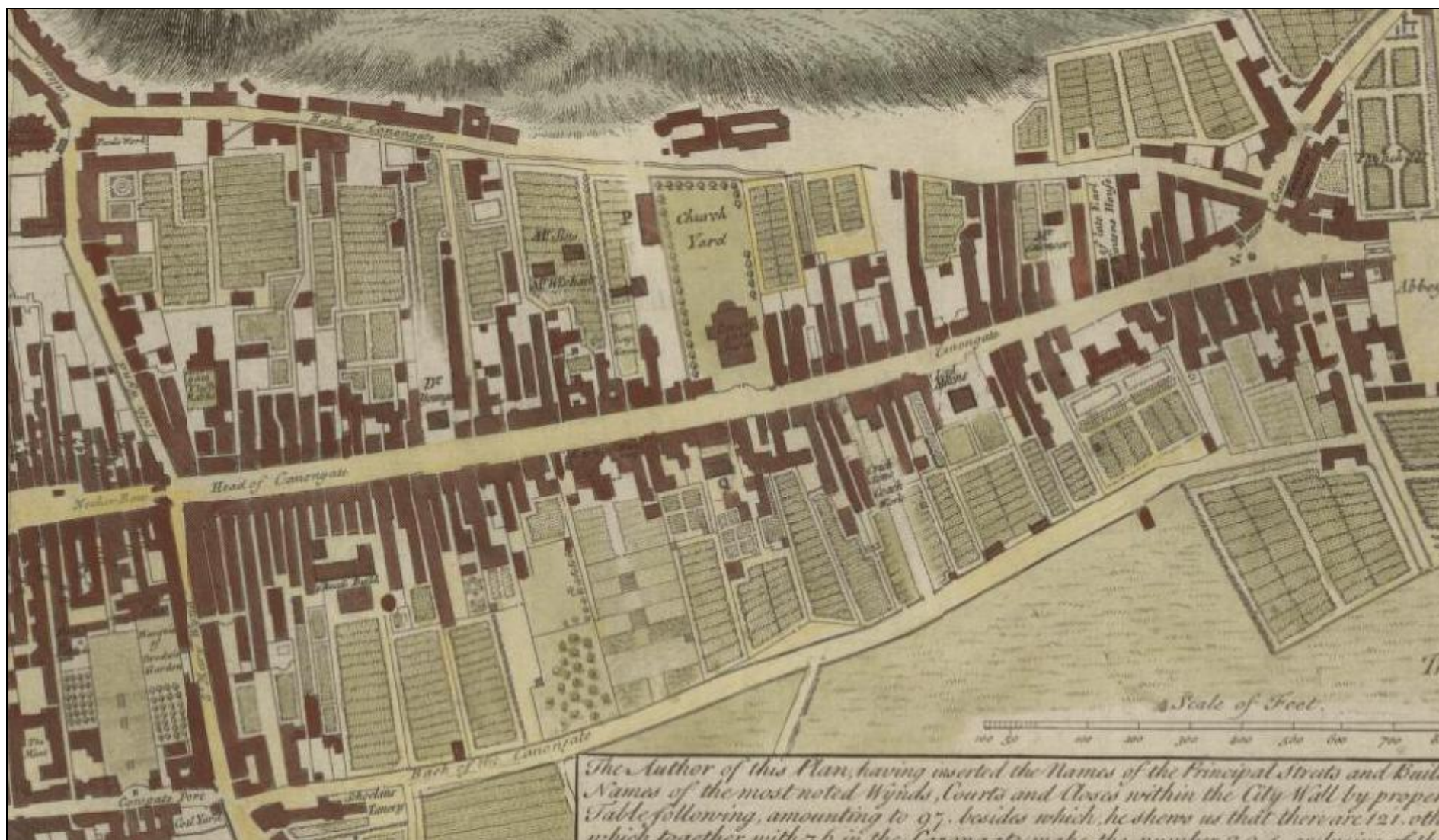**William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765**

Figure 281: William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765 (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 282: *Distribution of industry types: Williamson's Directory 1773-4 (See over for key to industry types)*
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KEY

Generic Type	No. Of Instances	Activities Included
● Building Construction	4	Wright
● Clothing Manufacture	1	Hatter
● Engineering: Clock Making	1	Watchmaker
● Food and Drink: Baking	12	Baxter (baker)
● Food and Drink: Brewing	14	Brewer
● Leatherworking	1	Harness maker
● Leatherworking: Processing	2	Currier; Tanner
● Leatherworking: Shoemaking	4	Shoemaker
● Metalworking: Blacksmithing	2	Smith
● Metalworking: Non Ferrous	2	Gold smith; Copper smith
● Stoneworking	3	Marble cutter; Stone warehouse; Mason
● Textiles: Linen and Flax	1	Lint dresser
● Textiles: Processing	1	Dyer
● Textiles: Weaving	3	Weaver
● Woodworking	1	Turner
● Woodworking: Coachbuilding	2	Coach maker
● Woodworking: Coopering	3	Cooper
	57	

William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, was produced to show the names of the 'most noted Wynds, Courts and Closes within the City Wall by proper numbers in the Plan...' and thus does not show the same details outwith the walls into which Canongate falls, as it was a separate burgh at this time. The legend and key to the numbered closes also states that Canongate contained 76 such wynds, courts and closes, although these are not numbered or listed, unlike the High Street of Edinburgh depicted on the map.

Only two industrial activities are singled out in Canongate for depiction and naming: 'Crichton's Coach Works' is noted on the map, while the building denoted by '***Q***' is listed as 'Sugar Work House' in the key at the bottom right of the original map (see Figures 283 and 284 below). The lack of industrial activity noted on William Edgar's map is because most brewing and other product making would have been carried out in a domestic or workshop setting rather than in purpose-built structures. The 'sugar work house', or sugar refinery, was sited in what is still called Sugarhouse Close at 160 Canongate. The whole plot running from 160 Canongate and south to 41-53 Holyrood Road was excavated by Headland Archaeology in advance of development in 2010-12, when six phases of development were identified. Two sets of wall remains in one of the three phases pre-dating the brewery development have been identified as possibly being part of the 'sugar work house' depicted on William Edgar's map and occupying the site between 1752 and 1853.[232] Archaeological finds of pottery, such as moulds used to form sugarloaf cones[233] (the sugar was then broken off the sugar cones as needed using sugar 'nips' or pincers)[234] and jars for holding syrup, were evidence of the sugar refining on site.

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[232] Wilson, Donald, August 2012, *Sugarhouse Close, 160 Canongate, Edinburgh: archaeological works for Watkin Jones Group*, Edinburgh [Online] Available from: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-417-1/dissemination/pdf/headland1-128478_1.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[233] http://www.scs-sugar.sk/webobrazky/image001-jpg.jpg [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[234] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sugarloaf [Accessed 01/02/2016]
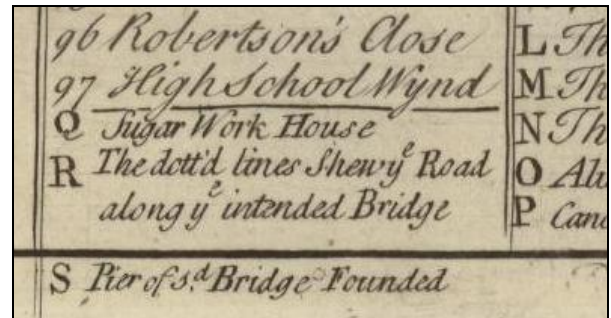
Figures 283 and 284: *Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh', 1765, showing 'Sugar Work House' denoted as '**Q**' (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*

Williamson's Directory, 1773-4 gives us a clearer picture of the diversity of craft industries in the area, where people were producing products on site. Fourteen brewers are noted in the Canongate area, including one James Arnot in Campbell's Close. Campbell's Close eventually became part of the Balmoral Brewery maltings when it was rebuilt in the late 1890s. Four brewers were operating at the foot of New Street: George Bairnsfather; Mrs Blair; John Fleming; and John Carinton. Two brewers, James Gilbert and John Hunter, were operating at the 'foot (north end) of Tolbooth Wynd'. James Hardie and Robert Davidson were brewing at 'Canongate-foot (east end)', along with William Fenton in the Watergate area (now the junction of Calton Road, Abbeyhill and Canongate) and James Gentle at Gentle's Close.[235] Already we can see a pattern developing with a focus for breweries in the north Canongate area and the very beginnings of brewing setting up towards the South Back of Canongate.

Some of these names would continue to play a major role in Edinburgh's brewing industry, including Blair, Hunter and Hardie. The continuity of breweries in the area is also evident. For example, James Gentle at Gentle's Close (120 Canongate): this brewery continued to be used after his death in the 1780s by Richard Younger until the 1790s, before being purchased by Alexander Berwick in 1822. It was then sold in 1858 to William Younger & Company who rebuilt and renamed it Holyrood Brewery.[236] Some of the Holyrood Brewery buildings survive and have been adaptively reused in recent years ensuring that the character of the 19th century brewing boom in the Canongate can at least be referred to in the 21st century streetscape.

The production of bread is also well represented with twelve baxters or bakers noted, mostly on the Canongate itself, two at Canongate 'foot' or east end, seven at the 'head' or west end, and three near the Canongate Kirk. Leatherworking in the form of shoemaking is noted at the 'head' of Canongate, nearest the High Street of Edinburgh.

Weaving is mentioned three times, twice in Shoemakers' Close. This would have been in the form of hand looms in tenements or workshops. Three coopers are noted and are located in open yard areas: White Horse Close; 'opposite' Chessel's Court (presumably in the tenements and open court area now demolished); and in Jack's Land (which stood opposite the entrance to St John Street but no longer exists). A currier operated at the foot of Jack's Close (just west of Shoemakers' Close) who may have supplied the tanner noted at the 'foot' (north end) of New Street.

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[235] *Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs, 1773-74*, Edinburgh, pp 3, 10, 16, 23, 27, 31, 38

[236] http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/bk.html [Accessed 01/02/2016]

The directories provide an amplification of the activities carried out in the Canongate in the late 18th century and depicted on the maps around this time. During this period, maps were business enterprises in their own right and often do not show the extent of services available in the burgh which would have actually been operating at a subsistence level. Many more can be found listed within the street directories, which also operated as business enterprises.

A.2:

Post Office Directory 1799-1800

and

John Ainslie's 'Old and New Town of Edinburgh and its Environs' Map, 1804

Figure 285: John Ainslie's 'Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith', 1804 (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 286: *Distribution of industry types: Post Office Directory 1799-1800 (See over for key to industry types)*
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KEY

Generic Type	No. Of Instances	Activities Included
● Building Construction	4	Wright; Mason
● Chemicals	1	Fireworks makers
● Chemicals: Candlemaking	1	Candlemaker
● Clothing Manufacture	6	Stay maker; Stocking maker; Tambour worker; Mantua maker; Hatmaker
● Craft: Embroidery	1	Embroiderer
● Craft: Engraving	1	Engraver
● Craft: Musical Instrument Making	1	Tambourine maker
● Engineering: Clock Making	3	Watchmaker; Clock and watchmaker
● Food and Drink: Baking	9	Baker
● Food and Drink: Brewing	8	Brewer
● Food and Drink: Meat Processing	1	Flesher
● Leatherworking	5	Leather case maker; Saddler; Leather merchant; Whip maker; Leather dealer and umbrella maker
● Leatherworking: Processing	2	Tanner
● Leatherworking: Shoemaking	11	Shoemaker; Leather spatterdash maker
● Metalworking: Blacksmithing	3	Smith; Farrier
● Metalworking: Iron	4	Smith; Founder and grocer; Iron founder
● Metalworking: Non Ferrous	5	Watch case maker; Silversmith; Goldsmith; Pewterer; Clock dial and tea tray maker
● Printing and Publishing	1	Printer
● Stoneworking	5	Mason; Slater; Marble cutter; Mason and measurer
● Textiles: Cotton	1	Thread manufacturer
● Textiles: Linen and Flax	2	Flax dresser; Lint maker
● Textiles: Rope	1	Rope maker
● Textiles: Weaving	2	Weaver
● Textiles: Wool	1	Stocking maker
● Woodworking	1	Chair maker
● Woodworking: Cabinetmaking	6	Cabinet maker
● Woodworking: Cartwheel Making	1	Wheel wright
● Woodworking: Coachbuilding	1	Coach builder
● Woodworking: Coopering	1	Cooper
● Woodworking: Cork	1	Cork cutter
● Woodworking: Pulping and Papermaking	1	Paper makers and tea dealers
	91	

John Ainslie's 1804 map 'Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with proposed docks' does not name any industrial activity, but it does depict four courtyard-layout buildings (a morphology which often suggests breweries) at the sites of the later Craigend, Drybrough's, Calton Hill and Craigwell Breweries on the former North Back of Canongate (now Calton Road). Alexander Berwick's Brewery at Gentle's Close,

120 Canongate, is depicted by a courtyard complex on the map, though not named, nor is it listed in the directory. A U-shaped building at the west end of the south side of North Back of Canongate was probably also a brewery. The site is named as owned by 'Mr Dryburgh' on William Bell's 'Plan of the Regality of Canongate' of 1813 and as 'Mr Caddle's Brewery' on James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh' of 1821.

The vagueness of the naming of breweries in the **Post Office Directory 1799-1800** is difficult to translate into exact locations, where sometimes only a street name is given. Eight brewers are noted in the areas which, after this time, become associated with the larger breweries of the later 19th century, notably North Back and South Back of Canongate (now Calton Road and Holyrood Road, respectively). These are: James Archer, Abbey; James Dryburgh, North Back of Canongate; John Hardie, Abbey; John Hunter (brother-in-law of William Younger II and taken into partnership with him in 1808), North Back of Canongate; P Morison, foot of New Street, Canongate (to the east of what was later Craigend Brewery); Alexander Walker, Playhouse Close, Canongate (formerly Robert Stein's Brewery); Younger & Sommervill, North Back of Canongate; and William Younger, Abbey.[237]

'Mr Crichton's Coach Work', named on Alexander Kincaid's 'Plan of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh' of 1784, and subsequently named as 'Mr Carfrae's Coach Work' at 112 Canongate on James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh' of 1821, is shown, but not named, on John Ainslie's map of 1804 at 'Crichton's Entry' (number 23 on his key). Sugarhouse Close (160 Canongate) is also listed as number 17 in the key and a building corresponding to the sugarhouse itself is identifiable, though not specifically named.

Over a generation on from William Edgar's map and Williamson's Directory, some 91 crafts and industrial activities are noted within the Canongate area in the Post Office Directory for 1799-1800. Whether this is due to an increase in service provision or an increased take up of the use of street directories by business people is difficult to say. The Post Office Directory shows a concentration of activity at the head, or east end, of the Canongate. Metalworking, stoneworking and clothing manufacture are also well represented in the area by this time.

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[237] *The Edinburgh and Leith Directory, 1799-1800*, Edinburgh, pp 88, 129, 154, 162, 203, 251, 260

A.3:

Post Office Directory 1819-20

and

James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh', 1821

Figure 287: James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh', 1821 (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)

Figure 288: *Distribution of industry types: Post Office Directory 1819-20 (See over for key to industry types)*
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KEY

Generic Type	No. Of Instances	Activities Included
• **Building Construction**	3	Mason and smoke doctor; Builder
• **Chemicals**	2	Chemical works
• **Chemicals: Glassmaking**	1	Caledonian Glass works
• **Clothing Manufacture**	1	Straw hat maker
• **Craft: Musical Instrument Making**	2	Maker of violin and cello; Harp maker
• **Engineering: General**	4	Wright; Patent axle manufacturer
• **Engineering: Machine Making**	1	Mechanicians and patent press manufacturers
• **Food and Drink: Baking**	6	Baker
• **Food and Drink: Brewing**	9	Brewer; Porter brewer
• **Food and Drink: Meat Processing**	1	Flesher
• **Food and Drink: Sugar Making**	1	Sugar works
• **Leatherworking: Processing**	5	Tanner; Currier
• **Leatherworking: Shoemaking**	2	Shoemaker; Boot and shoemaker
• **Metalworking**	2	Metal workshop; Tool cutter
• **Metalworking: Blacksmithing**	1	Smith
• **Metalworking: Iron**	2	Iron works; Iron founder
• **Metalworking: Non Ferrous**	4	Tinsmith; Brass founder; Tin plate maker
• **Miscellaneous Products**	3	Comb maker; Fireworker and figure maker; Umbrella maker
• **Printing and Publishing**	1	Printer
• **Stoneworking**	1	Mason and smoke doctor
• **Textiles: Linen and Flax**	2	Flax dresser
• **Textiles: Processing**	2	Dyer; Silk dyer
• **Woodworking**	4	Lathe splitter; Chair maker; Turner
• **Woodworking: Cabinetmaking**	4	Cabinet maker; Cabinet maker and wood merchant
• **Woodworking: Coachbuilding**	1	Coach maker
• **Woodworking: Coopering**	1	Cooper
• **Woodworking: Cork**	4	Cork cutter
	70	

James Kirkwood & Sons' 'New Plan of the City of Edinburgh' 1821 shows four named industrial sites and depicts a further possible four. There are two named breweries: Mr Berwick's Brewery at 120 Canongate; and 'Mr T Caddle's Brewery' at the west end, south side of North Back of Canongate and Gilmour Street. Caddle's Brewery site, although depicted, ceases to appear in the Post Office Directory after 1818. There is also a coachbuilder and a glassmaker shown: 'Mr Carfrae's Coach Works' at 112 Canongate; and 'Mr Ford' at South Back of Canongate, respectively.

'Richd Young's (Younger) Brewery' at Gentle's Close, off South Back of Canongate, is depicted and named. It had been producing beer on the site since 1788. 'Mr Stein's Brewery', built 1800 and later to become Edinburgh & Leith Brewery, and a 'Tan Works' at Gullan's Lane, west end of South Back of Canongate, are also depicted and named.

The Post Office Directory 1819-20 shows 70 different service/craft/industrial undertakings. There is a drop in leatherworking overall but an increase in shoemaking. Brewing and baking have dropped very slightly from 1800. Brewing firms noted are: Alexander Berwick, Gentle's Close; Andrew Dryburgh, North Back of Canongate; Samuel Halket, foot of New Street (which may have been incorporated into Dryburgh's brewery

to the east of Craigend Brewery); Muir & Sons, North Back of Canongate (later Calton Hill Brewery); Robert Stein (later became Disher's Brewery), St John Street; David Whitelaw, West Campbell's Close (latterly became maltings for Balmoral Brewery, Calton Road); Richard Young, South Back of Canongate (later within premises of Holyrood Brewery); and Younger & Hunter, Horse Wynd (later Abbey Brewery).[238]

Making its debut on maps of Edinburgh, the New Street 'Gas Works', built on the 'property of Alex Ramsay Esq.' (on Robert Kirkwood's 'Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its Environs', 1817), is depicted and shown as potentially five buildings which correspond roughly to buildings depicted on the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1,056 map of 1852 as: 'Fire Department and Retorts'; 'Purifying House'; and three buildings containing 'Gas Holders'. All these named buildings are gone or, more likely, subsumed within the works, by the time of the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1,056 map of 1877. The Gas Light Company offices in New Street are not noted in the street directories until 1820-21, but the construction of the gasworks had begun in 1817 and was completed by 1818. The first trained specialist acquired at the gasworks was John Grafton (1796-1872), a pupil of Samuel Clegg (1791-1861) of the London Chartered Gas Company.[239] Grafton would have designed and overseen the building of much of the gasworks.

Gas was produced by heating gaseous coal in retorts (closed-ended vessels made initially of iron, then later heavy ceramics), heated, the gases driven off into a hydraulic main (this stopped blow back into the retorts when the retort doors were opened for charging with coal), which are then purified, by-products removed and sold on, the gas stored in a holder, metered and distributed. The gasholders at this time would have been of wood on an iron frame suspended above a water-filled pit and would need to be covered by a masonry building to keep out the elements. The retorts would have been single fired (not in multiples and fired from one producer furnace) and made of cast iron. These buildings would have provided the required cover for the retorts, gasholders, pipes, lime stores, purifying apparatus and coal stores. By-products such as tar, ammonia and sulphur compounds were not processed or recycled in the early days of gasworks technology and tended to be collected and dumped. Indeed it was noted that the fetid atmosphere engendered by the gasworks in New Street from the gas escaping from the retorts was joined by the lime water used to purify the gas coming up the drains of houses in New Street. The location of the gasworks, which ultimately caused the downturn of the once genteel New Street, would originally have been chosen partly as the lay of the land would have reduced the amount of pumping needed to move the gas to its customers, which was always a consideration in the building of early gasworks. New Street was in competition with Tanfield gasworks, in the Canonmills area, from the late 1820s, but was able to 'manage prices to their mutual benefit'.

On South Back of Canongate, a 'Mr Ford' is shown on the map. This was a flint glassworks constructed 'about the beginning of the century' and is depicted as having one furnace.[240] Mr William Ford first appears in the Post Office Directory for 1811-12 as being at the Caledonian Glassworks, North Back of Canongate. Ford is not listed in 1816-17, but by 1817-20 he is at Bull's Close on the south side of Canongate. Between 1820 and 1823-4 the business is again not listed. This lack of listing suggests that either the business was in difficulty or William Ford was in ill health. By 1824-5 the Post Office Directory notes a John Ford, Mid Lothian Glass-works at 'Holyrood Street', presumably still in Bull's Close on South Back of Canongate.[241]

By the time the 1819-20 Post Office Directory was published, the sugar works noted on previous maps at 160 Canongate is functioning as such under the name of George Kincaid & Co.[242]

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[238] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1819-20*, Edinburgh, pp 68, 122, 160, 245, 309, 340, 350, 351

[239] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Clegg [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[240] Bremner, D, 1868, *The Industries of Scotland: their rise, progress and present condition*, Edinburgh, p 377 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/industriesscotl00bremgoog [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[241] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1811-12*, Edinburgh, p 87; *Ibid*, *1817-18*, p 88; *Ibid*, *1819-20*, p 135; *Ibid*, *1824-5*, p 75

[242] *Ibid*, *1819-20*, p 189

A.4:

Post Office Directory 1853-4

and

Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map, 1852

Figure 289: *Ordnance Survey 1ˢᵗ Edition 1:1056 map, 1852 (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)*
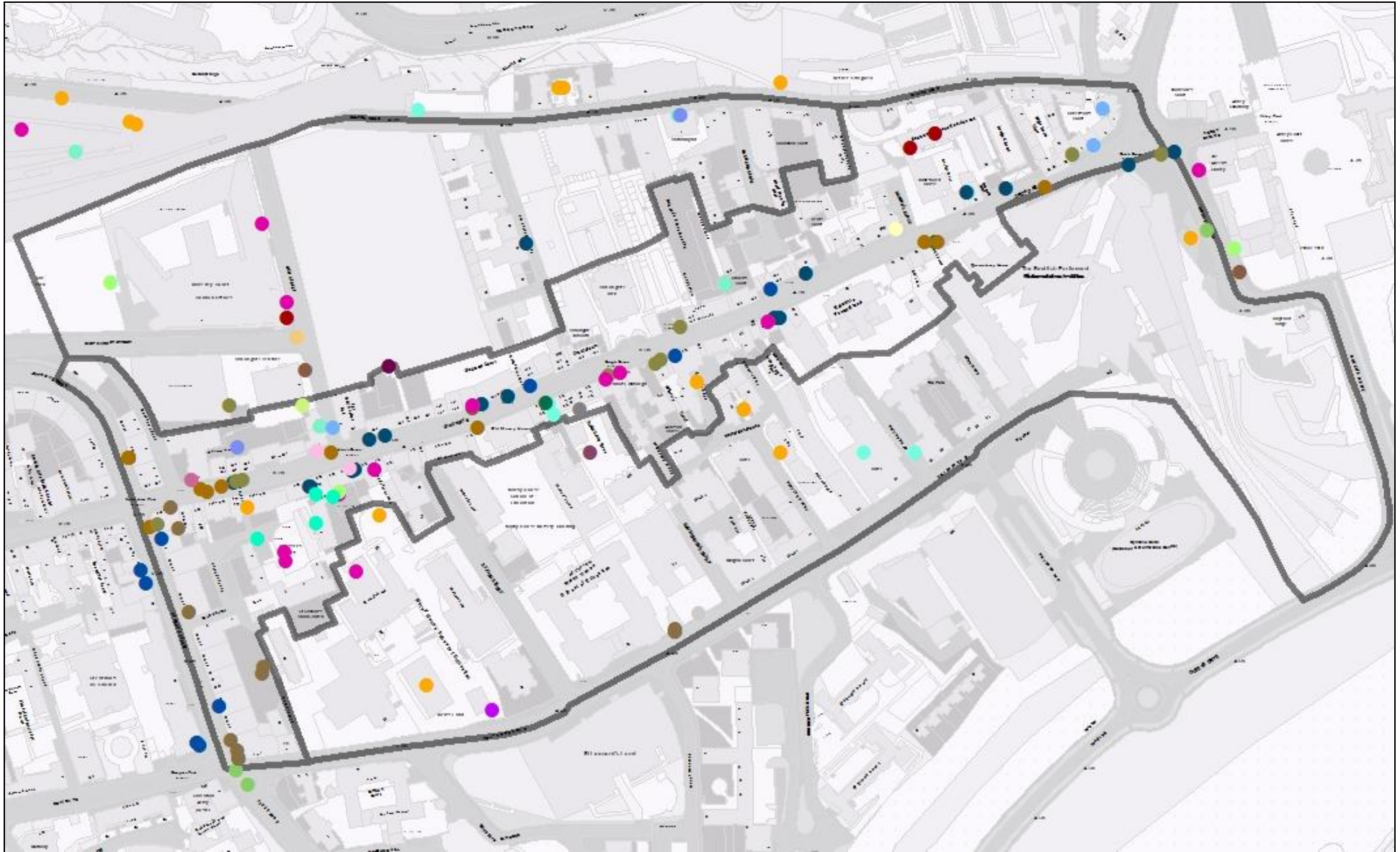
Figure 290: *Distribution of industry types: Post Office Directory 1853-4 (See over for key to industry types)*
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193

KEY

Generic Type	No. Of Instances	Activities Included
● Building Construction	3	Wright
● Ceramics	1	Pipeclay and bath brick merchants
● Chemicals/Public Utilities: Gas	1	Plumber/gas fitter
● Chemicals: Candlemaking	1	Candlemaker
● Chemicals: Glassmaking	5	Glassmaker; Holyrood Glass works; Musical glass manufacturer; Cut glass manufacturer
● Clothing Manufacture	11	Straw hat maker; Tailor; Hatter; Hat makers
● Craft: Bone Carving	1	Comb maker
● Engineering: Clock Making	2	German clock maker
● Engineering: General	5	Engineer; Plane and edge tool maker
● Engineering: Machine Making	1	Engine manufacturers
● Food and Drink: Baking	18	Baker
● Food and Drink: Brewing	13	Brewer; Barm brewer
● Food and Drink: Confectionery	1	Confectioner
● Food and Drink: Meat Processing	19	Flesher
● Food and Drink: Sugar Making	1	Sugarworks
● Leatherworking: Processing	12	Tanner; Currier
● Leatherworking: Shoemaking	10	Shoemaker; Boot and shoemaker; Bootmaker; Cork sole maker
● Metalworking: Iron	2	Hingemaker; Foundry
● Metalworking: Non Ferrous	3	Tinsmith; Goldbeaters; Tinplate worker
● Metalworking: Typefounding	3	Type founders
● Printing and Publishing	13	Printer; Printer and stationer; Bookbinder; Printers' joiners; Stationer/bookseller; Printing and copying press maker
● Textiles	1	Rag dealer
● Textiles: Processing	1	Dyer
● Textiles: Rope	3	Rope maker; Rope and sail maker
● Trade: Painting and Decorating	2	Painter, house
● Woodworking	3	Joiner; Last and boot tree maker; Turner
● Woodworking: Cabinetmaking	4	Cabinetmaker
	140	

The Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852, gives an excellent detailed view of the Canongate area just prior to the City Improvement Scheme of the late 1860s. The following departments of the Edinburgh Gasworks are depicted: three Coal Sheds; one Gasometer; one Meter House; two Purifying Houses; four Gas Holders; one Lime House; one Smithy; 'Fire Department Retorts &c.'; and Chimney.

The growth of the gasworks reflected the expanding gas-consuming population. By the time the gasworks closed in the early 1900s, when Granton Gasworks came on stream, it would have been quite different in form and size to the earlier gasworks. Due to the costs of upgrading, modernisation moved relatively slowly and, as can be seen by comparing the Ordnance Survey 1st and 2nd Edition 1:1056 maps of 1852 and 1877, existing buildings appear to have been incorporated into the expanding site, in particular the Magdalene Asylum and Tobacco Pipe Manufactory (see Section 7, page 46). However, the coal gas-making apparatus

would need to have been upgraded to retort benches, ceramic retorts and multiple gasholders at the very least to keep up with demand and to keep the cost of producing coal gas to a minimum.

At this point, St Mary's Wynd has not yet been widened or renamed, and to the rear of the tenements on the east side in Boyd's and Gullan's Closes, there are two tanneries or tanyards depicted on the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852. Tanneries required space, water, supplies of hides and oak bark and other organic chemicals. Traditionally an urban craft, tanneries in such close proximity to populations was common at this time. The depiction of the tanneries themselves shows the layout of deep pits in a grid pattern with balks (timber beams) between them into which the hides were placed to be steeped in various liquors containing various organic compounds to achieve the cleaning and preservation of the hide. There may also have been pits containing dyestuffs as well.

The Post Office Directory 1853-4 provides further information on these tanneries. It notes that: 'Hugh Brown', currier and tanner, carried out business at Gullan's Close; Adam, David and James Johnston were listed separately as tanners and curriers at 66, 68 and 70 St Mary's Wynd; and also 'Thomas Russell', currier, operated in Boyd's Close.[243] Currying is the process by which hides are prepared for tanning by removing hair and fats. The tanning process stops the putrefaction of hides. Historically, this was achieved by the use of oak bark, although it was a lengthy process. Chemicals were developed that cut the time it took to tan or preserve individual hides. The depiction of the tanneries on this map suggests that they were open to the elements, rather than covered or enclosed.

Edinburgh was one of the main leather manufactory centres in Scotland in the mid-19th century and was one of the three main leather markets along with Glasgow and Aberdeen. Such tanneries would have produced much in the way of effluent – solids as well as lime liquor and water containing tannic acid from the bark pits. Other substances such as pigeon dung could also be used in the preparations for tanning. The move to get the so-called 'stink industries' out of city centres meant that these would be moved to less populous areas, hence the disappearance of these tanneries by the time of the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877.

Thirteen brewers are listed in the Post Office Directory: John Aitchison & Co, 48 South Back of Canongate; John Blair & Co, 23 North Back of Canongate; James Muir & Son/Calton Hill Brewery, 26 North Back of Canongate; Thomas & James Bernard, 71 North Back of Canongate; Drybrough & Co, 67 North Back of Canongate; J & W Burnett, North Back of Canongate; Alex Berwick & Co, Wilson's Court, 134 Canongate; Edinburgh & Leith Brewery, 200 Canongate; James Pringle, 'barm brewer', Gibb's Entry; and William Younger & Co, Horse Wynd, The Abbey Brewery.[244]

The site of the sugarhouse/sugarworks in Old Sugarhouse Close now also has candlemakers 'Leith Candle Company' listed.[245]

The number of bakers noted in the Directory has risen to eighteen, although these would have been small shop-based producers given the addresses listed. It is likely that baking at this time would still have been done on a small-scale as large-scale wholesale bakers did not really develop until the very end of the 19th century.

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[243] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1853-4*, Edinburgh, pp 56, 108, 109, 158
[244] *Ibid*, pp 42, 51, 53, 60, 78, 80, 139, 149, 192
[245] *Ibid*, p 116

A.5:

Post Office Directory 1876-7

and

Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877

Figure 291: Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map, 1877 (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
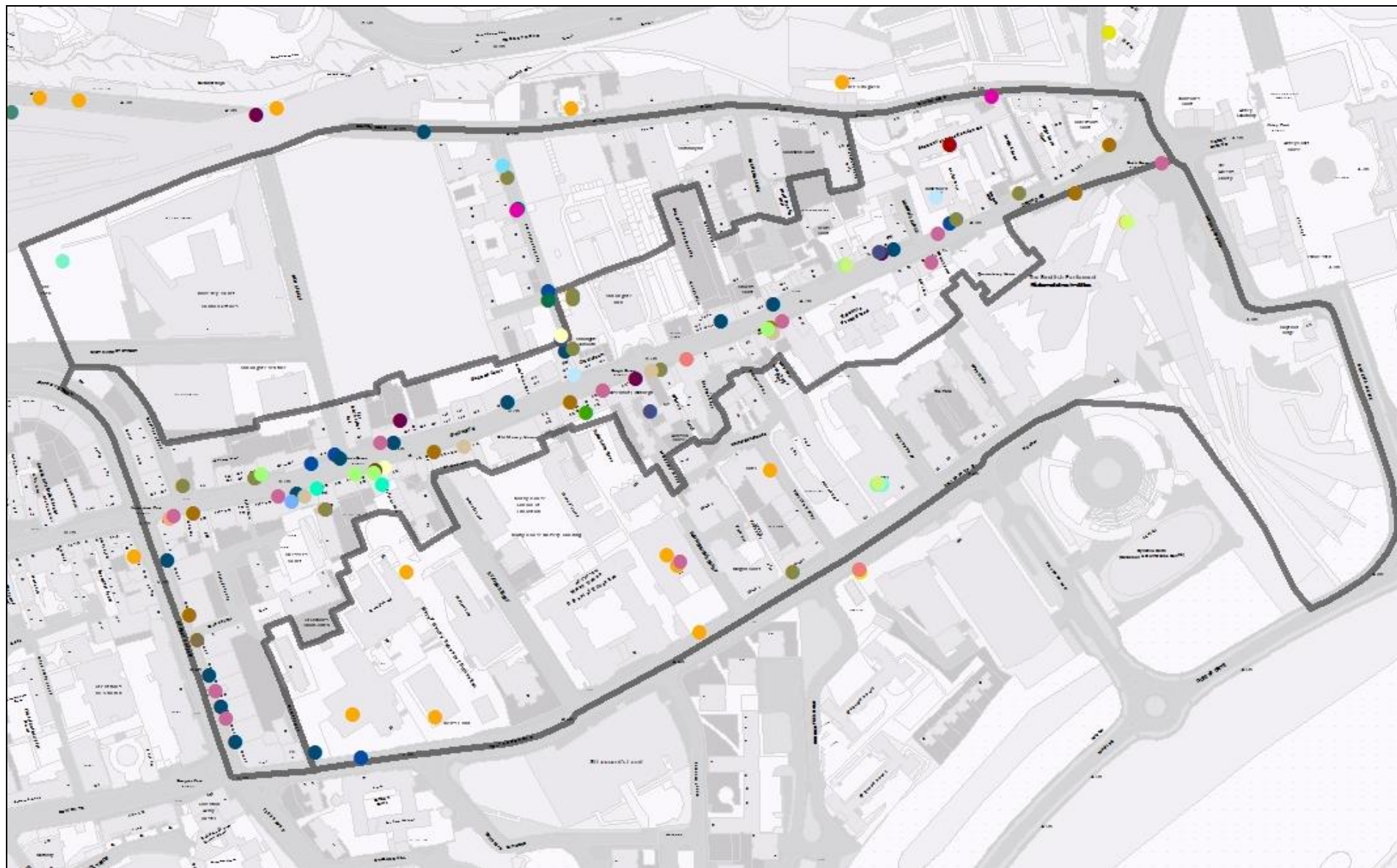
Figure 292: *Distribution of industry types: Post Office Directory 1876-7 (See over for key to industry types)*
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KEY

Generic Type	No. Of Instances	Activities Included
● **Ceramics**	4	Pipe maker; Tobacco pipe manufacturers
● **Chemicals/Public Utilities: Gas**	1	Plumber/gas fitter
● **Chemicals: Glassmaking**	2	Glass engraver; Glassmaker
● **Chemicals: Production**	3	Chemical manufacturers
● **Clothing Manufacture**	5	Dressmaker; Glover/hosier; Hat manufacturers
● **Engineering: Agricultural**	1	Agricultural implement maker
● **Engineering: Automotive**	1	Van and lorry builder
● **Engineering: Clock Making**	1	Clock maker
● **Engineering: General**	2	Scale and beam makers; Gas engineers/ brass founders/meter manufacturers
● **Engineering: Machine Making**	3	Engine and machine makers; Iron founder/ engine maker/machine maker
● **Food and Drink: Baking**	16	Baker; Baker/confectioner; Biscuit manufacturer
● **Food and Drink: Brewing**	15	Brewer; Brewer/maltster; Brewery
● **Food and Drink: Confectionery**	11	Confectioner
● **Food and Drink: Fish Processing**	2	Fishmonger/curer
● **Food and Drink: Meat Processing**	7	Butcher
● **Food and Drink: Preserves**	1	Preserved provision manufacturers
● **Food and Drink: Soft Drinks**	2	Aerated water manufacturer; Sodas water manufacturer
● **Leatherworking: Processing**	1	Tanner and currier
● **Leatherworking: Shoemaking**	11	Boot and shoemaker; Shoeheel and toeplate manufacturer
● **Metalworking**	1	Sawmaker
● **Metalworking: Blacksmithing**	3	Ironmonger/smith; Smith
● **Metalworking: Non Ferrous**	1	Plumber/gasfitter/brass founder
● **Metalworking: Typefounding**	1	Type founder
● **Printing and Publishing**	3	Bookbinders; Engravers and lithographic printers; Printers and stationer
● **Stoneworking**	4	Slater
● **Textiles**	2	Basketmaker
● **Woodworking**	4	Joiner/carpenter; Machine cork manufacturers; Joiners; Turner; Undertaker
● **Woodworking: Cabinetmaking**	2	Cabinet maker
● **Woodworking: Coopering**	2	Cooper
● **Woodworking: Cork**	1	Cork merchant
	113	

The Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory 1876-7 and the **Ordnance Survey 2ⁿᵈ Edition 1:1056 map of 1877** both show a pattern of a change in the appearance of what we would consider to be 'non-vital' product provision. Traditional trades or industries such as brewing, shoemaking, baking (still small-scale but numerous), metalworking, town gas production, brassfounding and blacksmithing now sit alongside the production of confectionery (eleven entries, mostly in the Canongate main street and evenly distributed) and aerated and soda water manufacturers (two entries, on the Canongate main street). The latter was possibly seen as a bulwark against alcohol consumption (by 1831, 44,000 Scots had taken a pledge against

drinking alcoholic beverages), or sold as a mixer for alcoholic drinks. Aerated water manufactories would have found a local ready supply of carbon dioxide, as it was a by-product of the brewing process.[246]

The chemical industries in the Canongate still concentrate on the Holyrood Glass Works, South Back of Canongate and the New Street gasworks. John Ford's Holyrood Flint Glassworks appears to have expanded a little since 1852 with the addition of a building to the east. Flint glass was a type of lead crystal with a high refractive index and great purity. By 1877 the site has expanded somewhat. Bremner states that the nucleus of the buildings had been built by 'the present proprietor's granduncle' in around 1800 (first mentioned in the Post Office Directories in 1811-12).[247] He also says that there were two furnaces (one was depicted on James Kirkwood & Sons' map of 1821) and 22 'pots' – the vessels in which the raw materials were melted together to create the 'metal' which, once processed, produced high quality glass.[248]

The New Street gasworks has extended east by this date, incorporating the site of the former Canongate Foundry in Tolbooth Wynd, now occupied by the 'Coal Shed', one of several components of the gasworks which are named on the map. The smaller coal shed which appears on the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852 has been removed and gas holders built in the north-west corner of the site. This extension also subsumed the Magdalene Asylum as well as the Tobacco Pipe Manufactory at Little Jack's Close, due to the extension of one of the Lime Houses (lime being used to purify the town gas). The original retort house or 'Fire Department' outline has been lost on the map either because it has been subsumed or rebuilt.

The Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory for 1876-7 lists 113 instances of product making (excluding seamstresses/dressmakers). Thirteen brewers or breweries are noted (see table below), and when compared to the preceding Directory entries from 1819-20 and 1853-4, a consistency of ownership and location begins to emerge. The location consistency would be due to the high capital cost of setting up a town brewery, the paramount dependency being a good, clean water supply – the water dictated the type and quality of the beer brewed – and the availability of land for building in a densely populated 'medieval' city. The consistency in ownership – the same names appearing over time (e.g. Dryborough/Dryburgh and Younger) – suggests that there was money to be made in providing the thirsty folk of Edinburgh with a safe alternative to 'drinking the water' and a growth in brewing 'dynasties'.

Brewers/breweries listed in the **Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory of 1876-7***

Company	Brewery Name	Location
Aitchison, J & Co	[Canongate Brewery]	85 South Back of Canongate
Bernard, T & J	Edinburgh Brewery	North Back Canongate, west end
Blair, Charles & Co	Craigwell Brewery	26 North Back Canongate
Carmichael, T	?	41 North Back Canongate
Dryborough & Co	Dryborough's Brewery	67 North Back Canongate
Edinburgh & Leith Brewing Company	Edinburgh & Leith Brewery	212 Canongate /23 South Back of Canongate
Morison, J & J and Thompson	Commercial Brewery	160 Canongate/43 South Back of Canongate
Moyes, Robert	Reid's Close Brewery (formerly rebuilt Berwick's Brewery after 1858 until 1870 when Moyes acquired it	11 South Back of Canongate/Gentle's Close
Muir, James & Son	Calton Hill Brewery	28 North Back Canongate
Simpson, James & Son	St Mary's Brewery	19 South Back of Canongate

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[246] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soft_drink [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[247] Bremner, D, 1868, *The Industries of Scotland: their rise, progress and present condition*, Edinburgh, p 377 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/industriesscotl00bremgoog [Accessed 01/02/2016]

[248] http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-457-1/dissemination/pdf/vol09/vol09_04/09_04_102_109.pdf [Accessed 01/02/2016]

Steel, Coulson & Co	Craigend Brewery	41 North Back of Canongate
Turner, Robert	?	22 South Back of Canongate
Younger, W & Co	Holyrood Brewery (former Berwick's Brewery, Gentle's Close)	27 South Back of Canongate
Younger, W & Co	The Abbey Brewery	South Back of Canongate/Horse Wynd

See also http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/default.html#collectionpolicy. Retrieved: 2 December 2014

Metal industries are represented by the usual blacksmith work and non-ferrous work such as brassfounding and type founders. Until the 1960s Edinburgh was the printing and publishing centre of Scotland and second only to London as a centre of book production.[249] According to Bremner, half of the 10,000 people employed in the printing industry in Scotland were in Edinburgh.[250] The Marr Typefounding Company was at 29 New Street in 1875, moving to Whitefoord House, 53 Canongate in 1876, having taken over Whitefoord House from D Sinclair & Sons. The process of type founding involved four stages: punch cutting; matrice making (brass moulds); casting; and dressing the type. It was a drawn out process of casting individual letters (or sorts) used in hot metal typesetting. In the 1880s, the introduction of the Linotype and Monotype mechanical typesetting machines radically changed this branch of the printing industry.[251]

The leather processing sites in Gullan's and Boyd's Closes and St Mary's Street area had undergone some changes since the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852. The re-aligning of St Mary's Wynd, demolition of the tenements, and the removal of the tannery directly behind these, meant that Boyd's Close was removed, along with Bell's Close. The alignment of Gullan's Close and Gibb's Close survived with some amendment. The surviving tannery on the west side of Gullan's Close was extended or moved to the east side of the close, with the original tan pits now occupied by a building that is referred to on the Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map of 1894 as 'St Mary's Corn Mill'. The 1876-7 Post Office Directory does mention a 'H[ugh] Brown, tanner, currier and leather merchant' at 30 St Mary's Street.[252] The building at the corner of Boyd's Entry has a sculpture of a bull above the doorway, probably indicating that it had links to leather processing. Presumably this was the main office for the tannery in Gullan's Close.

The brass foundry named and depicted on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877, stretching from 90 Canongate (opposite Reid's Court) south to South Back of Canongate, has grown and absorbed Milton House. The outline of Milton House, the former home of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton (1692-1766), built in 1755-8 by John Adam (1721-92), is shown within the brass foundry complex.

[249] http://www.edinburghcityofprint.org/ [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[250] Bremner, D, 1868, *The Industries of Scotland: their rise, progress and present condition*, Edinburgh, p 502 [Online] Available from: https://archive.org/details/industriesscotl00bremgoog [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[251] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Typesetting [Accessed 01/02/2016]
[252] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1876-7*, Edinburgh, p 24

A.6:

Post Office Directory 1893-4

and

Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map, 1894

Figure 293: Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map, 1894 (taken from Georeferenced maps at www.maps.nls.uk. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland)
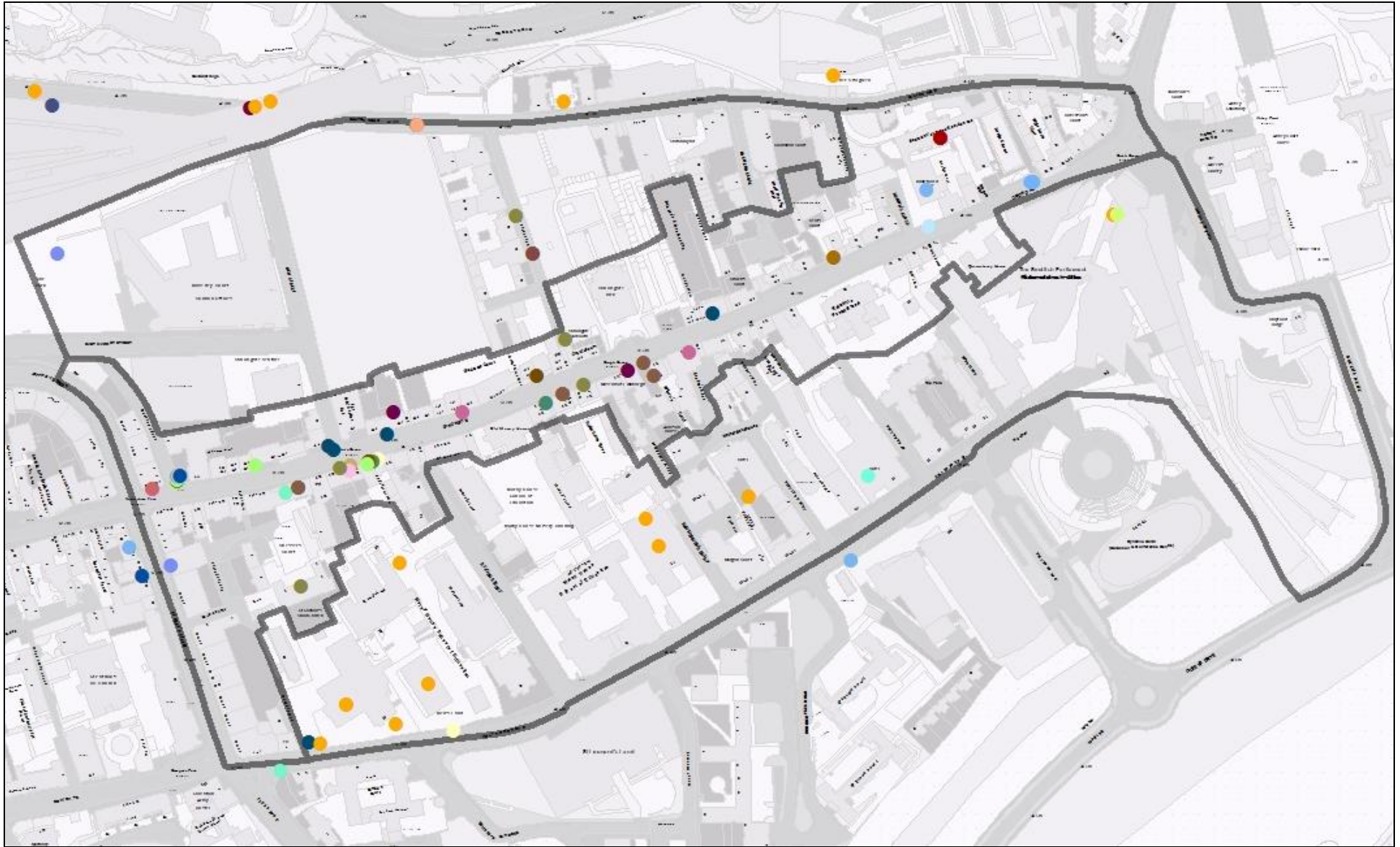
Figure 294: *Distribution of industry types: Post Office Directory 1893-4 (See over for key to industry types)*
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205

KEY

Generic Type	No. Of Instances	Activities Included
● Building Construction	6	Plasterer; Slater; Bricklayer/furnace builder
● Ceramics	3	Pipemaker
● Chemicals: Glassmaking	1	Glassmaker
● Chemicals: Production	1	Chemical manufacturer
● Clothing Manufacture	3	Tailor (woollen); Dressmaker
● Engineering: Automotive	2	Van and lorry builder
● Engineering: General	2	Plumber/gas fitter/brass founder
● Engineering: Sanitation	1	Sanitary engineer
● Food and Drink	1	Dry salter
● Food and Drink: Aerated Water	3	Aerated water manufacturer
● Food and Drink: Baking	6	Baker
● Food and Drink: Brewing	16	Brewer; Maltster
● Food and Drink: Confectionery	2	Confectioner
● Food and Drink: Fish Processing	1	Fishmonger/curer
● Food and Drink: Meat Processing	2	Butcher
● Food and Drink: Preserves	1	Pickle and sauce manufacturer
● Leatherworking: Shoemaking	5	Boot and shoemaker
● Metalworking	1	Shoe heel and toeplate manufacturer
● Metalworking: Blacksmithing	1	Smith and farrier
● Metalworking: Iron	3	Ironmonger/smith; Scale and beam maker; Smith
● Metalworking: Non Ferrous	2	Tinplate maker; Tinsmith
● Metalworking: Typefounding	2	Type founder
● Retail: Food	1	Wholesale provisions merchants
● Retail: Pharmaceuticals	1	Pharmaceutical
● Retail: Textiles	1	Draper/silk mercer
● Retail: Wood	1	Wood merchants
● Textiles	2	Rag dealer; basket maker
● Trade: Painting and Decorating	1	Paper hanger/glazier/house painter
● Woodworking	6	Joiner/carpenter; Undertaker; Turner; Joiner
● Woodworking: Coopering	2	Cooper
● Woodworking: Cork	2	Cork merchants
	82	

The Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory 1893-4 and the **Ordnance Survey 3rd Edition 1:1056 map of 1894**, both list 82 separate entries under the generic types described above. There are a number of changes such as a drop in bakers, cabinetmaking, coachbuilding and the appearance of automotive engineering (which may be just another name for the term 'machine making' appearing in earlier directories) and in the number of confectioners. The two 'confectioners' listed – David Innes at 128 Canongate, and Andrew Chapman at 197 Canongate[253] – did not appear in the 1876-7 Post Office Directory. The aerated water manufacturers (three are listed in 1893-4) include Duncan, Flockhart & Co at 104-106 South Back of Canongate.[254]

The chemical industries in the Canongate still concentrate on the Holyrood Flint Glassworks on South Back of Canongate, and the New Street gasworks. 'Ford, John & Co, flint glass manufacturers to the Queen,

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[253] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1893-4*, Edinburgh, pp 515, 148
[254] *Ibid*, p 85

Holyrood glassworks, 79 South Back of Canongate'[255] appears to have expanded a little since 1876, with Bull's Close realigned, and some buildings presumably demolished when the adjacent Holyrood Brewery was expanded in the Bull's Close area.

The New Street gasworks has undergone some changes since the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877. Two of the three gasholders in the north-west corner have been removed, along with the smithy, the office to the south and the Tar House. The Coal Shed appears to have been rebuilt, though it is unclear if it is still operating as a coal shed as the map does not label individual areas within the gasworks site at this time.

The former formal garden area to the south of the St Magdalene's Asylum (see Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1:1056 map of 1852) has been completely infilled (it still appeared as open space on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877). The retort house or 'Fire Department' outline and large Coal Shed running up to Tolbooth Wynd depicted on both earlier Ordnance Survey maps maintain their footprint.

The Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory 1893-4 lists 82 instances of product making (excluding seamstresses/dressmakers). Sixteen brewers or breweries are noted (see table below), and when compared to the preceding Directory entries of 1876-7, the companies and breweries are static, although the Holyrood Brewery has expanded during this time. The consistency of ownership and location is again evident.

Brewers/breweries listed in the **Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory of 1893-4***

Company	Brewery Name	Location
Aitchison, J & Co	[Canongate Brewery]	21 South Back of Canongate
Bernard, T & J	Edinburgh Brewery	North Back Canongate, west end
Blair, Charles & Co	Craigwell Brewery	26 North Back Canongate
Carmichael, T	?	41 North Back Canongate
Dryborough & Co	Dryborough's Brewery	North Back Canongate
Edinburgh & Leith Brewing Company	Edinburgh & Leith Brewery	212 Canongate /23 South Back of Canongate
Morison, J and J	Commercial Brewery	51 South Back of Canongate
Moyes, Robert	Reid's Close Brewery (formerly rebuilt Berwick's Brewery after 1858 until 1870 when Moyes acquired it	11 South Back of Canongate/Gentle's Close
Muir, James & Son	Calton Hill Brewery	28 North Back Canongate
Simpson, James & Son	St Mary's Brewery	19 South Back of Canongate
Steel, Coulson & Co	Craigend Brewery	41 North Back of Canongate
Turner, Robert	?	22 South Back of Canongate
Younger, W & Co	Holyrood Brewery (former Berwick's Brewery, Gentle's Close)	79 South Back of Canongate
Younger, W & Co	The Abbey Brewery	South Back of Canongate

*See also http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/sba/sbacolls/default.html#collectionpolicy. Retrieved: 2 December 2014

Metal industries are still represented by the usual blacksmith work and non-ferrous work such as brass founding and type founders. However, the brass foundry named and depicted on the Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 1:1056 map of 1877, and stretching from 90 Canongate (opposite Reid's Court) to South Back of Canongate, has been demolished. This has been replaced by Milton House Public School and the extension of the Holyrood Brewery to the south.

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[255] *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1893-4*, Edinburgh, p 101