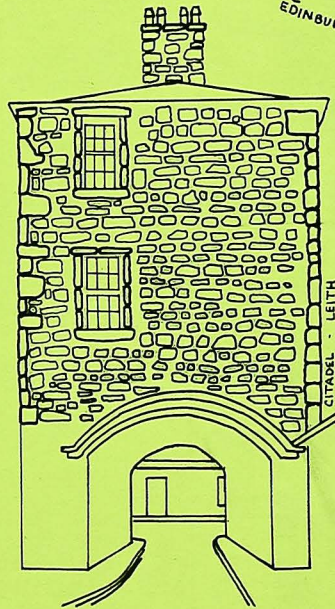
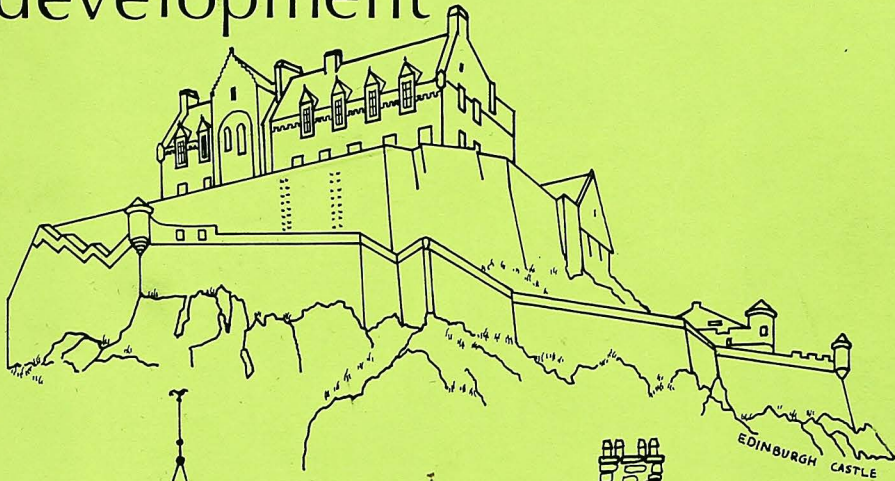


Historic

EDINBURGH CANONGATE & LEITH

the archaeological implications
of development



Anne Turner Simpson
Sylvia Stevenson
Nicholas Holmes

Scottish Burgh Survey
1981

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PREFACE

This report of the history and archaeology of the former burghs of Edinburgh/Canongate and Leith is one of a series of such reports on the historic towns of Scotland. The reports have been commissioned by the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Scottish Development Department with a view to providing the necessary background information upon which to base a policy for urban research in the future. They are also aimed at providing local authority planning departments with the historical and archaeological information necessary to enable them to assess the archaeological implications of any planning applications.

This study contains an historical report compiled by Anne Turner Simpson with an archaeological analysis by Mr. Nicholas Holmes and Mrs Sylvia Stevenson, and a series of illustrative plans compiled and drawn by Sylvia Stevenson. The reports attempt to identify those areas within the burghs which were developed at various periods of their history up to approximately 1800. and to locate within those areas, sites which are of particular historical importance. Areas of 19th century growth and modern suburbs have not been examined.

The survey team would like to acknowledge the help and support of Mr. N. Fort, Director of Planning, City of Edinburgh District Council, and members of his staff; the staff of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey, Edinburgh; The historic Buildings Branch of the Scottish Development Department: The survey team would also like to thank Professor Leslie Alcock and Mr. Eric Talbot who supervised the project at Glasgow University.

Note: The views expressed herein are those of the survey team, freely given, and do not necessarily represent official policy.

Cover : Edinburgh - The Castle,)
 Canongate - The Tolbooth,) Drawn by S. Taylor.
 Leith - The Citadel)

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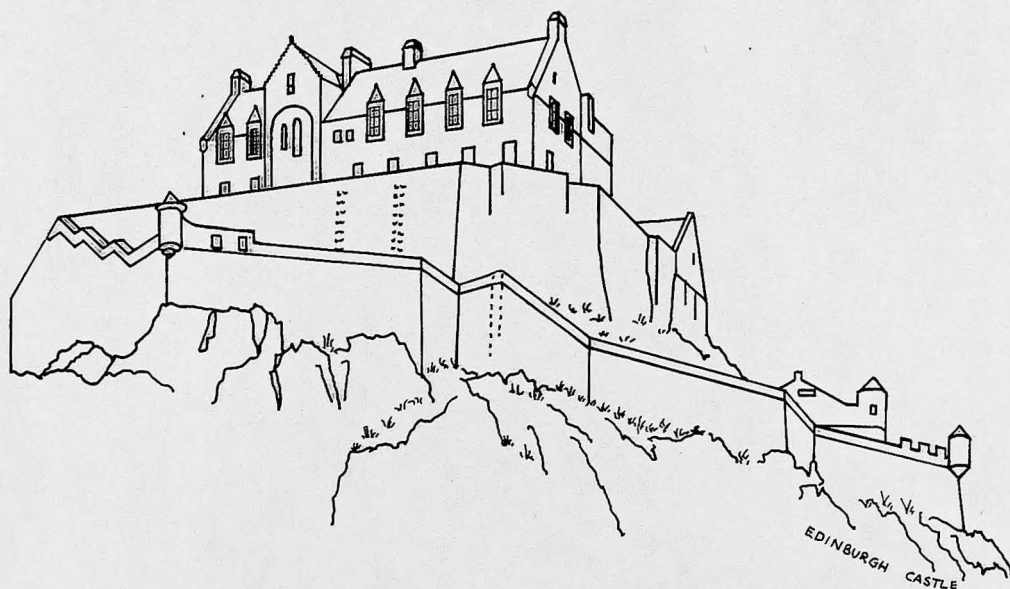
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MAPS

Historic

EDINBURGH

the archaeological implications
of development



Anne Turner Simpson
Nicholas Holmes

Scottish Burgh Survey
1981

Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow

History

'Now alas, the sun of Old Town glory has set forever' (Robert Chambers, 1824).

'...destruction, widespread, ruthless and indiscriminating has been the rule; rarely has any consideration beyond the most badly utilitarian been allowed to influence the decision...this process which has gone practically unchecked for over sixty years, has now reached the point when, if aught of the venerable aspect and romantic interest of our city is to be maintained an entirely different policy must be inaugurated. A united and vigorous effort must be made to rescue from the hands of the house wrecking Philistine all that is possible of the too few relics which still survive. Failing such effort the fatal 'too late' must be the epitaph of the famous Old Town of Edinburgh' (Bruce Home, 1908).

INTRODUCTION

Site: Edinburgh lies within easy distance of the Firth of Forth. The site is marked by the Castle Rock, 'an abrupt eminence of commodious size', which rises to a maximum height of 437 feet (103m) above sea level (RCAM, 1951, xxxvi, 1). The sides of the rock are very steep except on the east where glacial action has formed a slope. On the upper part of this slope Edinburgh developed. Prominent in the neighbourhood of the Castle Rock are various hills including the majestic Arthur's Seat and the Calton Hill. On the south, the ridge is flanked by a valley draining eastwards from a point south-east of the Castle Rock; a small burn used to cut along the north side of this valley, while another small rivulet encircled the west face of the Castle Rock, running east along the valley north of the ridge (Malcolm, 1937, 8; RCAM, 1951, xxxvi). In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries this latter burn was dammed, along with drainage from other streams, to form the North Loch (RCAM, 1951, xxxvi). The North Loch, after existing for two hundred years as a means of defence, a source of eel fishing and a rubbish tip, was wholly drained by 1740 (RCAM, 1951, xxxvi). Another prominent nearby body of water was the South Loch or Borough Loch located near the road leading to the village of Newington. This loch was completely drained by the 1720s and the area is more commonly known today as the Meadows (Maitland, 1753, 173). Edinburgh's early importance is underlined by the fact that eight principal routes fed into it from Peebles, Lanark, Glasgow and Stirling, Queensferry, Roxburgh, Selkirk, the sea and the east

coast (RSGS, 1919, 306).

Place Name: A great deal of controversy surrounds the meaning of the place-name 'Edinburgh'. Thomas Shepard (1969) among many others assumed that Edinburgh was a Saxon name conferred by Edwin, a seventh-century King of Northumbria, who 'having overrun great part of the Pictish territories founded the fortress and gave his own name to this place...and from that time assumed the appellation of Edwin's-burgh and Edine's Burgh'. W.F.H. Nicolaisen on the other hand implies it simply means 'the fortress' and catalogues a wide variety of spellings for the place-name. Eidyn, Dineidyn and Eidyngair are all seventh-century references from a mid thirteenth-century source. Similarly Oppidum Edenn is a tenth-century reference from a chronicle of the fourteenth century, while other varieties include Dun Edenn 1348, Edenbuge 1126, Edeneburgh 1142, Edinburg c.1143, Eduenesburg 1120 and E(d)winesburg c.1128 (Nicolaisen, et al, 1970, 88). Nicolaisen refutes the time-honoured 'Edwin's fortress' on three grounds not least of all because the Angles besieged Edinburgh in 638, five years after Edwin's death. The name occurs in its early Welsh form in the Gododdin poem c.600, some years before the start of Edwin's kingship, while spellings like Edwinesburg (with a 'w' and a possessive 's'), are confined to the twelfth century and therefore reflect a certain scribal pseudo-learned tradition...' (Nicolaisen, et al, 1970, 88). Therefore, he puts 'Edwin's fortress' down to scribal etymology of the twelfth century 'which is impossible to defend but which has lingered on in history books as a convenient explanation especially in view of the fact we do not know what Eidyn, the name of the fortification, meant' (Nicolaisen, et al, 1970, 89).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Burgh Status: No charter of foundation survives for Edinburgh. Edinburgh is mentioned as a king's burgh (de burgo meo de Edwinesburg) in a charter of David I, and was a member of the Court of the Four Burghs (ESC, 1905, 385; Pryde, 1968, 4). Its earliest surviving charter of May 1329 is its grant of feu-ferme tenure and was in 1357-67 among the first groups of burghs to be represented in Parliament (Pryde, 1965, 4).

Medieval: Although the long range and succession of cultivation terraces on Arthur's Seat indicate prehistoric settlement in the area (RSGS, 1919, 283), Edinburgh is first identified in the Brythonic form of Dineidin in the old Welsh poem, the Gododdin of Aneurin, dating from the end of the sixth century (RCAM, 1951, xxxv). The discovery of a Class I Pictish symbol stone (i.e., one with no Christian symbols on it) near the base of Castle

Rock suggests an occupation 'perhaps as early as the Pictish pressure and Roman withdrawal about 450' (Duncan, 1975, 35).

Edinburgh did not become recognised as the capital until the fifteenth century, but it was nevertheless an important early royal centre. St. Margaret, wife of Malcolm III, died in 1093 in the 'Maidens' Castle' (in castrum puellarum) which may have been a primitive fortress atop the Castle Rock, since the proper Norman style castle was not introduced into Scotland until the twelfth century. The Maidens' Castle' was however not a habitual royal residence for Malcolm and Margaret who established their centre at Dunfermline (RCAM, 1951, xxviii). From charter evidence it appears that both David I and Malcolm IV spent some time at Edinburgh, for the former issued fourteen charters from the town and the latter issued twenty (Duncan, 1975, 158).

The fourteenth century was a time of prolonged wars which had a marked effect on the flourishing town of Edinburgh and its castle. Twice in the century the castle was held by the invading English, and after the battle of Bannockburn, Bruce gave orders for the castle to be razed save for a few unimportant buildings. The English retook the Castle Rock in 1335 and had the fortress strengthened, only to have it fall into Scottish hands again a few years later. In an account to the central government in 1342, the town was reported as totaliter vasti (totally waste), but it is unknown to what extent the town had suffered (ER, i, 90). As added protection for his burgesses, Robert III allowed Edinburgh citizens of good reputation who had dwellings within the castle or wished to have such in future, free access to the place for themselves, their servants and their heirs, without having to pay a fee to a constable or janitor (RCAM, 1951, xli). Shortly after the issue of this edict, Richard II, at the head of invading English forces in 1385, had the town burned to the ground.

Despite the wars and hardships of the fourteenth century, Edinburgh won an important concession in 1329. In one of the last public acts of his life, Robert I granted Edinburgh feu-ferme status which meant that the crown no longer treated burgesses as individual vassals, but recognised the burgh as a fiscal unit. The figure of the ferme - 52 merks - is low in comparison to Aberdeen's 320 merks and Berwick's 500 and might suggest that it was then a small, relatively unimportant town. Professor Duncan disagrees. He suggests that the figure must have been fixed at an artificially low level because 'the importance of Edinburgh is attested by its being given feu-ferme status and by exports of wool and hides, then

on the large scale of Berwick or Aberdeen' (Duncan, 1975, 506). This 1329 grant also included the harbour of Leith, mills and other pertinents (RCAM, 1329, xli).

Through Leith, Edinburgh traded with other parts of the kingdom, England (in time of peace) and the rest of Europe. After the fall of Berwick in 1333, Edinburgh rose steadily in importance to become the leading port in Scotland. Edinburgh, however, specialised in the export of staple wares, hides, wool and woolfells (fleece). In 1327, one of the earliest customar's reports surviving for Edinburgh shows that along with those three staple products the town exported a quantity of unspecified carcasses (ER, i, 28). This act was repeated in 1329 and in 1342, the year in which the town had been reported as 'totally waste' (ER, i, 174, 496, 490). The picture remains much the same for the early fifteenth century, though with little mention of carcasses and a growing mention of woollen cloth and fish (ER, iv, v, vi, passim). In the representative year, 1478-9, the total of the great customs from over twenty burghs came to £3,887 18s 2½d (gross), with over half of that total coming from Edinburgh; about one-sixth from Aberdeen, followed by Dundee, Berwick (which had been temporarily regained from the English), Haddington and Perth (Nicholson, 1974, 439). Edinburgh continued to specialise in the export of staple products, although it was not only the crown which sent goods from Leith. The Edinburgh customar's report for 1487 shows that Lord Seton was exporting salt, and Lady Hamilton, James III's sister, was exporting hides (Nicholson, 1974, 440).

Edinburgh rose in importance with the accession of the Stewarts. James I who, it is alleged, tried to make Perth his capital, was at least as often in Edinburgh (Nicholson, 1974, 314). James II was born, crowned, married and buried within the Abbey of Holyrood's precincts and the majority of his Parliaments met in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. In 1447, James II granted the community of Edinburgh the right to hold its second yearly fair after the feast of the Holy Trinity and his successor James III created the burgh a sheriffdom in its own right and in that way sheriff-provost fines went not to the crown, but to the community itself (RCAM, 1951, xliv). The Edinburgh burgesses were a prosperous lot who could afford to lend money to their monarch (ER, iv, 143, 659; vi, 384). However, one shrewd fifteenth-century observer, William Dunbar, was caustic about the state of the capital. In his famous poem 'To the Merchants of Edinburgh' he makes the following observations:-

'May nane pas throw your principall gaitis,
For stink of haddockis and of scattis,
For cryis of carlingis and debaittis,
For fensum flyttingis of defame:
Think ye not schame,
Befoir strangeris of all estaitis,
That sic dishonour hurt your name?

'Your stink and Scull, that standis dirk,
Haldis the lycht fra your parroche kirk,
Your foirstairis makis your housis mirk,
Lyk na cuntray bot heir at hame:
Think ye not schame,
Sa little polesie to wirk,
In hurt and sklander of your name.

'At your hie Croce, Quhar gold and silk,
Sould be, thair is bot cruddis and milk,
And at your Trone bot cokill and wilk,
Pansches, pudingis of Jok and Jame:
Think ye not schame,
Sen as the world sayis that ilk,
In hurt and sclander of your name...

'Your proffeit daylie dois increas,
Your godlie workis les and les,
Through streittis nane may mak progress,
For dry of crukit, blind and lame,
Think ye not schame,
That ye sic substance dois posses,
And will nocht win ane bettir name.

'Sen for the Court and the Sessioun,
The great repair of this regioun,
Is in your burgh, thairfoir be boun,
To mend all faultis that ar to blame,
And eschew schame:
Gif thai pas to ane uther toun,
Ye will decay, and your great name.

Thairfoir strangeris and leigis treit,
Tak not ouer meikle for thair meit,
And gar your merchandis be discreet,
That na extoritiounes be proclame,
All fraud and scheme,
Keip ardour, and poor nighbouris beit,
That ye may gett ane better name...'

Early Modern: Many sixteenth-and seventeenth-century visitors to the capital remarked on the fine, broad main street and the fact that most of the houses were stone built. The earliest surviving account is from the 1535 journal of Alexander Alesius, a heretic in exile, who wrote that the city itself was built 'not with brick but with hewn stones, so that single houses could be compared with great palaces' (RCAM, 1951, xlv). Fynes Moryson in 1598 spoke of the houses which were built of 'polished stone...but the outsides of them are faced with wooden galleries built upon the second storey of the houses, yet these galleries give the owners a faire and pleasant prospect...' (Brown, 1891, 84). Henri Duc

de Rohan in 1600 began with the less than flattering remark 'it has no beauty except that of its great street', and mistakenly, when seeing the stone-built houses faced with wood, said, 'as regards its building they are by no means sumptuous since they almost all are constructed of wood' (Brown, 1891, 93).

Taylor the Water Poet gives a more flattering account of it in 1618, observing that:

'...the buildings on each side of the way being all of squared stone, five, six, and seven stories high and many by-lanes and closes on each side of the way, wherein are gentlemen's houses much fairer than the buildings in the high street, for in the high street merchants and tradesmen do dwell' (Brown, 1891, 110).

Sir William Brereton wrote in 1636 on the healthful, pure air that the city was placed in, but added that it 'doubtless were a most beautiful place to live were not the inhabitants...nasty and slothful people. I could never pass through the hall but I was constrained to hold my nose...' (Brown, 1891, 139). A late seventeenth-century observer, Thomas Morer, spoke of the wide and well-paved High Street but noted the presence of many 'lanes of communication, but very steeply and troublesome and withal so nasty' (Brown, 1891, 280).

Sixteenth-century Edinburgh as capital of Scotland had greater contact with the outside world than other towns in the kingdom and consequently within its bounds was a wide variety of trades and crafts. One of the 'success stories' of the era was that of printing. In 1508 license was granted to Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar to establish the first printing press in Scotland which was set up in the Cowgate at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd. In 1537 another printer set up business and by the end of the century the number of printers in the city rose to six. Edinburgh University, founded in 1583, maintained its own printer and types. In the seventeenth century the trade diversified. Sixteenth-century printers had doubled as booksellers and the quality of their service and product varied, but with the demand for books increasing after the 1603 Union of the Crowns, the trade of bookseller became established in its own right (Shepard, 1969, 12).

While printing led to diversification in the industry such as bookselling, bookbinding and publishing, the sixteenth century witnessed the growth of a number of other trades. Shipbuilding in Newhaven and Leith, which had largely been established by James IV, fluctuated throughout the period.

Tailors, who numbered 178, constituted the largest trade in the sixteenth century, and fewest were the furriers who numbered nine (RCAM, 1951, xlvii). The manufacture of offensive weapons witnessed a wide variety of craftsmen including cutlers, dalmascars who gilded the weapons, gaird makers who fashioned the sword handles, belt-makers and dagmakers who manufactured short pistols (Chambers, 1967, 233). These various professionals later came under the general umbrella of the incorporation of the armourers. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century, however, that we receive the first notice of locksmiths and shearsmiths (Chambers, 1967, 234).

The removal of the court to London in 1603 dampened Edinburgh's fortunes and in the eyes of one observer 'henceforward she resembled a widow mourning the death of her spouse and forsaking all the gaiety and mirth of her former days' (Smeaton, 1905, 97). Perhaps the situation was not as desparate as that, for although the Union of the Crowns in 1603 meant a financial and social loss, Edinburgh retained its prestige as the centre of the administration and judiciary. Life in the seventeenth-century capital was bound up with national politics; the struggle between laird and baron, the struggle between kirk and King.

Much of James VI's rule was caught up in trying to establish episcopacy in the Scottish church and in the resistance he encountered from the Presbyterian party. Many of the early General Assemblies of the Kirk met in Edinburgh, which provided much of the support for Andrew Melville, champion of the Presbyterian party (Donaldson, 1965, 200). King James responded by ordering many of the General Assemblies to meet in places where episcopacy met with some favour. Turning to Edinburgh he had the town divided into four parishes which spread ministers throughout the various quarters of the town, for by living next to each other they would have had greater opportunity to plot against the crown (Arnot, 1816, 200). James VI's successor, Charles I, not only created more parishes in 1641, but took the imposing step in 1633 of creating Edinburgh a bishopric (Arnot, 1816, 201). In doing so the king halved the weighty see of St. Andrews and gave to the Bishop of Edinburgh all lands south of the Firth of Forth. Moreover, Edinburgh was to be third in episcopal precedence behind St. Andrews and Glasgow (Arnot, 1816, 202). The episcopacy was short-lived. It was abolished in 1638 and although attempts were made to revive it after the Restoration of 1660, bishops in the Scottish Kirk were ultimately suppressed in 1689.

Despite the struggles between the crown and kirk which raged throughout much of the seventeenth century there was a definite improvement in the standard of living for residents of the capital. In 1635, a regular postal service was established between London and Edinburgh. At that period the time allotted for the delivery of a letter was three days, a fact which Arnot caustically observed 'is a full twelve hours quicker than it is performed at present' (1816, 414). By 1715, Edinburgh had communication with seventy post-towns in Scotland alone (Grant, 1882, i, 382). Concurrent with the increased use of postal facilities came the rise of the stagecoach, which had first been introduced to Edinburgh in the first decade of the seventeenth century by a resident of Pomerania, who secured a royal patent for fifteen years to run coaches between Edinburgh and Leith (Arnot, 1816, 463). The first attempt at a regular coach service in 1678 between Edinburgh and Glasgow proved, however, to be unprofitable and the service had to be abandoned 'so little was the intercourse between place and place in those days' (Grant, 1822, i, 204). Road improvements in the eighteenth century made stagecoach travel a more desirable and profitable pursuit, thus bringing Edinburgh into further contact with centres throughout the kingdom. For travel within the city, sedan chairs became popular for ladies in the seventeenth century and until the Industrial Revolution sedan bearers were a familiar sight in the streets of the capital.

Increased contact with the outside world brought a change in the manners, customs and dress of the citizens. As early as 1633 the town council legislated against the wearing of plaids by women, denouncing it as 'that barbarous and uncivil habitte'. To judge by the number of times such legislation had to be introduced it is apparent that such a restriction was not popular (Maitland, 1753, 64, 70, 84). In an attempt to stamp out debauchery, women were also forbidden, by a 1695 statute, to sell or draw ales or other intoxicating liquors (Maitland, 1753, 111). Though public houses never lost their appeal, coffee houses, licensed by the town council, were first opened in 1677 and continued in popularity throughout the eighteenth century (Maitland, 1753, 100). Silk-weaving and fancy leather-work were both introduced into the city in the early 1680s, while a Frenchman opened a wig-making shop in 1676 and a compatriot of his, reintroduced to Edinburgh the art of papermaking (RCAM, 1951, 1i).

Relations with France and the Continent did not stop on the domestic side. France and the Low Countries had always been prime areas of trade

along with Norway, the Baltic, England and Spain. In 1621, bells from Campveere were imported for use in St.Giles Church and at the Netherbow Port (Maitland, 1753, 62). In their 1692 report to the Convention of Royal Burghs Edinburgh magistrates gave an account of their recent overseas trade, which included ships bound for Holland, Amsterdam, London, Hamburg and France (RCRB, iv, 566). Exports to Holland included sheepskins, coal and wool, while to London, as well as coal, dressed leather goods and 'some linen cloth mostly from Glasgow' was sent (RCRB, iv, 566). In the national taxation for that same year, 1692, Edinburgh paid a contribution of £32 6s 8d, well above that of her nearest rival Glasgow which contributed £15 0s 0d (RCRB, iv, 161).

Eighteenth Century: The loss of the Scottish Parliament in 1707 meant a further blow to Edinburgh's prestige. Parliament had drawn together nobles and well-educated people from all corners of the kingdom who rushed about in their 'brave attire' through the streets of the capital. 'After 1707 all this was sadly changed' (Graham, 1901, 81). Union was specially unpopular in Edinburgh, for on 1 May 1707, when the act came into force, the bells of St.Giles began the day with the tune 'Why Should I Be Sad on My Wedding Day?' (RCAM, 1951, 1i). Some observers, like Henry Grey Graham, noted a decline in business and commercial activities, plus a slackening in intellectual and social pursuits in the years immediately preceeding Union (1901, 82).

Perhaps those 'persons of quality' who left Edinburgh for London at the Union welcomed the chance to escape the dirty, overcrowded Scottish capital. Many visitors to the city, including Joseph Taylor in 1705 remarked on the:

'...nastiness of the inhabitants: the excrements lie in heaps...in a morning the scent was so offensive that we were forc't to hold our nose as we past the streets and take care where we trod for fear of dislodging our shoes...'
(Smout, 1973, 343-344).

Taylor's final caustic comment was that 'the lodgings are as nasty as the streets'. Not a favourable comment on the Scottish capital, where each night filth in every household was collected and poured into the High Street to the cry of 'Gardy Loo' (Gardez l'eau) (Graham, 1901,83). Dirt, filth and dinginess marred Edinburgh's beauty while people lived in cramped conditions in the high tenements which overlooked broken, narrow causeways.

By the 1760s the situation was little changed. At that time only the most adventurous quit the crowded conditions on the ridge for houses which were being built to the south of the town. However, with the construction of the North Bridge in 1772 and later the Mound, easier access was gained to the brave scheme being developed on the other side of the hollow formed by the drained North Loch, the New Town. Although settlement in the New Town was initially not brisk, by 1783 tradesmen and persons in humble stations were occupying houses once inhabited by nobles, fine ladies, judges and Lords of session.

The reporters in the Statistical Account noted many changes in manners and customs between 1763 and 1783, besides the obvious growth of settlement in the New Town and changing social patterns in the old. In 1763 perfumers were unknown and barbers, wigmakers, and hairdressers few in number. By 1783 perfumers had splendid shops in every principal street. Hairdressers had tripled in number and there was a professor who advertised a hairdressing academy and gave lectures on that 'noble and useful art' (Withrington and Grant, 1975, ii, 32). As late as 1763 no coaches were made in Edinburgh and the gentry and nobility had to purchase them in London. By 1783 all that had changed (Smout, 1973, 349). Newspapers jumped in number from two small folios in 1763 to four established papers in 1790 and six in 1792 (Withrington, 1975, ii, 31).

Despite the filth and the dank conditions, many residents continued to pursue 'the good life' in their capital city. In 1710 the first Assembly Room was opened and it was here at public balls that society met (Graham, 1901, 97). These quarters were later established in the Assembly Close off the High Street. Legitimate drama in Edinburgh, which for many years had been denounced by ministers and laity alike, had a shaky start in 1736, when a play-house was opened in Carruber's Close only to be summarily shut under the influence of the clergy and magistrates (Graham, 1901, 94). A permanent theatre opened its doors in 1756 and 'since that time every celebrated actor in Britain, Garrick alone excepted, has appeared on the Edinburgh stage' (Kincaid, 1787, 198). In 1728, a musical society had been introduced in Edinburgh for weekly concerts 'and this not only gave encouragement to the science, but created amateurs and professors' (Shepard, 1969, 16). The society's popularity grew to such an extent that a concert hall, modelled on a continental opera house was erected on the east side of Niddry's Wynd near the

Cowgate (Kincaid, 1787, 147). Golf had long been a popular pastime and was openly encouraged by the town council who in 1744 gave a silver bat to be played for annually by the recently established society of the Company of Golfers (Shepard, 1969, 17). Another popular athletic pursuit was that of horseriding. A riding school (or the Royal Academy for Equestrian Exercises) originally built by public subscription, but which ultimately gained a royal charter, was opened in 1764.

BURGH MORPHOLOGY

Street Layout: Castle Hill, Lawnmarket and High Street make up the main artery of the medieval burgh. In total it is about one-half mile (0.8km) in length and starts about a bowshot from the ramparts of the castle, running eastwards downhill on the crown of the ridge to a point where the road narrows (Lindsay, 1947, 6). At this point, the High Street was terminated by the Netherbow Port which may have been in existence by the mid-twelfth century (Duncan, 1975, 467). Beyond that port lay the separate burgh of Canongate.

It has been suggested that Lawnmarket formed the urban nucleus, developing where the old road from the West Bow climbed the slope to join the road up the 'tail' and so to enter the castle (Duncan, 1975, 466). The first settlement grew up around this market. St. Giles Church, and the frontage line from there down to the Netherbow would have been a later development, together with the Pleasance and the Potterow (Duncan, 1975, 466). Professor Duncan further comments on the extreme width of the street that 'it is a market street for all its length', yet because of the fact that the toft frontages on the north side were not straight, the street 'was scarcely laid out at one time' (1975, 466). There is evidence that the street was wider by seven feet (2.13m) on each side than 'it is at present' (Miller, 1886, 361). In 1508, the council allowed residents in the High Street to extend their house frontages by seven feet (2.13m) on each side thereof. This ordinance comes hard on the heels of a town council purchase of wood in the burgh muir, and in order to sell the timber the magistrates allowed residents to construct wooden fronts (Maitland, 1753, 183; Miller, 1886, 361).

Cowgate represents perhaps Edinburgh's first attempt at municipal extension. The street developed about 1330 in a valley to the south of the ridge where to the east the Dominican Friary had been established about 1230 and on the west Franciscan Friars would follow in the fifteenth century (RCAM, 1951, xli). Settlement in the Cowgate initially

grew up only on the south side of the thoroughfare, the north being hampered by a burn. When in the last decade of the fifteenth century the burn was finally filled in with earth from the slope of High Street, the foundations of buildings were laid out with piles of oak and willows on levelled ground (Malcolm, 1937, 8). Early sixteenth-century Cowgate (specifically on its south side) was 'where the nobility and the chief men of the city reside and in which are the palaces of the officers of state and where is nothing mean or tasteless but all is magnificent' (RCAM, 1951, xli). Present-day Cowgate is a far cry from this description given by Alexander Alesius.

Grassmarket occupies part of the southern valley which lies under the Castle Rock and was formed as a thoroughfare roughly at the same time as Cowgate, although it appears to have been two-thirds its present size (RSGS, 1919, 315). The Grassmarket is a spacious street, an oblong quadrangle of houses which at one time was the scene of executions as well as a market-place for corn and cattle (Shepard, 1969, 56). It was first paved sometime before 1543 for in that year is a notice that someone was to repair the 'calsay' from the Upper Bow to the West Port (Grant, 1882, ii, 230).

Grassmarket was connected with the Castle Hill by way of an exceedingly steep and twisting street known as the West Bow. Until the opening of South Bridge in 1788, West Bow was the only passage by which a wheel carriage could attain that part of the city from the south (Shepard, 1969, 30). (A narrow wynd, Castle Wynd, ran up the side of Castle Rock from the Grassmarket but was unfit for coaches). The West Bow was said to have been formerly inhabited by whitesmiths who lived in picturesque houses with over-hanging storeys, but Thomas Shepard, who drew the scene in 1829, was of the opinion that 'few persons will regret their removal, to make room for modern improvements' (1969, 30). 'Modern improvement' did come in 1835-40 when much of the narrow way was obliterated by Victoria Street.

Candlemaker Row is the first portion of the old way that led from the Grassmarket to the lands of Bristo. As its name implies, it was an industrial area, but when the candlemakers' incorporation first settled in the thoroughfare cannot be positively established. Gordon's plan of 1647 shows a close line of street occupied by houses along the whole of the east side from Greyfriars Port to Cowgatehead (Laing, 1869, n.p.). Candlemakers had previously maintained workshops in the High Street, but

the unsavoury smells, coupled with the extreme fire risk, forced the town council to suggest new premises for them. In the seventeenth century 'Candlemakers Row' was not considered a part of the burgh and the magistrates allotted it as 'the most proper place for the candlemakers' (Gray, 1930, 104). The name Candlemaker Row, however, does not appear on record until 1722 (Gray, 1930, 106).

Maitland listed in the mid-eighteenth century twelve streets which were in the city and liberties of Edinburgh, viz., Bristow Street, Grassmarket, Canongate, Landmarket (i.e., Lawnmarket), High Street, Potterow Street, Portsburgh Street, Pleasance, Luckenbooths Street, Lauriston Street, Cowgate and Newington Street (1753, 216). In addition he listed one square, twenty-two wynds, eight courts, 260 closes, nine backs, four entries, five hills, three rows and four yards (Maitland, 1753, 216).

As mentioned above (see p.12) Castle Wynd was a narrow passage which led from the Grassmarket up the Castle Rock. In the early nineteenth century there were still some houses in this wynd which were covered 'in the primeval style' with thatch (Chambers, 1967, 6). Forrester's Wynd possibly takes its name from Sir Adam Forrester of Corstorphine, a late fourteenth-century town magistrate. Marlin's Wynd is one thoroughfare which has vanished in the face of modern improvements. It was named after a Frenchman, Walter Merlion, who in 1532 first paved the High Street. Close to Marlin's Wynd was Niddry's Wynd now represented as Niddry Street, which was re-sited a good deal further east due to the changes made in the wake of constructing the South Bridge in the 1780s (Watson, 1923, 78). Like Niddry's Wynd, Peebles Wynd, is first mentioned in fifteenth-century records, as is Todrig's Wynd, (Watson, 1923, 76, 82). Blackfriar's Wynd first occurs under that appellation in the fifteenth century though is thought to be much older (Watson, 1923, 81). High School Wynd, formerly a narrow thoroughfare leading from the Cowgate to Infirmary Street, in the early nineteenth century could still boast wooden fronted houses 'affording one of the best specimens of the ancient style of building in Edinburgh' (Shepard, 1969, 87).

Like a number of its wynds, Edinburgh has lost many of its closes and we could no longer enumerate 260 as Maitland did. In recent years several of the surviving closes have been cleaned and offensive smells eradicated providing the visitor with a fascinating glimpse into Edinburgh's backlands. Among the most well-known of Edinburgh closes is

Lady Stair's Close, so-called after the prominent seventeenth-century house which in 1719 was purchased by the Dowager Countess of Stair. Anchor Close, off the High Street, has two nondescript seventeenth century buildings in it, while Advocate's Close, also off the High Street, is one which has undergone a great deal of clearance, but retains a dwelling with a late sixteenth-century lintel (RCAM, 1951, 89, 86). Near the site of the Netherbow Port is World's End Close, so-called because it is at the very end of the High Street. Originally called Swift's Close, the name World's End Close first appears in a 1725 protocol (Watson, 1923, 83). Cockburn Street claimed many closes including Auld Provost's Close (Watson, 1939-40, 121), while Brodie's Close, which formerly extended from Lawnmarket to Cowgate, was cut through by Victoria Street. It was named for Francis Brodie, wright and glassgrinder, who had the dubious honour of having sired the notorious Deacon Brodie, (the model for Robert Louis Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde) (Watson, 1923, 8).

Until the seventeenth century, Edinburgh had only gradually spread out from the protection of the ridge and its southern valley. In 1612 the town council gave orders for 'divers causeways' to be laid out between Edinburgh and Leith, in the street at the Potterow Port and another in what is now Candlemaker Row (Maitland, 1753, 58). Two private seventeenth-century improvement schemes included Milne's Square and Milne's Court, both constructed on sites specially cleared for the purpose (RCAM, 1951, lxxii). Designed by the King's Master Mason, Robert Mylne of Balfarg, both the square and the court were erected after an Act of Parliament regarding ruinous houses in the royal burghs (Stirling, 1925, 45).

By the middle of the seventeenth century, Edinburgh was getting to be a very overcrowded city indeed. The burgesses were bound by statute to live in the city, which was surrounded by a stone wall. Gordon's plan of 1647 shows the extent to which the backlands of tenements were built up, tenements which in some cases reached the staggering height of fifteen storeys (Laing, 1869, n.p.). Clearly Edinburgh could not expand much further than that vertically and with no room for growth in the backlands she could only look to the vacant fields south and north of the ridge.

Expansion to the south predated the growth of the New Town to the north. South Bridge, begun in 1785 and completed by March, 1788, connected the

High Street with Nicolson Street, Nicolson Square, and its environs. The Bridge is composed of nineteen arches, of various sizes all of which are concealed save the one which traverses Cowgate. In digging the foundations of the central pier of the bridge, which were no less than twenty-two feet (6.71m) deep, it was reported that a hoard of coins mainly of the first three Edwards was found (Shepard, 1969, 86). Nicolson Street (1749) with its later square (1759) provided an easy access to the town from the south. The square, which was begun in 1766, measured 665 feet (212m) by 510 feet (155.4m) and had four streets which led on to it: Charles, Crichton, Windmill and Buccleugh. Work on George Square was slow for by 1816, only three sides had been completed, and the south remained unbuilt (Arnot, 1816, 248).

The first stone of the North Bridge was laid on the 21 October, 1763, by Provost Drummond who had projected and recommended the plan of forming a road from the Old Town, to the planned New Town district (Shepard, 1969, 38). After various delays, the bridge, which had swept away most of Milne Square and Court, was opened in 1772. The new district, to which it provided easy access, had for many years been debated and discussed. James VII, as Duke of Albany, resident Royal Commissioner in Scotland, proposed schemes for municipal expansion and it is said that in his long years of exile following the unsuccessful rising of 1715, the Earl of Mar, spent countless hours at Aix-la-Chapelle, drawing plans for the extension of Edinburgh (Grant, 1882, i, 335). The plan for what is still known as the New Town of Edinburgh was prepared by James Craig in 1767. North Bridge was only the first stage. Craig's plan as conceived and carried out consisted of a wide street (George Street) running on an east-west axis along the crest of a ridge terminated at each end by handsome squares (St. Andrew Square and Charlotte Square). Two streets (Queen Street and Princes Street) ran parallel to George Street, but at a lower level (Lindsay, 1947, 8). Between the squares and perpendicular to the main axis were Castle Street, Frederick Street and Hanover Street forming eight blocks of building (RCAM, 1951, lxxiv). It was difficult at first to induce people to settle in the New Town and a premium of £20 was offered by the magistrates to the person who raised the first house. This prize was won by Mr. John Young who raised a mansion in Rose Court, George Street, the first house in the New Town, whose foundation stone was laid personally by the architect James Craig on 26 October, 1767 (Grant, 1882, ii, 118). Settlement had increased by the end of the century (Graham, 1901, 126) and Craig's Plan

the first phase of the New Town, was virtually finished by the completion of Robert Adam's superb design in 1800 (Lindsay, 1947, 8). Edinburgh boasted a number of medieval suburbs. Among the earliest suburb was the Pleasance, perhaps created in the thirteenth century when the burgh expanded eastwards (RSGS, 1919, 308). In the early nineteenth century it consisted of one mean street, though it was on the road to London, and there was said to be 'nothing remarkable' about the settlement except a brewery 'where the best strong beer of any is made in Scotland' (Arnot, 1816, 251). Another early suburb was a settlement called Potterow located outside the Potterow, or St. Mary's Port, to the south of the town. Chief inhabitants appear to have been brewers and tradesmen who were not burgesses and paid no dues to the town (Wood, 1974, 29). Portsburgh was located at the west end of Edinburgh and consisted of a narrow street formed by mean houses and dirty miserable alleys (Arnot, 1816, 252).

Broughton, like Canongate, was conveyed to Edinburgh by terms of the financial arrangements of 1636. It was first mentioned in the 1128 X 1153 charter of confirmation to Holyrood Abbey (ESC, 1905, 117), and was within the regality appertaining to that monastery. The village of Broughton, which stood near present-day Barony Street, all but disappeared in the early nineteenth century (RCAM, 1951, 1x). It boasted an early sixteenth-century tolbooth, pulled down in 1829, and was long a famous haunt of witches (Fairley, 1923, 18). Another ancient barony which has now been engulfed by the city is that of Restalrig. Lands of Restalrig, which included the Calton Hill, passed gradually into the hands of the Edinburgh town council. Described as having a 'decayed appearance' in the nineteenth century, Restalrig is best known for its parish church with its late fifteenth-century chapel of St. Triduana and its dubious honour of having been one of the first churches to suffer at the Reformation (RCAM, 1951, 253).

Market Area: Edinburgh had an extended market area. The earliest description of the various markets dates from the reign of James III, and clearly demonstrates that High Street by the late fifteenth century was no longer the sole commercial centre. Fish was to be bought and sold in the Cowgate from the Netherbow to Blackfriars Wynd, while the hay, grass and straw markets were also to be situated in the Cowgate from Peebles' Wynd to Forrester's Wynd. Shoemakers were to sell their wares in Forrester's Wynd, and Niddry's Wynd was established as the site of the salt market. Butter, cheese and wool were to be peddled

in the West Bow, while cattle were to be bought outside the West Port. Established in the High Street were the meat, meal and poultry markets (Robertson and Wood, 1928, 268, 269).

The market venues did not remain static. In the sixteenth century, for example, the meal market was shifted from the High Street to 'some becoming place' (RCAM, 1951, xliv). For a period the meal market was established in Greyfriars Churchyard, until 1716 when it was moved to the Grassmarket (Watson, 1923, 131). In Maitland's day a number of markets were held in the High Street including fruit, herbs, copper, flesh, brass, white-iron and wooden wares (1753, 183). Wednesday was then the market day and among the number of markets operating were two for fish, and others for cattle, straw, corn, meal, poultry, flesh and shoes (Maitland, 1753, 216).

Market Cross: The first reference to a market cross occurs in a 1365 sasine which indicates that it stood on the south side of the High Street about 45 feet (13.72m) east of the present church of St. Giles (RCAM, 1951, 121). It was repaired to a large extent in 1555 and it is believed that, at this time, the open arches were filled in with walls for greater security (Arnold, 1885, 41). In an effort to widen the street the cross was entirely rebuilt in 1617 (RCAM, 1951, 121). This structure, which is illustrated on Gordon's plan of 1647 (Laing, 1969, n.p.), was described as an octagon of sixteen feet (4.88m) in diameter, about fifteen feet (4.57m) high surmounted by a unicorn (Arnold, 1885, 65). Maitland simply dismissed it as a building 'which may well be spared, it being only a receptacle for filth and nastiness' (1753, 216). The market cross was not spared. A poem appeared in 1766 with the lengthy title, 'The Last Speech and Dying Words of the Cross of Edinburgh Which Was Hanged, Drawn and Quartered on Monday 15 of March for the Horrid Crime of Being an Incumbrance to the Street' (Arnold, 1885, 125). A market cross modelled after the pre-1617 structure was erected in 1885.

Weigh-House: At least four weigh-houses occupied a site at the corner of the West Bow and Castle Hill. The earliest reference to a weigh-house or butter tron occurs in 1384 (RCAM, 1951, 126). In 1614 the town council replaced the old weigh-house with a new structure which is illustrated on Gordon's Plan of 1647 showing it to have been a substantial building, two storeys in height with a double outside stair and capped by a steeple and vane (Laing, 1869, n.p.). That structure

was demolished in 1650 and was not replaced until 1660. By the early nineteenth century, one observer thought that the weigh-house had had its day. Writing in 1816, Arnot caustically remarked on the spire and clock which 'were removed about 100 years ago for no other reason but because they served in some shape to ornament a clumsy building which incommodes the street and ought to be pulled down as a nuisance' (Arnot, 1816, 233). This 1660 structure was demolished in 1822 to widen the approach to the castle (RCAM, 1951, 127). A salt tron stood in the High Street south of the parish church of St. Giles and gave its name to the Tron Kirk (Reid, 1894, 53).

Walls: Although Edinburgh possibly had some early system of defence, the most sophisticated walling operation dates from the mid-fifteenth century. James II gave licence to the burgesses 'to fosse, bulwark, wall, toure, turate and uther wais to strengthen our forsaid burgh in quhat manner of wise or degree that be maist spedeful to thame' (Coutts, 1975, 5). The King's Wall, as it was called, was apparently in existence by 1450 and stretched from the south side of the Castle Hill, running halfway down the slope between the south side of the High Street and the Cowgate, until it reached the Netherbow Port (Miller, 1892, 166). Significantly, the defence excluded Cowgate and Grassmarket. Two fragments of the King's Wall were uncovered in the nineteenth century. In 1822 workmen uncovered a portion of the old wall forty feet (12.19m) long and 20 feet (6.10m) high when digging the foundations of a lock-up house in connection with Parliament House, some ten feet (3.05m) south of the Advocates Library. In 1845 another considerable portion was found on the east side of the Old Parliament Stairs (Miller, 1892, 167). Remains proved the King's Wall to be a solid and 'magnificent piece of masonry when compared with the hasty erection of 1513' (Grant, 1882, ii, 245).

The disaster of Flodden In September, 1513, and the danger of an English invasion led to the construction of a second wall along the south side of Edinburgh. This wall, the so-called Flodden Wall, was more extensive than its predecessor in that it included not only Cowgate and Grassmarket, but the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries. The first section of the wall ran south from the Half Moon Battery of the Castle to the West Port. From that gateway the wall passed up the east side of the Vennel near to its summit where stood a corner tower. From this tower the wall skirted the north side of what was later to be George Heriot's Hospital and eventually met the Bristo Port and later

the Potterow Port. From here the wall ran south for a few yards then continued eastwards in a line with the external way of the old university library and passed down the north side of Drummond Street. Here opposite Roxburgh Terrace stood a small projecting gateway and farther east at the junction of Drummond Street and the Pleasance was a bastion, remains of which can still be seen. From this point the wall turned north, running up to the Cowgate Port and then connecting with the Netherbow. According to Maitland the wall continued beyond this gateway, along the west side of Leith Wynd turning south along Trinity College Grounds, and ran to the south-east corner of the North Loch at the foot of Halkerston Wynd (RCAM, 1951, lxiv-lxv). There is no evidence to suggest that the wall ever wholly encircled the town.

Repairs on the wall were carried out frequently: in 1557, 1571 and in 1679, when notice occurs that the wall had broken down between the Potterow and Bristo Port (Bryce, 1909, 73). The presence of Jacobite troops in 1745 led to repair and strengthening of the wall as well as digging a ditch on the north side of the Castle Rock (Maitland, 1753, 125). This did not stop the Highlanders, who seized the town's armoury. In 1787 there was a clearance of the greater part of the ancient barriers, most of the rest of which suffered the same fate between 1827 and 1837 (RCAM, 1951, lxvi).

Fragments of the wall still survive. On the east side of the Vennel south of Brown's Place may be the shell of the only surviving tower of the Flodden wall. Roughly on plan it has rubble walls, which are about four feet (1.22m) thick and stand nearly twenty feet (6.10m) from the ground at southwest corner to the modern embattled top (RCAM, 1951, 120). All that remains of the Telford Wall, which was built as an extension of the Flodden Wall to encase the grounds of Heriot's Hospital, is a stretch running southeast for a distance of 130 yards (118.87m) along the east side of the Vennel from the tower mentioned above. It is rather thicker than the Flodden Wall and constructed of much larger stones (RCAM, 1951, 121). A fascinating 'non-fragment' of the Flodden Wall is its course marked by a gap, the lower part of which has been filled in, separating Nos. 5 and 7 Forrest Road (RCAM, 1951, 120). Other fragments of the Flodden Wall can be seen near Drummond Street.

Ports: Edinburgh boasted a number of ports, many of which date from the erection of the Flodden Wall. Cowgate Port was erected in 1516 and stood at the junction of St. Mary's Wynd. It was demolished in 1715

on the approach of rebel forces (Wilson, 1891, ii, 127). Southwest of the Cowgate Port was that of Potterow, or St.Mary's Port, called after the nearby church of St.Mary's-in-the-Fields. Bristo Port, which was erected in 1515, has been known by a variety of names including Greyfriars from its proximity to the Friary, and Society (Maitland, 1753, 139). St. Andrews Port at the foot of Leith Wynd was another incorporated into the Flodden Wall (Kerr, 1932-3, 305). and Maitland notes two others, the College Church Postern and Hospital Postern (1753, 140), but these were probably only means of access to Trinity College and Hospital (RCAM, 1951, 1xv). West Port succeeded the earlier West Bow Port (Kerr, 1932-3, 297) and was in existence by 1437 (Grant, 1882, ii, 222). It stood at the western end of the Grassmarket and opened roads to Queensferry and Glasgow (Lindsay, 1947, 7). Another early port, possibly dating back to the mid-twelfth century (Duncan, 1975, 467), was the Netherbow. It has been suggested that the earliest Netherbow Port might have stood in the neighbourhood of 'John Knox's House', where there is a 'suggestive break in the house fronts', but a plan of the city in 1544 clearly shows the port in a line with St.Mary's Wynd (RCAM, 1951, 123; Kerr, 1932-3, 305). The port, rebuilt in 1571, was said to have been in a semi-ruinous condition in 1762 and was demolished in 1764. Its image, however, still graces the city's seal, and its position is marked in the roadway.

Harbour: Edinburgh had been granted the harbour of Leith by the terms of Robert I's grant of 1329 and later won from the baron of Restalrig the right to erect piers, wharves and warehouses for the purpose of enhancing their export and import trade. Nevertheless, more than once, schemes such as extensive canalling were laid before the town council for bringing the seal up to the North Loch, a feat of engineering which proved to be beyond the power of the promoters (Wood, 1927, 5).

BUILDINGS

Castle: There has been some kind of fortress atop the Castle Rock since early times. Queen Margaret, widow of Malcolm III, died here in 1093, while the fortress was under siege, and her body was transported through a postern gate on the western side to be buried in Dunfermline Church (Shephard, 1969, 49). The structure in which she died was loosely defined in a chronicle as the 'Maidens' Castle (in castrum puellarum) (RCAM, 1951, xxxviii), but as the Norman type castle was not introduced until the twelfth century it is impossible to know exactly to what type

of fortress the chronicler was referring. The only remains of the eleventh century 'Maidens' Castle, is the humble chapel of St. Margaret which consists of a nave with a chancel arch and a chancel which has a rounded apse (MacGibbon and Ross, 1896, i, 225). The genuine surviving Norman masonry begins below the line of the south windows (MacGibbon, 1896, i, 225). Standing on the extreme summit of the Castle Rock, the chapel has had a chequered history, for in the sixteenth century it was employed as the gunnery storehouse (Richardson and Wood, 1953, 6), and in the late nineteenth century as 'a shop for the sale of nick nacks to tourists' (MacGibbon, 1896, i, 205).

The castle itself had a very chequered career. First mentioned in a c.1127 charter of David I (ESC, 1905, 59), by 1174 an English garrison was stationed by terms of an agreement worked out following William the Lion's capture at Alnwick (Barrow, 1971, 8). The castle was restored to the Scots following William's marriage to the cousin of the English monarch, Henry II (Shepard, 1969, 50). During the early phase of the Wars of Independence, the fortress was held by the English, but was recaptured for Bruce in 1313 who gave orders for its demolition, excepting non-essential buildings. For the next twenty years the castle lay in ruins, but between 1335 and 1341 when the fortress was once again in English hands, efforts were made to reconstruct it (RCAM, 1951, 2). On release from English captivity in 1346, David II added greatly to the existing structure including the erection of a large keep, known as David's Tower. The castle was almost entirely destroyed during a siege in 1573 and the existing buildings and layout of the fortress date mainly from that period when the Regent Morton had the castle rebuilt.

The main group consists of buildings which surround the palace yard and occupy a high position on the southeast corner of the hill. This area is known as the citadel of the castle. The ruin of David II's keep forms the core of the Half Moon Battery, a fact revealed in 1912 (Richardson, 1953, 1). On the south side of the palace yard is the Great Hall which dates from the early sixteenth century and which has been variously used as a barracks, a hospital and now houses an armour collection (Richardson, 1953, 11, 13). On the north side of the square stands the impressive Scottish National War Memorial which appears to occupy the site of St. Mary's Church first mentioned in the fourteenth century (RCAM, 1951, 18). On the west is a block dating from the mid-eighteenth century now adapted as a military museum (RCAM, 1951, 18).

The Palace Block, basically a sixteenth-century structure, completes the quadrangle.

St. Cuthbert's Church: This church, lying to the north and west of the Castle Rock, was the original parish church of Edinburgh (Duncan, 1975, 465). St. Cuthbert's, which probably dates from the eleventh century (RCAM, 1951, 185), was granted by David I to Holyrood Abbey, a grant confirmed by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, c.1130 (ESC, 1905, 75). Its strategic position helped in three separate sieges of Edinburgh Castle: in 1573, 1650 and 1689. When the present church came to be built in 1892-4, the foundations of at least six earlier churches were found (Anon, 1960, 16), although nothing visible remains of its medieval fabric (RCAM, 1951, 185).

St. Giles Church: It has been suggested that the chapel of Edinburgh Castle which was conveyed to Holyrood Abbey (ESC, 1905, 75), served as the church for the early urban nucleus (Duncan, 1975, 466). St. Giles succeeded this Edinburgh Castle chapel as burgh church and its parish was carved from that of St. Cuthbert (Duncan, 1975, 466). David I, however, granted the church of St. Giles with its grange to the Lazarites, a possession which was later confirmed by Pope Innocent III (Cowan, 1967, 177). During the period of war and schism in the fourteenth century the lands of St. Giles and other patronage of the church fell to the Scottish crown which proceeded to disburse them once more. As early as 1419 the burgesses of Edinburgh were pressing the crown to raise St. Giles to collegiate status, but this was not granted until 1466 (Cowan, 1967, 177). By the year 1559, St. Giles boasted forty-four chantry altars and nearly one hundred officiating clergy (Meikle, 1948, 22).

It is possible that the earliest church structure was that of an un-aisled nave with the same dimensions as the present one, and probably an apsidal sanctuary in the position of the existing crossing (RCAM, 1951, 26). It is unknown when the church became cruciform although the tower was in existence by 1387 (RCAM, 1951, 26). By the early fifteenth century, at the time when Edinburgh first pursued the idea of collegiate status, virtually a new church was taking form. It consisted of a choir with four bays and side aisles; a nave of five bays, also with side aisles; and a central crossing with north and south transepts (MacGibbon, 1896, ii, 420). St. Giles survived the Reformation with little external structural damage, and internally it suffered only through the large number of times it was divided and

subdivided to take in new congregations. When episcopacy was established in 1633 the body of the church was temporarily made whole again, although Charles II's plans to see the building remodelled on cathedral lines went unrealised (RCAM, 1951, 30). In 1871, when it was decided to restore it as much as possible to its pre-Reformation character, all galleries and partition walls were removed, opening the building into a single place of worship (Gray, 1940, 21).

Trinity Church: Trinity Church was founded by Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II, and stood on the site now largely occupied by Waverley Station. On its south side stood the manses of the prebendaries and standing opposite was the hospital, Trinity House, founded as part of the same benefaction for the support of thirteen poor people (RCAM, 1951, 36). The church consisted of a choir with north and south side aisles, north and south transepts, but no nave. It is assumed that the death of the foundress in 1463 hindered progress on the structure (MacGibbon and Ross, 1896, iii, 89-90). In 1848, the church was carefully demolished stone by stone to make way for Waverley Station and as it was intended to rebuild the structure, each stone was diligently numbered (Gray, 1940, 55). Alas, the stones lay dormant for years in Regent Road, and only a small number were used in constructing the hall of Trinity Church in Jeffrey Street in 1872.

St. Mary's-in-the-Fields: St. Mary's-in-the-Fields, located to the south of the Old Town, first appears on record in the late thirteenth century and is shown in a 1544 engraving to have been a large cruciform church with a tall tower in the centre. It was granted collegiate status in the early sixteenth century (Cowan and Easson, 1976, 220), but the prebendaries and nearby hospital were reputedly destroyed by the English in the 1570s. Kirk-O'Field was the scene of the murder of Lord Darnley the second husband of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Tron Church: The Tron Church was erected on the suggestion of Charles I after the establishment of a bishopric in Edinburgh required the removal of the partitions in St. Giles which had divided it into multiple congregations (Wood, 1974, 30). Begun in 1637, the church was not completed until 1647 with some detail added in 1660. At first called Christ's Church, the name was altered to Tron Church because of its proximity to the Salt Tron.

Lady Yester's Church: Lady Yester's Church owes its origin to the generosity of Lady Yester who gave the sum of 10,000 merks to build a church and another sum to support a minister. In 1655, the church,

situated on the west side of High School Wynd, was made one of the town's parishes (Kincaid, 1787, 206).

Madgalen Chapel: Like Lady Yester's Church, Magdalen Chapel owed its origin to the benefaction of a private citizen. Located in the Cowgate opposite the Greyfriars, this chapel with a hospital attached was founded by Michael Maquhen and his wife Janet Rynd, for a chaplain and seven poor men in 1537 (Cowan, 1976, 176). Both the chapel and the hospital, whose patronage had meantime switched to the Incorporation of the Hammermen, survived the Reformation with little structural damage. It is possible that the first meeting of the General Assembly met within its walls and the 1578 Assembly which did convene in the chapel saw the birth of Presbyterianism under the moderatorship of Andrew Melville (Gray, 1940, 44). The chief glory of the chapel is, however, to be found in its four stained glass shields which now adorn the centre window. Represented on the plates are the arms of Mary of Guise, the Royal Arms of Scotland, the arms of Michael Maguhen and the impaled arms of Maquhen and Rynd. These are the only specimens of Pre-Reformation stained glass of any importance left in Scotland (Smith, n.d., 6-7).

Blackfriars: A colony of Blackfriars, or Dominicans, dated from c. 1230. They were established by Alexander II who granted to them the place in which the king's manor house was situated (Cowan, 1976, 116). The friary was partly burned by the English and was wholly sacked and destroyed by the Reformers in 1559. In 1560, stones from the friary were being used for public works (Grant, 1882, ii, 285), and in March, 1566/7 the crown granted to the burgh the Blackfriars lands and possessions (Cowan, 1976, 116).

Greyfriars: A colony of Greyfriars, or Franciscans, dates to the summer of 1463 when there is notice of repairs to their place loosely stated to be 'outside the burgh' (Cowan, 1976, 131). The friars moved to a site within the burgh following the grant of land bestowed on them by James Douglas of Cassillis before 1479 when they were confirmed in their possession by James III (Cowan, 1976, 131). The friary was destroyed by the Reformers in 1559 and in 1562 the citizens petitioned the Queen for the Greyfriars yards to be used as a municipal burying ground.

In name the church survived the Reformation. By 1612, with overcrowding in the High Church of St. Giles, the town ordered the construction of

a church on the upper part of their new cemetery. The first church had an aisled nave with six bays and a western central tower. Munitions stored by the town council in the tower exploded in 1718 causing an amount of damage to the fabric of the church. This led to the construction of a second church at Greyfriars and a split congregation which did not unite until 1929.

Carmelites: A third order of friars, that of the Carmelites, was short-lived in Edinburgh. Founded in 1520 x 1525 on a site in Greenside, by 1529/30 there was friction with Holyrood Abbey which led to the 'down-casting of the house in which the friars lived' (Cowan, 1976, 136).

Nunnery: Edinburgh boasted only one nunnery, that of the Dominican order dedicated to St. Katherine of Siena, which was founded in 1517 (Cowan, 1976, 153). The allegation that there was an order dedicated to St. Mary of Placentia is wrong. Maitland alleged that a nunnery dedicated to St. Mary of Placentia stood in the Pleasance, but 'at what time or by whom the said monastery was founded, I cannot say' (1753, 176). The claim was perhaps strengthened by the donation to the newly-formed Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1781 of a 'representation of Our Saviour before the Jewish High Priests' which was covered in alabaster and said to have been found in the ruins of an old religious house in the Pleasance (Wilson, 1891, ii, 128). C.A. Malcolm convincingly showed that the nunnery was purely an invention of Maitland to account for the place-name Pleasance (1937, 2).

Heriot's Hospital: Edinburgh maintained a large number of chapels and hospitals throughout the middle ages, and in the early modern period. Heriot's Hospital was a post-Reformation foundation, the benefaction of an Edinburgh goldsmith, George Heriot. Begun in 1629, the building was not completed until 1660, although thirty orphan boys took up residence the previous year (Dewar, 1950, 5). The hospital, which was perhaps more suitable a residence for a king than for poor orphans (Shepard, 1969, 70), is one of the finest remaining examples in Scotland of late Renaissance architecture (RCAM, 1951, 111).

University: After the failure of many earlier projects, a university was founded at Edinburgh in 1583. Scanty funds hindered expansion in its first years, and necessitated the use of existing buildings, such as the Duke of Chatellhareuralt's town house and the church of St. Mary's-in-the-Fields. In time there grew up at Kirk O'Field a quaint group of quadrangular buildings which Maitland described as having three courts, one to

the north and a smaller one to the south, two sides of which were occupied by lecture rooms, professor's houses and the library, as well as the house of the principal and living quarters for resident students (Anon, 1884, 64).

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century the college buildings were inadequate for the needs of the students. The school had grown from humble beginnings until 1750 when it boasted four faculties and had been a degree granting university since the early 1700's (Blaikie, 1909, 8). Nevertheless the university buildings were falling into disrepair, so much so that an Italian traveller in 1788 remarked, 'what is called a college is nothing else than a mass of ruined buildings of very ancient construction...' (Anon, 1884, 67).

As early as 1768 Principal Robertson had pushed for new university quarters, but the foundation of a new complex was not laid until November, 1789 after a portion of the old college had been pulled down (Anon, 1884, 68). Robert Adam designed the new quadrangle and the site he had to deal with faced the new artery known as South Bridge on the east, rising sharply in the west to the thoroughfare known as Horse Wynd, which led to the Potterow Port (RCAM, 1951, 115). On the north the site was bounded by Jamaica Street which ran west on the line of the modern Chambers Street through Argyle's Square to Candlemaker Row. The boundary on the south was 'Thief Row' which became College Street. The east end of College Street is some ten feet (3.05m) higher than Chambers Street, and Adam took full advantage of the difference of level, placing a great portico in the centre of the facade (RCAM, 1951, 115). The portico, which is guarded by six massive doric columns, led to an atrium inside, and an arcaded passage led west to the main quadrangle, or great court, beyond (RCAM, 1951, 115).

Tolbooth: The earliest reference to a tolbooth (pretorium) in Edinburgh occurs in 1369 (RCAM, 1951, x1). It was apparently burned during the English invasion of 1385, for in the following year Robert II gave a piece of ground sixty feet (18.29m) in length by thirty feet (9.14m) in breadth on the north side of the High Street for the erection thereon of houses and biggings, a charter endorsed as relating to the site of the 'Belhous' (RCAM, 1951, x1). The 'Belhous' was undoubtedly a public building, for a bell was the usual means of summoning public gatherings. The fourteenth-century tolbooth, which may have been erected next to the 'Belhous', was situated a few feet west of the gable of St. Giles. From 1480-1, the tolbooth appears to have included a prison, but remained

without material alteration until 1561 when town officials decided to extend the tolbooth to St. Giles (its south front was in a continuous line with the north wall of the church) (RCAM, 1951, 127; Miller, 1886, 363). These expansion plans were blocked by Queen Mary and the town council was forced to build a new tolbooth.

The new tolbooth, again situated at the western end of St. Giles, was paid for entirely by the citizens of Edinburgh, even though it included meeting space for Parliament and the Lords of Session, as well as the town council. It appears that the tolbooth consisted of two adjoining blocks, the west one of four storeys and an attic served by a central turnpike projecting from the south side. The eastern block, known to the very last as the 'Belhouse', was altogether finer with four storeys and an attic all built of polished ashlar (RCAM, 1951, 127). In 1817, the tolbooth was taken down and its stone removed to Fettes Row, there transferred into 'the common sewers and drains' (Wilson, 1891, i, 254). Maitland's claim (1753, 181) that there was an 'old tolbooth' in the Bank Close off Lawnmarket is erroneous. He confuses this with Robert Gourlay's House, a fine residence which lodged from time to time important prisoners but which was never used as a tolbooth.

High School: In 1328 occurs the earliest mention of a school in Edinburgh, although the High School was not mentioned by name until the early sixteenth century (Barclay, 1974, 137). In 1555 school met at Kirk O' Field, but after the Reformation the site moved to Blackfriars. This building, with its three storeys, crow-stepped gables and two circular towers, was used by Cromwell after the battle of Dunbar to house troops (Grant, 1882, ii, 288, 290). Scholars in the meantime convened in Lady Yester's Church. In 1777 the foundation of a new school was laid at High School Yards, but by 1829 a new facility had opened on the north side of Regent Road.

Houses: Nothing remains of Edinburgh houses earlier than the third quarter of the sixteenth century (RCAM, 1951, xxxviii). From a contemporary print showing the murder of Darnley in 1567, Edinburgh houses appear with crow-stepped gables and forestairs (RSGS, 1919, 316). It is safe to assume that stone was used in constructing houses from an early date (Wood, 1974, 27), although wood from the burgh muir was used in the erection of dwellings and timber frontages (RCAM, 1951, xl). Danger from fire - for there were many repeated disasters; in 1385, 1544, 1573, 1603, 1661, 1676 and 1700 - occasioned the town council at several junctures to order that no person should build a house with wood of cover it with thatch.

The high tenements, or 'lands' as they were called, were not a product of the first half of the sixteenth century, for houses at that period modestly had two storeys with an attic (RCAM, 1951, lxvi). On the ground floor, cellars and shops could be found along with stables, living quarters were on the first floor, completed by a loft or attic (RCAM, 1951, lxii). By the seventeenth century the tenement had become the standard form of housing, and town council efforts to limit building to five storeys went largely unobserved (RCAM, 1951, xlvi). Maitland observed that the tenements of his day were from one to twelve storeys in height (1753, 140). However, in the disastrous fire which swept one quarter of the city in 1700, a tenement was destroyed which had seven storeys towards Parliament Close and which then dropped sharply away towards the Cowgate some fifteen storeys (RCAM, 1951, 128).

Eighteenth-century social divisions in the tenement houses were not denoted vertically but horizontally (Smout, 1973, 140). Maitland observed that in Edinburgh it was not deemed mean 'to dwell or lodge in the highest apartments, for even merchants and bankers transact their affairs in the third and fourth stories; and many persons of distinction lodge higher' (1753, 140). In the same building lived families of all grades and classes: the sweep in the cellar, mechanics and tailors in garrets, while in the intermediate storeys above the worst of the smell from the street below, but with not so high a climb, resided ministers, doctors, nobles, lords of session, perhaps a dowager countess, while higher up over their heads lived shopkeepers, clerks and dancing masters (Graham, 1901, 85; Smout, 1973, 346).

John Knox's House: Located in the High Street, the so-called John Knox's House is one of Edinburgh's most picturesque houses and is also the sole remaining example of the timber-fronted galleries which were once so common in the capital city (RCAM, 1951, 97). The house is four storeys high with a floor beneath ground level. The claim that it was John Knox's House goes no further back than 1784 (RCAM, 1951, 96), and was the subject of a spirited debate in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the late nineteenth century. C. Guthrie went to great lengths to attempt to prove that the house was indeed that of John Knox (1890-91, 333-351), but P. Miller argued convincingly that the dwelling belonged to George, Abbot of Dunfermline. Miller also pointed out that two great early historians of Edinburgh, Maitland and Arnot, make no mention of the house (1890-91, 138-153). After receiving the advice of the Dean of Guild that

it was in a ruinous condition and ought to be removed, the house was instead extensively restored in 1849 (Guthrie, 1890-91, 333).

Gladstone's Land: While John Knox's house is the only timber-fronted house left in Edinburgh, Gladstone's Land is of interest being the only structure left in Edinburgh with a genuine arcade, also once a common feature of the High Street (RCAM, 1951, 74). Remains of sixteenth-seventeenth-and eighteenth-century work abound in this six-storey building (Hurd, 1948, 14). Dormer windows and crow-stepped gables are another feature along with a wooden painted ceiling dating from 1620 (Hurd, 1948, 19). Gladstone's Land, which was restored in 1935, is now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland.

Luckenbooths: This name was given to a row of four-storeyed tenements which were timber-fronted, located on the north side of St. Giles Church. Only a narrow passage separated the Luckenbooths from the buttresses of the church. When first built, perhaps as early as 1386 (Miller, 1886, 371), the tenements were only of two storeys and were called the Buth Raw (RCAM, 1951, 127). The intrusion of the Luckenbooths and the tolbooth on to the High Street caused resentment, for it greatly narrowed passage in that thoroughfare and consequently they were swept away along with the tolbooth in 1817.

Mills: The history of Edinburgh's mills is obscure and it is difficult to distinguish between those of the burgh, the king, the church and others (RCAM, 1951, 1xi). An early reference to a mill at Edinburgh occurs in c.1144 when David I granted to the canons of Holyrood novi molendini de Dene et burgi mei de Edeneb (ESC, 1905, 123). By the early eighteenth century Edinburgh owned no fewer than sixteen mills and most of them were located in the valley of the water of Leith (RCAM, 1951, 1xi). Among those not on the water of Leith was a windmill located near George Square which raised water from the South Loch to supply brewers (Wilson, 1891, ii, 174).

Wells: In 1621 the town council applied to Parliament for permission to bring water to the town from the country. This project was accomplished in 1674 when the town contracted a German engineer to pipe water from Comiston (Anon, 1861, 5). Leaden pipe was laid an inch (0.03m) deep in the ground and five cisterns were initially constructed at the weight house, the head of Forrester's Wynd, the head of Niddry's Wynd and at the market cross as well as the Netherbow Port (Maitland, 1753, 317). Demand soon outstripped supply, and others were built about 1681 at the Head of Canongate, the foot of the West Bow, the end of Niddry's Wynd, at the fish market and at the lower end of Forrester's Wynd (Maitland, 1753, 317).

Archaeology

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The burgh of Edinburgh grew up initially along the crest of the ridge running eastwards from Castle Rock, with building development eventually extending down the slopes to the north and south and beyond. The topography has ensured that the basic street plan of the Old Town has remained largely unchanged except for the construction in the nineteenth century of main roads at right angles to the old main thoroughfare. Most of the standing buildings in the area of the early burgh date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in many cases these have cellars along the High Street frontage which have resulted in the destruction of any earlier archaeological deposits which might have survived, but in the backlands to the north and south there is a strong probability that evidence of earlier buildings and property boundaries still remains. Twentieth century redevelopment has been limited, and the Old Town is now a conservation area, with the result that opportunities to excavate suitable sites in advance of redevelopment are likely to be few.

Future Investigation

The policies outlined below are not listed in order of importance, but are intended to provide guide-lines for future research as opportunities arise (see page 36 ff. for full discussion).

1. To attempt to locate, through excavation, the areas where the earliest settlement and development of the burgh occurred, and to provide information on the date and nature of this.
2. To establish the course and nature of the early medieval burgh defences and to provide evidence for the dating and sequence of these, and thus for the expansion (or contraction) of the defended burgh at various times in its history. To establish the course and nature of the fourteenth/fifteenth century King's Wall defence. To investigate the nature, dimensions and construction of ports and gateways associated with both the King's Wall and the sixteenth century Flodden Wall.
3. To determine any variation in the width of the main streets of the burgh and to locate the courses of closes and wynds which have now disappeared. To relate medieval to present-day

4. To provide evidence for the size and method of construction of medieval town buildings, both civic and domestic/industrial, and to attempt to locate and define the centres of various industries within the burgh.
5. To locate the site of the earliest church/chapel of the burgh and to establish its dimensions, plan and method of construction. To investigate the remains of early churches on the site of existing ones.
6. To investigate any surviving evidence of prehistoric/Dark Age occupation on Castle Rock, and to establish the location, date and nature of demolished medieval castle buildings.

Areas of Archaeological Priority

Any attempt to define those areas of the burgh which are most likely to yield valuable archaeological evidence is complicated by the effects of topography on the history of land use (see page 36), but a combination of our knowledge of the medieval burgh morphology with experience gleaned from excavations and observations in recent years may give some assistance in identifying some areas where useful archaeological deposits may survive. These areas are not listed in any order of priority, as some which are theoretically of lesser importance may contain more useful material than others which could be expected to be prime sites.

1. Castle Rock
2. Any site on the north or south slopes below Castlehill, Lawnmarket and High Street could in theory yield evidence of property boundaries and building types. Experience suggests that there is little chance of recovering traces of medieval buildings fronting onto the main thoroughfare itself, but further down the slopes, where deeper deposits have accumulated, structural remains may well survive in association with undisturbed layers of occupation debris. On the southern slope remains of the King's Wall and perhaps of earlier burgh defences may be identified.
3. Many properties bordering Cowgate and Grassmarket are terraced back into the slopes on either side, but in areas where such operations have not taken place both structural and material evidence may survive. On the north side of Cowgate in particular there are likely to be deep middens of occupation debris

originating from properties further up the slope towards High Street.

4. Areas to the south of Cowgate where excavation could be particularly rewarding include the site of St.Mary in the Fields (Kirk o'Field) in the quadrangle of the old university buildings west of South Bridge (NT 2599 7333) and that of the Blackfriars Monastery at High School Yards (NT 2615 7347), where a trial excavation has indicated the possible survival of structural remains (see page 35).
5. Any further excavations which may be possible within St.Giles' Cathedral (NT 2563 7358) and any investigation of the area in and around St.Cuthbert's Church could assist in establishing the location of the earliest burgh church.
6. On the perimeter of the sixteenth century burgh, excavation on the sites of the main ports of the Flodden Wall could yield useful evidence of their nature and construction. These sites comprise the Netherbow Port at the east end of High Street (NT 2614 7370), the Cowgate Port on Cowgate near the junction with St.Mary's Street (NT 2619 7354), the Potterrow or Kirk o'Field Port in West College Street (c. NT 2590 7332), the Bristo Port at the north end of Bristo Place (NT 2573 7323) and the West Port at the south-west corner of Grassmarket (NT 2530 7330).

Recommendations

The limits on redevelopment within the Old Town conservation area are likely to permit few opportunities for the systematic excavation of large areas of the early burgh, and any such opportunities which may arise should therefore be utilised if at all possible. In such cases, it would be wise to establish in advance, by means of trial-trenching by hand or machine, the extent and nature of archaeological deposits which are likely to be encountered. This will avoid the expenditure of effort and money on the full-scale investigation of sites where none of the expected archaeological deposits survive. Evidence of the presence or absence of such deposits in various areas can often be obtained through observation of small-scale excavation work by contractors involved in repairs or extensions to roads or underground services.

PREVIOUS WORK

Since 1973 six archaeological excavations have been carried out

within the burgh of Edinburgh and trial trenches have been dug on a number of other sites. These have confirmed that a combination of topography and post-medieval development has resulted in the destruction of medieval structural remains and occupation deposits in many places. Areas of virtually undisturbed archaeological levels do exist, but it is often impossible to locate these except by excavation.

High Street excavation 1973

The area south of High Street between Blackfriars Street and Niddry Street (centred on NT 2602 7355) was investigated in advance of proposed redevelopment, and the central area was found to contain medieval structures and a midden. A stone wall running east-west may have formed part of the late medieval King's Wall defence. A half-demolished stone-built house on the west side of the site was examined and dated to the late sixteenth century. Archaeological levels in the northern part of the site, fronting onto High Street, were found to have been destroyed by the construction of cellars in the late seventeenth/eighteenth centuries (Schofield, 1978).

Chambers Street excavation 1973

The site adjacent to the Royal Scottish Museum at the corner of Chambers Street and George IV Bridge (centred on NT 2574 7329) was investigated in advance of the proposed construction of a new National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Part of the sixteenth-century Flodden Wall defence was found incorporated into the walls of later tenements, and remains of timber structures of fifteenth/sixteenth-century date were also located, but no proper ground plan could be formulated because of disturbance by post-medieval building operations (Tabraham 1974).

Tron Kirk excavation 1974

Excavation of the whole interior of the church (at NT 2592 7363) took place in advance of restoration work on the building and proposed conversion to an alternative use. Beneath the church floor were the remains of ground-floor rooms and cellars of stone-built dwelling houses on either side of a cobbled wynd running south towards Cowgate. These buildings were constructed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and demolished in 1637 to make way for the church. Earlier occupation of the site was attested only

by the presence of potsherds of fourteenth-century type in the surviving part of a pit. The crest of the ridge on which High Street is situated was found to have been flattened off in this area at the time of the construction of the tower and north frontage of the church, and the present level of High Street outside must now be considerably lower than it was in medieval times (Holmes, 1975).

St. Mary's Street excavation 1974

A site extending northwards from Cowgate on the west side of St. Mary's Street (centred on NT 2618 7358) was investigated in advance of redevelopment. This site lay on the eastern edge of the burgh, facing the adjoining burgh of Canongate, and excavation successfully located part of the sixteenth-century Flodden Wall, which along this stretch had comprised the fortified facades of pre-existing houses. The remains of several superimposed stone buildings, ranging in date from early sixteenth to mid-twentieth century, were found along the St. Mary's Street frontage of the site, but no archaeological levels survived elsewhere. The area along the Cowgate frontage had been totally destroyed by the construction of nineteenth century cellars, and the interior of the site had comprised terraced gardens until the construction of a twentieth-century printing works. No trace of medieval occupation was found apart from occasional small potsherds in disturbed levels (Holmes, 1980).

Wax Museum excavation 1975-76

Excavation in some basement rooms of the building now in use as the Edinburgh Wax Museum took place in advance of the lowering of the floors (NT 2586 7361). A complex arrangement of earlier stone walls and foundations was associated with a few potsherds of seventeenth-century type, and in the southernmost cellar was a midden from which some 3000 sherds of pottery were recovered, apparently of thirteenth/fourteenth-century type. Virtually no domestic refuse was found in this area, but the pottery deposit seems likely to have been connected with a shop of house. The midden clearly covered a much larger area than was available for excavation (Holmes, 1977).

St. Giles' Cathedral excavation 1981

Excavation took place within the eastern three bays of the South Choir Aisle in advance of the construction of a staircase below church floor level (NT 2576 7357). The area proved to have been

used as a graveyard prior to the construction of the existing church building. Three phases of burial were distinguished, the earliest of which could be dated on pottery evidence to no later than the thirteenth century and the latest of which appears to have ended not long before the construction of the eastern part of the present church in the late fourteenth century. This graveyard would have been associated with the Norman church, which is considered to have stood on the site occupied by the western half of the existing building. The building of the later medieval church was followed by a period in which burials continued to be inserted in the excavated area, which had by then become part of the Lady Aisle. In the mid-fifteenth century the east wall of the church was demolished and rebuilt some 2.5m. further east, probably as part of a deliberate remodelling of this part of the building. Later phases of rebuilding and restoration were also attested in the archaeological record.

Trial Trenches on other sites

Advocates' Close (NT 2569 7365). A trench cut during landscaping operations revealed one wall of a demolished tenement.

South Grey's Close (NT 2618 7357). A north-south machine trench across the site of the old Scottish Mint in advance of landscaping operations revealed one wall of the mint building (demolished 1877) together with some medieval and post-medieval potsherds and two crucible fragments.

Surgeons' Square, High School Yards (NT 2619 7348). Trial excavation by hand on the site of a recently demolished building in the area once occupied by the Blackfriars Monastery succeeded in clearing modern debris and locating a large deposit of mortared rubble. At a depth of 1.7m. the excavation had to be abandoned, as the rubble was loosely packed and dangerous.

Cowgate Car Parks. Machine trenches on sites at Cowgate/Guthrie Street (NT 2583 7347), Cowgate/Robertson's Close/High School Wynd (NT 2604 7349) and Cowgate/Heriot Watt University (NT 2577 7346) failed to locate any archaeological deposits earlier than the nineteenth century.

St. Giles' Cathedral. Test pits dug by contractors to determine the depth of the foundations of columns in various parts of the church revealed that, as might be expected, archaeological deposits

are deepest on the south side of the church and that on the north side, near the High Street frontage, very little survives between the natural boulder clay and the rubble layers associated with nineteenth-century church restorations.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Topography

The fact that the earliest development of the burgh of Edinburgh took place on the crest of the ridge running eastwards from Castle Rock has contributed considerably to the scarcity of archaeological deposits surviving in situ and thus to the difficulties experienced by archaeologists in identifying those sites where excavation is likely to be rewarding. The clearance of sites for rebuilding even in the medieval and early post-medieval periods must in many cases have involved the removal of all structural remains and occupation debris from the highest parts of the northward and southward slopes of the ridge, i.e. from those areas where evidence of early building frontages might otherwise be expected to have survived, and the deposition of such material further down the slope in an attempt to provide terracing, or at least shallower gradients, on which to erect new buildings. Consequently Edinburgh has so far failed to provide any sites where deep stratified deposits of early occupation material have survived along with the lowest parts of demolished buildings.

Evidence for thorough site clearance has been found on a number of the sites already excavated in the burgh. At the Tron Kirk, clearance for the construction of stone-built houses in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century had removed almost all trace of previous occupation of what must have been a prime site near the centre of the burgh, and further clearance for the construction of the church in 1637 had stripped away the surface of the cobbled wynd several metres south of its junction with High Street, creating a level platform for the construction of the church tower instead of a continuation of the upward slope. At High Street/Blackfriars Street and St.Mary's Street clearance of early deposits from the northern parts of the sites contrasted with the deposition of deep layers of soil and midden material further south, and at St.Giles' Cathedral the building of the church had been accompanied by the clearance of earlier deposits from areas near the High Street frontage and the deposition of levelling material in the area of the South Choir Aisle where excavation took place in 1981.

The effect of the topography has therefore been to deprive archaeologists of early building remains and occupation deposits in just those areas which, for two separate reasons, would otherwise have been expected to yield some of the most important information. The areas immediately bordering High Street are likely to have been those first occupied and built on, and would therefore have provided evidence about the earliest settlements in the burgh, and the survival of building frontages along the main thoroughfares of the burgh would best have preserved evidence of building types and property boundaries.

Early Settlement

Evidence for early settlement in the immediate area of the medieval burgh is still very slight, although artifacts from all periods of prehistory from the Mesolithic onwards have been found in fairly close proximity. These include Neolithic polished stone axe-heads from Granton and Colinton, a Bronze Age flat axe from the Canongate, a socketed axe from Leith, a bronze sword from Gogar Burn and a cinerary urn from near the Dean Bridge. It is generally assumed that there was an Iron Age hill-fort on Castle Rock, although later development must have destroyed all trace of it. The rock's defensive position and command of the surrounding area would have marked it as an obvious choice for the siting of a hill-top fortification.

Fortified settlements on Castle Rock and other hills in the vicinity may well have continued to be occupied by the local tribe, the Votadini, during the various periods of Roman occupation of Southern Scotland. The votadini seem to have welcomed the presence of the Romans and to have been regarded as allies. The site of the present city of Edinburgh was therefore disregarded by the Romans, who established a fort and harbour at Cramond, several miles to the north-west on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth (NT 190 769). The Roman road from the south to Cramond must have passed close by, but it appears to have skirted to the south of the site of the medieval burgh. A few Roman coins have been found in the area of the Old Town, and in c.1741-42 an urn containing "a good many" Roman silver coins is said to have been discovered during the demolition of an old arch in Edinburgh, but the find-spot is not recorded.

Castle Rock was certainly occupied during the Dark Age period. It

is first mentioned as a fortress in the old Welsh poem, "The Gododdin of Aneurin", dating from the end of the sixth century. The Pictish Chronicle records that it was held by the Angles until c.960, when it was abandoned to the Scots under King Indulf. Thereafter the castle played an increasingly important part in Scottish history, but there is as yet no historical or archaeological evidence of how and when a settlement first grew up outside the fortress. Brief references are made in twelfth-century charters to a burgh or town near the castle but no trace of buildings earlier than the fourteenth century has yet appeared in the archaeological record. Further excavation offers the only chance of obtaining information about earlier settlement.

The Town Walls and Ports

Documentary references confirming the existence of some form of defensive enclosure around the burgh survive from as far back as the twelfth century. A West Gate is mentioned in a property transfer of 1160 x 1180, a South Gate is recorded in a charter of 1214, and an East Gate (arcus inferior) in 1369 (RCAHMS, 1951, x1). Nothing at all is known of the nature or position of the town defences at this period, but it is likely that they comprised some form of earthen bank, possibly with a timber palisade and/or an outer ditch.

By the mid-fifteenth century some form of mortared stone wall was in existence. A "muris regius" first appears in documents in 1427, and this is assumed to have been of stone. In 1450 the provost and community of Edinburgh were licensed by King James II to build a defensive wall against the threat of English invasion; but the work was evidently still incomplete in 1472 (RCAHMS, 1951, lxii - lxiv). This "King's Wall" is generally agreed to have stood about half way down the slope from High Street to Cowgate on the south side of the burgh, and it is highly probable that the wall discovered on the High Street excavation in 1973 was part of this defence (see page 33). The wall is considered to have turned northwards to form the eastern boundary of the burgh on a line somewhat further west than that established by the later "Flodden Wall", but the position of the south-east angle in the fifteenth century is unknown, as are the line of the wall to the north of High Street and the positions of the various gates.

In comparison with the paucity of information regarding its predecessors the sixteenth-century "Flodden Wall" is well documented, its course is for the most part well established, as are the approximate positions of most of its major gateways, and a substantial section of it is preserved along the east side of The Vennel (NT 253 733). There are still some problems concerning the history and method of construction of this wall, however, not the least of which is the appropriateness of the name by which it is generally known. There are documentary references to a Kirk o'Field Port in 1505 and to a West Port in 1508-9, both on the line of the "Flodden Wall", which indicate that the construction of the wall had been planned and in some places already carried out long before the Scottish defeat of 1513. The main reason for its construction must undoubtedly have been the expansion of the burgh which had taken place since the building of the "King's Wall", with new suburbs now standing undefended outside the fortifications. The disaster of Flodden may have given added impetus, but even so, the new walls still seem to have been incomplete in 1560 (RCAHMS, 1951, lxiv). In some areas existing buildings on the proposed line of the wall were strengthened and adapted for a defensive role. Proof of this was established by the excavations of St. Mary's Street (see page 34). The extended period of construction and the variations in the methods used demonstrate that considerable caution must be exercised in making generalised statements about the dimensions and original appearance of the "Flodden Wall", and further excavation on its line would be useful in providing additional evidence. In most cases little is known of the appearance or construction of the various ports and posterns. Illustrations survive of the Netherbow Port at the east end of High Street (NT 2614 7370) prior to its demolition in 1763-64, but this was not the original structure, which had been destroyed in 1544. Of the West Port (NT 2530 7330), Bristo Port (NT 2573 7323), Potterrow Port (c. NT 2590 7332), Cowgate Port (NT 2619 7354) and posterns still less is known, and information might still be provided by excavation on these sites if opportunities should arise.

The Town Plan

The basic plan of the Old Town has remained essentially as it was in the late Middle Ages, comprising the central axis of Lawnmarket

and High Street, with closes and wynds leading at right angles down the northward and southward slopes of the glacial ridge, and the late mediæval suburbs around Cowgate and Grassmarket. The topography of the area would have made any alteration to this basic plan virtually impossible. Within this framework many details of medieval property boundaries have been obscured by later development, however, and the construction of major roads at right angles to the burgh axis has involved not only the obliteration of details of the earlier town plan but also considerable alterations to the level of High Street at and near the points of intersection.

It is considered that the average width of an individual plot of land fronting onto High Street was 25 feet (Schofield, 1978), and this theory is supported by the spacing of the existing closes and wynds in some areas, e.g. between Cockburn Street and City Chambers on the north side of High Street and in much of the area between Hunter Square and Parliament Square on the south side. A major exception to this standard lay-out was the area occupied by St. Giles' Kirk (NT 2573 7358) and its associated graveyard. This included most of the land between High Street and Cowgate now bounded by George IV Bridge in the west and the east side of East Parliament Square in the east. The replacement of earlier buildings by larger edifices in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries involved some disturbance to the medieval plan and the disappearance of some of the old closes and wynds. The most obvious examples of this are to be found in the area of City Chambers (NT 2575 7365), built in the second half of the eighteenth century as the Royal Exchange, which still seals partially preserved seventeenth century apartments bordering Mary King's Close (RCAHMS, 1951, 87), and on the site now occupied by the nineteenth-century Church of Scotland buildings on the north side of Castlehill (NT 2546 7356). Excavations within the seventeenth-century Tron Kirk (NT 2592 7363) revealed the original course of Marlin's Wynd, the most northerly stretch of which had been closed off and diverted around the east side of the church onto the line of what had previously been known as Tavernour's Close (Holmes, 1975, 137-38).

A further cause of disturbance to the medieval street plan was the construction of new roads in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1785 work began on the construction of North Bridge, which led from High Street opposite the Tron Kirk across the filled-in Nor'

Loch to the east end of the New Town, and South Bridge, which continued this line south of High Street, crossing Cowgate on a viaduct and proceeding into the southern suburbs. To the south of High Street these operations also involved the formation of Hunter Square and Blair Street, thus obscuring the previous layout of the whole area between Stevenlaw's Close and Niddry Street. In 1859 Cockburn Street was formed as an access road to Waverley Station. This involved considerable destruction of the earlier street plan between North Bridge and the Royal Exchange Buildings, especially on the lower part of the slope. Similar disturbance further to the west was occasioned by the construction in the late eighteenth century of The Mound, an earthen bank linking the old main thoroughfare at the junction of High Street and Lawnmarket with the New Town. At the head of The Mound the square now formed by Bank Street and St.Giles' Street (built in 1875) and containing the Sheriff Court building (NT 2563 7362) has obscured another section of the old layout. In 1827 work began on the construction of George IV Bridge, which runs southwards from High Street opposite Bank Street, following a path parallel to that of South Bridge and again crossing Cowgate by means of a viaduct. Around 1870 South Bridge and George IV Bridge were linked by the construction of Chambers Street, which runs at right angles to the two Bridges and just inside the line of the southern limit of the burgh as defined by the Flodden Wall. The southward slope from the Castle and Castlehill towards Grassmarket was divided in the period 1825-36 by the construction of Johnston Terrace, which runs diagonally down the slope from the east end of Castlehill to the base of the southern cliff of Castle Rock.

The construction of these roads had a further effect not restricted to the immediate areas over which they passed. In order to facilitate the passage of vehicles at the junctions it appears to have been necessary to lower the level of sections of High Street itself. Excavations at the Tron Kirk certainly indicate that the present level of High Street outside the church must be somewhat lower than it was when the church was built (see page 33), and considerable levelling of the crest of the ridge has evidently taken place in the area to the east of George IV Bridge. Observation of recent resurfacing operations in West Parliament Square revealed that natural boulder clay lies immediately below the setting for the modern

cobbled surface across much of the area, and no trace was visible of the foundations of the Tolbooth which formerly stood on part of the site (NT 2569 7359) (see page 43).

Early Buildings and Materials

Edinburgh contains a large number of historic buildings dating from the late sixteenth century onwards, and details of these can be obtained by reference to the appropriate Royal Commission Inventory (RCAHMS, 1951). The sites of many important buildings no longer in existence are known, and some details of these are given below, but little is known of the appearance and construction of early domestic and industrial buildings in the burgh. Initially these must have been largely of timber, facilitating the high degree of destruction by fire which is recorded on occasions when the town was captured by English armies, and it is not known when buildings of this type came to be constructed generally of stone. If existing houses around the perimeter of the burgh could be fortified and incorporated into the Flodden Wall in the early sixteenth century, it can safely be assumed that stone construction had by then been the standard practice for some time. Evidence from the High Street 1973 excavation was insufficient to establish whether the earliest house excavated, of late fourteenth-century construction, had been built entirely of stone or had been timber-framed above rubble foundations, (Schofield, 1978, 180), but the latter seems more probable at that date. Excavations at Perth and Aberdeen have demonstrated that many medieval domestic buildings in those towns were built entirely of timber, with walls of posts and woven wattles, and it seems likely that this would also have been the case in Edinburgh, but as yet no site has yielded the deep stratified deposits which would be necessary to establish this.

The Castle (NT 251 735).

The entire site of the present castle and all its buildings are an ancient monument under the guardianship of the Scottish Development Department, with the result that opportunities for excavation in the foreseeable future are likely to be few. No proper excavation has ever taken place on Castle Rock, although work carried out to expose parts of the standing buildings and landscape the site for the benefit of visitors has resulted in the recovery of a fair quantity of unstratified material of late medieval to modern date. Almost nothing is known of structures on the site in prehistoric

Dark Age or early medieval times, and any opportunity that may arise to carry out excavations should certainly be taken.

Palace of Mary of Guise (NT 2547 7357).

A sixteenth-century house on the north side of Castlehill traditionally associated with the Queen Regent was demolished in 1861 to make way for the Free Church General Assembly Hall.

Old Weigh-house or Tron (NT 2551 7353)

In 1364 King David II granted to the burgh a piece of ground at the east end of Castlehill for the erection of a "new Tron", but this was destroyed by the English in 1385. In 1561 the site was occupied by the "Over Tron" or "Butter Tron", and this was replaced in 1614 by a new building, which was in turn demolished by Cromwell in 1650. The last weigh-house on this site was built in 1660 and demolished in 1822.

Tolbooth(NT 2568 7359).

Immediately west of St.Giles' Cathedral is the site where an administrative building, referred to as a "praetorium", is recorded as having stood in 1369. This building was probably destroyed by the English army in 1385, and for a time it seems to have been replaced by a "belhous" constructed in 1386 on the opposite side of High Street. By 1403, however, another building was in existence on the earlier site, and by 1480/81 it included a prison. The Tolbooth remained unaltered until 1561, when it was replaced by a building which served as a common prison until its demolition in 1817.

Luckenbooths (NT 2572 7360)

This name was applied to a four-storeyed building which is known to have been in existence by 1440 along the north side of St.Giles' Church. The name derived from the presence of open market stalls which stretched along the north frontage with lock-up stores behind. The building was demolished in 1817 along with the adjacent Tolbooth.

"Black Turnpike" (NT 2590 7364).

This mansion, also known as the "Auld Bishop of Dunkeld's Ludging", was built in 1461 on the south side of High Street immediately west of where the Tron Kirk now stands. It was demolished in 1788 to make way for Blair Street and Hunter Square. It is possible, but not certain, that this building served as the headquarters of the Town Guard during the latter part of its existence.

St. Mary's Chapel (NT 2599 7354).

This chapel was founded in 1505 by Elizabeth, Countess of Ross. It was situated near the middle of Niddry's Wynd (now Niddry Street) and was demolished in c.1785 during the building of South Bridge.

Holyrood Chapel (NT 2571 7348)

In the south-west part of the old churchyard of St.Giles' stood a small chapel of unknown date. It was demolished at the end of the sixteenth century, and the site now lies beneath part of the High Court building.

Church and Hospital of St. Mary in the Fields (NT 2599 7333).

The church belonged to Holyrood Abbey and was in existence by c. 1275. By 1511 it had been granted collegiate status. The hospital was burned by the English in 1544, and on the site a mansion was built in c.1552. It was this building known as Kirk o'Field, which was the scene of the murder of Lord Darnley. It was demolished in 1798, and the site is now covered by the library and part of the quadrangle of the university.

Greyfriars Franciscan Friary (NT 2550 7338).

The community came to Edinburgh in 1447, and a church and a friary were erected on a site in the angle formed by Grassmarket and Candlemaker Row. The Friary was destroyed in 1559 and the parish church erected on part of the site in 1620.

St. Mary's Chapel, Wester Portsburgh (NT 2523 7327).

Erected in 1508 on the orders of King James IV, this church just outside the line of the Flodden Wall was demolished in 1788.

Mint of Scotland (NT 2608 7358).

The house of Archibald Stewart, which stood on the north side of Cowgate immediately west of South Grey's Close, was first used for the minting of coins in 1581 because of the ruinous condition of the mint-house at Holyrood Palace. By 1662 the mint had grown from a single building facing onto Cowgate to a range of buildings situated around a central courtyard and occupying an area to the rear of the original building extending half way up the slope towards High Street. Although no coins were struck in Edinburgh after 1709 and the Scottish Mint ceased to exist even as an institution

in 1817, the building survived until 1877. A trial trench dug by machine on the site in 1979 indicated that the landscaping operations then planned would not damage any valuable archaeological deposits, but that an excavation would certainly be advisable in advance of any future redevelopment of the site.

"Maison Dieu" (NT 2586 7361).

This was the name given to a hospital and chapel situated at the head of Bell's Wynd. It is said to have been founded in the reign of James V, but the first documentary reference to it dates from 1582, when it was the property of the Bishop of Dunkeld.

St. Mary's Chapel and Convent (NT 2617 7355).

This Cistercian establishment incorporated St. Mary's Hospital, the earliest recorded hospital in Edinburgh and dating from 1438. It gave its name to St. Mary's Wynd, now St. Mary's Street. No trace of it was found when the site was excavated in 1974, as nineteenth-century cellars had destroyed all earlier deposits along the Cowgate frontage.

Dominican Friary (NT 2615 7347).

The Dominican Friary occupied an area of ground south of Cowgate given to the order by King Alexander II in 1230. The buildings were partially burned down in 1528 and again in 1544, and the monastery was finally destroyed in 1559. Trial excavations in the area in 1977 encountered a mass of mortared rubble, but further investigation was not possible.

Cardinal Beaton's House (NT 2606 7352).

This early sixteenth-century mansion stood on the north side of Cowgate to the east of Blackfriars Street.

Clearly there is little chance of excavation being possible on many of these sites in the foreseeable future, but all of them would warrant at least investigation by trial trenches if an opportunity should arise. In many cases later development will have destroyed all trace of the earlier structures, but the topography of Edinburgh is such that advance predictions are usually unreliable.

Early Churches

Little is known of the early history of either St. Giles' Cathedral (NT 2563 7358) or St. Cuthbert's Church (NT 2484 7362), but churches

are thought to have existed on both sites from at least the 11th century. It is likely that a church or chapel existed somewhere in Edinburgh before the Norman period, and such a building could have stood on either of these two later church sites or on Castle Rock itself. At St. Giles' the Norman church is considered to have stood on the site occupied by the western half of the present building, and it is therefore probable that any earlier building would also have been in this area. At St. Cuthbert's it is recorded that the foundations of other churches were located during the construction of the present building (see page 22), but no details of position or dimensions were noted. Any opportunity which may occur to excavate at either of these church sites could assist greatly in establishing the location and plan of the earliest burgh church.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT

Very little major twentieth-century development has taken place within the area of the walled burgh, most of which is now part of the Old Town conservation area. A number of redevelopment proposals for sites within the early burgh have been submitted, but most of them have so far involved in practice no more than the demolition of buildings and the clearance of ground. The sites excavated at High Street (NT 2602 7355) and Chambers Street (NT 2574 7329) both come into this category, but the office development on the excavated site at St. Mary's Street (NT 2618 7358) has been completed (see pages 33 & 34). A number of sites have also been cleared along Cowgate and Grassmarket, and most of these are in use as car parks, although a new mortuary has been built on the east corner of Cowgate and Infirmary Street (NT 2608 7351). A few modern buildings have been erected along Jeffrey Street and on the south side of Grassmarket, and the university has had a number of buildings constructed along Chambers Street, but none of these areas correspond to those where one would expect to find evidence of early medieval settlement. On High Street itself only areas bordering North Bridge, South Bridge and Jeffrey Street have been redeveloped this century, and the Netherbow Arts Centre occupies a modern building immediately east of John Knox's House (NT 2612 7370). Buildings on the west side of the Pleasance which backed onto a surviving stretch of the Flodden Wall (NT 2624 7350) have recently been demolished in order to allow widening of the road. It is anticipated that the Wall will be strengthened and repointed. At the time of writing, a new road is

being constructed eastwards from a point approximately half way down the east side of Blackfriars Street (NT 2604 7360) through the site of the recently demolished old mortuary building to the southern part of Tweeddale Court (NT 2613 7364). No significant archaeological deposits have as yet been encountered.

PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT

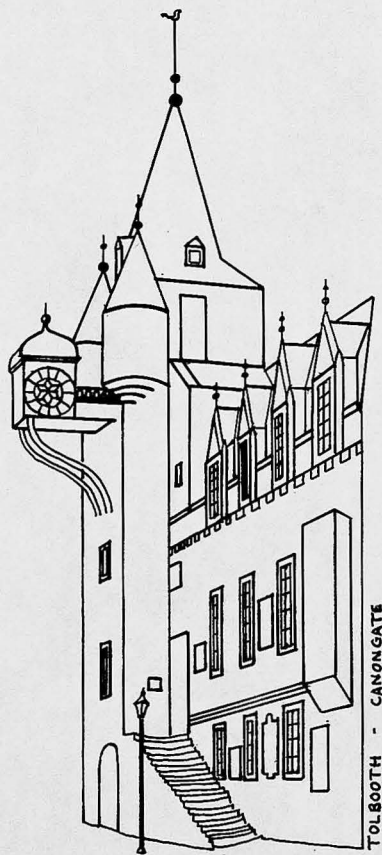
There are at present no definite plans for redevelopment within the area of the early burgh, although there are a number of vacant sites where development has been under consideration and could occur in the near future. These include the site to the south of High Street which was excavated in 1973 (NT 2602 7355) (see page 33) and the site of the old Scottish Mint on the north side of Cowgate (NT 2618 7357), which is currently due for landscaping and which is surrounded by old tenements which are being restored for housing purposes. Another vacant site where development is envisaged lies between High Street and Jeffrey Street and immediately west of Chalmer's Close (NT 2603 7373). The area to the west of Leith Wynd, the line of which is followed by the upper part of Jeffrey Street, is known to have been associated with the woollen industry in the medieval period.

The construction of a staircase below floor level in the South Choir Aisle of St.Giles' Cathedral, which provided the opportunity for the recent excavations in this area (see page 35) is envisaged as the first part of a planned development involving the formation of a number of rooms beneath the remainder of the eastern part of the church. The remaining parts of the development are unlikely to be carried out in the immediate future, but it is intended that they should proceed as and when sufficient money has been made available.

Historic

CANONGATE

the archaeological implications
of development



Anne Turner Simpson
Nicholas Holmes

Scottish Burgh Survey
1981

Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow

History

'The progress of time and the hand of modern improvement have wrought many changes on this part of ancient Edinburgh...still though a large proportion of its buildings have been modernised Canongate retains much of an antique appearance'.

(Bonar, 1856, 210).

INTRODUCTION

Place Name and Site: For many years Canongate was a separate burgh from Edinburgh. It developed in a hollow in between the majestic Arthur's Seat and the Calton Hill and settlement grew up the ridge from Holyrood Abbey till it met with the Netherbow Port at the foot of Edinburgh's High Street. It is from the canons of Holyrood Abbey that Canongate gets its name - 'street or way of the canons'.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Burgh Status: By a charter of 1128 x 1153 David I granted to the Abbey of Holyrood the right to build and enclose a certain burgh - herbergate quoddam burgum - between the abbey and Edinburgh - inter eandem ecclesiam et meum burgum (Pryde, 1965, 37; ESC, 1905, 118). Within this burgh the burgesses would have had the same rights of buying and selling in the King's market as the King's burgesses (ESC, 1905, 386). Both Lawrie (ESC, 1905, 386) and Pryde (1965, 37) made the observation that the charter of confirmation is undoubtedly genuine but the witnesses were not all contemporaries. It is assumed that the names were drawn together from several preceding (now lost) charters (Pryde, 1965, 37). Canongate was erected into a burgh of regality in July 1587 and by 1636 full superiority of the burgh had passed to Edinburgh in a financial transaction (Pryde, 1965, 60).

Medieval: Relatively little is known of the early history of Canongate. The town owes its origins to the abbey and so the first residents would have been tradesmen - masons, brewers, tailors - who were normally attracted by such a settlement. The canons of the abbey enjoyed freedom from tolls on trade over the whole kingdom which was a rare privilege even for the burgesses of a royal burgh (RCAM, 1951, liii)

In 1343, the Abbey lands were raised to the rank of regality which allowed the superior (ie., the abbey) a power of criminal jurisdiction

equal to that of most royal justices and in civil cases to that of the sheriff (RCAM, 1951, liii).

Despite the extensive powers of regality (which covered an area larger than the burgh), the Abbot left to the community the right of choosing their own council and officials, retaining at first the nomination of the two bailies but later surrendering that right as well (RCAM, 1951, liii). The first reference to bailies of Canongate occurs in 1423 (RCAM, 1951, liii), while a tolbooth was in existence by 1471 (RMS, ii, 217).

With the establishment of the Stewart dynasty came a turn-about in the fortunes of the Canongate. James II was born, crowned, married and buried within the Abbey precincts. Parliament from the reign of James III onwards met in Edinburgh, a move which in no small way helped to focus attention on the burgh beyond the Netherbow Port. James IV started to erect a palace which gave the Scottish royal family a permanent home in the Canongate. The establishment of the royal family on such a permanent basis raised problems of housing for the nobility, judges, officials, tradesmen and other retainers who followed the royal party. Edinburgh by the sixteenth century was overcrowded whereas Canongate (as clearly illustrated in Gordon's famous plan of 1647) boasted little build-up in its tofts' backlands. Fine private residences which therefore could have had the luxury of a garden at the back were undoubtedly being built at this time and it is in 1535 that the 'calsy' or main street was first paved (Grant, 1882, ii, 3).

Early Modern: A theme which dominated the history of Canongate was that of her relations with Edinburgh. The favour shown to Edinburgh by the Stewarts increased that city's feeling of her own self-importance and made her very jealous of any other burgh which hindered her progress. When Canongate was paving its main street in 1535 the proposal to help the expense by imposing a small toll on Edinburgh carts using the thoroughfare brought a protest to the Abbot by the provost of Edinburgh in the name of the whole town (RCAM, 1951, liii). Canongate craftsmen were also often at odds with those of Edinburgh. With the purchase of the regality in 1636, Edinburgh's domination of Canongate was almost complete. During the Cromwellian occupation, the Edinburgh town council was in this way allowed to exercise control over Canongate's magisterial elections. The Canongate bailies were to be chosen by the Edinburgh town council and might be burgesses of either

town. Thirteen councillors were to be selected from a list of sixteen submitted by the Canongate council, and to these Edinburgh added three (RCAM, 1951, liv). This state of affairs lasted until the passage of the Municipal Extension Bill in 1856 when Canongate became incorporated into Edinburgh.

It may be said that 'the real glory of the Canongate...departed with the court when James VI succeeded to the throne of England in 1603' (Grant, 1882, ii, 3). Certainly the removal of the court to London hurt Canongate's pride and position, but it remained for a long time a haunt of the noble, professional, commercial and labouring classes. In 1629 residents of Canongate presented a petition to the Privy Council underlining what they saw as extreme poverty brought about by the king's absence (Wood, 1956, 34). Nevertheless, the Confession of Faith signed in 1638 by a large number of residents indicates a wide cross-section of craftsmen. Over fifty tailors signed the document along with twenty-five weavers, eight writers (lawyers), eight saddlers, six barbers, thirty-two wrights, fifteen dyers, a candle-maker, a turner and a sawyer, also four pistolmakers, six cutlers, a trumpeter, notary, coachman, bellman, soapmaker, jailor and over sixty bakers and shoemakers (Wood, 1956, 10-16).

Eighteenth Century: The Union of the Parliaments in 1707 further injured Canongate's pride and position. However, some contemporary and near contemporary observers blamed the opening of Edinburgh's New Town and the extension of her southern suburbs as well as the 'alteration of the carriage road to Leith' (Withrington and Grant, 1975, ii, 7), for many of late eighteenth-century Canongate's ills. The New Town, Nicolson Street and George Square attracted many of Canongate's more notable residents; moreover, the opening of the road by the Calton Hill meant that the Canongate was no longer the main avenue of access to the city of Edinburgh from the east (Bonar, 1856, 21) and it 'cut off in a great measure the revenue of the customs at the Watergate' (Withrington, 1975, ii, 7). Nineteenth-century Canongate became 'successively a backwater, then a squalid derelict slum' for the helpless victims of the Industrial Revolution' (Salmon, 1969, 7). The Municipal Extension Bill of 1856 at the hands of the Edinburgh Town Council was in one contemporary's opinion 'the final coup de grace as regards all vestige of its local and separate importance', (Bonar, 1856, 21).

BURGH MORPHOLOGY

Street Layout: Canongate was believed to have been originally founded on waste ground in the neighbourhood of a hunting forest (RCAM, 1951, xxxix). The principal thoroughfare of the burgh ran from the abbey up the crag where it met Edinburgh's Netherbow Port which Duncan believes was already in existence by c.1150 at the eastern end of Edinburgh's High Street (1975, 467). The main street of Canongate was not only the area of principal settlement, but was where those symbols of corporate unity - the tolbooth and market cross - could be found.

Leith Wynd (now Cranston Street) which ran northwards roughly in a line with St. Mary's Street, was formerly the north-western boundary of Canongate. It was very steep and had a number of closes running off it. St. Mary's Wynd was at one time the most squalid and narrowest thoroughfare in the burgh (Mackay, 1879, 113). However, in the nineteenth century, the eastern side of the wynd was rebuilt, the roadway widened, and renamed St. Mary's Street (Mackay, 1879; 113).

Two eighteenth-century road improvements were New Street and St. John Street. New Street, running in a northerly direction from Canongate's main street, was formed shortly before the laying out of the New Town of Edinburgh. It was retained as a private thoroughfare until 1786. St. John's Street, which Bonar described as 'the boldest scheme of civic improvement effected in Edinburgh, before the construction of North Bridge' (1856, 16) was opened in 1768. It was likewise designed initially as a private thoroughfare by a group of wealthy and influential citizens in an effort to depart from the lack of privacy and squalor on the main street (Gray, 1953, 59).

Three other approaches to Canongate were Jeffrey Street, and the North and South Backs of Canongate, now known as Calton Road and Holyrood Road respectively. Jeffrey Street, named from Lord Jeffrey, dates from at least the early nineteenth century and runs in a line with St. Mary's Street. The roadway or back row which was known as the North Back of Canongate was another convenient exit from the town and was frequently used by royalty when proceeding to and from Holyrood Palace to the city (MacKay, 1879, 115). Tolbooth Wynd served to connect the North Back with the main street while Horse Wynd connected the South Back of Canongate with its main thoroughfare.

Among the most enduring attractions of Canongate are its many closes,

most of which have experienced a facelift in the last few years. White Horse Close, which is perhaps the best known of all Canongate Closes, contained St. Michael's Inn and behind it in Calton Road coaches for London started (Wright, 1974, 25). Playhouse Close, as its name implies, was the cradle of legitimate drama in Scotland, for the first theatre in the country was opened there in 1747 and stood opposite New Street (MacKay, 1879, 124). In the sixteenth century, Rae's Close was the only open thoroughfare to the north between Leith Wynd and the Water Yett (Grant, 1882, ii, 18). In 1568, for security reasons, the foot of Rae's Close was ordered to be closed up with stone (MacKay, 1879, 118). Among the closes which have vanished in the face of modern development is High School Close situated eastwards of Leith Wynd. As the name suggests it at one time housed the burgh High School (MacKay, 1879, 178).

Market Area: Canongate was not initially granted a market in her own right but her burgesses were allowed to trade in Edinburgh without dispute or payment of custom (ESC, 1905, 118-9). However, the existence of a market cross by 1572, (Maitland Club Extracts, 1840, 326) implies that by the latter half of the sixteenth century Canongate had a separate market in her own right. Maitland, writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, observed that there was no weekly market for mercantile wares, but at the head of Canongate were a variety of stands selling numerous goods 'which resemble a market' (1753, 156). The market cross which in the late sixteenth century was mentioned as standing on the 'crown of the causey' was moved in 1737 next to the churchyard wall 'for the convenience of passage in the street' (Maitland, 1753, 156). Maitland described the structure as consisting of four steps and a shaft with the town's arms thereon (1753, 156). In 1888, the octagonal shaft of the burgh cross was provided with a new base, capital and cross-head and it was re-erected on the west side of the entrance to the Parish Church (RCAM, 1951, 183). It is presently sited by the Ordnance Survey at NT 2647 7381 (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, Reference NT 27 SE 30). In addition to the market cross, Canongate had a Girth Cross which proclaimed the western end of the sanctuary of the abbey (Bonar, 1856, 19) and St. John's Cross which stood next to Playhouse Close. This was where proclamations were read out and where in 1633 Charles I knighted the provost when the king entered the town (Grant, 1882, ii, 3).

Water Yett: Lying adjacent to the White Horse Close, Water Yett as the principal approach to the town from the east coast. Indicated on the town plan of 1544 (Wilson, 1891, ii, 115), the Water Yett received notice in 1568 when 'the port and yett pass and into the Abbaye Kirk' were to be refurbished in timber and iron work (Maitland Club Extracts, 1840, 310). When the port or yett was removed is not exactly known although a single arch of wood marked the site until it was blown down in a gale in 1822 (Grant, 1882, ii, 22).

BUILDINGS

Abbey: An apocryphal story surrounds the foundation of the Abbey of the Holy Rood. According to the tradition, David I while out hunting under Arthur's Seat was attacked by a stag which had between his antlers a holy cross, which the King took and the stag vanished at the Rood Well. That same night, by a vision in his sleep, the king was ordered to found an Abbey of Canons Regular at the very spot where the stag had surrendered the cross to him. King David obeyed the directions of the vision and the foundations of the Abbey were laid in 1128 (ESC, 1905, 383).

The site chosen for the Abbey was at the lower east end of the rocky ridge that tails down from the castle. It was fairly level ground, but boggy, infertile and unhealthy until fairly recent times. The original structure that was laid out in 1128 was apparently cruciform in shape and unaisled except for a chapel aisle on the eastern side of each transept.

In the second half of the twelfth century, it was decided to rebuild the abbey church on a much grander scale. That project took two centuries to complete. The new building comprised a nave of eight bays with western towers, north and south transepts, each of two bays with an eastern aisle. In addition, there was a large choir of six bays including a Lady Chapel two bays wide (RCAM, 1951, 130). The site also included the necessary domestic quarters, infirmary, offices, guest house, and abbot's house (Richardson, 1950, 4).

In 1544 the Abbey was burned and looted by the English, and it suffered further damage during an attack in 1547. After 1570 the commendator of the Abbey allowed the ruinous choir and transepts to be pulled down and money arising from the sale of the material to be used to repair and refurbish the nave which contained the parish church. With that,

the church was immediately reduced to its present proportions (RCAM, 1951, 131). Further alterations were carried out on the church in preparation for Charles I's coronation there in 1633. His son, James VII, declared the church a chapel royal and fitted it up as a Catholic place of worship. Canongate residents were thus denied the right to worship in their centuries-old parish church. Upon the news of the Glorious Revolution and the fall of James VII, a mob stormed the chapel, destroying every emblem of the Catholic faith as well as desecrating the royal tombs (Bryce, 1914, xliii). In December 1768, the roof, which had been rebuilt ten years earlier, suddenly gave way bringing down also the clerestory, the roof of the northern aisle and most of the flying arches (Bryce, 1914, xliv).

Church: Although Canongate became a vassal of Edinburgh in 1636, it remained a separate burgh and parish and the parishioners worshipped as they had done for centuries in the nave of the abbey church (RCAM, 1951, 153). In 1686, James VII took over the abbey nave for his own use and Canongate residents were thus deprived of their parish church. Temporary church accommodation was found while a new parish church was erected on the north side of the main street of the burgh. The church, constructed in 1688, is a 'plain, inornate basilica' with an interior which is 'lofty and bare' (RCAM, 1951, 154). It includes a semi-circular presbytery on the north, a rectangular transeptal aisle to the east and west and an aisled nave to the south.

Chapels: In addition to the Augustinian Abbey, Canongate spawned a number of chapels and hospitals. A chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary stood near present-day St. Mary Street. The pre-Reformation chapel and hospital of St. Thomas stood near the Abbey Close. It was reputedly founded in 1541 by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, and was repaired in 1617 for James VI's visit (RCAM, 1951, 184). Another pre-Reformation hospital dedicated to St. Paul stood on the east side of Leith Wynd. Founded in 1469, it was used, first by General Leslie and then Cromwell after the battle of Dunbar, to house wounded soldiers. It retained its pauper inmates until 1750 when it was sold to the Charity Workhouse. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was an almshouse, house of correction, training school for children and a textile factory (RCAM, 1951, 184). The Canongate Charity Workhouse was built in 1740 and was located at the foot of the tolbooth. Built through public subscriptions, it was occupied by the infirm and destitute poor of the parish (MacKay, 1879, 133).

Palace: In preparation for his marriage to Margaret Tudor in 1503, James IV ordered the construction of a palace in the outer court of the Abbey. It is assumed that some abbey buildings were merely repaired to be contained in this scheme, which did however include the construction of a new hall, tower, chapel and gatehouse (RCAM, 1951, 144). James IV's plan was never completed although work on the palace continued in the reigns of James V and Mary. The major piece of extant sixteenth century work, the north-west tower, dates from the reign of James V. After his restoration in 1660, Charles II resolved to rebuild the palace and ordered Sir William Bruce to draw up plans for its reconstruction. The plans were ultimately approved by the king who appointed Robert Mylne, his master mason, to execute the work. Mylne erected the north quarter of the palace first, then the east, the south with its tower and finally the front (Richardson, 1950, 6).

Tolbooth: A tolbooth in the Canongate was in existence by 1477 (RMS, ii, 217). The present attractive structure was built in 1591 on the site of a previous one. It contains a hall which in former days served the dual purpose of Council Room and Courthouse. Although the tolbooth was used as a prison until 1848 (Wright, 1974, 25), it would not appear that it was always a secure institutional deterrent. In 1654, several Scots prisoners of war effected their escape from the building by rending their blankets and sheets into strips (Grant, 1882, ii, 31). The tolbooth, which now serves primarily as a museum, was also extensively restored in 1879.

Grammar School: The first mention of a grammar school in the Canon-gate occurs in 1529 with the abbot and convent as patrons (Anderson, 1935, 3). In the early seventeenth century it was apparently located near the abbey, but by the end of the same century occupied the first floor of a tenement at the head of Leith Wynd (Anderson, 1935, 13). Fire destroyed that tenement in 1696 and Edinburgh offered a house in the city 'till some convenient house should be found in the Canon-gate'. Early in the eighteenth century the grammar school was rebuilt on the north side of the Canongate, a building which was both long and narrow with three storeys and a garret (Anderson, 1935, 14).

Houses: Tenements in the Canongate never grew to the outrageous heights that those in neighbouring Edinburgh did, although there were still differentiations. In the tenement properties the poorer classes lived in the top storeys or those nearest pavement level, the rich occupied

the middle floors safely away from the odours of the street and without too high a climb. Although Canongate has in recent years been subject to a determined campaign of urban renewal she still boasts a number of fine seventeenth and eighteenth century residences.

Archaeology

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The burgh of Canongate consisted for most of its history of buildings flanking the main thoroughfare with large gardens and open spaces to the rear. Development of these backlands on any noticeable scale has taken place only during the last hundred years. Many of the standing buildings along Canongate itself date from the late 16th, 17th or 18th centuries, and the late medieval town plan has thus largely been preserved. Opportunities for large-scale archaeological excavation in the foreseeable future are likely to be few.

Future Investigation

The main priority for any archaeological work in the burgh must be to locate evidence of the extent and nature of occupation prior to the middle of the sixteenth century. Traces of buildings earlier than this period are unlikely to be found except beneath those existing buildings along Canongate which do not have cellars, but material evidence in the form of middens, rubbish pits, etc. may well survive in many areas of the backlands, as may evidence of early property boundaries in the form of walls, fences or common footpaths.

Areas of Archaeological Priority

In the absence of any information from previous excavations it is impossible to identify which areas of the burgh are more likely to yield useful evidence than others. Clearly the area around Holyrood Abbey and Palace must be regarded as a prime site for excavation, as there was an ecclesiastical foundation there before the burgh as such existed at all, and the abbey remained the spiritual and administrative centre of the burgh for much of its earlier history.

Recommendations

Few opportunities for large-scale excavation work are likely to occur in the burgh in the foreseeable future, as most of the available areas have already been subject to recent development, but some information on the location and nature of surviving archaeological deposits may be gained by trial-trenching and observation

of underground work carried out by contractors. In the present situation any such evidence must be regarded as valuable. Opportunities for excavation in the immediate vicinity of Holyrood Abbey and Palace must be considered unlikely to occur. The entire site is under the guardianship of the Scottish Development Department, and no rescue excavation will therefore be required in the area. Any opportunity which may arise to carry out an excavation, possibly in the course of landscaping or building repairs, should be utilised to the full.

PREVIOUS WORK

Apart from clearance and landscaping work in the grounds of Holyrood Abbey and Palace, which yielded finds of pottery, coins, iron, lead and glass, there has been no archaeological excavation within the burgh of Canongate. A number of stray finds of early artifacts have been made, indicating that occupation of the area may date back to prehistoric times.

1. An Early Bronze Age flat axe-head was recovered during work on the foundations of Bible Lane, 187-197 Canongate (NT 2635 7376). (The axe is now in Huntly House Museum).
2. A Roman Bronze coin of Augustus was found embedded in a ball of clay during excavations at Moray House (NT 2638 7374).
3. A Roman Silver denarius of Marcus Aurelius was found in the Abbey Yard at Holyrood (Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. III (1858-59), 247). (The coin is now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland).
4. A collection of 55 potsherds, ranging in date from fourteenth to eighteenth century, and an eighteenth-century clay pipe bowl were recovered as surface finds from Canongate Kirkyard (c. NT 2645 7385). (The finds are now in the collections of Edinburgh City Museum).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Early Settlement

Apart from the axe-head and coins listed in the previous section there have been no finds within the burgh indicative of settlement before the late Middle Ages. There is no doubt, however, that the area was populated in the prehistoric and Dark Age periods, as there

are a number of earthworks, hut circles and cultivation terraces in Holyrood Park, which lies immediately south-east of the burgh. Settlement in these early periods would undoubtedly have been concentrated on the higher ground, especially on hills such as Castle Rock to the west and Arthur's Seat in Holyrood Park, rather than in the lower-lying and probably badly drained ground around Holyrood. The Romans seem to have avoided this area completely, allowing free occupation to their local allies, the Votadini, and the two Roman coins noted above may well be comparatively recent losses.

There is so far no evidence in the archaeological record for early medieval occupation. Only the grounds of Holyrood Abbey and Canon-gate Kirkyard have yielded artifactual evidence from earlier than the seventeenth century (see previous section).

The Town Plan

The bounds of the burgh remained the same from the time of its charter of establishment to that of its incorporation as part of Edinburgh. The main thoroughfare extended from the eastern boundary of Edinburgh, at the Netherbow Port, to Holyrood and the back-lands stretched as far as the roads known as North and South Back Canongate, now Calton Road and Holyrood Road respectively. Canon-gate appears never to have possessed any sort of defensive enclosure, despite the right granted in David I's charter (see page 48). As a basically ecclesiastical foundation it was perhaps thought to have no need of defences against temporal powers. The only recorded gateway is the Water Yett (see page 53), which must have served a purely administrative function, perhaps in connection with the collection of tolls.

As was the case in Edinburgh, closes and wynds led away from the main street of Canongate, and many of these still survive. Others along with the property boundaries which they marked, have been removed during the construction of later roads such as New Street and St. John Street (see page 51) or of large buildings, particularly at the east end of Canongate on its south side. Much of the original plan has been preserved in the areas bordering Canon-gate itself, except at the eastern end of the south side, where

modern brewery buildings cover most of the area between Queensberry House (NT 2666 7385) and Horse Wynd, and in the area now occupied by Milton House School (NT 2658 7382). In the backlands, however, later buildings have covered many of the large open spaces and gardens which were a feature of the burgh in its heyday.

Early Buildings and Materials.

Many buildings still survive today from the period when Canongate provided accommodation for noble and wealthy families. The Tolbooth (NT 2640 7379) was built in 1591 and was the main administrative building. Moray House (NT 2638 7374), Queensberry House (NT 2666 7385), Huntly House (NT 2643 7377), Acheson House (NT 2647 7376) and Croft an Righ House (NT 2695 7407) all date originally from the late sixteenth or seventeenth century, and information about them can be found in the relevant Royal Commission Inventory (RCAHMS 1951). Little is known, however, of earlier buildings in the burgh. They were probably constructed mostly of timber and often fell victim to invading English armies, who found the undefended burgh an easy target for looting and burning.

A Tolbooth is known to have been in existence in 1477 on the site now occupied by its late sixteenth-century replacement. The site of the fifteenth-century Hospital of St. Paul, which reputedly replaced an earlier religious foundation, is now covered by part of Waverley Station (NT 2609 7390). The sixteenth-century Hospital and Chapel of St. Thomas, which stood just inside the burgh, to the west of the Water Yett (NT 2671 6393), was demolished in 1778 and replaced by tenements.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT

Much of the area of the former burgh of Canongate has been developed during the present century, but almost all of this building work has taken place in the backlands to the north and south of the main street frontages, in areas where few structures existed previously. Most of the area on the north side of the burgh between its boundary with Edinburgh in the west and Tolbooth Wynd in the east is now occupied by part of Waverley Station and associated railway depots and works. Much less development has taken place in the

remaining area between Canongate and Calton Road, although a number of garage and factory buildings have been erected at the north end of Dunbar's Close and Panmure Close (area centred on NT 2647 7391). At the east end of Calton Road, at its junction with Abbeyhill, a new housing estate has been built. To the south of Canongate, in the backlands leading down to Holyrood Road, large-scale modern development has taken place. On the west side of St. John Street a large new block has been erected for Moray House College (NT 263 736), and to the east of the older college buildings (NT 2645 7365) almost all of the backlands, as well as the Canongate frontage at its east end, are now covered by modern brewery buildings. Only the gardens to the rear of Queensberry House, now a hospital, remain open ground.

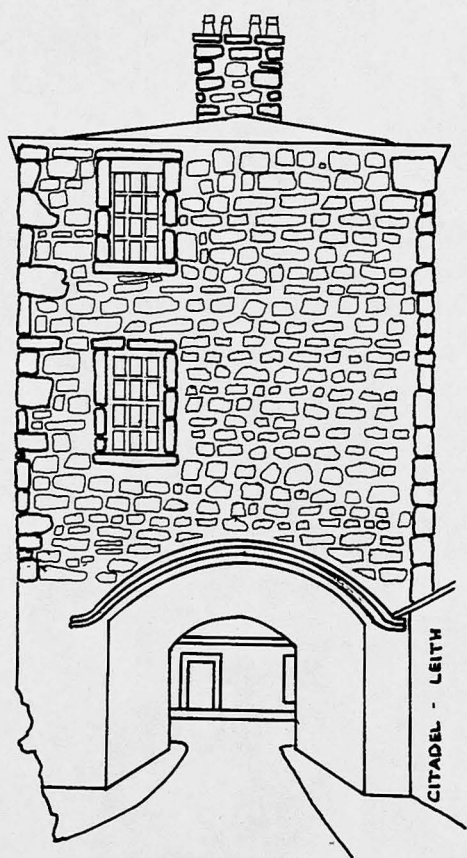
PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT

There are at present no definite plans for further large-scale re-development in the area of the former burgh.

Historic

LEITH

the archaeological implications
of development



Anne Turner Simpson
Nicholas Holmes
Sylvia Stevenson

Scottish Burgh Survey
1981

Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow

'It is nevertheless a quaint, old fashioned looking burgh, full of crooked alleys and rambling narrow wynds, scattered about in the most irregular fashion and happily innocent as yet of the refinement of an Improvement Commission...' (Daniel Wilson,1848).

'Too much of it is terra incognita to the Edinburgh bred man. It does him good to go to Leith, which is the next best thing to getting abroad' (Anon, 1952).

'There are no polychromatic railway posters inviting the nation at large to come to sunny Leith' (Anon, 1953).

'Until fairly recently, Leith was able to make a very fair show of old houses and relics of the past, but the improvement schemes carried out from time to time, though in themselves great boons to the town have gone far to remove all that was of an antiquarian nature. So that, notwithstanding the great advantages that have arisen from the opening up of the town, and the removal of narrow closes and noisome courts, it is not impossible to feel a shade of regret that, along with felt nuisances, much that was interesting has been swept away' (Francis Groome,1894).

INTRODUCTION

Site: Leith was formerly the premier seaport of Scotland. It is situated one-and-a-half miles (2.3km) north of the centre of Edinburgh at the point where the Water of Leith falls into the Firth of Forth.

Place Name: Inverlet c.1128 X 1153 (ESC, 1905, 117), Inuerleth c.1173 X 1178 (Barrow, 1971, 235). It has been suggested that Leith took its name from the family of the first recorded superiors, the Leiths, who in the thirteenth century owned extensive lands in Midlothian including the barony of Restalrig (Grant, 1882, iii, 164). However, it is more probable that the family took their name from the river, the Water of Leith, which rises at the western base of the Pentlands.

HISTORICAL

Burgh Status: In reality there were two Leiths, North Leith and South Leith. Down to the beginning of the nineteenth century North Leith, whose superior was the Abbot of Holyrood, was but a backwater. The real Leith, the Leith of history, was South Leith (Russell,1922, 27). Whereas North Leith belonged to the barony of Canongate and had as its immediate superior, the Abbot of Holyrood, South Leith

was an integral part of the barony of Restalrig and owed its allegiance to the ruling baron, who likewise held of the Abbot of Holyrood. Pryde classed Leith as a 'burghal suburb' until it achieved burghal status in its own right (1965, 69). On 23 October 1636, Leith was erected de novo burgh of barony in favour of the city of Edinburgh (Pryde, 1965, 69).

Medieval: Leith owed its origin to the sea, and its prosperity to trade. Initially styled 'Inverleith', it made its first appearance in a c.1130 charter of confirmation by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews (ESC, 1905, 75). Another early reference occurs in David I's 1128 X 1153 charter of confirmation to Holyrood Abbey in which he gives the canons, among other things, Inverlet illam quae vicinior est portui cum suis rectis divisis et cum ipso portu et cum medietate piscationis (Inverleith which is nearer the harbour with its own local boundaries and includes the harbour itself with some fishings). (ESC, 1905, 117). From its earliest period, therefore, it would appear that there was some form of a harbour at Leith.

From at least 1264, the first year from which exchequer records survive to us, it appears that Leith was a busy port. In that year she exported cattle to Inverness and imported herring for the king (Russell, 1922, 38). Her importance as a commercial centre is underlined by the fact that in 1313, 1410 and again in 1522 English squadrons sacked and burned ships in Leith harbour (Hutchison, 1865, 7). Leith however, was not a free port and in May 1329 Robert I granted 'the harbour of Leith, mills and their pertinents' to Edinburgh (Grant, 1882, iii, 166).

This 1329 grant, which one nineteenth-century observer called the source of 'all future troubles of Leith' opened enmity between the 'free burgh' of Edinburgh and the 'unfree' port of Leith (Grant, 1882, iii, 166). The 1329 charter granted Edinburgh only the harbour of Leith, not the banks of the river on which she could erect wharves and piers. This shortcoming was rectified in 1398 when Edinburgh paid dearly for the banks of the Water of Leith, upon which it erected wharves and quays. They were also allowed to make roads through the lands of Restalrig 'for the more easy transporting of goods to and from the Port of Leith, with the power of erecting

taverns as well as keeping shops for the sale of bread, wine, wax and silk' (Colston, 1892, 3). By terms of a 1413 grant, Leith residents were forbidden to carry on trade of any sort, from possessing warehouses or shops or to keep inns for strangers so that nothing could prejudice Edinburgh (Grant, 1882,iii, 167).

At the end of the fifteenth century, Edinburgh magistrates were tightening their control over their Leith dependents. In 1485 it was forbidden for any Edinburgh merchant to take into partnership any indweller of the town of Leith under pain of forty pounds (Grant, 1882, iii, 167). Three years earlier, in 1482, an ordinance passed in Edinburgh forbade the holding of markets in Leith (Nicholson, 1974, 452). Even as late as 1755 the Court of Session decided that a 'free' town like Edinburgh might seize and confiscate any 'unfree' goods brought into its trade area by Leith residents and others, but could not otherwise hinder their importation. Due to the fact that Edinburgh had a paucity of 'watchers' to carry out this duty, the struggle over exclusive rights of foreign trade came to an end. In that year Leith, in the matter of foreign trade, became free to trade with the world (Russell, 1922, 86).

Early Modern: By the sixteenth century Leith was unquestionably the leading port in Scotland. Edinburgh was the leading city. Therefore the dependence which began in 1329 ensured that Leith 'bore a share in all the disasters that befell its jealous neighbour, without partaking of any equivalent partnership in its good fortune' (Wilson, 1891, ii, 185). Twice in the 1540s alone Leith was pillaged and burned. In 1544, on the orders of Henry VIII, Leith was marched on by 10,000 English troops. A large portion of this invading force remained in Leith and plundered a number of ships before making a bonfire of her wooden pier and setting fire to the town (Hutcheson, 1865, 12). After the battle of Pinkie in 1547, the port was again pillaged, with a greater severity than before. Houses were burned and thirty-five ships were carried from the harbour (Grant, 1882, iii, 170).

From 1548 to 1560 Leith, by becoming a headquarters of the Queen Regent Mary of Guise, was the centre of the civil war which ensued between the French Regent and the Protestant Lords of the Congregation.

While residing in Leith, Mary of Guise made a contract with the citizens to erect Leith into a baronial burgh and borrowed £3000 from the community to purchase the superiority of Leith from Logan of Restalrig (Colston, 1892, 31). No action was taken regarding burgh status and in 1564 the superiority of Leith was impledged to Edinburgh (Colston, 1892, 32). Leith was strongly fortified by French troops in the 1550s who were besieged by the Lords of the Congregation for over eight months beginning in October, 1559. The siege was concluded and peace declared within a month of the death of Mary of Guise on 11 June 1560.

The Union of the Crowns in 1603 did little to hinder Leith's position. It was still the premier seaport in the Scottish kingdom throughout the seventeenth century. Taylor the Water Poet, visited the port in 1618 and was amazed to hear of the large amount of grain shipped from Leith to 'Spain, France and other foreign parts' (Grant, 1882, iii, 183). The premier position of Leith led one Englishman, Sir William Monson, to make the suggestion in 1635, that Leith should be created the capital of Scotland.

'Instead of Edinburgh which is the supreme city, and now made head of justice, whither all men resort as the-only spring that waters the kingdom, I wish his Majesty did fortify, strengthen and make impregnable, the town of Leith, and there to settle the seat of justice, with all the other privileges Edinburgh enjoys, referring it to the choice of the inhabitants where they will make their dwelling where do or remove to Leith, where they shall enjoy the same liberties they did in Edinburgh. His Majesty may do it out of these respects: Leith is a maritime town, and with some great labour and charge in conveying their merchandise to Edinburgh which no man but will find conveniency in; Leith is a sea town, whither ships resort and mariners make their dwelling, and the Trinity House being settled there lies more convenient for transportation and importation, it being the port town of Edinburgh, and in time of war may cut off all provisions betwixt the sea and Edinburgh, and bring Edinburgh to the mercy of it' (Grant, 1882, iii, 184-6).

Sir William, a seaman and a naval officer who had served with Raleigh, took a mariner's view. It is not known if the suggestion was taken at all seriously, nor is it known what Edinburgh's reaction was.

Much of seventeenth-century Leith was dominated by the growth of industry within its bounds. In 1619 Nathaniel Uddart erected a soap-work at Leith and was granted a monopoly of soapmaking in Scotland for twenty-one years on the condition that he paid £21 duty annually

to the crown (Russell, 1922, 315). Although this operation does not appear to have been a successful one he received a further patent to trade in oil obtained from whale fishing in Greenland (Russell, 1922, 316). In 1662 Englishmen opened the first glass and bottle manufactory established in North Leith (Hutcheson, 1865, 40). By the end of the eighteenth century six glass houses lined the beach and sands (Martine, 1888, 79). In the late seventeenth century Flemings supervised factories for the manufacture of fine woollen cloth established in the neighbourhood of Leith, while a German, Peter Bruce, who had adopted a Scots name, opened a playing-card manufactory at the same time (Russell, 1922, 369, 366). A census conducted in 1693 showed that South Leith had over 2000 residents, while North Leith boasted just 600. The community included soap boilers, pin makers, dyers, an apothecary (who was a doctor, surgeon, and chemist for the whole of Leith) and a golf ball maker who supplied clubs (Russell, 1922, 311).

Eighteenth Century: After the Union of Parliaments in 1707, the fortunes of Leith doggedly followed the fortunes of the capital. Union proved to be no immediate panacea for the economic ills which had troubled the country for so long. One of the first effects of Union was in the cloth trade. Leith manufactures were unable to compete with the fine cloth produced in England and therefore were forced to revert to plaidings and coarse woollen cloth (Russell, 1922, 382). Linen was also a trade which suffered badly.

After 1745, however, there was a marked improvement in Leith's trade and commerce. Trade increased seven-fold between 1745 and 1770 (Russell, 1922, 400). The manufacture of glass increased as did shipbuilding. This spread of commerce helped the growth of banking in the town. Land communication between Leith and the capital was greatly improved through the offices of the Turnpike Road Act of 1751, and the consequent rise in the use of stagecoaches brought Leith into even greater contact with the outside world.

BURGH MORPHOLOGY

Street Layout: Great Junction Street and Constitution Street, along with Bernard Street and the Water of Leith, form the boundaries of that part of the town which chiefly deserve the name 'Old Leith' (Groome, 1894, iv, 481). The town consisted of a series of alleys, lanes and closes with some narrow streets: the Shore and Kirkgate

were its principal thoroughfares. The area of South Leith where houses were first erected was probably the area north of Tolbooth Wynd and lying between Water Street and the Shore (Swan, 1925, 123).

Kirkgate is one of the oldest and principal streets of Leith. It measured 1100 feet (335.28m) in length from the foot of Leith Walk to the head of Water Street and enjoyed an average breadth of fifty feet (15.24m) (Grant, 1882, iii, 213). An early reference to it occurs in a 1496 grant when it is referred to as the 'common way going up towards Edinburgh' (Swan, 1925, 193). It was also reputedly detailed in the Ledger of Andrew Haliburton Conservator of Scottish Privileges at Veere 1493-1505 (Grant, 1882, iii, 214). One nineteenth-century writer made the observation that 'time and modern taste have slowly, but very effectually, modified its antique features' (Grant, 1882, iii, 213). In this he decried the disappearance of timber-fronted gables and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century crow-stepped gables which were then becoming the exception rather than the rule. Today, Kirkgate, which formerly was a principal thoroughfare in Leith, lies buried under the glass and concrete of a modern shopping precinct.

Three streets struck off Kirkgate: St. Giles Street, St. Andrew's Street and Tolbooth Wynd. St. Giles Street was fully 1000 feet (304.80m) in length to its intersection with Cable Wynd. It then continued as a narrow winding path to Sheriff Brae. St. Andrew's Street was about 600 feet (182.88m) in length and was intersected at right angles in its centre by Market Street (formerly Riddle's Close) (Russell, 1922, 321). At the foot of St. Andrew's Street are two ancient routes: Parliament Street and Shepard's Neuk. Tolbooth Wynd possibly dated from the fifteenth century (Russell, 1922, 95), whereas the name derives from the fact that a tolbooth was erected in the thoroughfare during the reign of Queen Mary. It was formerly about 550 feet (167.64m) in length and replaced the more ancient Burgess Close as the principal approach to the harbour.

Burgess Close was just one of a network of narrow wynds, lanes and closes which cut through old Leith. Though a Leith thoroughfare, Burgess Close was granted by the superior to Edinburgh burgesses at the close of the fourteenth century to give them greater access

to the harbour (Irons, 1897, i, 293). Therefore, it contained booths and stores of Edinburgh burghesses engaged in the commerce of their port (Russell, 1922, 94). The old Burgess Close was swept away and a wider street occupied its place (Irons, 1897, i, 293).

In the late nineteenth century, Henderson Street, from Tolbooth Wynd to Great Junction Street, was opened up in an effort to improve congestion in that area of Leith. In its wake no fewer than eighteen closes were left untouched. Among the streets which were left untouched was Water Street, anciently called Rottenrow. As a thoroughfare its name first occurs in the reign of James III when in a charter to the Friars Preachers of Edinburgh a parcel of land is described as being 'on the east side of the common venel called the Ratounrow' (Grant, 1882, iii, 235). Water Street winds tortuously at an angle from the foot of the Kirkgate to Bernard Street. Bernard Street, or Bernard's Nook, as it once was called, dates from at least the early seventeenth century. It owes its name to Bernard Lindsay, a court favourite of James VI. Quality Street (now Maritime Street) linked Bernard Street with present-day Queen Charlotte Street. Bernard Street intersects the Shore as does Broad Wynd, another early thoroughfare whose origins date to at least the last half of the sixteenth century (Irons, 1897, i, 419).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Leith burst its medieval bounds. Up to that period Kirkgate and Quality Street marked the eastern boundary of the town beyond which in that direction land was bare and open. In August 1790 Constitution Street was formed to provide better access to Bernard Street and the Shore. It lies parallel to and eastward of Kirkgate nearly in a line with the eastern face of the ancient fortifications, and is about 2500 feet (861m) in length (Grant, 1882, iii, 243). Great Junction Street, which dates from the opening years of the nineteenth century, also follows the line of the 1560 rampart.

Leith Walk also owes its origins to fortifications, but fortifications of the seventeenth, not the sixteenth century. On the approach of Cromwell's army in 1650, General Leslie's Scottish troops were entrenched on the open ground between Edinburgh and Leith. After the battle of Dunbar in the same year, these entrenchments, described as a citadel, were not interfered with and the mound or parapet speedily became a footpath between the two centres. Defoe noted that the

gravel walk was kept in a good repair and that horses were not allowed to come on it (Hutchison, 1865, 256). From the opening of the North Bridge in 1772, Leith Walk replaced the Easter, Bonnington and Restalrig Roads as the chief means of communication with the capital (Russell, 1922, 349).

Across from South Leith was North Leith which down to the beginning of the nineteenth century was but a sleepy village. Initially its jurisdiction was quite separate from that of South Leith, for North Leith and Canongate made up the barony of Canongate with magistrates appointed in part by Edinburgh (Russell, 1922, 99). Residents of North Leith paid their rents to the abbot. They could only make the journey to Holyrood by two routes. One was by a ford at Bonnington and the other was by a ford at Old Bridge End, where the street now known as Coalhill had the name 'gate that leads to the ford' (Russell, 1922, 24). Writing in 1787 Kincaid described North Leith as:-

'...one street running north-east from the bridge, six hundred feet long, and about forty in breadth where broadest. On each side are many narrow lanes and closes, those on the South side leading down to the carpenter's yards by the side of the river, and those on the north to the gardens belonging to the inhabitants...the buildings in this place are in general very mean in their appearance, and inhabited by people who let rooms during the summer seasons to persons who bathe in the salt water'
(Grant, 1882, iii, 251).

From the second decade of the nineteenth century on, North Leith underwent a great deal of renovation, which included dismantling much of the Cromwellian citadel, tearing down ruinous houses and beautifying the streets (Grant, 1882, iii, 251).

Eastward of Leith lay the open area known as Leith Links. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Leith Links were a chief resort of the Edinburgh aristocracy who liked playing golf there (Grant, 1882, iii, 260). Another distinctive suburban area of Leith was the Sands, which extended from the back of the old stone pier and Signal Tower in a straight line east, onwards to Seafield. The Sands of Leith were the scene of executions of criminals associated with the sea, the last public hanging taking place as recently as 1823. Two other suburban areas include Backside, which was a collection of houses dating to the seventeenth century located to the east of the churchyard (Robertson, 1911, 45), and the Yardheads.

The latter was a suburb peopled by 'unfree men' who were the subject of a 1676 petition issued on behalf of all Leith trade incorporations. The document, submitted to the Kirk Session as superiors of the Yardheads, complained that the 'unfree men' who lived there were injuring Leith traders (Russell, 1922, 125).

Markets: Although Leith was the most important seaport in Scotland she could not share in overseas trade, for she had no weekly markets, and no annual fairs. In 1482 Edinburgh magistrates had forbidden the holding of markets in Leith and in 1506 they passed an ordinance setting down that no one bringing merchandise into the realm 'sel mak mercat theirof in Leith' (Irons, 1897, i, 585). Although lacking a market and market cross, Leith did have a tron on the west side of Bernard Street near the lower drawbridge (Robertson, 1911, 19).

Defences: Leith had a series of defences notably in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Prior to 1549 there were no regular fortifications. A Frenchman, D'Esse, in preparation for the siege of 1559-60, had fortifications erected which were octagonal in form with a bastion at each angle making eight in total. The first of these bastions - the stone-built Ramsay's bastion - was for the defence of the harbour and was situated near the foot of Bernard Street. From this point the wall took a south-east direction towards the Exchange Buildings where stood the second bastion. The wall continued its course south-westerly nearly on a line with Constitution Street - about 300 feet (91.44m) north-east of South Leith Church. From this point the wall proceeded in a south-west direction or with an angle towards the top of Kirkgate where it joined the fourth bastion. The fifth bastion, the Port of St. Anthony, was joined nearby. From the port the rampart ran in a nearly straight line to the Water of Leith and a little way above its banks the rampart met the sixth bastion. Before joining the seventh bastion the stretch of walling passed through the grounds of the later Cromwellian citadel. Taking now an easterly direction the rampart terminated at the stone-built Sand Port which corresponded with Ramsay's bastion across the river, (Hutcheson, 1865, 6). In 1560, Edinburgh town council ordered the demolition of the defences, but apparently only the rampart on the south and west side of Leith was demolished. The remaining fortifications, which were illustrated on a seventeenth-century plan of the town, were strengthened by the Regent Morton (Grant, 1882, iii, 176; Irons, 1897, i, 298).

Citadel: Following Cromwell's successful campaign in Scotland in 1650 the English General Monk was left in charge of the Protector's affairs and it appears that for a while he took up residence in Leith. In 1656, Monk began to erect a citadel in North Leith on the site of the medieval church of St. Nicholas. The citadel had five bastions and barracks. According to the notes of a contemporary, the works round about were faced with freestone and the fortress boasted 'convenient and well-built houses for the governor, officers and for magazines and stores' (Hutcheson, 1865, 27). To cover the costs of its construction, General Monk had extorted £5,000 from the citizens of Edinburgh. At the Restoration, jealous Edinburgh magistrates bought the citadel for £6,000 after it had been raised into a burgh of Barony in favour of the Earl of Lauderdale. All that remains of the Cromwellian citadel is the main gate, the rest of the fortress having either been swept away by the sea (Maitland, 1753, 499) or dismantled. Until recently the surviving superstructure had a two storey house on top of it (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, Reference NT 27 NE 10).

Fort: In 1779 the American naval hero John Paul Jones sailed into Leith harbour with the intention of capturing the port and holding it to ransom (Grant, 1882, iii, 196). Fortunately for Leith, a gale blew up and scattered the invading force, but the scare so frightened residents that they rushed to improve their defences. A battery 'now rendered utterly useless by encroaching houses and docks' was erected east of Bathfield (Grant, 1882, iii, 197).

Ports: The total number of ports in Leith is difficult to determine. St. Anthony's Port was the principal gate of the town situated at the top of the Kirkgate - the point of the main entrance from Edinburgh. Maitland suggested that there might have been a port at the eastern end of Hillhead Wynd through which lay the road from the middle part of the town to Musselburgh. Another port was perhaps at the southern end of Cable Wynd leading to Broughton (1753, 486). Hutcheson, on the other hand, points to the North Leith place-name Sand Port as indicating a fourth gateway and suggests that there might also have been one on the side of the Links. During the Cromwellian occupation a petition was presented to the governor requesting that he should permit the 'port to be open on the Sabbath from 7 o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon for the outgoing in the morning

of the people to sermon in the Links' (Hutcheson, 1865, 7). North Leith apparently boasted one other port - St. Nicholas Port near the site of the citadel (Hutcheson, 1856, 7).

Harbour: The harbour of Leith was the principal source of wealth for the town. It is first mentioned in the 1128 x 1153 charter of confirmation to Holyrood Abbey and in early days was simply the lower reach of the Water of Leith not extending further downstream than Broad Wynd (RCAM, 1951, 265). Passage into the harbour was made difficult by a large sand bar lying at its entrance (Russell, 1922, 271). In early days craft would have beached on the foreshore especially on the right bank of the river which to this day is still called the Shore. Improvements on the harbour were certainly in progress by 1398 when Edinburgh, which at this point owned the port but not the adjoining land, received permission to dig up earth for the building and enlargement of the port (Graham, 1968-69, 250).

Tolls for harbour repair were authorised more than once in the middle ages and repairs and improvements continued into the early modern period. By 1560 the harbour had a beacon and a 'bulwark' on its east side and then occurs the earliest notice of a pier as distinct from a quay (Graham, 1968-69, 250). Another wooden pier resting on strong pillars was constructed in the early seventeenth century - an erection which lasted 240 years (Groome, 1894, iv, 484). The harbour was extended in 1685 by Robert Mylne who also constructed a seawall (Russell, 1922, 377, 374).

Extensive work was carried out on the harbour in the eighteenth century. Between 1720 and 1730 a stone pier was constructed which was joined to the wooden pier so as to extend it by 300 feet (91.44m) and a small dock was erected on the west side of the river's mouth. In 1777, a short pier, afterwards known as the Custom House Quay, was built (Groome, 1894, iv, 484). Maitland observed that the harbour was nearly one half mile (0.8km) in length, and the quay which extended along the south and eastern sides of the harbour was strongly fenced with an ashlar stone wall (1753, 487).

Bridge: The first stone bridge across the Water of Leith near its mouth was built by Abbot Robert Bellenden in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Maitland described the bridge as 'substantial' with 'three stonern arches' (1753, 487). Abbot Bellenden's Bridge

might have been replaced in 1789 with the first of two draw-bridges erected at Leith in the eighteenth century (Grant, 1882, iii, 273). Previous to the erection of Abbot Bellenden's stone bridge, a ferry operated at the ford at Old Bridge End (Russell, 1922, 25). In 1467 in order to expedite the ferry accommodation it was ordered that Leith's ferry boats should be provided with a 'brigge made of burdis' for the more easy shipping of cattle under the penalty of confiscation and disability to pay the ferry for one year (Martine, 1888, 107).

BUILDINGS

Churches: The church of North Leith was dedicated to the 'honor of God, the Virgin and St.Ninian' and was erected in 1493 under the auspices of Abbot Robert Bellenden, although North Leith did not become a parish in its own right until 1606. The church appears to have been extensively repaired after the Reformation (Hutcheson, 1865, 124) and replaced in 1815-16. A granary was erected on the site of the old church (Hutcheson, 1865, 126).

The church of St.Mary in South Leith was built about 1438. It was formed as subordinate chapel to Restalrig which continued to be the church of the parish until 1609 (Swan, 1925, 201). Little of the original fabric survives except for the west window which is now in the church of St.Conan at Loch Awe. The church was apparently used to lodge Scots prisoners during Hertford's campaign of 1547-8 (Robertson, 1851, 26) and the choir appears to have been destroyed during the siege of 1559-60 (Grant, 1882, iii, 218).

Despite the damage sustained, St.Mary's continued as a place of worship for South Leith residents. In 1572 the General Assembly met within its walls (Hutcheson, 1856, 118). Additions to the fabric included a range of dormer windows in 1614 and another seventeenth-century appendage, a stone tower surmounted in the 'Scoto-Dutch taste by a conical spire of wood and metal' (Grant, 1882, iii, 219). In 1848 the church underwent drastic restoration which included the construction of a new tower, the removal of the remaining dormer windows and the demolition of the east and west gables of the church (Hutcheson, 1856, 199).

Chapels: On the east side of the Kirkgate stood a preceptory for the canons of St.Anthony at Vienne - the only one of its kind in

Scotland - which may have been founded by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig about 1430 (Grant, 1882, iii, 215). The hospital which had suffered damage during the siege of 1559-60, was suppressed in 1591 and granted with its place, lands and other possessions to a layman, Mr. John Hay (Cowan and Easson, 1976, 184). A rubble gable at NT 2548 7795 is all that remains of the chapel dedicated to Saints Mary and James in Newhaven (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, Reference NT 27 NE 14). A hospital dedicated to the Holy Trinity was founded in 1555 by the corporation of shipmasters and mariners for the benefit of seamen. It was confirmed by a royal grant in 1566 (Cowan, 1976, 185).

Grammar School: The first reference to a grammar school in Leith occurs in Edinburgh Town Council Records in 1521 (McAra, 1960, 2). The school after 1560 fell into the care of the Kirk Session and by 1623 is known to have occupied the vaults of Old Trinity House. In the 1650s, for brief periods, Cromwellian troops occupied the house and scholars were forced to meet in a loft above a soaphouse in St. Andrews Street. This move was temporary and in 1657, the school was once again convened in the Old Trinity House. In 1710 a new school was erected in the south-west corner of the churchyard, but by the end of the century complaints were made about the damp condition of the structure (McKay, 1934, 12, 19). Another school was subsequently built in the Links in 1806. The parish school of North Leith was located in St. Nicholas Wynd (Maitland, 1753, 498).

Tolbooth: South Leith's first tolbooth stood in Restalrig and has been sited at NT 2850 7451 (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, Reference NT 27 NE 11). This tolbooth was burned by Hertford in the 1540s and was not rebuilt. Many pleas to have the tolbooth rebuilt went unanswered until Mary Queen of Scots sent a strongly worded letter to Edinburgh magistrates in 1563, and within two years a new tolbooth was erected in Tolbooth Wynd. Soon after the demolition of Edinburgh's tolbooth in 1817 'doom' was sealed on Leith's despite the protests of such noted antiquaries as Sir Walter Scott (Hutcheson, 1865, 172). The tolbooth of Queen Mary was replaced with 'common-place' mercantile shipping offices (Hutcheson, 1865, 172), which were demolished in November, 1975, to make way for a modern housing development.

King's Wark: First mentioned in 1477, the King's Wark was designed

to hold wine, grain and other provisions. It was apparently a large block, a prominent object on Leith's shore occupying a place between Bernard Street and Broad Wynd. At NT 2711 7650 there is a public house called the King's Wark, but its external walls are harled making it impossible to determine whether any remains of the original building exist (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, Reference NT 27 NE 3).

Mills: Mills of Leith are mentioned in the 1329 grant of Robert I along with the harbour (Robertson, 1851, 11). In a short space of the river - two-and-a-half miles (3.6km) - Maitland counted thirty mills which brought 'but little to their superiors' (1753, 487). Robert Mylne in the late seventeenth century apparently built three mills: one at St. Anthony's Port, one at the town's ramparts near Links Lane and, his best known, Leith Mill, the so-called Signal Tower, a very warlike structure located at the harbour entrance, which began its days as a windmill.

ARCHAEOLOGY

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although there is historical evidence for the existence of a harbour and settlement at Leith as early as the 12th century, and despite the increasingly important role which Leith played in the later Middle Ages as the port for Edinburgh, there is as yet little in the archaeological record to aid our understanding of the physical appearance of the burgh or of the way of life of its inhabitants. Most of the archaeological investigation which has been carried out to date has produced disappointing results, but the excavation at Bernard Street (see p. 79) and the trial-trench at Commercial Street/Dock Street (see p. 78) have indicated that undisturbed medieval deposits do survive in some places. The planned major redevelopments in the area of the old town have not yet materialised, but when these projects are eventually put into effect, it will be vital that the opportunities which will be provided for excavation by the large-scale clearance of derelict areas are utilised to the full.

Future Investigation

The policies outlined below are not listed in order of importance, but are intended to provide guide-lines for future research as opportunities arise.

1. To attempt to locate, through excavation, the areas where the earliest settlement and development of the burgh occurred, and to provide information on the date and nature of this.
2. To provide evidence for the date and nature of the expansion of the burgh during the Middle Ages to the area eventually enclosed within the mid-sixteenth-century fortifications.
3. To investigate the development of the town plan, including alterations to the street plan and to property boundaries.
4. To recover information about the exact course and nature of the sixteenth-century defences and about the historical events which occurred at that time, including the siege of 1560.
5. To provide evidence of the size, plans and methods of construction of medieval and early post-medieval town buildings, civic, religious and domestic/industrial, and to recover traces of industrial activity within the burgh.

Areas of Archaeological Priority

Although it is fairly easy to pinpoint a number of areas where archaeological excavation might, on the basis of what is known of the history and development of the burgh, be expected to yield valuable information, the somewhat negative results obtained from trial excavations to date must cast some doubt on our ability to identify individual sites which may safely be deemed worthy of large-scale excavation. Indeed it is highly probable that, as proved to be the case at both the Bernard Street and Commercial Street/Dock Street sites (see p.79), some parts of modern sites contain undisturbed archaeological deposits whilst other parts of the same sites do not. The following areas are therefore not listed in any order of priority, as some which are theoretically of lesser importance may contain more useful material than others which could be expected to be prime sites.

1. The area, bounded by the Shore, Water Street, Broad Wynd and Tolbooth Wynd. Despite the disappointing results of trial excavations, this area must still be regarded as of prime importance for the early history of the burgh. The site lying between Burgess Street and Tolbooth Wynd (centred on NT 2705 7638) is likely to provide an opportunity for excavation in the not-too-distant future.
2. The area bounded by Tolbooth Wynd in the north and by Kirkgate in the south may provide evidence of the expansion of the burgh in the later Middle Ages, as may those between Water Street in the west and Constitution Street in the east and between Broad Wynd in the south and Bernard Street in the north.
3. In North Leith the most important area is likely to be that nearest to the Water of Leith, in particular the strip between the river and Coburg Street/Sandport Street, but the area north of this, as far north as Commercial Street and as far west as Citadel Street, also contains important sites of the early post-medieval period.
4. Any site on the line of the sixteenth-century defences could still contain traces of the fortifications, although it is unlikely that much will have survived the various phases of demolition.

Recommendations

It is recommended that the present policy of trial-trenching on all vacant sites within the above-mentioned areas should continue. Information derived from this and from observation of small-scale excavations by contractors can be combined with what is known from the historical record of the development of Leith to aid identification of those sites where

major archaeological investigations may be required in advance of re-development. It is probable that important undisturbed archaeological deposits do still survive in Leith, and proper excavation of these should add a great deal to our knowledge both of the history of Leith itself and of its relationship with Edinburgh, which spread its influence over every activity within its dependent burgh.

PREVIOUS WORK

Since 1974 trial-trenching has been carried out on a considerable number of sites within the area enclosed by the sixteenth-century town walls, but results have been generally disappointing. On only one site, to the south of Bernard Street, was sufficient archaeological material located to justify a larger-scale excavation (see p.79). The following results have been obtained from trial-trenching.

Leith Citadel Goods Station (NT 2665 7665): The construction of the station in the nineteenth century was found to have involved the destruction of all earlier deposits.

50-51, The Shore (NT 2707 7637): Excavation of the site of a demolished public house proved to be impossible because of the artificially raised level of the Water of Leith. The water table on the site coincided with the limit of modern disturbance.

Tolbooth Wynd Adventure Playground (NT 2701 7636): All archaeological deposits in the area investigated had been removed during the construction of the cellars of buildings since demolished.

Burgess Street (NT 2705 7640): No archaeological deposits earlier than the eighteenth century were located.

Coburg Street/East Cromwell Street (NT 2669 7651): Three out of four machine trenches encountered only modern demolition deposits, but in the south-west corner of the site mortared rubble was located at a depth of 4-5m. The limitations of the machine prevented further investigation.

1-4, Sandport Place (NT 2692 7647): All deposits located were eighteenth century or later, and part of the site contained cellars.

Sandport Place/Ronaldson's Wharf (NT 2695 7648): All deposits located were of nineteenth or twentieth century date.

Timber Bush (NT 2720 7657): Deposits of glass kiln waste (seventeenth century or later) were encountered.

Commercial Street/Dock Street/Sandport Street (NT 2688 7658): A machine

trench located a midden deposit containing medieval and early post-medieval pottery, and a larger trench was excavated by hand. Pottery recovered dated from around 1300 up to seventeenth century. Other machine trenches further to the south and east on this large open site revealed no archaeological deposits, but observation of landscaping work at the east end of the site (NT 2695 7656) established the existence of another midden deposit, apparently enclosed within sand-dunes, which again yielded medieval and early post-medieval pottery.

Bernard Street Excavation 1980 (NT 2718 7647).

One of three trial trenches on the site of demolished warehouses located stratified midden deposits containing late medieval pottery, and an area centred on this trench was fully excavated. The site proved to have lain below the high tide line until the second half of the fifteenth century when the land was reclaimed by the deposition of large quantities of sand, soil and domestic refuse. Coin evidence, in the form of a hoard and several stray finds, dated the reclamation to the early 1470s. The remains of a number of crude structures also belonged to this period. The upper levels contained part of a house, probably of a seventeenth-century date, and an associated road surface of heavy cobbles. (See Discovery and Excavation in Scotland, 1980,21).

Earlier Finds

James Grant, in "Old and New Edinburgh", records a number of nineteenth century discoveries relating to the various assaults on Leith in the middle part of the sixteenth century. In 1853 "an old wall" and two cannon-balls were found at the head of King Street (c.NT 2676 7622), and in 1857 and 1859, several skeletons were found buried near the artillery batteries on Leith Links. Human bones, cannon-balls and old swords are said to have been found in the vicinity of Wellington Place (NT 2716 7603), and a well filled with horse-heads near the head of the Links was seen as evidence of the diet of the French defenders in the siege of 1560. An iron helmet was found near the Citadel in 1833.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Early Settlement

There have been a number of finds indicative of early occupation in the Leith area, most of them recorded in the nineteenth century. In 1884, a Bronze Age short cist was found in Merilees Close (NT 2681 7619). It contained two crouched female skeletons and a Food Vessel, which is now in the

National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (see Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland XL (1956-57), 222). Also dateable to the Bronze Age were two socketed bronze axes, found in 1841 at Leith Citadel (NT 267 766) and now in the National Museum of Antiquities (PSAS, VI (1866) part 2, 313), and a wedge-shaped perforated hammerhead of greenstone, found at a depth of 10ft. below the surface of Laurie Street (NT 2703 7596) (PSAS III (1863) part 2, 39). A clay ironstone ball with four disc-shaped projections, recovered from the Water of Leith and now in the National Museum of Antiquities, has been described as possibly belonging to the Iron Age (PSAS XII (1878) part 2, 614).

Evidence of human activity in the area during the Roman period is less reliable. There is no evidence for the existence of any Roman military station or civilian settlement in the vicinity of Leith, but the road running between the forts of Cramond to the west and Inveresk to the east must have passed through or close to the site of the medieval town. Remains of a Roman road are said to have been discovered during repairs to one of the piers of a bridge in Leith, and Roman structural remains are reputed to have been found near the Citadel in 1825 (Grant (1882) III, chapter XVII). Two finds of Roman coins have been made in the vicinity. A very worn bronze sestertius of Hadrian from Leith Links (NT 275 758) could conceivably represent an ancient loss (PSAS XLIV (1960-61), 146), but a sestertius of Trebonianus Gallus (A.D.251-53), found in 1929 and of unrecorded provenance, is almost certainly a modern import (PSAS LXVIII (1933-34), 30).

Despite the documentary and historical evidence for the existence of a port and settlement at Leith from at least the twelfth century, there is as yet nothing in the archaeological record to indicate the location or extent of any settlement prior to the late fifteenth century. The only medieval finds of earlier date have been potsherds of fourteenth century type recovered from redeposited layers of midden material. The excavation which took place in 1980 indicated that the shore line prior to the second half of the fifteenth century lay somewhat to the south of this site (see p. 79) and that attempts to locate earlier remains must be directed accordingly. This lends some weight to the tradition that the earliest houses were erected in the area bordered by the Shore, Water Street, Tolbooth Wynd and Broad Wynd, and if this were true the buildings in the northern part of this area must have been constructed almost on the beach. The only trial excavations which have so far taken place within this area, at Tolbooth Wynd and Burgess Street (see p. 78) have produced negative

results, and an attempt to excavate at 50-51, The Shore was foiled by the high water table, but if other sites should become available for excavation, the opportunity should certainly be taken. Other prime sites in this context are likely to be in the areas immediately to the south and east. In the late fifteenth century, the majority of the population of Leith still lived in an area bordered by The Shore in the north and Kirkgate in the south (RCAHMS, 1951, LVII).

The Town Walls and Ports

Leith appears to have had no fortifications until the middle of the sixteenth century. The course of the rampart erected at that time and the positions of its bastions and ports have already been outlined (see p.70. No trace of any of them is now visible, although only those fortifications facing towards Edinburgh were demolished immediately after the conclusion of the siege in 1560. The defences on the east and north sides survived much longer, many sections of them standing until the eighteenth century. Grant reports that Kincaid, in the late eighteenth century, described the existence of a ditch and bastion west of the Citadel and of "a long, narrow earth mound 100 yards long and of considerable height" in the area of the Exchange Buildings (i.e. at the north-east bastion). A much reduced part of the rampart is also said to have formed for a time part of South Leith burial ground (Grant (1882) III, chapter XVIII).

It is unlikely that any but the most elusive traces now survive of the fortifications or of the associated gateways, but opportunities for excavation on the line of the defences should not be ignored, especially on those stretches where total destruction for military reasons was not considered necessary and where the disappearance of parts of the structure may be due more to natural processes than to deliberate human action.

The Town Plan

Burgh morphology has already been discussed in some detail (see p.66ff). The limits of old Leith are still clearly defined by Great Junction Street and Constitution Street, but within this framework, recent development has initiated some changes to the earlier plan. Whereas nineteenth century improvements involved the widening of existing streets to facilitate the passage of increasingly heavy traffic for example Burgess Street (NT 270 764), and the introduction of new streets such as Henderson Street (name, NT 269 763). Modern development has not strictly adhered to the earlier framework. Many early closes which survived eighteenth and nineteenth century redevelopment have since disappeared. Wood (1777) lists at least

sixteen closes and alleys in Leith, the majority of these no longer exist, largely as a result of recent extensive housing redevelopment. Large areas of nineteenth century industrial premises have now been cleared, and the sites stand vacant awaiting development (see map 6). The potential of these sites is discussed on page.77.

North Leith has now been almost entirely redeveloped with industrial units and domestic accommodation. The Cromwellian Citadel survives only in a stone arch off Dock Street (NT 2680 7662), the remainder of the site lying beneath modern housing. The main street of North Leith as seen by Wood (1777) is presently represented by Sandport Street (NT 269 765) and Quayside Street (NT 268 764). At the end of the eighteenth century, property extended north and south of this line to the Forth and the Water of Leith respectively. Some building had taken place in the backlands, and the shore of the Water of Leith was notable for carpenters yards associated with shipbuilding and repair. Dry docks existed at NT 2700 7650 (at present a gap site) and NT 2686 7646. Both sites are now infilled and in the latter case overbuilt.

For the future it remains to determine variations in the width of the main streets, and to locate and plan the now vanished closes, wynds and property boundaries of medieval Leith, and their relationship with the plan of the modern town.

Early Buildings and Materials

Few buildings dating from earlier than the eighteenth century still stand in Leith today, the most impressive of the earlier survivors being Lamb's House, 13, Waters Close (NT 2710 7641). This building has been identified traditionally as the house where Mary, Queen of Scots, rested briefly after landing at Leith in 1561, but its appearance suggests that it was built in the early seventeenth century (RCAHMS (1951), 257-59). The sites of several important late medieval and early post-medieval buildings, now demolished, are recorded, and all of these sites must be regarded as worthy of some form of archaeological investigation if an opportunity should arise.

The King's Wark

The construction of this large public building was commenced in 1434 on the orders of James I. It occupied an area immediately east of the Shore, bounded by Broad Wynd in the south and the modern Bernard Street in the north (NT 2711 7651), and was designed to serve as a royal residence, a store-house and an armoury. It was not completed until about 1500 (RCAHMS.

1951, 266-67). Excavation of a site less than 100m. to the east (NT 2718 7647) (see p.79) revealed that reclamation of the sea-shore took place in this area in the second half of the fifteenth century. The King's Wark must therefore have been built either on a natural promontory at the mouth of the Water of Leith or on an artificial platform of redeposited material laid down during an earlier phase of reclamation. In either case it must have occupied a peninsular site during the earliest years of its existence.

Tolbooth (16th century).

After the destruction in 1544 of the earlier Leith Tolbooth, sited in Restalrig (see p.74), a makeshift arrangement was effected whereby a small tower at the east end of the King's Wark and part of an adjoining house were utilised as a temporary replacement (RCAHMS, 1951,267). It was not until 1563 that the construction of an adequate Tolbooth was authorised, and this was erected over the following two years on a site at Tolbooth Wynd (NT 2700 7633). It was demolished in 1823.

St. Anthony's Friary and St. James's Hospital

The Austin Friary of St. Anthony is generally accepted to have been in existence by 1430, although there is disagreement over the date of its foundation. It is said to have occupied the site of the present Kirk-gate Church and Trafalgar Hall (NT 2693 7607) and to have comprised a church, hospital, cloister, dormitories, refectories, etc. It was eventually destroyed, probably in the siege of 1560, but in 1614 it was partly restored and converted into St. James's Hospital. No trace of it now remains (O.S. Record Cards NT 27 NE 6).

South Leith Church

The present church is almost all of nineteenth century construction, but the earliest church building on the site was erected around 1438 (NT 2704 7607). It was apparently badly damaged during the siege of 1560, but it continued to be used as a place of worship. It became the parish church in 1609, but was used as a magazine by Cromwell's army from 1650-57 (RCAHMS, 1951, 250).

North Leith Church

The earliest church was erected in 1493. It fell into decay after the Reformation, but was restored in 1595 and became the official church of the new North Leith parish in 1606. Parts of both the original church and the sixteenth century additions still survive, incorporated into the Quayside Mill buildings (NT 2685 7647) (O.S. Record Cards NT 27 NE 8).

Bridge (15th century).

A three-arched bridge across the Water of Leith was built on the orders of Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood, at about the same time as North Leith church, which stood at the north end of it (NT 2684 7643) (O.S. Record Cards NT 27 NE 7).

Hospital and Chapel of St. Nicholas (NT 2673 7660).

All that is known of this pre-Reformation chapel is that it was deserted in 1560 and ruinous by 1569. The hospital, which adjoined the chapel, was damaged in 1544. Both buildings were eventually demolished to make way for Monk's Citadel (see below) (O.S. Record Cards NT 27 NE 9).

Monk's Citadel

This fortress was constructed in 1656 on the orders of General Monk. It was pentagonal in plan, with a bastion at each corner and one gate facing east, and covered the area now bounded by Commercial Street, Dock Street, Coburg Street, East Cromwell Street and Citadel Street (centred on NT 2675 7658). By 1779, most of it had been demolished, leaving only the lower part of the gateway. This still survives, with an upper floor added later, at NT 2679 7661. (RCAHMS, 1951, 261).

Artillery Batteries

The remains of two gun positions, Somerset's Battery (NT 2727 7586) and Pelham's Battery (NT 2753 7583), erected during the siege of 1560, survive on the south side of Leith Links, some 250 yards apart. The former is roughly elliptical in plan and stands to a maximum height of 2.5m. The latter is somewhat more elongated and stands only 1.5m. high. (O.S. Record Cards NT 27 NE 11 and 12).

Nothing is known of medieval domestic buildings in Leith, although most of them must presumably have been built mainly of timber. The only genuinely medieval structural remains so far investigated have been those associated with the deposition of midden layers on the Bernard Street site in the fifteenth century (see p.79), and these can hardly be considered typical, as they were almost certainly constructed only for use over a very short period. The excavated fragments comprised double alignments of stones, perhaps the remains of revetments for low banks of sandy soil into which wooden uprights could have been inserted. The buildings were probably no more than workmen's shelters or tool sheds.

There is thus a considerable need for excavation in those areas associated with the earliest development of the town, in order to locate remains of

buildings earlier than about the seventeenth century and to derive from them information about everyday life in the burgh.

Recent Development

During the last decade, the burgh has been extensively redeveloped. To the north, the settlement of North Leith has retained the basic street plan established by the late nineteenth century, though street fronting property here has recently been extensively redeveloped. A fragment of the seventeenth century citadel survives at NT 2679 7661, (see p.71) but the adjacent buildings, and one other fronting Commercial Street apart (NT 267 766) new industrial facilities and domestic housing have now totally replaced earlier buildings (see map. 6).

Environmental improvement has led to the extensive landscaping of erst-while frontages on Sandport Place and Sandport Street (NT 269 765).

South of the 'Water of Leith', housing redevelopment in the proximity of Kirkgate has greatly altered the townscape and obliterated parts of the earlier street plan (see maps 6 and 7). To the north of Tolbooth Wynd (NT 270 763) derelict property has been extensively cleared, and gap sites occur at NT 272 765; NT 271 764 and NT 270 763. Eventually those will be incorporated in the general improvement scheme, but to date only limited rebuilding has taken place in this area, as for example at NT 272 765 and NT 271 766.

Proposed Development

Despite the fact that a plan for the redevelopment of much of old Leith has existed for many years, there are no immediate plans for major redevelopment within the area most likely to contain valuable archaeological deposits. Much of the area enclosed within the sixteenth century walls is now included in a conservation area, but it is anticipated that, in view of the derelict condition of much of the area, this will influence the quality of new buildings rather than limit their construction.

A number of prime archaeological sites are among those where redevelopment has been envisaged for some time, and it is hoped that opportunities for excavation will arise when definite plans have been put forward. Perhaps the most important of these sites is that between Burgess Street and Tolbooth Wynd (centred on NT 2705 7638), which lies within the traditionally accepted area of earliest settlement and which is currently occupied by an adventure playground, an open yard and some warehouses.

On the opposite side of the Water of Leith the whole area bounded by the river, Commercial Street, Sandport Street and Quayside Street (centred on NT 2695 7650) has been the subject of redevelopment proposals for some time, although no definite plans have ever been formulated. The southern part of this area contains the site of North Leith church (see p.83), and excavation could therefore provide valuable results, although the operation could prove to be difficult and expensive in view of the artificially raised water table.

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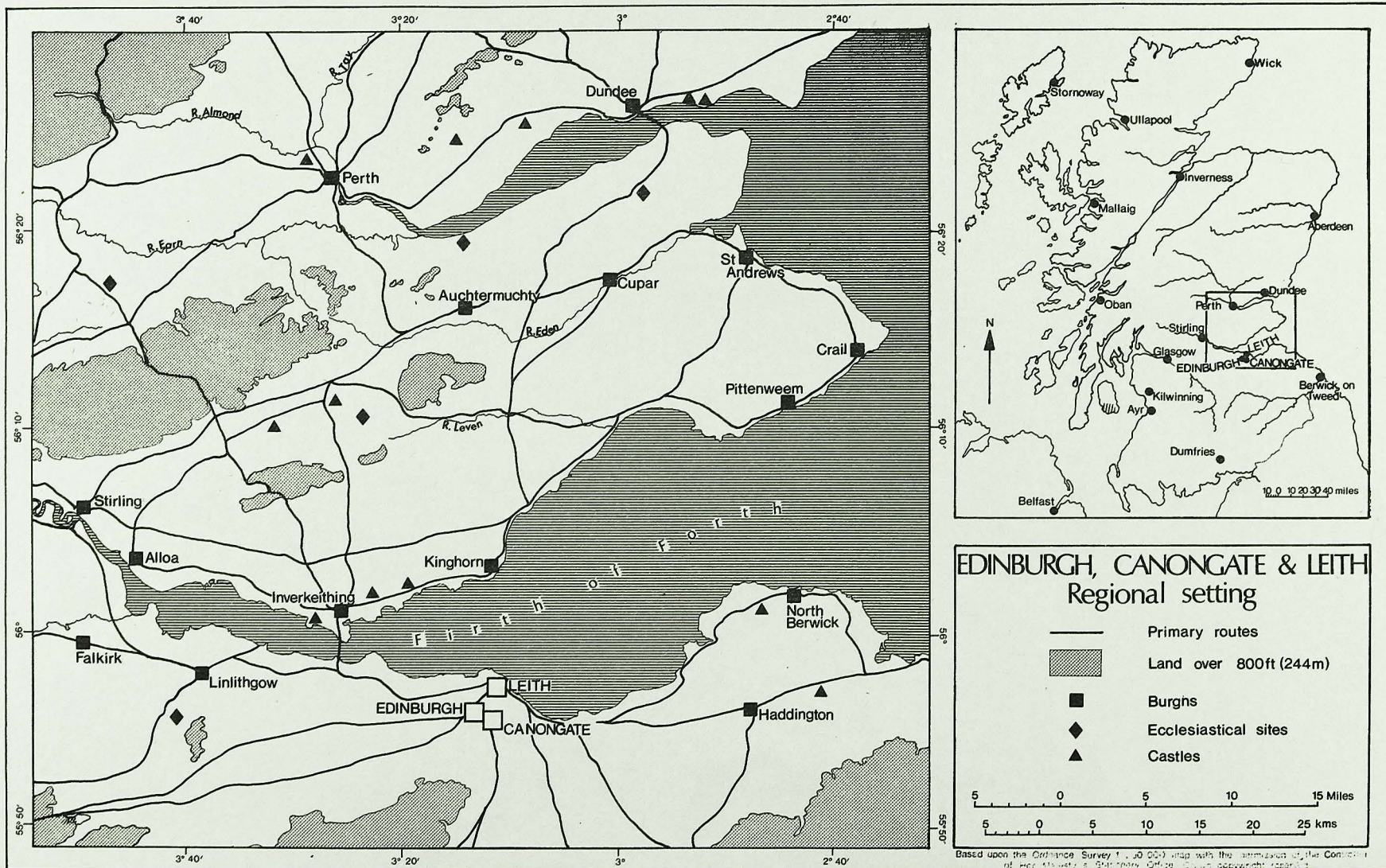
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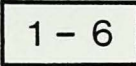

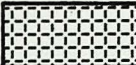

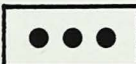
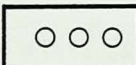

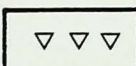

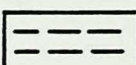


Map 1

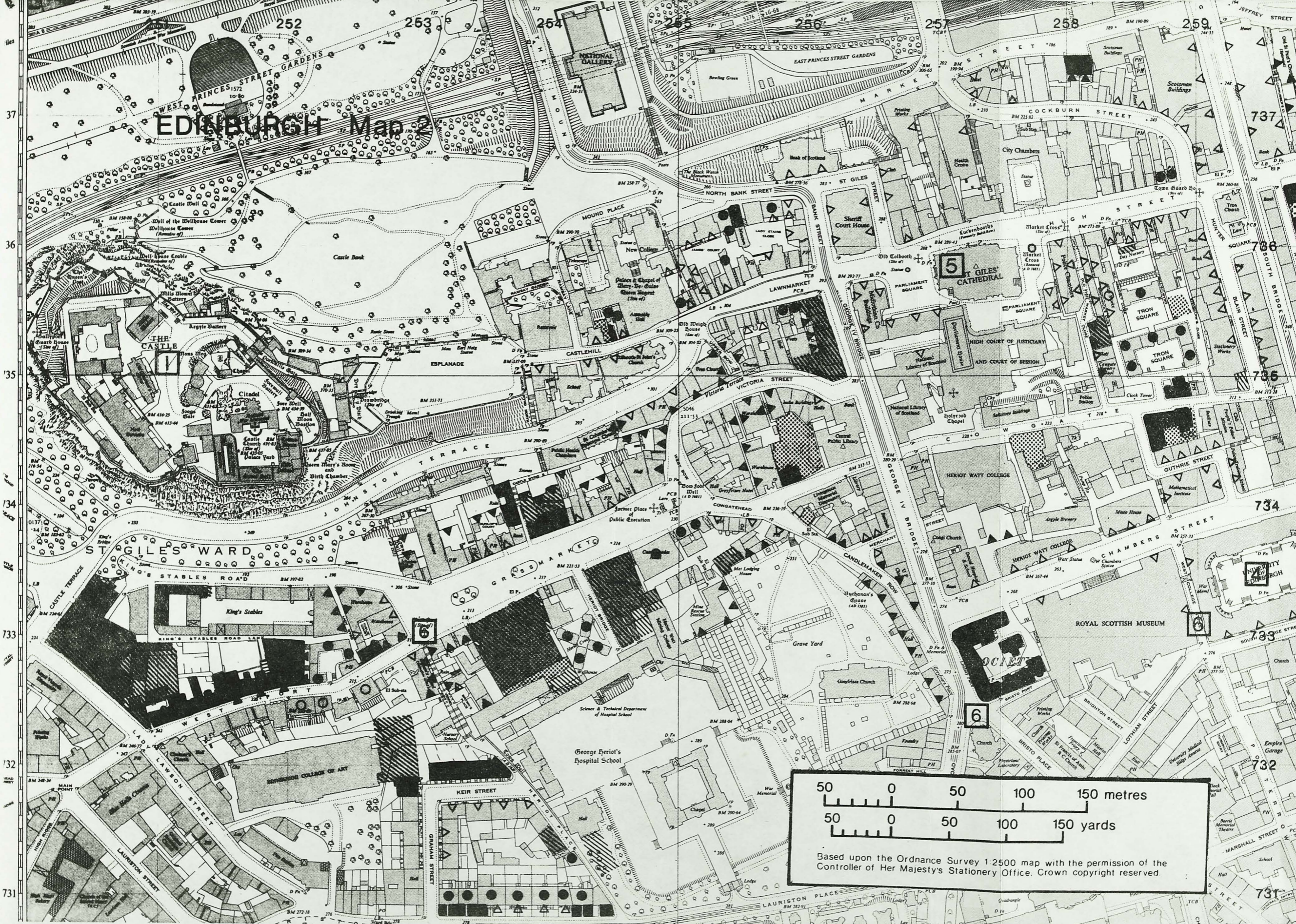
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EDINBURGH

Map 2

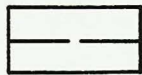
	Area of archaeological interest
	Sites effectively re-developed
	Possible re-development site
	Demolished buildings
	Renovated buildings
	Derelict property
	Property cut into sloping ground
	Visible cellars and basements
	Car park, temporary or permanent
	New road

EDINBURGH Map 2

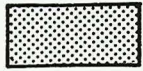


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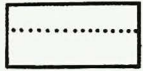
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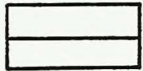
Boundary of conservation area



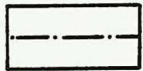
Listed buildings, all categories



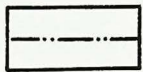
Telfer wall (line of)



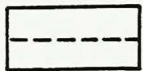
Flodden wall (line of)



Murus Regius and Murus Castris (line of)



Earlier town wall (line of)



Wall of ward (line of)



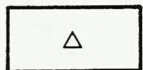
Site of port



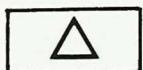
Tolbooth (site)



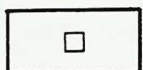
Site of archaeological investigation



Burgh cross (site)



Religious house (site)



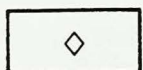
Chapel (site)



Hospital (site)



Area of St. Giles' kirkyard



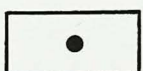
Town guard house (site)



Weigh house (site)

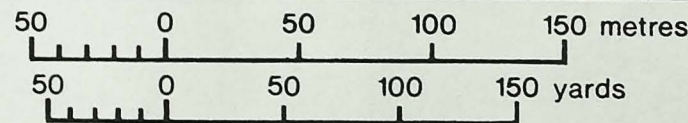


Well



Archaeological find spot

EDINBURGH Map 3

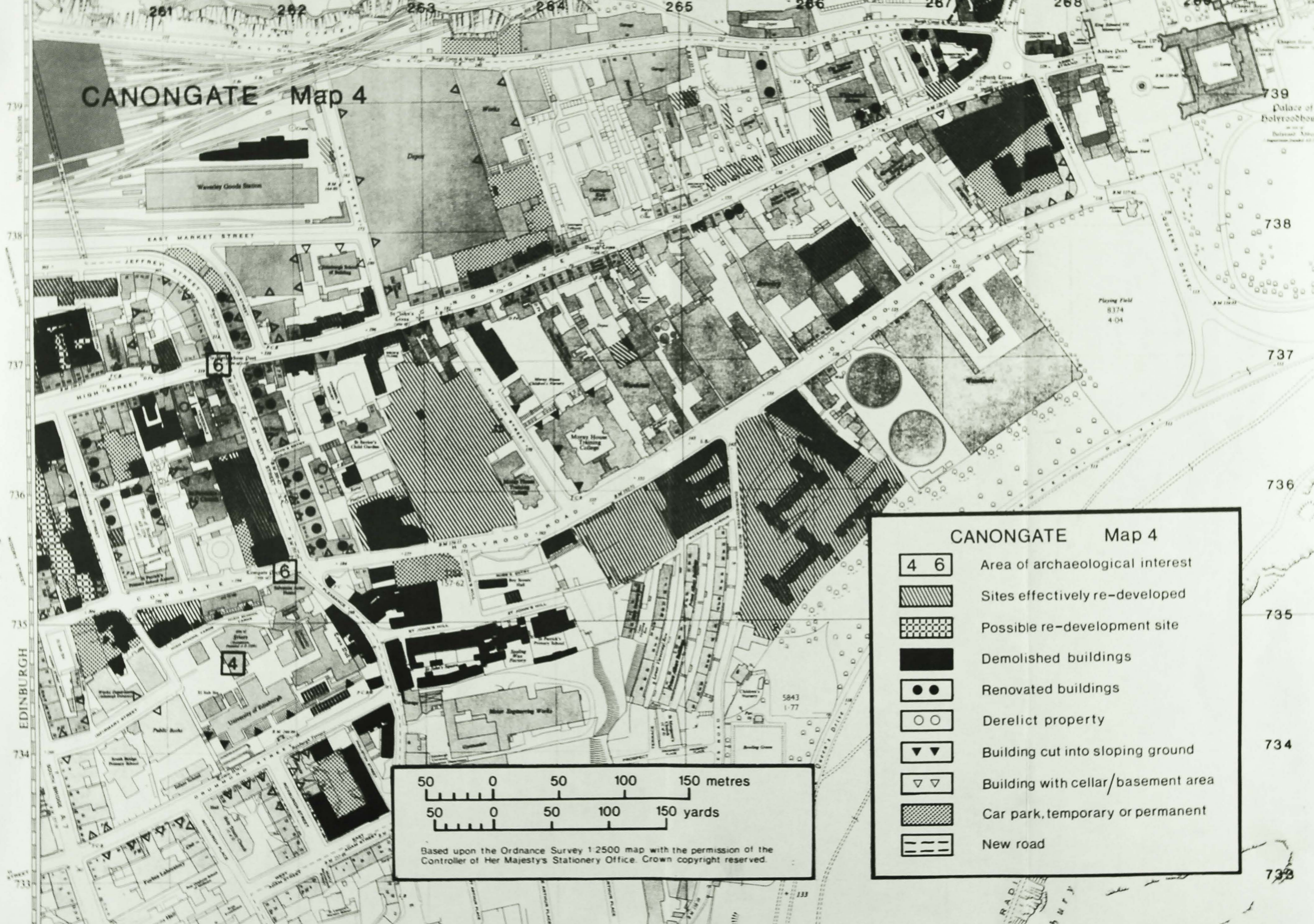


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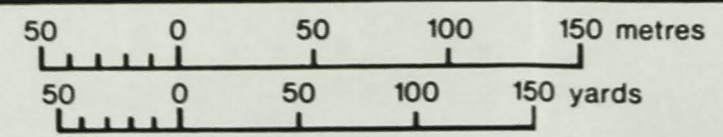


CANONGATE Map 4



CANONGATE Map 4

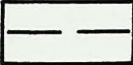

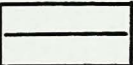
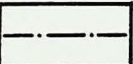



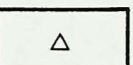
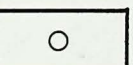

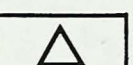
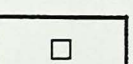
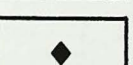
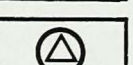

- 4 6 Area of archaeological interest
- Sites effectively re-developed
- Possible re-development site
- Demolished buildings
- Renovated buildings
- Derelict property
- Building cut into sloping ground
- Building with cellar/basement area
- Car park, temporary or permanent
- New road







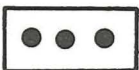
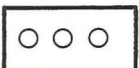
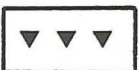


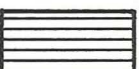
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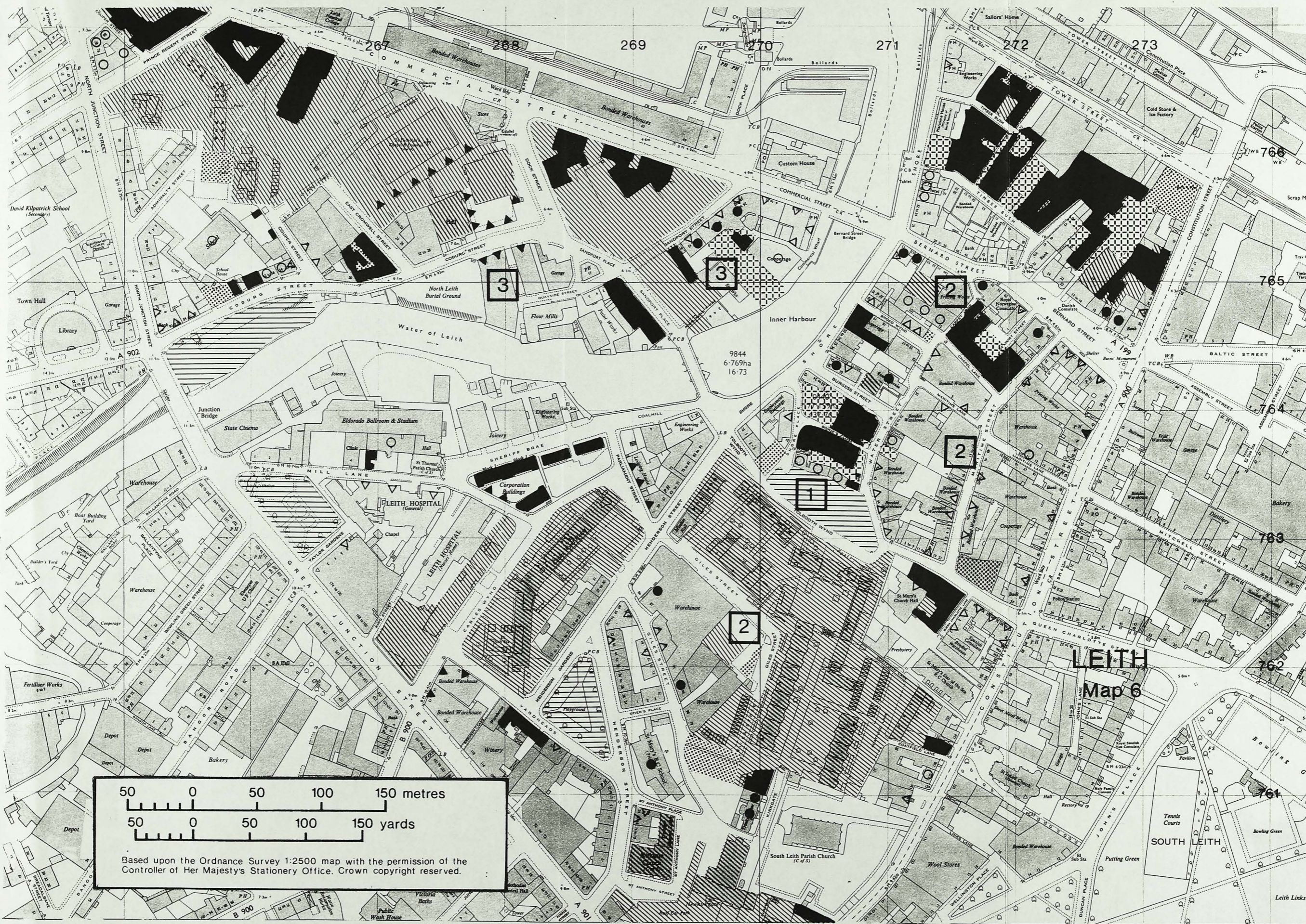
CANONGATE

Map 5

	Boundary of conservation area
	Listed buildings, all categories
	Flodden wall (line of)
	Murus Regius (line of)
	Site of port
	Tolbooth
	Site of archaeological investigation
	Site of burgh cross
	Site of cross
	Mint of Scotland (site)
	Religious house (site)
	Chapel (site)
	Hospital (site)
	Holyrood palace
	Archaeological find spot

LEITH Map 6

-  Area of archaeological interest
-  Sites effectively re-developed
-  Possible re-development site
-  Demolished buildings
-  Renovated buildings
-  Derelict property
-  Property cut into sloping ground
-  Visible cellars and basements
-  Car park, temporary or permanent
-  Public garden or playground

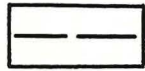


LEITH
Map 6

50 0 50 100 150 metres
50 0 50 100 150 yards

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LEITH Map 7



Boundary of conservation area



Listed buildings, all categories



Site of archaeological investigation



Site of 16th century tolbooth



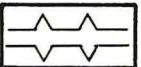
Site of hospital



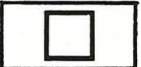
Site of religious house



Site of 15th century church



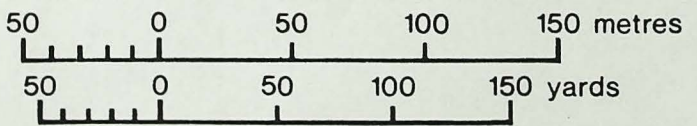
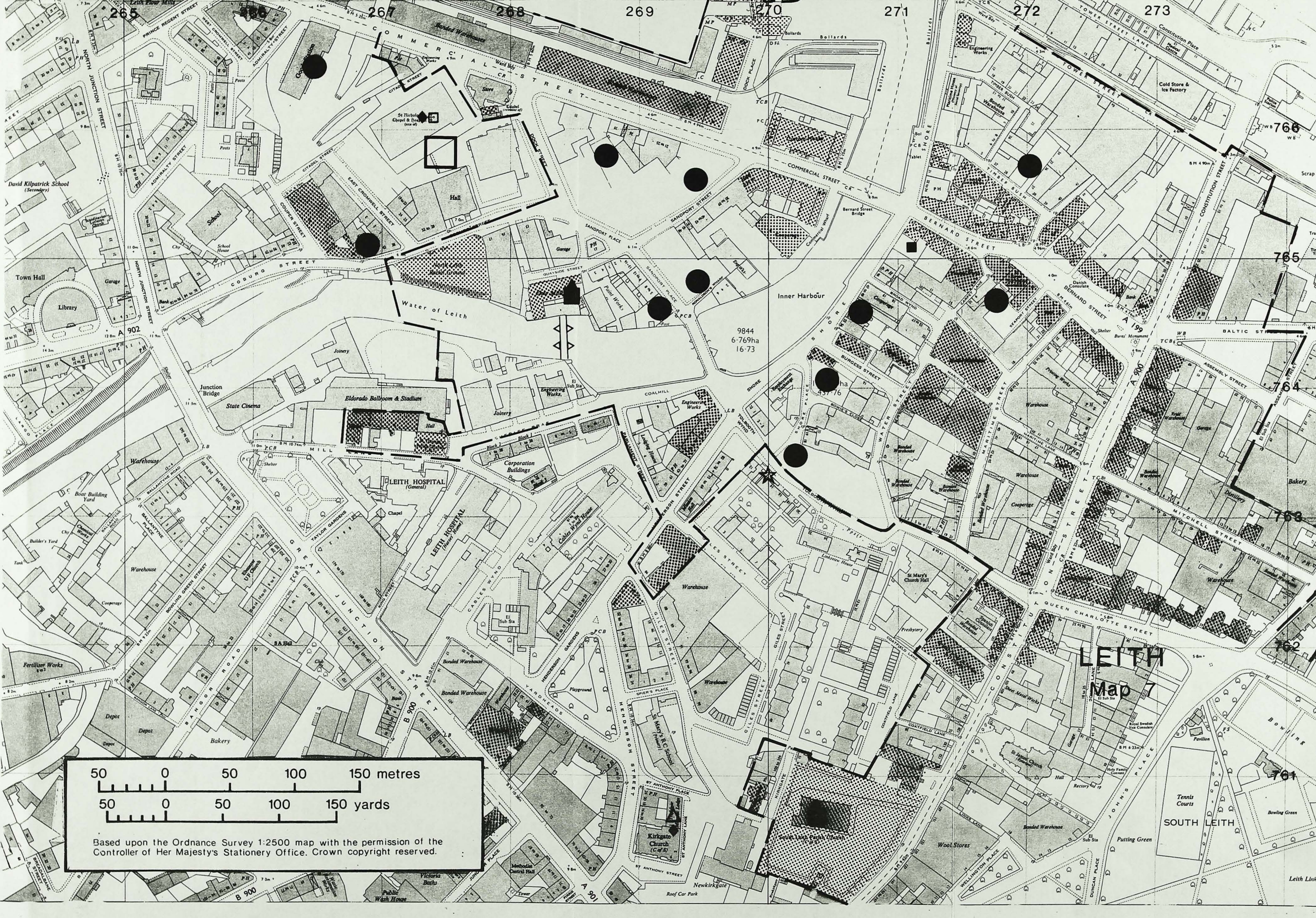
Site of 15th century bridge



Monk's citadel



The king's wark (site of)



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LEITH
Map 7

SOUTH LEITH

Leith Links

