

The Transformation of Edinburgh

*Land, Property and Trust in the
Nineteenth Century*

Richard Rodger

University of Leicester



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK www.cup.cam.ac.uk
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA www.cup.org
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, VIC 3166, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

© Richard Rodger 2001

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2001

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Plantin 10/12 *System* QuarkXPress™ [SE]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Rodger, Richard.

The transformation of Edinburgh: land, property and trust in
the nineteenth century / Richard Rodger.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 78024 1

1. Edinburgh (Scotland) – Social conditions. 2. Urbanization –
Scotland – Edinburgh. 3. Housing – Scotland – Edinburgh –
History – 19th century. 4. Edinburgh (Scotland) – History.

I. Title: The transformation of Edinburgh. II. Title.

HN398.E27 R63 2000

306'.09413'4–dc21 00–040347

ISBN 0 521 78024 1 hardback

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	page vii
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xix

Part 1 Urban frameworks

1 Introduction	3
2 Institutional power and landownership: the nineteenth-century inheritance	30
3 Victorian feudalism	69
4 Building capital: trusts, loans and the kirk	123
5 The building industry and instability	174

Part 2 Building enterprise and housing management

6 The search for stability	189
7 Industrial suburb: developing Dalry	211
8 The genesis of a property owning democracy?	239
9 Landlord and tenant	278
10 Postscript: 'firmiter et durable': the construction of legitimacy	344

Part 3 Complementary visions of society

11 Co-operation and mutuality: the 'Colonies' and the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Company	353
---	-----

vi Contents

12	Civic consciousness, social consciences and the built environment	415
13	Adornment, ego and myth: the decoration of the tenement	459
14	Conclusion: reinventing the city	487
	<i>Principal sources</i>	509
	<i>Index of Edinburgh street names and districts</i>	516
	<i>Index of individual building firms</i>	522
	<i>General index</i>	523

Figures

1.1	The expansion of Edinburgh 1140–1914	<i>page</i> 15
1.2a	The royal burgh of Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century	16
1.2b	The royal burgh of Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century: principal jurisdictions	17
1.3	Population growth: Edinburgh 1801–1911	24
1.4	Demographic trends: Edinburgh 1856–1911	24
1.5	Migration and natural increase: Edinburgh 1861–1911	25
2.1	Portrait of George Heriot (?1563–1624)	31
2.2	Portraits of James VI and I and Anne of Denmark	33
2.3	Loving cup; only remaining example of George Heriot's work	35
2.4	George Heriot's Hospital 1628	39
2.5	Heriot's Hospital lands <i>c.</i> 1708	44
2.6	Edinburgh from Heriot's northern lands <i>c.</i> 1708	45
2.7	Merchant Company Hospitals (a) Trades Maidens Hospital <i>c.</i> 1704; (b) James Gillespie's Hospital 1801	46
2.8	Merchant Company lands <i>c.</i> 1850	49
2.9	Merchant Company institutions 1697–1889	50
2.10	George Heriot's Hospital feu-duty income 1690–1760	56
2.11	Land feued by Heriot's Hospital to the city of Edinburgh 1766 to form part of the New Town	57
2.12	Property incomes from feu-duties: George Heriot's Trust and city of Edinburgh 1700–1914	59
2.13	Contested development: North Bridge from Register House <i>c.</i> 1890	64
3.1	A pyramid of Scottish property relationships and obligations	71
3.2	Sub-infeudation and land values	73
3.3	The affordability of housing in Scotland compared to England and Wales	75
3.4	Property development: Edinburgh 1760–1914	77

3.5	The structure of landownership in Edinburgh 1817	78
3.6	Property development in Edinburgh 1770–1870: George Heriot's feus granted (number per annum)	79
3.7	Protracted development: partially completed streets on Heriot's property 1800–1830	80
3.8	Residential hierarchies: the feuing sequence in Heriot Row 1803–1819	81
3.9	Arrested development: Drumdryan and Orchardfield estates in the 1820s	83
3.10	Drumdryan estate of James Home Rigg	85
3.11	Orchardfield: George Grindlay's Trust land	89
3.12	Property receipts: Orchardfield 1825–1842	90
3.13	'Great Fire' at the Tron Church 1824	93
3.14	Improvement Scheme 1824–1831	97
3.15	Merchiston Park and the development of George Watson's feu, 1862	100
3.16	Southern suburbanisation: Grange 1825–1868	102
3.17	Property development: Edinburgh 1850–1915	107
3.18	Merchant Company institutions: income from property 1850–1910	109
3.19	George Watson's Merchiston estate elevations 1897	110
3.20	Heriot Foundation Schools: pupils 1838–1885	112
3.21	Heriot Foundation Schools 1838–1885	115
4.1	Property relationships: a diagrammatic summary	125
4.2	Church of Scotland property income from urban feu-duties 1874–1914	134
4.3	Purchase price of heritable securities in Scotland 1870–1914	136
4.4	Scottish property investment and yields 1870–1914	137
4.5	Feu-duties in Edinburgh assigned to the Church of Scotland 1870–1914	139
4.6	Trinity area	154
4.7	Trinity Land Company: street development	159
4.8	Trinity Land Company: receipts and debts 1875–1901	161
4.9	Trinity Land Company: revenue and interest charges 1874–1901	162
5.1	Housebuilding and land development in Edinburgh 1855–1914	180
5.2	Building materials and housebuilding: Edinburgh 1896–1915	181
5.3	Residential and industrial building in Edinburgh 1880–1914	183

5.4	Residential building in Edinburgh 1880–1914	183
5.5	Edinburgh building: the release of land for building purposes 1760–1914	184
6.1	Drumdryan feus 1824–1867	199
6.2	Brougham Place from the Meadows	204
7.1	Dalry land obtained by James Steel 1869–1878	217
7.2	Caledonian Place: typical of early James Steel building developments at Tollcross, Sciennes and Dalry 1866–1875	218
7.3	Part of the General Property Investment Company development, Watson Crescent, Dalry	225
7.4	a and b Pape's Cottages, Coltbridge, 1894	227
8.1	Debts outstanding: James Steel 1867–1914	243
8.2	Easter Murieston, Midlothian, bought by James Steel from Sir Alexander Learmonth MP in 1878	246
8.3	Eglington Crescent 1876–1877	248
8.4	a and b Buckingham Terrace and Belgrave Crescent 1860–1877	250
8.5	a and b West end development: James Steel's property and institutional landownership	253
8.6	Barrasford Quarries near Corbridge, Northumberland, leased by James Steel from the Duke of Northumberland	258
8.7	a and b James Steel's final building phase: Comely Bank and Learmonth	260
8.8	Building by numbers 1890–1900: the sequence of development in Comely Bank Road	263
8.9	Comely Bank Avenue (1893–1895) looking north to Fettes' College (1863)	264
8.10	Comely Bank Avenue: the spine of James Steel's final housing development	265
8.11	House ownership and housebuilding: Edinburgh 1868–1914	270
8.12	Tenement flats and social status: purchase prices in Comely Bank and Learmonth 1890–1914	274
9.1	James Steel's Edinburgh property development 1868–1914	282
9.2	Rental income: James Steel 1868–1914	284
9.3	Rents and housing vacancies, Edinburgh 1868–1914	292
9.4	Comely Bank and Learmonth streets before 1914	304
9.5	Average house rents, Edinburgh 1890–1914	305
9.6	Comely Bank Avenue 1893–1895	307
9.7	Plans and elevations, 13–23 Comely Bank Avenue	308
9.8	Plans and elevations, 17–19 Dean Park Street	312
9.9	Housing hierarchies: Comely Bank 1890–1914	317

9.10	Female household heads: Comely Bank Road, Edinburgh, 1890–1914	318
9.11	Tenements and trams: Comely Bank Road, Edinburgh	321
9.12	Privacy and exclusivity: South Learmonth Gardens	323
9.13	Privacy and exclusivity: plans and elevations for North Learmonth Gardens 1901	324
9.14	Rents, residential persistence and class: Edinburgh 1868–1914	329
9.15	Social class and residential stability: Edinburgh 1868–1914	330
9.16	Trends in rents: comparative rent levels in Edinburgh and Leith 1875–1914	331
9.17	Housing sub-markets: Edinburgh 1870–1914	332
9.18	Dispersion of rents: Edinburgh streets 1868–1914	334
10.1	Sir James Steel (1830–1904)	345
10.2	Boroughfield: Sir James Steel's home 1883–1904	347
11.1	The founders of the ECBC 1861	355
11.2	Subscribers' addresses: the clustered location of shareholders in the ECBC 1862	357
11.3	The Beehive, Dalry	359
11.4	Rosemount Buildings, Fountainbridge, 1860	360
11.5	Free Church of Scotland ministers Rev. Dr James Begg (1808–1883) and Rev. Dr Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847)	363
11.6	Tenement collapse 1861	365
11.7	a, b and c Early ECBC houses at Stockbridge, Edinburgh	369
11.8	Newspaper advert for ECBC houses in Leith 1867	373
11.9	Industrial estates in the nineteenth century: London Road Foundry, Abbeyhill, 1867	376
11.10	Industrial landscape: Dalry transformed in the 1860s	378
11.11	Aerial view of ECBC developments at Restalrig	382
11.12	ECBC plaques and public proclamations: North Merchiston Park plaque 1880	384
11.13	Design developments: ECBC housing, Barnton Terrace, 1877	386
11.14	ECBC housebuilding 1861–1914	387
11.15	ECBC housing and social aspirations: Balgreen/Glendevon	390
11.16	Housebuilding fluctuations 1862–1914: ECBC activity compared to all housing construction in Edinburgh	394
11.17	The suburbanisation of share ownership: ECBC shareholders' addresses 1862 and 1914	398
11.18	Unsold ECBC housing stock and the rise of ECBC landlordism 1862–1914	401
11.19	Owner occupiers in ECBC housing 1911	403

11.20	Wall plaques and building trades insignias: ECBC houses, Stockbridge	404
12.1	a and b Dilapidated housing: High School Wynd and the Cowgate in the 1860s	424
12.2	Edinburgh Improvement proposals 1866	434
12.3	a and b Plaques commemorating the Edinburgh Improvements 1867	435
12.4	Edinburgh Improvement Trust 1867–1889: expenditure on housing clearances	436
12.5	Edinburgh Improvement Trust 1867–1889: by clearance area	437
12.6	Desecration of the High Street <i>c.</i> 1908	439
12.7	Scots 'baronial' tenements and Edinburgh Improvements 1867: St Mary's Street–Holyrood Road	440
12.8	Plaque commemorating William Chambers' role in the Edinburgh Improvement Scheme 1867	442
12.9	Death in Edinburgh 1863–1883: sanitary districts	443
12.10	Improvements in death rates: Edinburgh sanitary districts 1863–1883	446
12.11	Water supply and death rates: Edinburgh wards 1874	447
12.12	a and b Well Court, Dean Village, 1883–1886	448
12.13	Council housing: Portsburgh Square 1901	451
13.1	Scottish nationalism in the built environment: thistles and tenements	463
13.2	Builders' initials and dates on tenements	465
13.3	Date-stamped buildings: Edinburgh plaques 1860–1914	467
13.4	Commemorative plaques on tenements	468
13.5	Scott's Monument 1840–1846	473
13.6	a and b Scots 'baronial' architecture	478
14.1	Signature in stone: a plaque typical of those on Edinburgh School Board buildings	490
14.2	a and b Industrial estates nineteenth-century style	494

Tables

1.1	Social segregation in Edinburgh 1831	<i>page</i> 19
1.2	Occupational structure of Edinburgh 1841–1911	22
1.3	Population of the city of Edinburgh 1801–1911	23
2.1	Land accessions by governors of George Heriot's Hospital 1626–1707	40
2.2	Prices of feus: New Town streets 1806	62
3.1	Principal builders in east Edinburgh 1885–1905	108
3.2	Landownership in Edinburgh 1872	117
3.3	Composition of larger Edinburgh landowners 1872	118
4.1	Churchgoing in Edinburgh 1835 and 1851	128
4.2	Church of Scotland Extensions financed from feu-duties 1875–1905	131
4.3	Church of Scotland property investments 1854–1914	132
4.4	The changing landscape of Church of Scotland property investments 1874–1913	133
4.5	Size distribution of Church of Scotland property investments to 1914	135
4.6	Sources of mortgage finance: James Steel's house sales 1869–1914	152
5.1	The building industry and the scale of production: Scottish burghs 1873–1914	176
5.2	The scale of business operations: Edinburgh housebuilders 1885–1894	177
5.3	Building indicators: feu-duties, property taxes and planned building correlation matrix 1856–1914	181
8.1	Bonds issued on borrowing by James Steel 1866–1910	241
8.2	Building sequence and occupancy: Dean Park Street	263
8.3	Sources of mortgage finance: Edinburgh 1868–1914	271
8.4	Principal building, co-operative and friendly societies: Comely Bank, Edinburgh, 1890–1910	271
8.5	The structure of mortgage finance: north Edinburgh 1890–1910	272

	List of tables	xiii
8.6	Class structure of home ownership: Edinburgh 1890–1914	276
9.1	The rental–house vacancy relationship	287
9.2	‘Hard to let’ property: Edinburgh 1868–1914	288
9.3	The duration of tenancies in Edinburgh 1868–1914	299
9.4	Female heads of household: Edinburgh 1868–1914	301
9.5	Vertical variations in rent: Comely Bank, Edinburgh, 1890–1914	306
9.6	Housing hierarchy: the Comely Bank estate, Edinburgh, 1890–1914	316
9.7	Occupational structure: Comely Bank and Learmonth, Edinburgh, 1890–1914	320
9.8	Gendered persistence in an elite suburb: Learmonth, Edinburgh, 1898–1914	326
9.9	Hard to let elite addresses: Edinburgh	326
9.10	A correlation matrix of housing influences	336
9.11	Housing indicators: typical rented housing, Edinburgh, 1868–1914	338
11.1	Model dwellings: Edinburgh 1850–1865	361
11.2	Houses built by the ECBC 1862–1872	380
11.3	ECBC contribution to housing in Edinburgh 1861–1911	391
11.4	Comparative mortality rates: ECBC housing, Edinburgh and Leith, 1878–1884	392
11.5	Share transfers: ECBC 1867–1869	395
11.6	Geographical distribution of ECBC shareholders 1914	396
11.7	Women as shareholders: the composition of ECBC shareholding 1914	399
11.8	Occupational composition of ECBC Colonies households: 1871–1891	406
11.9	Household structure: Edinburgh Colony housing 1871–1891	407
11.10	Birthplaces of Colonies’ residents: 1871 and 1891	410
13.1	Vertical distribution of heraldic plaques, Edinburgh, 1860–1914	462
13.2	Heraldic shields and decorative types: external detailing 1860–1914	464
	Appendices	
3.1	Composition of landownership in Scottish burghs 1872	120
3.2	Acreages and values of landowners in Scottish burghs 1872	121
3.3	Landownership in Edinburgh 1872	122

xiv	List of tables	
4.1	Church of Scotland income from property: revenue from heritable securities in various burghs 1874–1914	172
4.2	Edinburgh building associations 1869–1874	173
9.1	Landlordism in Edinburgh 1868–1914: principal properties rented by James Steel	342
9.2	Rent indices: Edinburgh and Leith 1871–1914	343

1 Introduction

The development of institutions like property rights . . . was critical to the rise of the West.

F. Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (Harmondsworth 1995), 223.

The construction of the state in nineteenth-century Britain relied heavily on the cities.¹ It was there that intervention in housing, health and public utilities and social policy generally first was tested once it was deemed necessary to ameliorate the adverse human consequences of laissez-faire capitalism. To implement social and environmental policies town councils formed boards and created commissioners to oversee the delivery of local services: gas, water, tramways and electrical power generation had their commissioners; sewers, cemeteries and slaughterhouses possessed their executives; and the civilising missions of libraries and museums, galleries and schools were administered by municipal agencies too.² This civic empire was supervised by a new breed of Victorian barons, the town clerks and city engineers, whose fiefdoms were extensive by the end of the nineteenth century. Their administrative tentacles were everywhere.

This dawn to dusk version of enlarged civic responsibilities harnessed local pride and preserved a strong measure of local autonomy yet bound, though did not shackle, the interests of the municipality to those of the state. Considerable autonomy was gained by newly constituted local councils from the 1830s in return for a degree of administrative conformity.³ As a result, locally delivered services were decided locally as first middle-class and, much later, working-class candidates were elected and appointed to the executive machinery of boards of governors and

¹ A. Sutcliffe, 'In pursuit of the urban variable', in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe, eds., *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London 1983), 234–63.

² W. H. Fraser, 'Municipal socialism and social policy', in R. J. Morris and R. Rodger, eds., *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History, 1820–1914* (Harlow 1993), 258–80; D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford 1979), 149–73.

³ G. Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830–1860* (East Linton 1999).

commissioners. It was a Victorian version of a 'stakeholder' society in which participation meant compliance with the decision-making process and policy goals.

The present study moves away decisively from public policy and the origins of 'municipal socialism' to put considerable emphasis on the legal and institutional structures within which urban development took place. Trusts, educational endowments and charities provided resources and leadership in the city and so contributed to its identity. These institutions operated in a time frame which was often two or three generations, centuries in some cases, and so provided a stability and strategic continuity within the social and political structure of towns and cities generally, and in Edinburgh particularly. Nor were institutions just a nineteenth-century counterweight of conservatism in a rapidly changing world. They were active, innovative and responsive economic agencies in their own right with resources which were often substantial, greater occasionally than even the town council itself.

So to presume that the family firm or joint stock company was the normal form of business development and wealth creation in Britain is to overlook the contribution of institutions to the economic climate of a city, to its infrastructure, to the social order, personal networks and the basis of trust which underpinned commercial activity. This is not unlike another line of argument, that clubs, societies and associations produced overlapping networks, formal and informal, by which influential individuals forged alliances in business and politics, and in so doing shaped the identity of the town or city. In church and chapel, at the 'Lit and Phil' or the subscription concert, different sub-sets of the middle class established cordial working relationships.⁴ Pluralism flourished in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century city, and institutional and trust-based relationships were instrumental in this.

The present study of trusts and endowments emphasises a consensual approach to social and economic relations rather than a conflictual one as previously embedded in class-based studies of towns and cities organised around tensions between capital and labour.⁵ This is not to deny conflict,

⁴ R. J. Morris, 'Clubs, societies and associations', in F. M. L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950* (Cambridge 1990), vol. III, 395–443; J. Barry, 'Bourgeois collectivism? Urban association and the middling sort', in J. Barry and C. Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550–1800* (London 1994), 64–112.

⁵ See, for example, J. Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early English Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London 1974); P. Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England* (London 1980); R. Price, *Masters, Unions and Men: Work Control in Building and the Rise of Labour 1830–1914* (Cambridge 1980); T. Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford 1750–1850* (Cambridge 1990).

nor to downplay market forces, nor to reject analyses of municipal intervention as public reactions to unacceptable private actions. It is to offer a corrective to the significant omission of trust-based institutions such as incorporations, charities and livery companies which were present throughout urban Britain during the nineteenth century.⁶

Institutions contributed significantly to the character of towns and cities because they shielded 'an unusually stable and diverse civil society from the arrogance of the politicians in temporary command of the state'.⁷ Often, these institutions embodied values and followed principles at variance with market economics, and governors, trustees and commissioners, together with councillors, provided a countervailing ideology to the centralising tendency of Westminster. A British version of checks and balances existed in the nineteenth century, therefore, through the intersection of institutional, private enterprise and municipal or public agendas. The effect of this can be more clearly understood in our own recent experience, the 1980s and 1990s, when the decommissioning of boards and consultative bodies, and their replacement by unelected and unaccountable agencies, enabled a small group of powerful ministers to determine national policy.⁸ An 'elective dictatorship' consciously diminished the checks and balances on its authority. This 'hollowing out' of the state by dismantling the institutional fabric of society was the converse of the nineteenth-century process by which the state was assembled through the creation of public bodies, institutions and pressure groups.

Pluralism and social cohesion in the city were powerfully influenced by the scale and nature of the institutions within it. A temporal horizon of generations and adherence to a set of principles established in a will or trust deed produced a sense of direction and a continuity of purpose which mediated changes in, say, the work practices and family structures associated with industrial change at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Whatever social and economic wreckage was wrought by war and technological change, trusts and charities resolutely pursued their benefactors' intentions. In a changeable world they were unchanging in their central characteristics. This was an externality in which all who inhabited the city participated and precisely why 'the development of

⁶ M. Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-Century Bristol* (Woodbridge 1999); S. Yeo, 'Working class association, private capital, welfare and the state in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in N. Parry *et al.*, eds., *Social Work, Welfare and the State* (London 1979); R. J. Morris, 'Voluntary societies and British urban elites 1780–1850: an analysis', *Historical Journal*, 26, 1983, 95–118.

⁷ D. Marquand, 'Commentary: after Tory Jacobinism', *Political Quarterly*, 65, 1994, 125.

⁸ R. A. W. Rhodes, 'Hollowing out the state: the changing nature of public service in Britain', *Political Quarterly*, 65, 1994, 138–51.

institutions like property rights, contract, and a stable system of commercial law was critical to the rise of the West'.⁹

These long-term horizons and a steadfast adherence to the terms of the will ensured that institutions such as trusts and charities contributed to the climate of gradualism and tolerance in nineteenth-century Britain which enabled liberal political institutions to flourish.¹⁰ Yet, conversely, the very persistence 'of a large number of very rich intermediate organizations [during] industrialization', it has been argued, 'balkanized British society' in the twentieth century since the same longevity associated with trusts, charities, clubs and churches also perpetuated fissures between different social classes and interest groups.¹¹

Institutions were administered by trustees to execute the wishes of an individual. The trust was established to sustain the lifestyle of family members in the form of a private fund administered for their benefit, or, more expansively, for the benefit of the community, however defined. Procedures were developed, rules drawn up; minutes and accounts were presented and decisions ratified.¹² In short, institutions were the progenitors of bureaucracy and were based on defined jurisdictions and regulations. They were rule bound, as examples of trust administration in Edinburgh show.¹³ Institutions were founded on order and procedure, epitomised rationality and ushered in an age of municipal administration based on the same principles. Bureaucracy in the twentieth century assumed a pejorative context synonymous with the inflexible application of procedures, yet in the nineteenth century this was its principal virtue, replacing trust which occurred naturally in kinship and family relationships with a framework of regulations by which strangers could transact business.¹⁴ Indeed, Edinburgh trustees so sheltered behind procedures that when, or if, they dared contemplate some deviation then they sought to indemnify themselves against actions in court should they be considered subsequently to have transgressed their powers and duties. Individualism was subordinated to the will of the trust.¹⁵

The concepts of public service and civic duty, therefore, which permeated the town halls of Victorian Britain were carried over from the

⁹ F. Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (Harmondsworth 1995), 223.

¹⁰ M. J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge 1981), 13–14. ¹¹ Fukuyama, *Trust*, 251.

¹² As an example of manuals governing institutions see J. B. Wardhaugh, *Trust Law and Accounts* (Edinburgh 1928, 3rd edn). ¹³ See chapter 4.

¹⁴ B. A. Mistral, *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Bases of Social Order* (Cambridge 1996), 65–88.

¹⁵ ECA Merchant Company, James Gillespie's Hospital, Box, 3/8, Memorial as to the Feuing of Colinton Estate 1877, f. 19.

principles by which institutions such as trusts and charities were governed. In Edinburgh, where professional employment was more than double the United Kingdom average and triple that in Glasgow, the code of trust was deeply embedded. From the 1850s, the town clerk's administrative tentacles reached ever further – voter registration, council housing, weights and measures, garden allotments, street lighting, reformatories, regulation of diseased animals, in addition to the responsibilities for sewers, slums and sanitation with which the councils first became involved – yet it is rare to encounter cases of malpractice concerning the award of municipal contracts, stealing or other misdemeanours. Probity in public service owed much to standards set, and enforceable in law, for trustees, governors and officials generally.

Trusts were designed to transmit wealth across the generations; trustees were obligated to administer the assets of the trust for the beneficiaries. Whether as a private trust set up by a father for his spouse and dependants, or as an endowed school, hospital or relief fund for the benefit of the public according to specified criteria, then the procedures and priorities were virtually identical. Property investments were central to trustees' objectives either in the form of land and buildings (heritable property) from which rents were obtained or, in Scotland, in the form of 'feu-duties', an annual payment created by and payable to the landowner or feudal superior. Alternatively, these rights to annual feu-duties (heritable securities) could be sold for a lump sum and the proceeds reinvested in other assets to generate an income from which to pay annuitants under the terms of the will.

The creation of successive tiers of feu-duties by a process of sub-infeudation meant trusts and institutions such as the Church of Scotland were active participants in financial markets, judging when to trade heritable securities and influencing, as a result, the flow of capital available to the building industry. In addition to property, gilts, municipal bonds, bank stocks including some foreign banks, debentures and certain classes of railway shares were admissible investment opportunities for trustees and institutional treasurers. In short, property investment and development was far from being a self-contained sector and switching between different types of investments had far-reaching consequences for the property sector as it had for a wide range of industries and services.

As property investments were an active area of trusts' activities then the detailed study of these contributes to an understanding of the workings of both the trusts and the property market more generally. In Edinburgh, trusts were particularly influential and an analysis of their activities enables the motives and methods of major institutions and small private trusts alike to be unravelled. Over two-fifths of Edinburgh landowners

with more than a 1 acre holding were trusts and institutions. Six of the seven largest landowners in Edinburgh in 1872 were institutions of one kind or another – they were the Crown (437 acres), George Heriot's Hospital (180), Edinburgh town council (167), Charles Rocheid's trustees (96), Sir William Fettes' trustees (92) and Alexander Learmonth's trustees (83).¹⁶ In view of these large slabs of landholding it was inconceivable that the institutions concerned would not have an important impact on the timing and nature of property development and building activity in Edinburgh, but that they would also define, in a significant way, the activities of private landowners too. Whether such a highly visible institutional presence necessarily produced an architectural coherence in the built environment is questionable, but because development was subject to the same principles and constraints, then it certainly was more likely to do so than under circumstances where ownership was highly fragmented.

The interface between trust administration and urban development was the lawyer's office.¹⁷ Solicitors drew up the Trust Deed and Disposition, the will, and were represented almost invariably as one of the trustees. Solicitors drew up agreements concerning the tenure – feuing – of property; they arranged mortgages for a buyer. Where an individual had funds to invest then it was commonly solicitors who acted as a banker, taking deposits from diverse lenders and channelling them to borrowers as mortgages. Clearly, given this degree of involvement in property development and a considerable element of professional trust, lawyers acted as facilitators or 'lubricants' in the process of urban expansion.¹⁸ They were not alone in this process, however, and the roles of building associations as highly localised institutions as well as heritable security and other mortgage societies were also significant, as was the role of accountants.

Institutional and legal influences on urban development assumed a varied, but not inflexible, character and as a social construct, the law was responsive in the longer term to changing priorities and societal needs. Nowhere was this better illustrated than in 1818 when the House of Lords decided to reverse several of its rulings over the previous fifty years concerning the legitimacy of James Craig's plan as a determinant of what could, or could not, be built in the New Town of Edinburgh. In this

¹⁶ *PP 1874 LXXII* pt III, Owners of Lands and Heritages, 1872–3, 66–9. See also chapter 3.

These acreages are those still at the disposal of landowners in 1872. In some cases they significantly understate the extent of land available in earlier years.

¹⁷ J. D. Bailey, 'Australian borrowing in Scotland in the nineteenth century', *Economic History Review*, 12, 1959, 268–79.

¹⁸ Mistral, *Trust in Modern Societies*, 77, uses this term.

instance Contract Law proved to be an unreliable arbiter of property use in the future and consequently undermined present value. A landmark decision, the judgement meant that, thereafter, feu charters or deeds were to become the instruments by which to restrict certain types of undesirable development. In so doing, property law evolved to protect the interests of property owners and trusts since it reassured investors that obnoxious activities could not be undertaken on their neighbours' property. Without the Lords' decision in 1818, property investment would have been impaired, funds would have sought alternatives such as gilts and, unquestionably, the long-term effect would have been to undermine the visual coherence of many Edinburgh streets since, whatever their initial appearance, without the 1818 judgement they would have been raped over the decades by successive changes of uncontrolled use. This brief example, developed at greater length in chapter 2, demonstrates that property owners were assured that their investments would not be compromised by the actions of others and that they could trust a disciplined legal code which sanctioned transgressors. Put differently, once trust was embodied in social institutions, of which the law is one, then urban development could proceed.¹⁹

Far from the inflexible and invariable application of legal codes and institutional procedures it was their very existence which affected the actions of builders and developers in Edinburgh. The sanction that non-compliance with the building authority, the Dean of Guild Court, might result in the compulsory demolition of an unapproved building was a sufficient deterrent in most instances to impose discipline on developers. A departure from the landowner's feuing plan could result in 'irritancy', that is, the repossession and reassignment of the plot to another builder, without compensation. Not to maintain the steady pattern of interest payments at Michaelmas and Martinmas on bonds issued for loans might instigate bankruptcy proceedings and involve the trustee in bankruptcy in the liquidation of assets in order to pay creditors. In other words, as the daily dramas of urban development unfolded in Edinburgh, as elsewhere, the full weight of the law did not have to be applied since trust between parties in the normal course of business allowed for some elasticity in payment or delivery dates, designs or related matters. Rational choice dictated that few would go to court over the minutiae of an agreement given the expense and the distraction.²⁰ But in the background and secure in the knowledge about how, ultimately, a legal principle would be interpreted or how an institution would function, landowners and developers,

¹⁹ N. Luhmann, *Trust and Power* (Chichester 1979), 88.

²⁰ N. Luhmann, 'Familiarity, confidence, trust: problems and alternative', in D. Gambetta, ed., *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations* (Oxford 1988), 94–107.

like other citizens, knew the extent to which they could press an issue. The contours of business strategy, therefore, were defined by the implicit understanding between parties. These relationships were a powerful indicator and 'a required condition [for] a society to be a stable system in equilibrium'²¹ and, where mutual trust operated, it can be seen as an important form of social capital since it reduced the cost of monitoring and enforcement.²²

Building and property development were indissolubly linked to the legal and institutional framework which operated at several levels and, in the broadest terms, the nature of property rights was central to the political discourse of the nineteenth century.²³ Best known, perhaps, are the issues surrounding the 'Irish question' – fair rents and fixity of tenure were amongst the issues as well as compensation for improvements – but there was a wider geographical dimension to the nature of property rights in respect of Settler Acts and the 'rights' of indigenous populations in Canada, Australia, South Africa and indeed in most of the 'white dominions'.²⁴ There was, too, a strong Scottish strand following on issues raised in connection with Ireland as debates about property rights surfaced in the highlands and islands, led to the formation of the Crofters' Commission and the issue of tied cottages, and then spilled over in the early twentieth century to the condition of miners' housing before finally being taken up in a Royal Commission established in 1911 to review all aspects of housing and property rights, urban and rural.²⁵

Fair rents in an urban setting were at the heart of Rent Strikes in the west of Scotland during the First World War.²⁶ They were a catalyst in the growth of socialism and of women's participation in direct political action in Scotland. Both movements were the product of alienation and class tensions between rentier landlords and tenants. Direct links have been made between this pre-1920 trend in housing politics with the growth of council

²¹ T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), 389.

²² J. S. Coleman, *The Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

²³ For recent contributions on various aspects of property law see J. Brewer and S. Staves, eds., *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London 1996).

²⁴ See, for example, J. Tully, 'Aboriginal property and western theory: recovering a middle ground', in E. F. Paul et al., *Property Rights* (Cambridge 1994), 153–80; D. van der Merwe, 'Land tenure in South Africa', *Tydskrif vir die Suid-Afrikaanse Regsgeleerheid*, 1989, 4, 663–92.

²⁵ *PP 1888 LXXX*, First Annual Report Crofters' Commission, 1886–7; *PP 1911 XXXIII*, Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland for 1910, lxxvii, and *PP 1912–13 XXXVII*, lix, for 1911; *PP 1917–19 XIV*, Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland, Rural and Urban, Report; R. Rodger, 'Crisis and confrontation in Scottish housing 1880–1914', in R. Rodger, ed., *Scottish Housing in the Twentieth Century* (Leicester 1989), 25–53.

²⁶ J. Melling, *Rent Strikes: Peoples' Struggles for Housing in West Scotland 1890–1916* (Edinburgh 1983); S. Damer, 'State, class and housing: Glasgow 1885–1919', in J. Melling, ed., *Housing, Social Policy and the State* (London 1980), 73–112.

housing in Scotland between the wars when 80% of new housing stock was owned by local authorities – an exact mirror image of the situation in England.²⁷ The present study explores how a growing pattern of co-operative housing, owner occupancy and an emerging mortgage market in the forty years before the First World War familiarised Edinburgh residents with the trappings of capitalism and acquainted them with phased mortgage repayments, deposit and savings schemes. It was not such a remarkable step, therefore, for the city council in the 1920s to take advantage of Treasury subsidies for private owners rather than, as in Glasgow and other burghs, to build uniformly for the rented public sector.²⁸

If, rather than Red Clydeside, Pink Lothian was the political result of the diversification of tenure in Edinburgh it is connected also to broader arguments about the nature of Liberalism.²⁹ The reason for undertaking a latter-day Domesday survey in 1910 was associated with Lloyd George's urgent need to raise revenue to pay for social welfare programmes.³⁰ Taxing property and land jointly, 'a single tax', was suggested by Henry George in 1881 as a means of removing capital gains which accrued to property owners and resulted from the effects of population increase and urbanisation and not from any conscious improvement undertaken by landlords.³¹ A disincentive to escalating property prices, the knock-on effects were assumed to be a restraint on rents and so to the benefit of working-class tenants. Property taxes – rates – were also spiralling upwards in the final decades of the nineteenth century as local councils' ambitious plans for libraries, new town halls, and hospitals, as well as other expensive capital projects, increased local taxes, which were then, with rents, collected by landlords. Slum clearance and town centre redevelopment added to the taxpayer's bill, but in reality the central philosophical issue was unchanged: to what extent could an individual's property be subjected to the control of public policy in the name of the common weal? Jurisdictional issues were central to property relations

²⁷ R. Rodger and H. Al-Qaddo, 'The Scottish Special Housing Association and the implementation of housing policy 1937–87', in Rodger, ed., *Scottish Housing in the Twentieth Century*, Table 7.1, 185.

²⁸ A. O'Carroll, 'Tenements to bungalows: class and the growth of home ownership before the Second World War', *Urban History*, 24, 1997, 221–41; and A. O'Carroll, 'The influence of local authorities on the growth of owner occupation 1914–39', *Planning Perspectives*, 11, 1996, 55–72.

²⁹ U. Vogel, 'The land question: a Liberal theory of communal property', *History Workshop Journal*, 27, 1989, 106–35; A. Offer, *Property and Politics 1870–1914: Landownership, Law, Ideology and Urban Development in England* (Cambridge 1981), 283–313, 384–406; M. J. Daunton, *A Property Owning Democracy? Housing in Britain* (London 1987), 40–69.

³⁰ B. Short, *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain* (Cambridge 1997), 19–37; H. George, *Progress and Poverty* (London 1881).

³¹ Offer, *Property and Politics 184–200*, 242–53. For a summary of the issues see R. Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain 1780–1914* (Cambridge 1995), 52–62.

throughout the nineteenth century whether they were in the form of obligatory sewer connections, inspections by officials concerning the number of occupants in a tenement flat, amendments to building plans for approval or compulsory purchase for slum clearance purposes. It was one thing to require street alignment to aid the passage of traffic; it was quite another to insist upon the internal fittings and room arrangements of the flat itself. Intra-muros and extra-muros controls in relation to housing diverged fundamentally in their concepts of property rights and social responsibility.³²

Squalid and overcrowded housing represented the unacceptable face of nineteenth-century capitalism. It was ameliorated by sanitary policy, slum clearance and the more caring face of municipal socialism, emerging into the twentieth century in the form of cloned council estates and semi-detached suburbia. This is a caricature of the history of housebuilding and property development over a two hundred year period but the detailed studies on which it is based need to incorporate a more sophisticated analysis located within legal and institutional frameworks. This study is a start.

Contexts

The transformation of the Edinburgh townscape in the nineteenth century was a combination of redefining the old and superimposing a new built environment. This did not occur independently. Buildings were the product of savings and investment, of potential yields calculated against risks for various parties. So the Edinburgh townscape was altered as a result of economic growth, part of which involved a workforce expanding as a result of either natural increase, or immigration, or both. That workforce needed housing and it was housing more than any other element which transformed the appearance of Edinburgh in the nineteenth century. So it is essential, as background to what follows in Parts 1–3, to outline the scope, scale and pace of economic, demographic and social change in nineteenth-century Edinburgh.

As a capital city and a city of capital, nineteenth-century Edinburgh inherited the power of the past. True, a measure of constitutional power had been conceded to London following the Act of Union in 1707, though any greater congruence with England was abandoned implicitly by the guarantees of autonomy extended in 1707 to the Scottish legal, educational, financial and religious frameworks.³³ Thereafter, these

³² C. B. Macpherson, 'Liberal democracy and property', in C. B. Macpherson, ed., *Property: Mainstream and Critical Positions* (Oxford 1978), 199–207.

³³ N. T. Phillipson, 'Lawyers, landowners and the civic leadership of post-Union Scotland', *Juridical Review*, 1976, 97–120.

distinctive elements of Scottish society became even more deeply embedded, and influenced fundamentally the economic structure and social ecology of Edinburgh as a result.

At the apex of the legal and religious systems were the superior courts and assemblies which met only in Edinburgh.³⁴ The University, and the legacy of Hume, Robertson, Smith, Ferguson and Stewart – humanists and philosophers of ‘European significance’³⁵ – attracted intellectuals from far and near, as did the international reputation of medical science in the city. The momentum of the Scottish Enlightenment also propelled the rationalist image of Edinburgh into the nineteenth century in what amounted to a sustained public relations coup for the city. By that time the company head offices and institutional headquarters which lined St Andrew’s Square and displayed New Town brass plaques had replaced Edinburgh Castle and St Giles’ Cathedral as the icons of Scottish strength and propriety.

In other words, a critical mass of professional expertise was concentrated in Edinburgh as a direct result of the guarantees enshrined in the Act of Union. The multiple administrative functions of a capital city converged like ley lines of economic and social power, none more so than in the area of financial services – banking, life assurance, insurance and investment – where Edinburgh’s Victorian hegemony over Glasgow and the rest of Scotland owed much to formal relationships established in earlier centuries.³⁶ By the mid-nineteenth century, Edinburgh had become a high-ranking international financial centre ‘engrossing all the top legal and much of the top financial business [of Scotland]’³⁷ and possessed a status which far outstripped the regional functions of, say, Manchester or Glasgow.

Cities were the information super-highways of the nineteenth century.³⁸ There the gentlemen’s clubs, coffee houses and pubs offered

³⁴ HM Register House itself included legal and administrative headquarters as follows: General Record for Scotland; Crown Rents; Hornings; Extractor’s Office; Bill Chamber; Court of Session Minutes; Edictal Citations; Fee Stamp; Great Seal; Privy Seal; Signet Office; Register of Sasines; Register of Deeds and Protests; Entails; Office of the Accountant of Court; and the General Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages. For further military, religious, scientific societies and educational head offices located in Edinburgh, see listings in *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories*.

³⁵ R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh 1660–1760* (Oxford 1994), 9.

³⁶ C. W. Munn, ‘The emergence of Edinburgh as a financial centre’, in A. J. G. Cummings and T. Devine, eds., *Industry, Business and Society in Scotland since 1700: Essays Presented to John Butt* (Edinburgh 1996), 127.

³⁷ G. F. A. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain* (London 1971), 49.

³⁸ See D. Reeder and R. Rodger, ‘Industrialisation and the city economy’, in M. Daunton, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. III (Cambridge 2000), 553–92, for an extended version of this argument.

information about local trading conditions, investment and work opportunities, and information about where work, materials and credit could be obtained. Powerful informal Edinburgh networks based on lifestyle, beliefs and family contacts reinforced liaisons based on membership.³⁹ Not to be in touch with sources of commercial intelligence incurred an unnecessary risk for business and from the second quarter of the nineteenth century the proliferation of trade directories, masonic lodges and associations of employers was indicative of the need for business news. Information concerning risk and uncertainty, key variables in business survival, was evaluated more fully where bankers, insurance agents, brokers, merchants and distributors co-existed in close proximity. Just how significant these information-oriented professionals were has recently been demonstrated in a study which claims that knowledge-based human capital, as represented by professional groups, exerted a systematic, positive influence on the long-run growth of British cities generally.⁴⁰ Thus the conventional role of commerce as a spur to the expansion of the professions was reversed:

The talk of the bourgeoisie, not the smoke of the factory, was the defining characteristic of the modern city economy.⁴¹

Just as the physical proximity provided by urban locations offered cost-reducing 'external economies' to industrial producers, so, too, cities offered a mental proximity which was indispensable to the professional classes. Indeed, this was Edinburgh's 'comparative advantage'. Associated with it was a congenial cultural milieu, itself further enhanced by the town council's sponsorship of the New Town development from 1765 which provided both a considerable infrastructural investment and a form of subsidy to the middle and upper-middle classes who took up residence there.

Before the New Town was built, the physical extent of the built-up area of Edinburgh had changed little since medieval times (fig.1.1). Reincarnated, medieval merchants would have been able easily to find their way around eighteenth-century Edinburgh, the second ranked British city in terms of population. The city remained a compact settlement along a 1,500 yard spine, the High Street, and from which ran almost 300 narrow alleys known as 'closes' or 'wynds', which on the south

³⁹ E. C. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh* (Basingstoke 1996), 168–72; Houston, *Social Change*, 101–2 and 214–33; S. Nenadic, 'The small family firm in Victorian Britain', *Business History*, 35, 1993, 86–114.

⁴⁰ C. J. Simon and C. Nardinelli, 'The talk of the town: human capital, information and the growth of English cities 1861–1961', *Explorations in Economic History*, 33, 1996, 384–413. ⁴¹ Simon and Nardinelli, 'The talk of the town'.

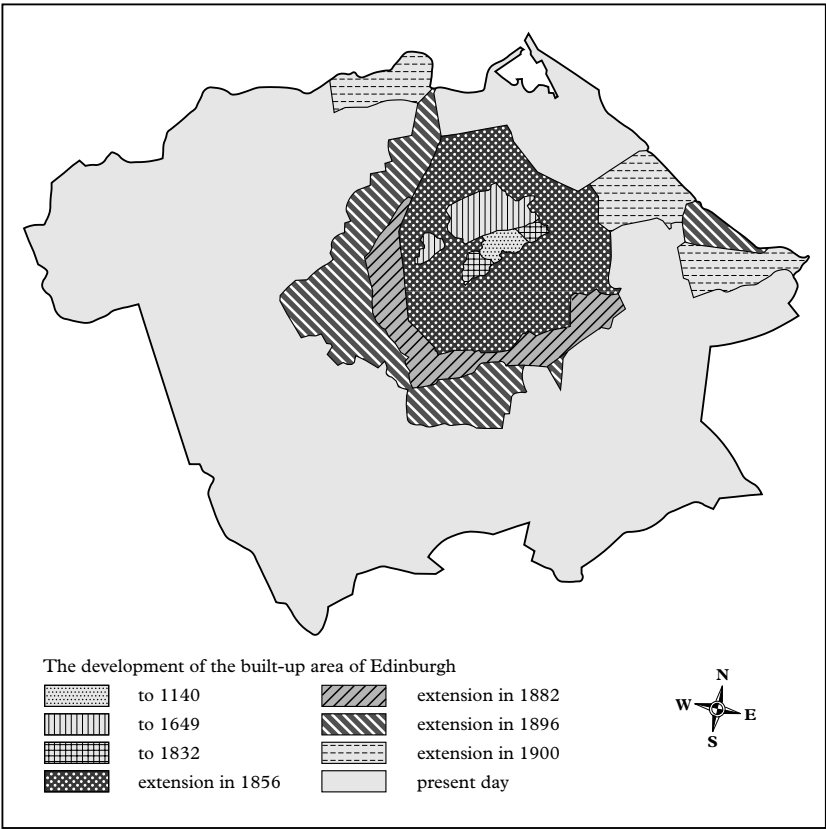


Figure 1.1 The expansion of Edinburgh 1140–1914

Source: Map of Edinburgh Tramways by W. & A. K. Johnson 1920.

connected to a secondary thoroughfare, the Cowgate (fig. 1.2).⁴² Old Town tenements housed a society segregated on a vertical basis, with the lowest classes on the ground and attic floors and the more well-to-do in first floor flats.⁴³ While the common stair and street entrances provided only a very limited degree of social intermixing, the condition of the poor was an inescapable feature of tenement life for all sections of Old Town society. Though New Town apartments were finely stratified to take account of different income and status levels, and notwithstanding the

⁴² M. Lynch, *Scotland* (London 1991), 176; J. Gilhooley, *A Directory of Edinburgh in 1752* (Edinburgh 1989).

⁴³ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* (London 1972), 370.

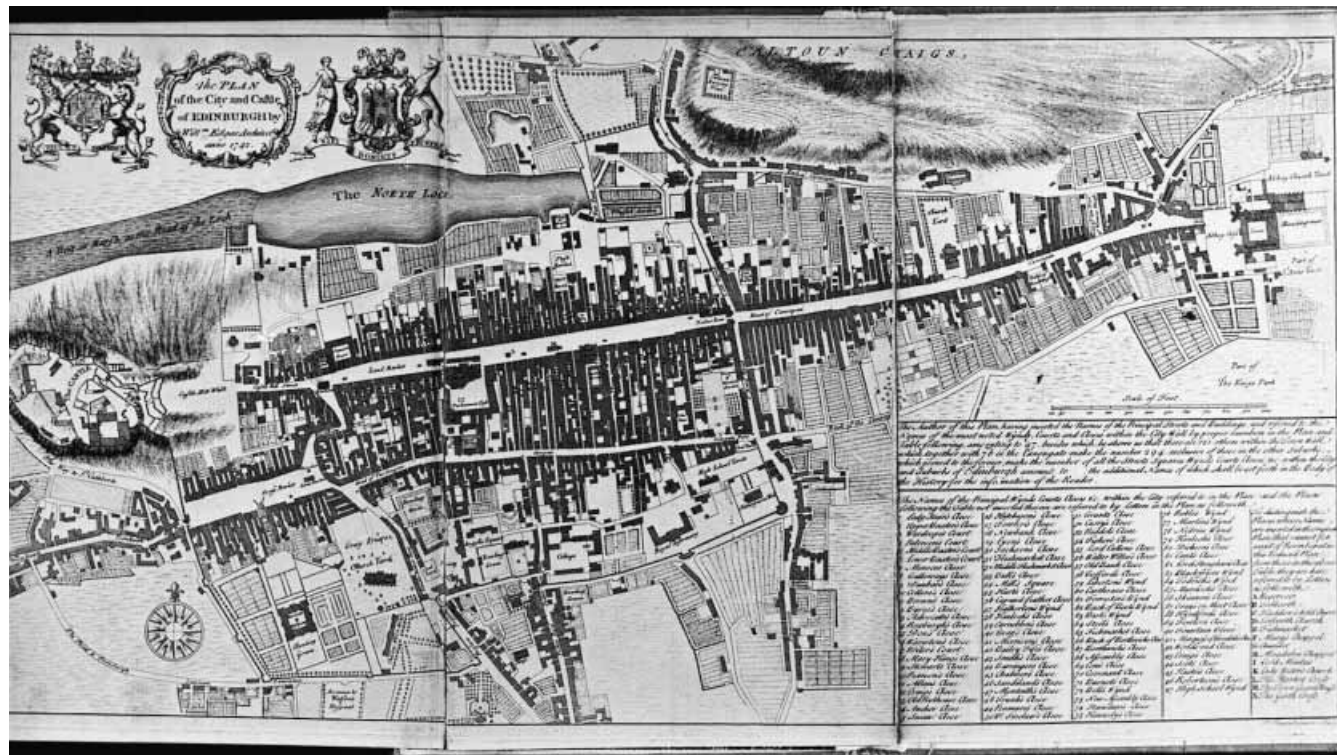


Figure 1.2a The royal burgh of Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century

Source: Edinburgh City Libraries, William Edgars 'Plan of the city and castle of Edinburgh', 1742.

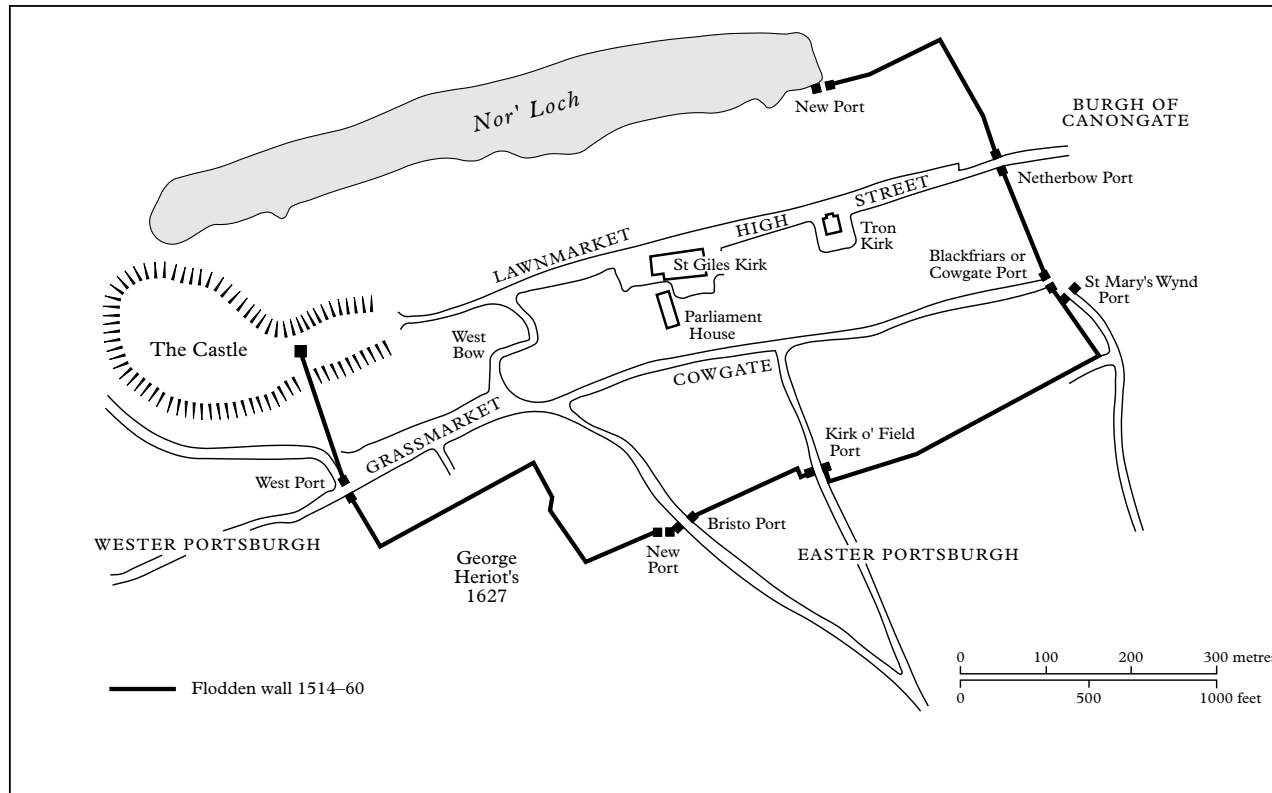


Figure 1.2b The royal burgh of Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century: principal jurisdictions

Source: redrawn from R. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660–1760* (Oxford 1994), 106.

numerous subdivisions of flats in the 1820s or the commercial activities which took place in the mews and back lanes, the New Town offered a 'gentility quotient' or cultural haven for residents, a significant number of whom were annuitants. In effect, the New Town was a municipally sponsored suburb built between the 1760s and the 1820s before the concept, far less the reality, was far advanced in London or other English cities (table 1.1). By 1830, therefore, the 'capitalists, bankers, professional and other educated' individuals who constituted the middle class in table 1.1 were already well established in the New Town, and the process of social stratification was so highly developed that in the Old Town and Canongate only one in twenty could be described as middle class.

For the city as a whole the power and influence of the Edinburgh middle classes is difficult to exaggerate. They represented 20.8% of the population of Edinburgh in 1830 – more than three and a half times the proportion in Glasgow (5.9%), and throughout the nineteenth century approximately one male in eight was employed in professional work, again far more than in any other Scottish, or indeed British, city.⁴⁴

Salaried employment was almost synonymous with security of employment. Security of employment meant stability of income, which in turn meant the predictability of expenditure, particularly that associated with rent agreements. So even if the gross annual incomes for wage and salary earners were identical, the predictable rhythm by which the salaried employee was paid meant that his average affordable rent was above that of the waged worker. As a result, the standard of accommodation of the salaried worker was higher, domestic space more generous, and this improved physical environment meant that his children were heavier, taller and less susceptible to a range of medical conditions. Even among the different echelons within the working classes the relationship between the way pay was phased and family welfare was evident. For example, the schoolchildren of the regularly paid skilled working classes of Broughton were one to three inches taller than the offspring of the unskilled, casually employed and irregularly paid parents in the North Canongate.⁴⁵ So the composition of the workforce, and particularly the important salaried component, was a critical element in the socio-spatial character of the city and in the physical well-being of its residents. It was a relationship which

⁴⁴ *PP 1833 XXXVII*, Census of Great Britain 1831, 970–3. N. J. Morgan and R. Trainor, 'The dominant classes', in W. H. Fraser and R. J. Morris, eds., *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. II (Edinburgh 1990), 106, cite the percentage of the employed male workforce aged over twenty as 20.4%. However, this includes Leith. As for Scotland as a whole, the middle classes represented 5.3%.

⁴⁵ City of Edinburgh Charity Organisation Society, *Report on the Physical Condition of Fourteen Hundred Schoolchildren in the City together with Some Account of their Homes and Surroundings* (London 1906).

Table 1.1 *Social segregation in Edinburgh 1831 (middle-class concentrations by parish)*

Parish	% middle class	% shopkeeping handicraft
Extended royalty (New Town)	40.0	42.9
St Mary's	62.7	25.2
St Stephen's	44.2	34.8
St George's	34.4	42.2
St Andrew's	26.5	60.5
Ancient royalty (Old Town)	5.5	65.0
Lady Yester's	10.7	62.5
High Church	9.3	72.2
Old Church	7.2	58.9
Tolbooth	7.2	64.3
Canongate ^a	6.2	69.6
New Greyfriars	6.1	49.4
New North	5.5	62.4
Old Greyfriars	3.8	67.9
College	2.8	70.6
Tron	1.2	64.2
Suburbs – St Cuthbert's ^b	21.8	55.1
Edinburgh average	20.8	55.5

^a Canongate was, strictly, another 'suburb' but as an extension of High St/ Cowgate is treated as part of the ancient royalty here.

^b St Cuthbert's was described as 'suburban' in 1831 and as neither in the ancient nor the extended royalty. There was a very substantial population of over 70,000, however, with over 20,000 added in the 1821–31 years.

Source: *PP 1833 XXXVII*, Census of Great Britain 1831, 970–2.

applied with equal force, if differing local conditions, in Glasgow and Aberdeen, as it did, too, in England.⁴⁶

The salary 'bargain' in contrast to the wage bargain meant not only higher incomes but also different terms of engagement – regular hours, notice of termination, payment in lieu of notice, pension entitlements in certain professions, an element of discretion regarding deductions for unpunctuality and censure rather than sacking over minor misdemeanours. In addition, a degree of regulated entry by means of educational

⁴⁶ Dundee Social Union, *Report on Housing, Industrial Conditions and Medical Inspection of School Children* (Dundee 1905), and Scotch Education Department, *Report as to the Physical Condition of Children Attending the Public Schools of the School Board for Glasgow* (HMSO 1907), Cd 3637.

qualifications, articles, ordination and probationary service insulated the professions further against the vagaries of the trade cycle and the over-supply of labour in their field. As one commentator remarked in 1885:

The city has a calm, steady character in keeping with the predominance of legal, educational, literary and artistic pursuits, from which it derives its chief maintenance, and contrasts boldly with the fluctuations, excitements and mercantile convulsions which produce so much vicissitude in manufacturing towns.⁴⁷

This cyclical insulation was enhanced by secular growth, that is, as the service sector in Edinburgh also expanded to meet the needs of a maturing industrial economy. By 1911, commercial clerks were the single most numerous occupation for men, and for women were second only to domestic service.⁴⁸ But the ranks of those on steady incomes were swelled by the inspectors and managers of municipal departments and public utilities such as gas, water, fire, police, building control, licensing, slaughterhouses and tramway operation, as well as by the more specialist staffing associated with Victorian institutional administration in prisons, asylums, sanatoria, hospitals and public health.⁴⁹ The quantitative and qualitative impact of professional employment on Edinburgh were defining characteristics:

There can be no doubt that it was the metropolitan role of Edinburgh which gave the Lothian economy its structural similarity to the south east of England.⁵⁰

The significance of this hard core of professional occupations extended far beyond their own class since the strength and stability of demand for a broad range of goods and services had multiplier effects for the local economy. Edinburgh, as one observer noted in 1885, was 'the greatest retail shopkeeping centre out of London'⁵¹ and so 'small-scale crafts, catering for a "luxury" market, constituted an important part of this employment'.⁵² So, too, were printing, lithography, book-binding, portraiture and picture-framing, watchmaking, jewellery, precious metal-working, the furniture trades, bespoke clothing and a host of other highly specific activities, including house repairs and maintenance, hairdressing, gardening and domestic service itself, each of which was heavily dependent upon the consumption patterns of Edinburgh professionals.⁵³

⁴⁷ F. H. Groome, ed., *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1885), 354, quoted in R. Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh* (Oxford 1976), 18.

⁴⁸ *PP 1913 LXXX*, Census of Scotland, 1911, tables D, E, 10–11.

⁴⁹ R. Rodger, 'Employment, wages and poverty in the Scottish cities 1841–1914', in G. Gordon, ed., *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen 1985), 25–63.

⁵⁰ C. H. Lee, 'Modern economic growth and structural change in Scotland: the service sector reconsidered', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 3, 1983, 115–35.

⁵¹ Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 517. ⁵² Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy*, 21.

⁵³ These included, for example, in 1881, artificial flower makers (8); bird and animal

The symbiosis of secure white-collar incomes, highly skilled handicraft and finishing trades and numerous independent and small-scale units of production meant it was not just the households of the middle classes and 'labour aristocracy' of Edinburgh which enjoyed predictable incomes and dependable standards of living. The entire tone of the local economy displayed a greater measure of stability compared to other urban centres and unskilled industrial workers and general labourers such as porters, messengers, watchmen, carters and even street vendors experienced a limited gain from 'trickle-down' effects.⁵⁴ This extended to the poor in Edinburgh who in the 1870s received three times as much parochial medical aid per 1,000 population as in Glasgow, and were the recipients of approximately £0.25 million of annual assistance from 150 charities in the 1900s.⁵⁵ These were yet further indicators of the comfortable lifestyles in the capital, and for whatever motives, of middle-class efforts to improve marginally the comfort of others.

The industrial interests of Edinburgh were almost invariably presented as weak and the assessment in a guide book of 1849 was not untypical: Edinburgh's 'manufactures are few and on a limited scale'.⁵⁶ Another mid-Victorian observer explained the prosperity of different cities on the basis that 'twas cotton that did it' for Liverpool and Manchester, 'twas pig-iron that did it' for Glasgow, whereas 'twas quarrels that did it' for Edinburgh.⁵⁷ The capital city was perceived as 'a huge manufactory of litigation'.⁵⁸ Yet this overlooked the fact that three in five men and two in five employed women worked in industrial occupations (table 1.2). In mid-century, textiles and clothing occupied 13 out of every 100 in the workforce, food and drink occupied 8 workers and engineering, a crucial source of support and innovation for a wide range of industrial and commercial activities, throughout the century employed 6 out of every 100

stuffers (15); baby carriage manufacturers (29); billiard table makers (4); cabinetmakers (167); carvers, gilders and picture framers (46); fishing tackle makers (16); gunmakers (8); gardeners (75); hotels (90) and refreshment rooms (67); musical instrument makers (29); photographers (43); pocketbook/jewel casemakers (16); umbrella makers (16). See *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory*, 1881.

⁵⁴ *PP 1913 LXXX*, Census of Scotland, 1911, table D, 10, shows that there was an 18% increase in employment for this group in contrast to a general decline between 1901 and 1911.

⁵⁵ S. Blackden, 'The poor law and health: a survey of parochial medical aid in Glasgow 1845–1900', in T. C. Smout, ed., *The Search for Wealth and Stability: Essays in Economic and Social History Presented to M. W. Flinn* (London 1979), 262, and H. L. Kerr, 'Edinburgh', in H. Bosanquet, ed., *Social Conditions in Provincial Towns* (London 1912), 56–8.

⁵⁶ T. and W. McDowall, *New Guide to Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1849), 10. See also Kerr, 'Edinburgh', 55.

⁵⁷ J. Heiton, *The Castes of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1861), 281–2.

⁵⁸ Heiton, *Castes*, 177.