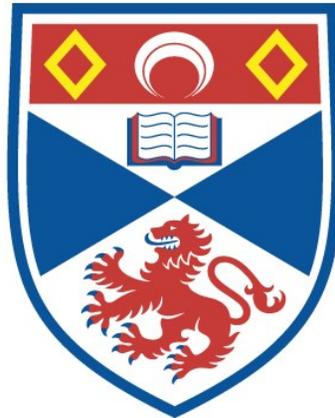


**THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FURNITURE TRADE
IN EDINBURGH : A STUDY BASED ON
DOCUMENTARY SOURCES**

Sebastian Pryke

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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SEBASTIAN PRYKE
SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREW'S
1995



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SYNOPSIS

The Preface lays out the grounds for historical revision, and past misapprehensions, as well as acknowledging the work on which this thesis hopes to build. The nature of sources used is then considered.

The Introduction sets the scene, historically, socially and geographically, in which eighteenth century tradesmen in Edinburgh operated, and draws comparisons with other cities.

Chapter I is a historical survey of the importance, relevance and administrative organisation of the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons, or Mary's Chapel as it became known. This is the backcloth against which the furniture trade in Edinburgh operated, the Incorporation controlling the lives of everyone working in that trade, until its authority was challenged at the end of the eighteenth century. The status of women is briefly addressed, followed by the potential for political patronage; political manoeuvring being a very important influence on the affairs of Mary's Chapel throughout the eighteenth century. The relationship between freemasonry and the furniture trade is briefly considered, before an analysis of the roles, status and training of apprentices and journeymen. Finally the charitable works of Mary's Chapel are acknowledged.

Chapters II, III and IV form a themed narrative on the three strands which comprise the furniture trade; the furniture itself, its makers, and their patrons. Chapter III starts with the origins of the trade in Edinburgh at the end of the seventeenth century and considers the nature of the society for which it developed. It goes on to discuss the import of furniture from London, Holland and France, where the very finest pieces originated. A notable quantity was also made in Edinburgh. A handful of examples

of cabinet makers working over these years verifies this, as well as confirming their involvement with imported goods. The role of patents and the way in which they affected the developing furniture trade, is briefly considered. There follows individual case studies of two father and son partnerships spanning the period, Robert and John Moubray, and William and John Schaw.

Chapter II covers the middle years of the century. The period corresponded with the swansong of the old, medieval town of Edinburgh and the inception of the planned new town which was, to some extent, to usurp it. The tradesmen discussed were all based in the Old Town, making furniture for its inhabitants, as well as ladies and gentlemen who were furnishing their new, or newly refurbished, country seats. There was little difference between the furniture made for the town and that made for the country; indeed the period is largely illustrated by country house commissions. Once again, furniture came from London as well as Edinburgh, and the diverse nature of this patronage is addressed, particularly the use of pattern furniture and estate wrights as a method of balancing economy and fashion. Case studies of Alexander Peter and Francis Brodie, two of the most interesting cabinet makers active in this period are included; Brodie's career was exceptional.

Chapter V highlights the opportunities for cabinet makers and upholsterers alike provided by the building of the first New Town over the final three decades of the century, which changed the shape of Edinburgh forever. It was this urban market which dominated the period, and which was in turn dominated by the fickleness of changing fashions emanating from London, and ultimately Paris. Typical Scottish types are addressed, notably the brander back chair and stage top sideboard, which both influenced the nature of genteel furniture. At the end of the century the South Bridge connected the Old Town with the southern districts of Edinburgh, and in the ensuing years it was to become a major focus for many trades, including the expanding cabinet making and upholstery trades. The commission to furnish

Holyroodhouse for the deposed French princes at the end of the century is discussed, and comparisons drawn between this furniture and other documented pieces. Case studies follow of John Fisher, an insignificant figure in the trade, who is nevertheless of great significance to historians as, uniquely, some of his account books have survived, and the intertwined careers of Robert Young, Thomas Trotter, William Hamilton, and his son James.

Chapter VII, in many ways the core of the thesis, considers the broad range of activities indulged in by cabinet makers and upholsterers. It starts from the human perspective, looking at financial practicalities, then pursues various evolving relationships among the tradesmen and their wives. There follows an account of materials and how they were acquired, used and sold, and then an examination of the individual aspects of the upholstery and cabinet making trades as they related to Edinburgh. Specific sections cover wright work, cabinet making, carving, gilding and silvering, upholstery, packing and transport, repairs, subcontracting, undertaking, the second hand trade and auctioneering. Finally, some broader commercial interests in which furniture makers were involved are discussed. The emphasis is on the situation in Edinburgh, but examples are occasionally used from elsewhere in Scotland, and England. Primary sources have been used throughout, and quoted from at length where appropriate, local newspapers being a particularly rich source.

The Conclusion briefly discusses changes in the trade during the eighteenth century, the injustice of our current perception of it and the nature of provincialism.

Appendices are included which provide an alphabetical analysis of surviving accounts of Edinburgh cabinet makers and upholsterers, as well as of advertisements placed by these men and women in the local press. There is also a list of Deacons and Boxmasters (treasurers) of Mary's Chapel, and extensive transcriptions relating to the

account books of John Fisher, and the sequestration of his estate; these include an analysis of all the accounts.

Finally the illustrations are bound at the end of the thesis, in the order in which they appear in the text.

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A great many people have helped me with this thesis but by far the most important has been my wife Jane, without whom I don't think I'd have had the will or incentive to complete it. My eternal thanks are due to her, not only for her constant advice, but also for allowing me to break my promise and marry her before it was finished. On a less day to day level I have had information, encouragement and advice from Ian Gow, Margaret Swain and, of course, my supervisor David Jones, who is responsible for inspiring me in the first place, and correcting my more flippant indiscretions; any that remain are wholly my responsibility. The staff of many institutions have been incredibly helpful and longsuffering, especially at the National Library (where they fed me newspapers for longer than I care to recall), the Edinburgh Room of the City Library, Register House, West Register House (where John McLintock helped me find my way around the maze of legal records), the National Register of Archives (where Tristram Clarke and Peter Vasey negotiated with countless private owners on my behalf, and took great interest in my research), the National Monuments Record of Scotland (where Simon Green not only offered great encouragement, but introduced me to Jane), and the Edinburgh City Archives (where Richard and Margaret were unfailingly helpful and friendly).

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PREFACE

Any historical study which is based largely on primary research from contemporary sources must have a certain element of revisionism as its aim. With this in mind it is necessary to give some account of the grounds for revision, laying out the misapprehensions as well as the work on which one hopes to build. The existing work is easy to summarise; despite the ever present nature of furniture in people's lives, and its obvious position in a social context as a reflection of taste, wealth and progress, the study in Scotland of the trade which made it, and the furniture itself, has until recently been sadly neglected.

Furniture history itself is a relatively new doctrine. The Furniture History Society was founded in London in 1964, and until recently has been based around the Department of Furniture and Woodwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum. This was not particularly conducive to encouraging research in Scotland, and when the time came for the Society to instigate a dictionary of furniture makers they quite understandably felt that Scotland (as well as Ireland and Wales) should

not [be] included in the present census - because of the difficulties in placing the collection of information in these regions on a secure footing¹.

When one considers that Ambrose Heal's *London Furniture Makers* was published as long ago as 1953, over thirty years before Scotland got its comparable *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights and Furniture Makers*, it is perhaps not surprising that the state of knowledge in Scotland was too limited to support such in depth research.

However there is a perhaps more obvious, and certainly more insidious reason for the lack of writing on eighteenth century Scottish furniture and its accompanying trade. It was thought not to have existed. At least not to an extent capable of producing furniture of any quality. Once this seed of doubt had been sown it proved

¹*DEFM* Editor's Explanation p xi.

extremely hard to weed out, especially as some contemporary commentators were initially guilty of propagating it. Where the trade has been considered by economic and social historians, it is generally only so that it can be dismissed.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that these historians, however economical with the truth they may have been in relation to the furniture trade, were genuinely attempting to reflect a pattern of society. Therefore the negative impressions of contemporary writers can be most illuminating, particularly in helping to understand the attitude of many Edinburgh furniture makers, and their clients, during the eighteenth century.

The Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights and Furniture Makers compiled by Francis Bamford over the space of twenty five years is clearly the key volume in an historiography of the Edinburgh furniture trade. Bamford first committed his thoughts on the subject to paper in 1956² when he published his discovery of the accounts and corresponding furniture supplied by William Trotter to Paxton House. This was the starting point for all his subsequent enthusiastic researches, and the field was more or less completely his own for, as he himself wrote in 1966,

perhaps the most remarkable fact connected with old Scottish furniture is that so few people seem ever to have evinced any interest in it³.

The furniture for Paxton was made in 1814 and Bamford, in a considerable act of faith, accepted this as proof that there must have been a substantial history of furniture making in Edinburgh, of which Trotter was a descendant. He stated this belief in the same article:

Ever since the identification of the Regency furniture at Paxton House ... I had been convinced that no firm could have produced pieces of such quality and individualistic a

²F Bamford 'Trotter of Edinburgh' *Scotland's Magazine* March 1956.

³F Bamford 'Some Edinburgh Furniture Makers' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 1966 p32.

style if it had not behind it a long tradition of good, careful, perhaps sometimes inspired, cabinet-making in the city⁴.

He subsequently published articles about Edinburgh furniture makers in *Country Life*, the *Connoisseur*, the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* and *Furniture History* before the posthumous publication of his *Dictionary*. The *Dictionary's* parameters - the eighteenth century plus or minus forty years - are common ones⁵, and the furniture that Bamford writes about in his articles was all made during this period, most of it generally dating from the second half of the eighteenth century. There is no particular pattern to his articles and they were all written in the context of a complete lack of background information. It was this void that the *Dictionary* attempted to fill.

The *Dictionary's* value as an inspiration and initial reference point is incalculable, but Bamford was rather too keen to ascribe items of furniture to specific Scottish makers on the slenderest of grounds. Given the extreme dearth of documented Scottish furniture from the period in which he was interested, this desire for a concrete reward for all his research is very easy to sympathize with, as I am only too aware⁶.

The continual theme of all Bamford's work is the appalling lack of knowledge, even in enlightened circles, about Scottish furniture and Scottish cabinet makers. Thus he writes of his enquiries in 1935, when he was researching a book with Sacheverel Sitwell simply entitled *Edinburgh*;

Whether I put the question to the curators of museums, to the more knowledgeable among the city's professional antiquarians or to such of the amateur *cognoscenti* as were then among my acquaintance, the replies I received were depressingly similar. I was told that the men I sought had never existed: most of the furniture for the New Town had been bought in

⁴F Bamford 'Two Scottish Wrights at Dumfries House' *Furniture History* 1973 p80.

⁵For instance, Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects* uses the same dates, as does the *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers*.

⁶The *Dictionary* was edited posthumously, in the midst of considerable difficulties, and allowances must be made accordingly where there are mistakes in transcriptions and references.

London, though some, it was grudgingly admitted, might have been purchased in Glasgow⁷.

This situation had been fostered by the unblinking acceptance of the majority of the few Scottish historians who expressed an opinion, that no furniture of any distinction had been made in Scotland during the eighteenth century⁸. Bamford continues:

No single one of my informants was prepared to consider the possibility of there having been tradesmen in Edinburgh during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries capable of producing fine furniture⁹.

This meant that Marjorie Plant was able to state, as recently as 1952, in her otherwise excellent social study *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, that

those who wanted the new mahogany furniture and could afford it, had to order it from London; the Edinburgh furnishing business was in too poor a way to deal in it¹⁰.

Bamford's delight in proving this wrong is evident in all his writing, ranging from the Archimedean:

Ichabod! ... much of the glory may have departed but Sir James Clerk's furniture survives¹¹.

to the more considered:

although the Scottish cabinet-makers were slow at first to grasp the opportunities offered to them by the resurgence of design and craftsmanship that followed the Restoration of Charles II, the early eighteenth century witnessed the establishment in Scotland, and especially in Edinburgh, of a tradition of furniture-making that exacted from its practitioners an individuality of design and an attention to detail which were wholly

⁷*BOEC op. cit.* p32-3

⁸The word purchased seems to imply that it had merely been imported.

⁹*BOEC op. cit.* p33.

¹⁰Marjorie Plant *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* 1952 p38.

¹¹F Bamford 'Plenishings at Penicuik House' *Country Life* 7th August 1975 p332.

admirable and were to survive until, between 1830 and 1840, they were submerged in the encircling gloom of the Victorian age¹².

Margaret Swain was able to capitalise on Bamford's work, and confirm that his faith in the ability of the eighteenth century Edinburgh cabinet makers was well founded, when she discovered that much of the Queen's furniture at Holyroodhouse had been made by the Edinburgh firm of Young, Trotter and Hamilton¹³. Since then David Learmont, Ian Gow, Celine Blair and David Jones¹⁴ have all written about fine furniture made in Scotland. Jones's exhibition catalogue *Looking at Scottish Furniture*¹⁵ being of particular significance as it accompanied the groundbreaking exhibition of fully documented Scottish furniture held at the Crawford Centre, St. Andrews and the Collins Gallery, Glasgow in 1987. This exhibition included furniture made in or around Edinburgh during the eighteenth century, but as the Introduction states:

the primary purpose of this anthology is to bring to light the work of numerous Scottish furniture makers outside Edinburgh and to explore the boundaries of a subject that is remarkable in its diversity.

There were two pieces in the exhibition made in the second half of the eighteenth century by George Sandeman of Perth¹⁶, a cabinet maker of considerable distinction who was first written about by Anthony Coleridge in 1960¹⁷. Over the following five years Coleridge wrote a series of ten pioneering articles based on the furniture collections of three great Scottish houses - Hopetoun, Blair and Inveraray¹⁸ - which

¹²'Two Scottish Wrights at Dumfries House' *op. cit.* p87. This quotation gives another clue to the reasons for Bamford's cut off date of 1840; he was not without prejudice.

¹³M Swain 'Furniture for the French Princes at Holyroodhouse' *Connoisseur* January 1978 pp27-35.

¹⁴See Bibliography.

¹⁵D Jones *Looking at Scottish Furniture: A Documented Anthology 1570-1900* Crawford Centre 1987.

¹⁶*ibid.* Cat. no. 10 Medal Cabinet. Cat. no. 11 Dining Chair.

¹⁷A Coleridge 'George Sandeman of Perth: Cabinet-maker' *Connoisseur* March 1960 pp96-101.

¹⁸see Bibliography.

were part of the fruit of the research for his then definitive book *Chippendale Furniture: The Work of Thomas Chippendale and his Contemporaries in the Rococo Style*. Of all these articles only one was devoted to a Scottish cabinet maker, namely George Sandeman, and in the others the only mention of a piece of furniture made in Scotland is a tea table apparently made by John Schaw of Edinburgh in 1753¹⁹.

Coleridge comments on the Duke of Atholl's patronage of London cabinet makers 'in spite of the appalling difficulties of transportation that had to be overcome in order to deliver the furniture to the Highlands'²⁰. Nevertheless he does not seem to consider the lack of evidence for Scottish, or specifically Edinburgh, cabinet makers working at these great houses odd. Coleridge's treatment of the collection at Hopetoun House is a fine example of the historic prejudice which assumes that quality furniture must have come from London. This commission will be discussed in detail elsewhere²¹, but suffice to say that all of the seat furniture at Hopetoun, as well as many other pieces, was either made in Edinburgh or by the estate wright. It was not all sent from London as is suggested, and particularly implied when he comments on James Cullen, the coordinating upholsterer:

It is interesting that [he] should have travelled to Scotland to see the rooms in which his pier glasses and tables were to be placed²².

This statement fails to acknowledge the possibility that Cullen could have been based in Edinburgh, as in fact was the case. Thus Coleridge falls into the classic trap, which he actually stated himself in the introductory paragraph of his article about Sandeman, whereby it

¹⁹A Coleridge 'John Hodson and some Cabinet-makers at Blair Castle' *Connoisseur* April 1963 p229 ill. 16.

²⁰A Coleridge 'William Masters and some early 18th century furniture at Blair Castle' *Connoisseur* October 1963 p77.

²¹See Chapter IV.

²²A Coleridge 'James Cullen , cabinet maker, at Hopetoun House I' *Connoisseur* November 1966 p154.

is often tempting, when examining a piece of eighteenth century furniture, to ascribe an article of high quality and workmanship to a London cabinet maker, and to decry anything of coarser workmanship as being 'provincial' ²³.

Sandeman made furniture for the Duke of Atholl of broomwood, essentially a shrub whose diminutive size means that when its wood is used as a veneer it can only be applied in narrow fillets. Coleridge ends this article on a note of either surprise or admiration (or perhaps both):

Whatever motives may have led to this choice of wood, the fact remains that a cabinet maker flourished in Scotland during the latter half of the eighteenth century who had the inherent skill successfully to combine what appears to be a most difficult and unrewarding medium with the highest craftsmanship of that exacting age; producing at the same time furniture which, if of a bizarre nature, yet had great taste, beauty and good proportions ²⁴.

Only two years later John Fleming, published the exemplary *Robert Adam and his Circle*, which paved the way for the rehabilitation of William Adam. In a passage relating to the redecoration of the Duke of Hamilton's apartments at Holyroodhouse by Adam, he quotes liberally from a letter written by that architect to his client:

The craftsmen Adam had in mind were a Mr and Mrs Shaw whom he described as 'the most employed upholsterers in Edinburgh' and a Mr Broddie, the leading cabinet maker ... 'he's the best man in town and I doubt if anyone else would please'. From the Shaws he ordered a magnificent state bed and from Broddie a suite of upholstered chairs, settees, tables and mirrors to replace the existing furniture which, he informed the Duke, 'it is certain ... will not look well'.

Fleming continues:

the duke and duchess on their first visit to the newly decorated apartment ... seem to have been delighted with the transformation effected ²⁵.

²³George Sandeman of Perth: Cabinet-maker' *op. cit.* p96.

²⁴*ibid.* p101.

²⁵J Fleming *Robert Adam and his Circle* London 1962 pp59-60

'Mr Shaw' is the same John Schaw, mentioned in passing by Coleridge in 1963 as being unrecorded, who made the tea table for Blair Castle²⁶. As has been mentioned Coleridge finds nothing odd about the fact that Schaw seems to be the only manufacturer from Edinburgh who supplies anything to Blair, but evidence of the firm's work at the castle appears again in 1974 in a short article by Bamford. In this article Bamford himself mistakenly assumes that the Schaws were simply importing furniture from London, although in coming to this conclusion he was obviously going against both his instinct and his better judgement. He writes inimitably of his discovery of the account of the bed:

At once I knew a flicker of excitement. Was I at last about to discover a piece of furniture made by John Schaw of Edinburgh, the man whose products had eluded me for so long? ... I ran my quarry to earth in one of his Grace's private apartments. It is a splendid bed; but, though I have no doubt it is the bed supplied by Schaw, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that it is not of Scottish manufacture ²⁷.

Unfortunately he had evidently not seen Coleridge's article, and he uncharacteristically decides, without any particularly conclusive evidence either way, that

the Schaws were upholsterers who would, to meet their customers' requirements, import furniture from London ²⁸.

It now seems most likely, and no doubt Francis Bamford would be delighted to know, that the Schaws did in fact have a cabinet workshop in Edinburgh²⁹.

Let us now briefly consider the other tradesman supplying furnishings for the Holyrood apartments of the Duke of Hamilton. 'Mr Broddie' is Francis Brodie who,

²⁶Coleridge *'William Masters &c ... at Blair Castle' op. cit.* p80.

²⁷F Bamford 'The Schaws of Edinburgh and a Bed at Blair Castle' *Furniture History* 1974 p15.

²⁸*ibid.*

²⁹See Chapter III.

by dint of being the father of William (Deacon) Brodie, is actually recorded in many histories of Edinburgh as a successful cabinet maker³⁰. That he was successful, and accomplished, is now beyond doubt³¹ but is also clear from the Hamilton's satisfaction with his work.

However, despite the recurring mention of both Francis and William Brodie as cabinet makers whenever the story of Deacon Brodie is told, the existence of a quality furniture trade in Edinburgh, or Scotland, during the eighteenth century has still historically always been ignored or denied. In 1978 Margaret Swain wrote of Holyroodhouse that by 1860 'the French princes and the furnishings obtained for them were almost forgotten'³². She might almost have said that the whole furniture trade had been forgotten. In the light of comments such as those contained in the following passage, this might be seen to be for the best.

If we may judge from some pieces of old furniture the cabinet makers of old were as fond of the Gothic and cumbrous as the masons themselves. But though they were employed by persons of rank and fortune, the bulk of our Country gentlemen were very easily pleased in that article ... their chairs tables and bedsteads being commonly wainscot or plane-tree, more remarkable for strength than elegance. Indeed they seldom thought of going further than some wright in the next town ... And therefore whoever wanted silk or damask furniture of the newest fashion, or mahogany chairs, tables, and cabinet work, found it expedient to commission them from London. But so soon as demand for genteel furniture increased, upholsterer shops were set up by people regularly bred in London³³.

This is taken from the diaries of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, which were written during the last quarter of the eighteenth century but not published until 1888, and shows that contemporary accounts, though obviously of great interest and value, may be misleading. Ramsay's impressions were recycled by Henry Grey Graham in

³⁰See Conclusion.

³¹See Chapter IV.

³²'*Furniture for the French Princes at Holyroodhouse*' *op. cit.* p35.

³³A Allardyce ed. *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century from the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre* 1888 Vol. II p98.

1899³⁴ and his diaries have clearly always been a vital source for many Scottish historians. This idea that Edinburgh was bereft of fine furniture makers until London manufacturers set up shop there was still being repeated as recently as 1985³⁵. The craft of upholstery, which was an integral part of the furniture trade by the beginning of the eighteenth century, received similarly short shrift from Ramsay. He maintained that

bed and window curtains were composed of stuffs manufactured at home and made up by the ladies of the family, assisted perhaps by a tailor. Half a century ago, the upholsterer business was in very low repute in Edinburgh³⁶.

Despite this apparent continual misrepresentation of the abilities of Scottish cabinet makers and upholsterers, social and economic historians have frequently, if erratically and perhaps unwittingly, born witness to the skills available in Scotland. Thus Lythe and Butt in 1975 do allow that

the quality of Scottish craftsmen is never doubted when country houses, churches and grandfather clocks are discussed³⁷.

This book, *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939*, has no direct references to an eighteenth century furniture trade in Edinburgh or Scotland, and this lack of consideration by economic historians is typical. However, brevity need not always imply ignorance. The account given by Hugo Arnot in his definitive *History of Edinburgh*, first published in 1788, is succinct, but evidently accurate.

It is needless to remark, that, in a city such as Edinburgh, cabinet and upholstery work must be made³⁸.

³⁴H Grey Graham *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* London 1899 II vols. 1928 ed. p57.

³⁵By, for instance, R & I Campbell *Scotland since 1707; The Rise of an Industrial Society* Edinburgh 1985 p16.

³⁶Ramsay also introduces 'John Howden, the famous fanatic, was the first excellent tradesman in that way [upholstery] in Scotland' *Scotland and Scotsmen op. cit.* II p98. Howden is otherwise completely unknown, but WH Marwick thought fit to repeat this legend in his *Scotland in Modern Times* 1964 p21.

³⁷S Lythe and J Butt *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939* Glasgow 1975 p177.

³⁸Hugo Arnot *The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the year 1780* 1788 p466.

Although one might have hoped for more from such a comprehensive, and contemporary, volume it is undoubtedly perfectly sensible and does leave the door open for future historians. Thus in 1911 Scott-Moncrieff is able to comment in the Introduction to the accounts of Lady Grisell Baillie that,

the decoration of rooms with mirrors was evidently much in fashion, and there seems to have been tradesmen in Edinburgh capable of making these³⁹.

John Warrack, in his lively and very rational account of *Domestic Life in Scotland 1488 - 1688*, has obviously considered the nature of the furnishings of the land. Although writing in an apparently unprejudiced way about them, he still denies the possibility of Scottish involvement in the finer aspects, but is very perceptive when he writes that

Another influence which must be taken into account as contributing to progress in house furnishing was the increasing familiarity with English standards of comfort and elegance.

As might be expected, he continues by stating that it 'had become customary for the well to do to send to London for their furniture'⁴⁰. No doubt this was partly correct⁴¹, but it need not discount the possibility that Scottish furniture makers may have been improving and expanding their craft in order to serve these new needs.

Furniture historians, as discussed earlier, have often fared little better, but ironically the *Dictionary of English Furniture*, first published between 1924 and 1927, provides what must be the first concrete reference by name to an eighteenth century Edinburgh cabinet maker. The entry for 'tea table' cites the example of Sir John Hall of Dunglass, who in 1759 bought from Young and Trotter

³⁹R Scott-Moncrieff ed. *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie 1692 -1733* Scottish History Society Edinburgh 1911 Introduction plxv.

⁴⁰J Warrack *Domestic Life in Scotland 1488-1688* London 1920 pp146-7 (see also p10).

⁴¹Smout states that at the end of the seventeenth century 'there was also a flourishing trade in pictures ... and in furniture (especially cane chairs, but including at least one billiard table)'. These were all logged in the Customs books at Leith, coming from London. The billiard table is a good example of new fashions coming north. T. C. Smout *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union 1660-1707* 1963 p200.

a fine Jama Mahogany Tea Table with Scoloped Corners 39 by 30 on top Pillar and Claw feet with castors £ 1 15 sh ⁴².

Without realizing that Young and Trotter are from Edinburgh an account of their work is thus accepted as a perfectly valid example of fashionable good quality English furniture. A further example of a perfectly sound positive value judgement being made, without being aware that the furniture is from Edinburgh, is given in David Learmont's guide to Culzean Castle, a property of the National Trust for Scotland. When talking about a set of eight chairs now in the old Eating Room it is proudly stated that the 'armchairs, in simulated bamboo, are of particularly fine quality'⁴³. They were in fact supplied, suitably enough, by Young and Trotter⁴⁴ (fig. 65).

An example of a consciously enlightened attitude to the possibility of furniture of quality being made in Scotland can be found, characteristically, in the account of the eighteenth century transformation of the castle and town of Inveraray written by Ian Lindsay and Mary Cosh⁴⁵. This was published in 1973 and is admirably even handed and thorough. They relate how much of the furniture for both state and private apartments was made by wrights on the spot, or from Glasgow or Edinburgh. Some of this was certainly copying London patterns and, unbeknown to Lindsay and Cosh, was complemented by a substantial commission from the London firm of Linnell. They write of the completed interior:

One important *suite de salon* ... of giltwood and covered in tapestry, was evidently made by the Traills [of Edinburgh] for it was gilded by Dupasquier [also working in Edinburgh] in

⁴²P MacQuoid and R Edwards *The Dictionary of English Furniture* (first published 1924-27, revised by Edwards 1954) reprinted in 3 vols 1985 III p207.

⁴³D Learmont and G Riddle *Culzean Castle and Country Park* National Trust for Scotland Guidebook 1988 p10.

⁴⁴See Chapter V.

⁴⁵I Lindsay and M Cosh *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* Edinburgh 1973.

1782 ... Whatever their origin, the splendidly carved, upholstered and gilded suites completed the effect of the castle's richly painted tapestry-hung and glittering interior⁴⁶.

It was only two years after the publication of this book that Helena Hayward was able to show that John Linnell had made the finest suites at Inveraray⁴⁷. She comments in relation to the Traill suite:

To save transport costs, the Duke evidently also ordered seat furniture in Edinburgh based upon examples purchased from Linnell. In 1782 a large suite of carved and gilt seat furniture ... was acquired locally ... On both the *bergeres* and the armchairs the arms are carved ... in a characteristic Linnell manner. But the execution is somewhat coarse in comparison with London workmanship and the design lacks finesse⁴⁸.

The criticism is completely fair, and only to be expected as Hayward is a specialist furniture historian whereas Lindsay and Cosh are architectural historians, but the point is that the furniture from Edinburgh is happily accepted as living comfortably with the London furniture.

That this furniture was acceptable to the Duke of Argyll is evident by its constant use, continued today, and that the general ensemble pleased his guests and visitors is recorded in several contemporary accounts. The most lavish praise came from the poet James Maxwell, who visited Inveraray in 1777 and was moved to write in pendulous verse

But to describe the furniture, so grand
I must confess is far above my hand.
The organs, instruments, and golden chairs,
Can never fully be describ'd to ears ...⁴⁹

Obviously these lines, penned to gain the Duke's favour, cannot be relied upon fully but they do give the flavour of a contemporary impression.

⁴⁶*ibid.* p219.

⁴⁷H. Hayward 'Ordered from Berkeley Square: Inveraray and the Furniture of John Linnell' *Country Life* 5th June 1975.

⁴⁸H Hayward and P Kirkham *William and John Linnell* London 1980 p127.

⁴⁹*Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll op. cit.* p207.

The real breakthrough for studies of fine Scottish furniture came in 1969 when Christopher Gilbert published his account of the furnishing of Dumfries House, Ayrshire, which illustrated many documented pieces made in Edinburgh to complement those items supplied by Thomas Chippendale. He concludes this paper by stating that

the subject of furniture makers in Edinburgh has received less attention than it deserves for this city was undoubtedly the nerve-centre of the trade in Scotland⁵⁰.

Hopefully this thesis, following on from the groundbreaking work of Francis Bamford, redresses that balance.

⁵⁰C Gilbert 'Thomas Chippendale at Dumfries House' *Burlington* November 1969 pp663-677.

SOURCES

It has been my intention to establish the status and breadth of the furniture trade in Edinburgh using primary documentary sources: that has essentially meant accounts, letters, law suits, wills and newspaper notices. The nature of Edinburgh, as much as the sources, means that this is definitely a study of what would be considered today as fine or genteel furniture. However, this is perhaps more a reflection of the status of 'antique' furniture in our society than a true representation of the scope of the Edinburgh trade, which was required to provide for all classes. This furniture is nevertheless in no sense vernacular, unless the occasional use of native timbers is considered to qualify it.

I have surveyed virtually every collection of what might be termed 'family' papers in Scotland for which an index is publically available, and followed up all explicit, and many not-so-explicit references¹. I would hope that from that angle at least this can be considered (given its breadth) an exhaustive study. The concentration on these sources was inspired by the faith that where accounts were forthcoming, in some instances furniture might have survived to which they could be tied. From thence a stylistic study and analysis could begin. Regrettably, from that point of view I have been broadly unsuccessful. This can be put down to serendipity (or lack of it), in that all too frequently if accounts existed the family furniture had been dispersed and could not confidently be traced, or *vice versa*. Some furniture was identified (see illustrations), but not on the scale which might have been anticipated. I have travelled to and photographed many collections, but resisted the urge to illustrate pieces which I cannot document directly. To have done this would have belittled the importance I have placed on documentary sources, and distracted from their ability to stand on their own as historic documents of great interest. The

¹Those collections which I found rewarding are listed below.

balance has therefore shifted significantly during the course of my researches from the aesthetic to the economic.

It would be hard to over emphasise the importance of notices placed in the Edinburgh newspapers during this period, and also of information contained in the records of the Sherriff Court and the Court of Sessions. These latter papers still have much to disclose, but are haphazardly catalogued; that is both a promise and a warning for future researchers.

NOTE ON REFERENCES

Abbreviations are used throughout the text to refer to manuscript collections held by various institutions. The locations of these collections and institutions are listed below. The following abbreviations are also used:

DEFM G Beard and C G Gilbert eds. *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers*
 Furniture History Society 1986

Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights F Bamford 'Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights and
 Furniture Makers' *Furniture History* XIX 1983

EEC *Edinburgh Evening Courant*

ECh *Edinburgh Chronicle*

CM *Caledonian Mercury*

EA *Edinburgh Advertiser*

See APPENDIX II for information relating to newspaper holdings.

References beginning with the letters *GD* , *RH* , *RD* or *CC* are held by the Scottish Record Office (occasionally referred in the text as *SRO*) at General Register House.

References beginning with the letters *CS* (Court of Session) or *SC* (Sherriff Court) , are held by the Scottish Record Office at West Register House.

NRA(S) refers to the National Register of Archives (Survey). This is based at West Register House and holds hand lists and detailed indexes of manuscript collections still in private hands.

NLS is the National Library of Scotland, and references will be followed by the manuscript no *MS* , or the Accession no *Acc* .

AU MS refers to Aberdeen University manuscript no.

In particular, the following collections have been consulted:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Assembly Rooms GD1/377 | Drumlanrig MSS NRA(S)1275 |
| Trinity House MSS GD226 | Gordon of Cairnfield MSS
NRA(S)2940 |
| Abercairny MSS GD24 | Hamilton MSS NRA(S)2177 |
| Ailsa MSS GD25 | Hay of Duns MSS NRA(S)2720 |
| Balfour of Balbirnie MSS GD288 | Hirsel MSS NRA(S)859 |
| Bertram of Nisbet MSS GD5 | Hog of Newliston MSS NRA(S)1141 |
| Breadalbane MSS GD112 | Hopetoun MSS NRA(S)888 |
| Buccleuch MSS GD224 | Kelburn MSS NRA(S)94 |
| Campbell of Barcaldine MSS GD170 | Kinloch of Gilmerton MSS
NRA(S)2595 |
| Clerk of Penicuik MSS GD18 | Lauderdale MSS NRA(S)832 |
| Cromartie MSS GD305 | Macpherson Grant of Ballindalloch
MSS NRA(S)771 |
| Dalhousie MSS GD45 | Moray MSS NRA(S)217 |
| Dunglass MSS GD206 | Newton Castle MSS NRA(S)2614 |
| Forbes of Callendar MSS GD171 | Roxburgh MSS NRA(S)1100 |
| Gordon MSS GD44 | Scott of Gala MSS NRA(S)2838 |
| Grant of Monymusk MSS GD345 | Shaw Stewart of Ardgowan MSS
NRA(S)2631 |
| Hamilton-Bruce MSS GD152 | Stirling of Garden MSS NRA(S)2363 |
| Innes of Stow MSS GD113 | Strathmore MSS NRA(S)885 |
| Maclaine of Lochbuie MSS GD174 | |
| Montrose MSS GD220 | |
| Morton MSS GD150 | |
| Nisbet Hamilton MSS GD205 | Crawford MSS NLS |
| Stair MSS GD135 | Newhailes MSS NLS |
| | Saltoun MSS NLS |
| Annandale MSS NRA(S)2171 | Tweeddale MSS NLS |
| Ardwall MSS NRA(S)231 | |
| Arniston MSS NRA(S)3246 | Duff House MSS AU |
| Brodie of Brodie MSS NRA(S)770 | Forbes of Seton MSS AU |
| Broun Lindsay of Colstoun MSS
NRA(S)2383 | Gordon of Buthlaw
and Cairness MSS AU |
| Burnett of Kemnay MSS NRA(S)1368 | Kintore MSS AU |
| Bute MSS NRA(S)631 | Lady Lumley Smith MSS AU |
| Callander of Prestonhall MSS
NRA(S)2953 | |
| Cawdor MSS NRA(S)1400 | |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

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6. *Mahogany dining chair; one of a set of 24*. Alexander Peter for the Earl of Dumfries, 1759. 'Mahogy dining room chairs wt carving on ye front & feet buff'd over seats osenburgh covers 30/ ea.'; NRA(S)631/A720/22. Dumfries House.
7. *Mahogany dining table; one of a pair (detail)*. Alexander Peter for the Earl of Dumfries, 1759. 'To making a pair large sqr Mahogany dining tables ... wt a fret cut £20 5/'; NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.
8. *Mahogany sideboard table; one of a pair*. Alexander Peter for the Earl of Dumfries, 1759. 'a Mahogy side board table for ye dining room ... cut wt fret work on ye feet & rails £7'; NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.
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11. *Gilded picture frame; built into panelling*. William Mathie for the Earl of Dumfries, 1760. 'Frame wt rich Ornaments in Burnisht Gold for a Large Picture in the East End of the Dining Room £12'; NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.

* Photographs are all by the author, unless stated otherwise.

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13. *Design for a sofa for Robert Dundas*. Robert Adam, 1770. Soane Collection Vol 17 No77.
14. *Gilded overmantle*. William Strachan for the Earl of Hopetoun, 1742. 'Chimneypiece frame with a Compartment 2 Vauzes and two Cartouches ditto £8'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Hopetoun House.
- 15a. *Gilded pier glass*. William Strachan, 1742. 'Sconce frame - with a Large Pediment and bottom with a rich fret work in the flatt and muidings all Carv'd and Guilt in Burnish'd Gold £9'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Hopetoun House.
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- 18b. *Mahogany carver; from a set of four*. Edinburgh Upholstery Company for the Earl of Hopetoun, 1757. '4 Elbow ditto @35/'; *en suite* with fig. 18a. Hopetoun House.
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31. *Billhead* used by Francis Brodie from 1742 to 1758. National Museums of Scotland.
32. *Billhead* used by John and Robert Hodson, between 1730 and 1786. SRO.
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- 37b. *Notice* in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 7th February 1753. National Libraries of Scotland.
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- 39a. *Billhead* used by William Reoch, 1752. GD202/44/5/2. SRO.
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- 40a. *Gilded eagle table*. Francis Brodie for the Duke of Gordon, 1739. 'To a marble table Supported by ane Eagle guilt in Burnisht gold £16'; GD44/51/465/1/34. Holyroodhouse (formerly in the apartments of Lord Adam Gordon). David Jones, University of St Andrews.
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- 42a. *Mahogany lady's closet*. Francis Brodie for the Earl of Dumfries, 1753. NRA(S)631/A666.
- 42b. *Interior* of ditto.
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52. *Painted 'drapery back' chair; one of a pair*. Attributed to Young, Trotter and Hamilton, 1793. National Trust for Scotland, Culzean Castle.
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58. *Mahogany wardrobe*. Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. 'mahogany wardrobe containing 3 long drawers and 4 sliding Trays 3ft 10Inches long'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.
59. *Mahogany hall chair; one of a set of six*. Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. '6 Mahogany Hall chairs with oval backs and seats @35/6'; an extra 8/ 6d was charged for the 'Crest and motto'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.
60. *Mahogany pembroke table*. Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. 'mahogany Octagon Pembroke table ornamented with crossbanding and stringing 3 Cannisters in drawer £3 3/'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.
61. *Mahogany bureau*. Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. 'Mahogany Bureau with a prospect door good locks and mounting 4ft long £9 18/'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.
62. *Billhead used by Young & Trotter, 1747*. GD25/9/18/23. SRO.
63. *Notice in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, 22nd March 1750*. National Libraries of Scotland.

64. *Portrait of Thomas Trotter*. William Miller, circa 1780. Whereabouts unknown (record at National Portrait Gallery).
65. *Painted bamboo armchair; one of a set of eight*. Young, Trotter and Hamilton for the Earl of Cassillis, 1793. '8 Bamboo Elbow Rush Bottom'd chairs neatly painted @ 20/ 6d'; GD25/9/10/5. National Trust for Scotland, Culzean Castle.
- 66a. *Cockpen wing chair*. Circa 1775. Lawrence Black.
- 66b. *Ditto*
67. *Painted bergere chair*. Circa 1780, the canvas backing is stamped Young and Trotter. Sotheby's Catalogue 12th July 1991.
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- 76a. *Gilded pier glass; one of a dissimilar pair*. John Thomson for Sir John Clerk, 1769. 'To a Carved Peir frame for Drawing Room £18 9/ 10d ... To Gilding Ditto £7' and a further £5 for border glasses and silvering the principal plate; GD18/1837/5. Penicuik House.
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- 77a. *Gilded picture frame; one of several which survive en suite*. Attributed to John Thomson, who was paid £144 by Sir John Clerk 'for Carving picture frames and Gilding in Dining Room' in 1773; GD18/1758a. Penicuik House.

77b. *Ditto*

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NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.

I

INTRODUCTION

Europe is full of beautiful cities. Edinburgh is one of the most beautiful of all. It owes its singular character to the late and sudden flowering of Scottish culture, when, as Balfour put it, a country 'which had done nothing up to the eighteenth century, after the eighteenth century began seemed almost to do everything'; Edinburgh is the visible expression of this history. With the Enlightenment a new town arose, suitable to the enlarged ideas of the age, separated from the Old Town ... only by a little valley¹.

Thus wrote the historian of Edinburgh's New Town, and although Balfour should be chided for his shameful disregard of Scotland's earlier achievements, his desire to give full emphasis to the extraordinary contribution of Edinburgh and Scotland to the Enlightenment is understandable. This thesis addresses the trade which accommodated the people of Edinburgh and Scotland in the manner which they felt they deserved, and could increasingly afford.

One factor inextricably linked with the development of Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century is the rapid and unprecedented rise in population which was affecting all Scottish towns. In the second half of the century, after a steady but not spectacular climb, the population rose from 57,000 to 82,000; by 1821 a further 56,000 had been added². This demographic 'revolution' was accompanied by a sweeping desire for progress, expressed in manifesto form by Edinburgh's Lord Provost, George Drummond, in his *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* of 1752.

At no period surely did there ever appear a more general or a better directed zeal for the improvement and prosperity of this country. Persons of every rank and denomination seem at length to be actuated by a truly public and national spirit ... The Union of the two

¹AJ Youngson *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1966 p v.

²This population growth is discussed at greater length by Christopher Smout *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* London 1972 pp240-247.

kingdoms [in 1707], an event equally beneficial to both nations, is the great aera from which we may justly date the revival of that spirit and activity which the union of the crowns had well nigh suppressed ... In some parts of the country, indeed, both trade and manufactures were, from about that time, very markedly increased; yet in EDINBURGH and the neighbourhood of it, there was still a total stagnation. But since the year 1746, when the rebellion was suppressed, a most surprising revolution has happened in the affairs of this country ... Husbandry, manufactures, general commerce, and the increase of useful people, are become the objects of universal attention³.

This belies the prior existence of a relatively robust furniture trade, poised to take advantage of the mood for improvement. The trade had grown up around the Royal court established in the Canongate after the Restoration, which was to leave for London with the Union of Parliaments. It continued to grow steadily, servicing the newly built housing of the growing and more discerning population, not only in the city but also on the green fields to the south, until the creation of the New Town gave it an added market and renewed vigour.

Arnot, more interesting now for his insights into life in late eighteenth century Edinburgh than for his historical work, was able to record, almost as he went to press, the building

in 1786 [of] a Bridge to the south, over the Cowgate ... the areas for shops and houses on the east and the west side of it, sold higher than perhaps ever was known in any city, even than in Rome, in the most flourishing times of the republic or the empire⁴.

Arnot vividly illustrates the changes Edinburgh witnessed in the second half of the eighteenth century. He tells us that in 1786 'the valued rents of houses ... are more than double what they were in 1763' at which time a stage went to London about once every three weeks, whereas by 1783 fifteen coaches went every week (and the journey

³Quoted by *Youngson ibid.* pp7-8.

⁴Hugo Arnot *The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the year 1780 1788* pp653-4.

took only about four days)⁵. It is hardly surprising that London was increasingly to become the yardstick to which society in Edinburgh compared itself.

Generated wealth, and by inference the standard of living, was generally able to keep track with this extraordinary change. As lawyers and gentry moved to new, elegant and commodious houses so they vacated their old ones for a lower class to move into. Again Arnot records that in the 1780s

a private gentleman of moderate fortune is accommodated with much more commodious, elegant and even rich furniture ... than could have been enjoyed by a Lord of the sixteenth century⁶.

He quotes from a letter in the Edinburgh press of the day decrying the money being spent on new building, accompanying it with the explanation that ‘in 1763 People of quality and fashion lived in houses, which in 1783, are inhabited by tradesmen, and people in humble and ordinary life’⁷. As early as 1708 a wright was Deacon Convener of the Trades, with a place on the Town Council, and there were no less than five Deacon Conveners taken from the Incorporation of Wrights in the final quarter of the century⁸. They had to wait until 1825, however, for a Lord Provost⁹.

This increase in the status of wrights was accompanied by, and no doubt related to, the huge growth in their trade, reflected not only by the demand for premises on the South Bridge, but also by the huge increase in the numbers of competitive notices placed in the Edinburgh newspapers. Charles Henry Core of the China, Glass and Wedgwood’s Stoneware House, confesses, somewhat self-consciously, that ‘however unwilling to obtrude himself to public notice by advertisements in the newspapers,

⁵*ibid.* p654. By 1786 it was possible to reach London in less than three days.

⁶*ibid.* p63.

⁷*ibid.* p653.

⁸See Chapter II: Political Involvement, and APPENDIX III, the list of Deacons.

⁹William Trotter.

[he] feels himself impelled by sentiments of gratitude ...' to do so¹⁰. If, as Christopher Gilbert has observed, 'fashionable London cabinet makers disdained the use of labels or newspaper advertisements to stimulate trade'¹¹, cabinet makers and upholsterers in Edinburgh felt no such compunction, and flooded the papers with claims of excellence and economy.

This thesis is intended to hang flesh on the bones of Francis Bamford's *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights*, rather than to be a counterpart to Pat Kirkham's study of the London trade¹². Whereas in Glasgow 'no rich vein of documentation has revealed the existence of a dominant city manufacturer comparable with Trotter of Edinburgh, whose furniture and business activities can be traced back into the eighteenth century'¹³, in Edinburgh rich veins do exist. They have been used not only to illuminate the careers of individuals but also to explore the great range of services which these individuals offered. The editorial of the 1992 volume of *Regional Furniture* states that 'some work on Norwich, Chester, Doncaster, Lancaster and Glasgow is in print, but coverage is patchy'. That Edinburgh had such a clearly vibrant trade will hopefully be of encouragement to historians of all major British cities, even those that did not benefit from the privileges of a capital city, or bask in the reflected glow of the Enlightenment.

¹⁰EEC 18th February 1799.

¹¹C G Gilbert *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1979 p25.

¹²Beyond both being capitals, the two cities are hardly comparable. P Kirkham 'The London Furniture Trade 1700-1870' *Furniture History* XXIV 1988. See also Chapter VI: Introduction.

¹³C Blair and D Jones 'Furnishing the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow Style, 1809' *Regional Furniture* V 1991 p86.

II

THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE TRADE AND THE INCORPORATION OF MARY'S CHAPEL

No more interesting chapter in the history of Edinburgh could be written than that which would describe the gradual development of [the] crafts, notwithstanding the hostility they had to encounter from the mercantile classes, as that took form in the legislation of Parliaments and of the town council, ... and their struggles to participate in the management of the common affairs of the burgh¹.

Thus wrote Sir James Marwick in the latter years of the nineteenth century. This seems a fitting, if slightly hyperbolic, introduction to this chapter, which is a historical survey of the importance, relevance and administrative organization of the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons, or Mary's Chapel as it became known. This is the backcloth against which the furniture trade in Edinburgh operated, and the Incorporation controlled the lives of everyone working in that trade, until its authority was challenged at the the end of the eighteenth century.

All the Royal Burghs of Scotland were governed by councils nominated by the merchant guilds and craft incorporations. The legal constitutions and municipal and national powers of these bodies were in a constant state of flux, although the traditional picture of tradesmen attempting to usurp the authority of the merchants is not always correct. Any discussion of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel must begin with a brief description of the status of the craftsmen within the institution and also

¹J D Marwick *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts* Edinburgh 1909 p39. This volume, published by the Scottish Burgh Records Society, consists of extracts from the Town Council Records from the earliest times until the late nineteenth century. Marwick died before he completed it, as a result of which there is very little analysis, just linking narrative. It is, however, of inestimable value, containing direct transcriptions of virtually all the Acts ever passed by the Council relating to the Crafts.

against the broader sweep of the commercial life of the city itself. Without this understanding the implications of the often tortuous and repetitive legislation may not be apparent.

The first and most important distinction is that between freemen and unfreemen. Freedoms could be bestowed by the council, the Merchant Guild or the Trades. A freeman of the City is known as a Burgess (and may be a woman), but also needs to have the freedom of a craft in order to practise that craft. Thus in this context these two positions are almost entirely synonymous, the Trades being forbidden, with the threat of a substantial fine, from giving anyone who was not a burgess the freedom of a craft². The Council, however, had it in its power to give anyone the freedom of the city, generally as a way of honouring them, although a Burgess also had voting and property rights - as well as being liable for taxation. The massed ranks of Scottish gentry and the lawyers who worked in the national courts, for which Edinburgh was, and still is, famous did not pay local taxes.

Once a man was a burgess freeman of a craft he could employ other craftsmen, and sell his work within the city³. In other words he could set himself up as a Master. This is the crucial distinction between freeman and unfreeman; an unfreeman had to work for someone else. In the crafts unfreemen were either 'servants', who were untrained employees, or 'journeymen', who had considerable training and experience (and may also have served as apprentices). Of the freemen, one was either a Burgess or a Burgess and Guild Brother. Burgesses had to live within the limits of the town, a rule which the council continually enforced⁴. Guild brothers were originally, as their name implies, members of the merchant guild, or the Guildry. In order to buy and sell merchandise one had to be a guild brother. Before 1583 craftsmen were not

²*ibid.* p161.

³In 1646 burgesses were forbidden to sell their wares outside the Royalty. *ibid.* p170.

⁴See an act of 1673 *ibid.* p184.

allowed to do this, and in many cases had to sell their own wares through merchants. In this year the city gained a new constitution, or 'Set ' which allowed craftsmen to become guild brothers and gave them a much stronger voice on the town council. This new Set of the City, 'finallie, with common consent, appoyntit, agreit, and concludit'⁵ in 1583, was probably the most significant development in the history of the trades of Edinburgh, at one stroke massively raising the status and potential of the craftsmen of the city, both in commercial and political terms. The Guild did nevertheless specify for many years that tradesmen guild brothers ceased actively practising their craft, as it was deemed to be below the dignity of a guild brother to work, or be seen to work, manually⁶.

There were generally four ways of becoming a burgess or guild brother. One could be given these honours as a privilege, although the rights of a *gratis* Burgess varied continually, and were rarely the same as a normal Burgess. The others all involved money. The first of these, and most expensive, was to simply prove one's ability and then buy the privilege outright. The extent to which this was more expensive also varied, generally depending on the populous and economic state of the trades and the city, but it was always a very substantial amount; this will be discussed in more detail below.

The most common way, however, was to train as an apprentice and then purchase one's freedom. Then having worked for a specific amount of time, normally a couple of years, one could become a burgess. This was the most economic way of becoming a burgess, especially if one's father was a burgess. In this case the fees were often as little as a fifth of those of an apprentice whose father was not a burgess. Nevertheless

⁵Town Council Records *ibid.* p130.

⁶*Marwick op. cit.* p37. Craftsmen holding public office in the sixteenth century were also obliged to give up their craft. *ibid.* p128.

a man whose own father was not a burghess could marry the daughter of a burghess, provided she was a 'clean virgine swa repute and haldin'⁷, and gain his freedom by right of his father-in-law⁸. Becoming a burghess 'by right of' a father, or particularly father-in-law, was extremely common and thus encouraged continuity in the trade⁹. All children of burghesses could take up this right, but it was generally more expensive for younger sons or daughters¹⁰.

⁷C Smout *A History of the Scottish People* Glasgow 1969. 1972 edition p148.

⁸In 1759, however, two cases were brought to the town council of daughters of burghesses whose first husband did not take up their right, and whose second husband wished to; in this instance the law was changed to excuse the loss of their virginity. *Marwick op. cit.* p210.

⁹For instance, Matthew Sheriff, who does not appear to have served an apprenticeship in Edinburgh, married the daughter of Francis Brodie. He probably acquired the freedom to practise his trade in this way, and later bought the workshop and wareroom of his brother-in-law. See also Chapter VI: Relationships and Dynasties.

¹⁰One and a half times in the sixteenth century, for instance. *Marwick op. cit.* p142.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The position of women in this system must be accounted for as potentially they had considerable rights in their own name. That they were entitled to become burgesses in right of their father has already been stated; they could also become guild sisters¹. Their rights were, however, undoubtedly restricted compared to men, but it is extremely hard to state specifically how. Marriage, although beneficial from the husband's point of view, ironically reduced them even more. In the furniture trades there are many examples of women assisting their husbands by receipting accounts² and presumably therefore acting as book-keepers, and also often working in the capacity of shop manager³. They frequently continued the business after a husband had died until it could be passed on to a son-in-law, or sold, often to a previous employee or apprentice⁴. The number of women starting their own shops, however, is negligible, the best example being that of Sarah Dalrymple, again discussed below. As in that instance, the common practice seems to have been to grant temporary licences which allowed women to have shops, rather than admitting them as freemen. Even this privilege was severely restricted in 1717, after which time only the widows and daughters of burgesses and guild brothers were eligible for licences; women from outside the town were completely prevented from running their own businesses⁵. Those that did get licences paid half the current dues of children of burgesses, and these payments were allowed as part payments towards any future husband's

¹*Marwick op. cit.* p35.

²As, for instance, did James Russell's wife Elizabeth NLS MS14679/268; or NRA(S)2720/481; Robert Moubray's wife (also Elizabeth) GD45/18/1010; and the wives of both William and John Schaw (his son); respectively Janet NLS Acc7228/493 or GD18/1767/5/60; and Margaret GD220/6/900/29

³William Scott's wife managed his business while he was away on business GD205/36/6/28th September 1693; and Alexander Beverly's wareroom was supervised by his wife EA 31st March 1769.

⁴As the wives of James Caddell and Lewis Gordon did. CM 4th November 1769; EEC 26th March 1774. This is discussed by Rab Houston, who suggests that these widows were obliged to retain a male employee to manage things. 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland 1500-1800' RA Houston and ID Whyte eds. *Scottish Society 1500-1800* Cambridge 1989 p144.

⁵*ibid.* p198.

admission fees⁶. There are instances of women apparently running their own businesses, notably as auctioneers. Katherine Dalglish (although this was admittedly in partnership with her son)⁷, Mrs Gall⁸ and Mrs Bowie⁹ all worked extensively in this field towards the end of the century, as well as running large second hand warerooms¹⁰. Other than auctioneering examples include Mary Smith, who sold carpets and furniture in 1777¹¹, and Elizabeth Dawson, who seems to have been a trained carver. This is certainly a unique example, and is perhaps a reflection of the extent to which skilled carvers have always been valued¹².

Typically, however, the role of women seems to have been either that of worker¹³ or wife, especially if they were well connected. As Smout puts it, writing about merchants' wives:

widows, too, proved quite capable of carrying on their late husbands business until such time as they were snapped up by new husbands, who could enter the guild by marrying them¹⁴.

⁶*idem*.

⁷CM 18th June 1785.

⁸EEC 7th January 1797.

⁹NRA(S)1141/vol83.

¹⁰See Chapter VI: Second Hand Trade and Auctioneering.

¹¹To Alexander Burnett. NRA(S)1368/15.

¹²She carved architraves and a chimneypiece for Arniston in 1757. NRA(S)3246/vol63.

¹³For instance, James Liddle charged for a woman 'jobing' in 1786; GD150/3321/51. Also Robert Moubray charged for 'a woman for joyning ye Embroidery of ye Curtains' in 1710; this is perhaps a more predictable occupation; GD45/18/1010.

¹⁴Smout *op. cit.* p154.

THE INCORPORATION OF MARY'S CHAPEL

The Incorporation of Wrights and Masons had their first meeting at 'maries chaipill in nidries wynd' on the 25th November 1613¹, and acquired the building in 1618². From this time onwards the Incorporation took its name from the old chapel in which it met³. St Mary's Chapel had been founded in 1505 by the Countess of Ross⁴, and stood in Niddry's wynd on the north side of the Cowgate until its demolition to make way for the South Bridge in 1787⁵. The Incorporation then moved to a convening house in Bell's Wynd where it remained until the end of the nineteenth century⁶.

The only surviving image of Mary's Chapel is an engraving⁷ of a handsome classical facade apparently added in 1737 to the designs of John Yates, a wright (fig 2). He was paid three guineas for 'drawing the draught of the Chappel Gabel but also in overseeing the workmen'⁸. This gabled facade with its urn finials was framed by channelled pilaster quoin strips, and consisted of an elaborate Venetian window with Doric pilasters surmounting a rusticated tripartite doorway. It was at once sophisticated and naive, and gives a very clear impression not only of the Incorporation's aspirations, but also its abilities, and shortcomings. That it was one of only twenty one illustrations of 'Principal buildings within the City and Suburbs'

¹H Carr ed. *Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh, Mary's Chapel No. 1 1598-1738* London 1962 p69

²Hugo Arnot *The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Year 1780* 1816 ed. p. 189.

³Prior to this the Incorporation had met at St. Giles's, in the aisle and chapel of St. John the Evangelist. This was granted to them on the 15th October 1475 in the famous Seal of Cause - see below. This aisle is now known as the Chepman Aisle. *Marwick op. cit.* p48.

⁴*Arnot op. cit.* p189.

⁵J Gifford, C McWilliam and D Walker *Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1988 p66.

⁶J Reid *New Lights on Old Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1894 p177-8. This had been built in 1765 by James Ramsay, and was finally demolished in 1896. D Murray Lyon *The History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1.* Edinburgh 1900 p255.

⁷W Maitland *The History of Edinburgh from its Foundation to the Present Time* 1753 p167.

⁸C Peterson 'Robert Smith, Philadelphia Builder-Architect' *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* ed. R Sher and J Smitten 1990 p277.

of Edinburgh included in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* published in 1753⁹ must have been a source of great satisfaction to the Incorporation. In 1894 the Incorporation's later home was unfavourably compared to this one:

a much more famous edifice, on the east side of Niddry's Wynd ... In its day that building was the leading public hall in Edinburgh, and, among other important events, it witnessed in 1736 the inauguration of the Grand Lodge of Scotland ¹⁰.

The first official privileges had been granted to the United Incorporation of Wrights and Masons on the 15th October 1475 by an Act of Common Council passed by the Provost, Baillies, Dean of Guild, Treasurer, Council and Deacons of Crafts of the burgh of Edinburgh¹¹. This Seal of Cause, as it was known, also laid down the guidelines for the methods of apprenticeship and control of the craft. These stated that no apprentice should be taken for less than seven years; that all apprentice essays should be overseen by two members of the Incorporation; and that a successful apprentice should pay half a merk¹² to the altar of St. John before being made a freeman. The privileges of this Incorporation were extended to the Coopers by a Grant of 26th August 1489, and the whole was ratified by Andrew Foreman, Archbishop of St. Andrews, on 29th June 1517, and confirmed by a Charter of James V dated 12th January 1527¹³. On the 18th April 1633 the Magistrates of Edinburgh granted the Incorporation another Seal of Cause 'renewing and corroborating' these

⁹*op. cit.* Maitland Title page.

¹⁰*Reid op. cit.* p177. The inauguration was on the 30th November 1736 and may even have inspired the new facade, or *vice versa*. The Musical Society of Edinburgh also met there from 1728 until 1762. *D. Murray Lyon op. cit.* pp186 & 253.

¹¹The Seal of Cause mentioned above *Marwick op. cit.* p48. There is a transcription of it in a pamphlet in the NLS Acc 7332/Box1/5. This is dated 1787 and was presented to the Lords of Council and Session by the Deacons of the Incorporation to establish their historical right to prevent non-members from working within the Burgh. See below.

¹²Equivalent to 6 shillings 8 pence Scots. All currency referred to is Sterling (the official currency after 1707) unless otherwise specified.

¹³*Maitland op. cit.* p301. Most of this information is also contained in the above pamphlet.

privileges¹⁴ and extending them to the other crafts associated with the Incorporation. This was again confirmed by a Royal Charter, this time of Charles I, dated 8th August 1635 and sealed on the 8th March 1639, and further ratified by an Act of Parliament in 1641¹⁵.

Clearly, for an Act of Council to have been passed in 1475 the Trades must have had an element of organization before that date, and the Incorporation contented itself in 1787 by merely stating that

the United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel, consisting of Masons, Glaziers, Bowyers, Plumbers, Wrights, Painters, Slaters, Coopers, Upholsterers, and Sieviewrights, are of very ancient standing, and have immemorially been possessed of various privileges and immunities¹⁶.

This quotation also lists the further crafts associated with Mary's Chapel, although only the Masons and Wrights were represented by a Deacon. As an incorporation Mary's Chapel was unique in having two Deacons, and all the other crafts within the Incorporation were associated with either the Wrights or the Masons¹⁷. This meant that in theory their members could become Deacons, although this happened relatively infrequently¹⁸. Effectively the whole of the building trade was represented by Mary's Chapel, and as the wrights developed into furniture and cabinet makers they too remained within the Incorporation.

On admission to Mary's Chapel all 'Intrants' had to take the following oath:

¹⁴*op. cit.* NLS pamphlet.

¹⁵*ibid.* and Maitland.

¹⁶*ibid.* In 1633 they just said that 'the Incorporated Trades, have, in long time past all memorie, been ... erected in ane bodie'.

¹⁷*op. cit.* Maitland p301. The affiliations were as follows: to the Masons ... Bowyers, Glaziers, Plumbers and Upholsterers (which seems rather ironic); to the Wrights ... Coopers, Painters, Slaters and Sieviewrights. *The Laws of the United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1827 p4. This can be found in the Edinburgh Room of the City Library Reference YHD 6462 W95 G9368.

¹⁸The Boxmaster and Clerks of the Incorporation were fairly often from the other crafts, however, and as these posts were generally a stepping stone to becoming a deacon it may be that if one was elected Deacon the respective title of wright or mason was temporarily adopted.

I protest before God, that I profess the religion of Jesus Christ, presently professed and taught within this realm, and shall defend the same with my body, goods, and gear; and I bind and oblige me to be true to the King's Majesty and his lieges in my vocation, in serving them without fraud or guile; and I oblige me to reverence and obey the Deacons, Treasurer, and Quarter-masters, present and to come; and that I shall, scot and lot¹⁹, watch and ward²⁰, and bear all manner of publick charges with my brethren, conform to my ability, and shall maintain and defend the liberty of the Crafts, conform to equity, to the utmost of my power; and shall keep all the acts, ordinances, and statutes made, or to be made, for the utility and welfare of the Crafts; and I shall not colour or fortify any unfreeman, or pack or peel with him; and I shall take none of my brethren's houses, works, or booths, over their heads; and I shall not tryst or seduce any of my brethren's apprentices or servants, or reset or fee them without their master's leave and licence, and lawful warning, compt and reckoning made between them. All which I bind and oblige me faithfully to observe, keep, and fulfil in all points, as above written, under pain of perjury and defamation, conform to this my oath of fidelity, as I shall answer to God, and by God himself²¹.

This oath sets out both the responsibilities and restrictions of the freemen of Mary's Chapel, as well as giving a suggestion of their privileges. As will be seen these were open to abuse both from within and without the Incorporation, and were frequently both challenged and enforced.

In Edinburgh while the trades organized themselves into Incorporations, the merchants formed a guild, the latter being known as the Guildry. As already mentioned, membership of either body involved becoming a burghess, but in order to

¹⁹scot and lot; pay a local tax as a free burghess. *The Concise Scots Dictionary* ed. Mairi Robinson Aberdeen 1987 p588.

²⁰watching and warding; taking one's turn to patrol the streets and help suppress disturbances, a duty of a burghess in a royal burgh. *ibid.* p770.

²¹*The Laws of... Mary's Chapel, 1827. op. cit.* p14. This oath was largely unchanged since the beginning of the eighteenth century, but by 1842, reflecting the imminent demise of the Incorporation, simply read; *I declare and promise, that I shall faithfully keep, observe, and fulfill all acts, ordinances, and statutes made or to be made, for the utility and welfare of the united Incorporations in Mary's Chapel in all points. The Laws of... Mary's Chapel, 1842* (these are bound in with those of 1827 *idem.*)

practise as a merchant it was necessary to become a guild brother as well²². In London the Companies had lost any sense of a closed shop by the beginning of the eighteenth century, mainly as a result of the rapid expansion of their city during the early seventeenth century²³, rather than the oft repeated but rather simplistic explanation based upon the massive amount of labour imported to rebuild the city after the Great Fire. In Edinburgh, however, the golden rule that no tradesman could practise his craft unless he was a freeman of the City and the Incorporation was fiercely defended throughout the eighteenth century. As Marwick puts it,

even these societies [which were initially formed by craftsmen to counteract the power of the merchant guild] were exclusive in their constitution and aims. They were so many leagues of master craftsmen against the encroachments of the merchant class; but they dominated in turn over the unfree worker, and waged a constant war against the invasion of their own trade monopolies from without²⁴.

The mere fact and regularity of these attacks did, nevertheless, eventually erode the privileges of the Incorporation, which must have seemed particularly outdated once the industrial revolution and the age of enlightenment had taken their grip on the country²⁵.

In 1678 the restrictions of the Incorporation were challenged by a wright called James Turner²⁶. The case sheds light on various aspects of not only the power of the Incorporation and the stranglehold which it had on the trade in Edinburgh, but also its

²²*Heron op. cit.* p7. In 1681 the Guildry obtained a Royal Charter for its controlling Merchant Company, which Burgesses and Guild Brothers also had to be members of if they wished to carry on their trade. *Heron op. cit.* pp18-23.

²³P Kirkham 'The London Furniture Trade 1700-1870' *Furniture History* XXIV 1988 pp136-7.

²⁴*Marwick ibid.* p38.

²⁵Hamilton comments on the break up of trade organizations due to the industrial revolution. H Hamilton *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* Oxford 1963 p346.

²⁶This case is recorded in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, although these notes are all based on the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* pp5-7.

aspirations, and the abilities of its members. The origins of this case can be traced to two years earlier when Turner's employer, Jacob Bedford, applied to the Incorporation to carry on his trade as a joiner and mirror glass maker in Edinburgh despite the fact that he was neither a burgess or guild brother. He claimed that he could make pieces of a higher quality than any made in Edinburgh, and was granted permission to work, on condition that he only made pieces of this exceptional quality. It transpired however that on being asked to prove his abilities as a craftsman by the Incorporation, he was apparently unable to and fled the city. The Wrights assumed that the pieces which he claimed to have produced were in fact made in London, and sold in Edinburgh by Bedford as his own, to the prejudice of local craftsmen. This was a cardinal sin in the eyes of the Incorporation, and their obsession with preventing such occurrences recurs throughout the eighteenth century.

After Bedford had fled Turner continued to work, claiming that he had

with much labour and expense attained to the art and skill of making cabinets, mirror glasses, dressing boxes, chests of drawers, 'comb boxes, spatch and powder boxes, and the like curious work of the fynest olive and princes wood and other requisite materials, not formerly practised by any native of this cuntry, and which art or trade does noeways interfere or encroach upon the calling of the wrights, carpenters or other timber workmen priviledged in the incorporation of the wrights' ²⁷.

The Wrights, however, declared that Turner's stock was merely pieces which Bedford had failed to sell, and had left with Turner for him to dispose of. They had then,

without any warrant or authority, interrupted and discharged ... his said trade and manufactor, and seized upon and away taken most of his toolles with made work and other materials ²⁸.

Turner went to the Lords of the Privy Council who, on the 12th September 1678, ordered that the Wrights return his tools and stop interfering with him. The Deacon

²⁷*ibid.* p5.

²⁸Records of the Privy Council *ibid.* p6.

of the Wrights, Andrew Paterson, clearly held considerable personal animosity against Turner, and on hearing this judgement vowed that

he would give no obedience therto, and alsoe declaired he would not give him back neither his toolles nor his maid worke soe taken from him, and that he would not suffer him to worke that worke within the toune of Edinburgh, notwithstanding of the said act, and that the Lords of Counsell should not have granted any such act befor he and the rest of that incorporatione had been acquainted ²⁹.

Paterson then submitted two petitions to the Privy Council laying out the Incorporation's grievances, and the Council in its turn appointed the Lords Argyll, Linlithgow and Colinton to decide whether Turner could in fact make pieces of a superior quality to what was then being produced in Edinburgh. To the chagrin of the Wrights they decided that he could, and another Law Lord, Lord Fountainhall, who knew Turner's work, actually described it as of a quality 'such as our wrights could not do'³⁰. Turner remained in Edinburgh, and was eventually made a Burgess by the Town Council in 1703. The Incorporation of Wrights never admitted him as a member.

A rather less acrimonious picture of relations between the Town Council, Mary's Chapel and in this case a tradeswoman can be seen in the example of Sarah Dalrymple. On the 10th August 1709 the Town Council granted a

license to Sarah Dalrymple, daughter to Charles Dalrymple of Waterside, to use her trade of japanning as a burges of this city all the days of her lifetime, and her continuing unmarried,

²⁹*ibid.*

³⁰*ibid.* p7. From the *Fountainhall Decisions* published by the Bannatyne Club in 1848, and extracts from this published as 'Fountainhall's Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs 1661 - 1688' in the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 1928 Vol XVI, with a reference to Turner on p130.

with the crucial condition that she always 'employ the freemen of this city for the timber work'³¹. By 1721, up to which time she had sold many japanned mirrors to, among others, Lady Newhailes³², Dalrymple was obviously wanting to expand her trade, stating that she had

with great industry pains and expence acquired the art of Japanning & perspective work (the latter never before practised in Scotland)³³.

She applied to Mary's Chapel for permission to employ journeymen wrights to make up her pieces, obviously with the desire of having them work directly in her employment (rather than buying readymade work from another burges). Despite the fact that she offered 300 merks to charity the Incorporation, who refer to her as a 'merchant' refused her this permission but continued to allow her to practise her art of japanning

provided she cause some freeman of this incorporation to prepare the wood she Jappans upon³⁴.

The distinction that they are clinging to here was clearly a very fine one, but must be related to the fact that she, although a burges of the city, was not a member of the Incorporation and so could not be allowed to take on the role of a Master and employ journeymen. It is most probable that her sex prevented her from joining Mary's Chapel - notice the Town Council's clause about 'her continuing unmarried' - but they have at least in this instance been reasonable about her ability to produce goods unobtainable in Edinburgh³⁵.

³¹*Marwick op. cit.* p197.

³²'2 japanned ovell tabells coufered with velvet' which cost £1 15/ each in 1710. NLS Acc7228/494 [formerly 458].

³³22nd April 1721. Minute Books of Mary's Chapel 1721-26. City Archives Bay B Shelf 16.

³⁴*ibid.*

³⁵Sarah Dalrymple did continue to work in Edinburgh. See APPENDIX I.

One of the Incorporation's most pressing and recurring concerns was the sale by freemen wrights of goods which they purported to have made, or could have made, but which were in fact made outside the bounds of the city. The Turner case was to some extent an example of this, and in 1724 a 'Representation To The Incorporation of Maries Chapell' relates to exactly this complaint³⁶. It is of much interest as it lays out in explicit language the motivation and self interest which lay behind this desire, as well as introducing the argument for the justification that it was ultimately for the good of the customer. The practice seems to have also been more common than many would like to admit.

The situation was as follows. George Hay, a wright, had bought cabinet work from one Charles Condy, a journeyman wright under contract to George Riddell, 'wright Burgess of Edr'³⁷, which Hay had sold in his own shop. Riddell had made a complaint to the Incorporation, and a committee had ascertained that the pieces had been made by Condy and his brother in Dalkeith. Hay claimed that this was perfectly within the bounds of the Incorporation's rules, but

The Committee were so far convinced of the irregularity of this practice and how prejudicial it might be to the freedom of this incorporation That they unanimously gave it as there oppinion that Mr Hay was culpable of buying up made works from unfreemen and afterwards selling the same as his own, ... [and that] he ought to be fined.

The Committee duly reported their decision to the Incorporation:

It was no small surprize [however] to find so many of the brethren appear against the Committees oppinion and even openly vindicate this practice as allowable and commendable.

³⁶11th April 1724. Minute Books of Mary's Chapel 1721-26. City Archives Bay B Shelf 16.

³⁷Who made the 'lady's closet' in fig. 43.

Their recommendations were disregarded. This was a 'decision of ... dangerous consequences' if allowed to stand, and the petition goes on to list why. It is undoubtedly worth quoting, in an edited form, the reasons given.

... it is no less than a publick invitation to all the unfreemen and jobbers In, and about the city to bring in there work and sell it therein If they can but fall upon such a worthless member of ane incorporation who will but patronise them and call himself theire merchant

... it greatly tends to the abuse of the Leidges by imposing on them of insufficient work for how is it to be supposed that made work imported if sufficient can be sold with equall profite with that made by freemen in toun when both the maker and retailer must have there profite ... the insufficiency of that work [if] discovered in a customers hands Is no doubt a reflection upon the incorporation

... this is a discourageing and oppressive practice upon the other freemen who make and sell their own work and paye taxes and publick burthen in toun, when their own brother of trade tho he work not at all can carry on a greater trade than they, upon the labour of others

... But the worst and most pernicious consequence ... is that no journeyman or servant of reasonable cappacitie will serve a master in toun But upon the servants own terms, since he can live and make work in the suburbs and dispose thereof to better advantage ... than [from] the wages he can earn from a master

... how far that is prejudiciall both to the leidges & freemen Is easy to judge .

That this situation seems to be of benefit to journeymen and servants is naturally not the point. It can be taken for granted that this Representation is on the behalf of the masters, and that they still at this time ultimately controlled the Incorporation. They continue with legal precedents for their argument, quoting an act passed by the Town Council on the 30th August 1678

Inhibiting all persons dwelling within three miles of Edr from bringing their work to the said burgh but upon mercat day³⁸.

Also an act of Mary's Chapel of 3rd August 1701 prevented made work being brought in from outside the burgh, and allowed for it to be destroyed,

³⁸This was not ratified until the 6th November 1689.

Because the work so brought in Is insufficient and the masters who bear charge within the burgh are [there]by heavily prejudged [prejudiced].

The Representation concludes by earnestly hoping that the Incorporation will reconsider its decision of the 28th March in favour of Hay, and instead ratify the Committee's original report, thereby

vindicating and maintaining ... the liberties of the incorporation and ... preventing the bad consequences above hinted at and others which may attend such practices ³⁹.

The 'mercat day' legislated for by the Town Council in 1678 was a traditional and regular feature of burgh life, being a sort of amnesty for craftsmen. On these specified days anyone was allowed to sell goods within the town, but again there were restrictions. Namely, stalls had to be set up in an orderly manner (retailers were not allowed to sell their goods from door to door), at a particular place, which was normally by the Luckenbooths, and could only be operated between the hours of nine in the morning and one in the afternoon⁴⁰. On top of these restrictions,

such Work is to [be] examined and visited, as to the Sufficiency of it, by Visitors appointed by the Corporation, and so to be exposed to Sale in open Market, and no otherwise ⁴¹.

On the 9th May 1724 an Act was once again passed by Mary's Chapel preventing work made outside the city from being sold by freemen within its jurisdiction⁴². This privilege was now, however, constantly under attack and was drastically curtailed in 1729. A 'Memoriall for the Incorporations of Mary's Chappel

³⁹All the above information is from the Minute Books of Mary's Chapel. *ibid*.

⁴⁰*Marwick op. cit.* p189.

⁴¹*Information The Deacons and Incorporations of Mary's Chapel in Edinburgh, with Concourse of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, Against the Craftsmen in Portsburgh Novem. 29th 1727* p1. Pamphlet in the City Library Edinburgh Room YIID 6462 W95 X92994.

⁴²9th May 1724. Minute Books of Mary's Chapel 1721-26. City Archives Bay B Shelf 16.

in Edinburgh'⁴³ rather regretfully acknowledges this, while at the same time suggesting that the Incorporation has been cheated of its ancient rights.

The Masons, Wrights and other United Trades of Marys Chappel have, time out of mind, bruiked⁴⁴ and enjoyed the exclusive priviledges of an Incorporation in virtue of Grants or Sealls of cause from the Town-council of Edinburgh confirmed by the Sovereign and Ratified in Parliament ... tho' that part of their said priviledges which concerns the Importation of made work into the City has been much impaired and weakened by a Decreet of the Court of Sesson ... in Anno 1729.

This Decreet had been the result of litigation by the craftsmen of Portsburgh, and in 1747 a wright from Portsburgh, one John Kelly, perhaps with this precedent in mind challenged the Incorporation's 'exclusive priviledge as to the Article of Building or Repairing houses within the Royalty'. This privilege had never been 'impeached or called in Question', and

upon a litigious triall and Enquirie into the practice of Edinburgh and most of the other Royall burghs in Scotland ... this priviledge of the Incorporation was ascertained & Maintained.

Kelly was found liable for damages and expences,

for his having encroached upon the exclusive rights and priviledges of the Incorporation of Freemen wrights by taking out some old sash windows and putting new ones in their place in a House within Edinburgh⁴⁵.

For this crime he was prevented from working within the City of Edinburgh ever again, which does not seem too harsh as the Incorporation's 'priviledges' effectively prevented him from doing this anyway. The main drawback would be that he could not even get work as a journeyman for an Edinburgh Master, should he ever need to. Alternatively it may mean that he was actually banned from working in Portsburgh as

⁴³Dated 1756. NLS Acc7332/box 1/5.

⁴⁴bruik; have or enjoy the use or possession of (lands, property, office,&c). *The Concise Scots Dictionary op.cit.* p68.

⁴⁵All the above quotations are from *The Laws of... Mary's Chapel, 1827 op. cit.*

well. Portsburgh, like Leith and Canongate, had its own craft organizations, but in all these areas the wrights and associated trades all came under the general jurisdiction of Mary's Chapel.

Relations between Edinburgh's suburbs and the city itself were in a constant state of flux. The inhabitants of the suburbs were not fighting for freedom from the city but for equal rights within its bounds with the inhabitants of the city. Most of the acts giving privileges to Mary's Chapel are written in such a way as to reduce the privileges of the suburbs; 'without the Town of Edinburgh, and within three Miles of the Town', as they are described⁴⁶. Canongate had had its own Incorporation of Wrights and Masons since at least 1612⁴⁷, but in 1636 Edinburgh bought the superiority of Canongate and Leith and this was confirmed by a charter of Charles I in 1639⁴⁸. However although members of Mary's Chapel were allowed to work in Portsburgh and Leith, it seems that Canongate was able, largely, to prevent this in the eighteenth century⁴⁹.

The Court of Session had declared the Wrights and Coopers, &c of Canongate a 'proper and regular incorporation'⁵⁰ in 1773, and in 1754, for instance, William Leithhead, a servant of Young and Trotter, had been prosecuted and imprisoned for

⁴⁶*Information The Deacons and Incorporations of Mary's Chapel ... Against the Craftsmen in Portsburgh 1727 op. cit. p1.*

⁴⁷This incorporation had a Seal of Cause dated 1612 and a Great Charter dated 1694. In 1809 it claimed that it had an earlier charter but had lost it. FRANCIS BRAIDWOOD, *Wright and Upholsterer in Edinburgh, against the Corporation of Wrights, Coopers, &c of Canongate* p 4. Pamphlet in the City Library Edinburgh Room YHD6462 W95 (42996). Carr claims the Incorporation was founded in 1585 *op. cit. p17.*

⁴⁸*Carr op. cit. p17.* Portsburgh may have also been acquired at this time; Stevenson states that the wrights and masons in the suburbs of Portsburgh and Leith were subordinate to Mary's Chapel in the seventeenth century. D Stevenson *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members* Aberdeen 1988 p17.

⁴⁹Canongate and Leith did become accepted as separate burghs (although not Royal burghs) to Edinburgh but Portsburgh never rose above the status of suburb. Thus the first two were able to have incorporations, and therefore freemen, while the craftsmen of Portsburgh were never allowed this distinction.

⁵⁰FRANCIS BRAIDWOOD, ... *against the Corporation of Wrights, Coopers, &c of Canongate op. cit. p45.*

working within the privilege of Canongate. Young and Trotter claimed that they were in partnership with one John Hart, a freeman of Canongate, and thus *Leithhead* was passed off as a servant of Hart and released. Thomas Trotter later became a freeman of Canongate, as well as already being a member of Mary's Chapel, in order to allow the firm to work in Canongate unhindered⁵¹. There are numerous examples of members of Mary's Chapel being fined for working in Canongate in the eighteenth century, and in 1800 Alexander Ponton, later a Deacon, had to pay for working within its privilege⁵². Many freemen of Mary's Chapel seem to have become freemen of the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons of Canongate as well, and it may be that one of the privileges for members of Mary's Chapel was that they could do this whereas freemen living in the Canongate could not reciprocate the act.

Relations with Leith throughout the eighteenth century seem similarly confused; a printed document of 1798 testifies to this⁵³. In this case Mary's Chapel claims that its members have had the right to work in Leith 'since time immemorial'. The Incorporation of Leith replies that it has had sole privilege since 1734, and that since then freemen of Edinburgh have had to pay in order to work in Leith. The goalposts are always on the move, and the extreme cases and precedents presented in legal cases evidently do not give a particularly satisfactory picture of the working relationships which must have existed between the town and its suburbs, which were after all very close neighbours.

An Act of James VI entitled *Exercise of Crafts within Suburbs adjacent to Royal Burghs* sets out the situation as perhaps Mary's Chapel would have liked it to be:

⁵¹*ibid.* p25.

⁵²*ibid.* pp24-27.

⁵³*Answers for the Incorporations of Mary's Chapel Edinr To the Bill of Suspension and Interdict for the Incorporations of Wrights and Masons of Leith and Replies - to the Answers - &c* NLS Acc7332/ box 1/7.

That the Exercise of Crafts in Suburbs of free Burrows is not only hurtful to the Lieges for the Unsufficiency of the work, but also ministers great Occasion to Apprentices and Servants in free Burrows, undutifully to leave their Masters, and to remain and abide in the said Suburbs, thereby substracting themselves from the Jurisdiction of the Provost and Baillies of the said Burrows; and also the free Craftsmen residing within the same Burrows, are greatly damnified, seeing they bear a great Part of the Charges of the Burgh, and the Advantage of the Work that should relieve them is drawn away to the said Suburbs: 'Tis enacted, that in all Time thereafter there should be no Exercise of Craft in the Suburbs adjacent to the said Burrows, but that the same should cease in all Time thereafter ⁵⁴.

Generally, however, the Incorporations of the towns were forced to come to agreements with the craftsmen in the suburbs. This was the case between Mary's Chapel and the craftsmen of Portsburgh, who agreed in 1650 that

the Tradesmen in *Portsburgh* should have Liberty to work freely within their own Bounds of *Portsburgh* , and should have Power to exclude others from setting up and working there, excepting such as should be admited as Members of their Corporation, and excepting the Freemen of *Mary's* Chappel, who were to have a cumulative Freedom to work in *Portsburgh* if they thought fit ⁵⁵.

Nevertheless after this agreement Mary's Chapel characteristically made sure to take good 'care of their own, by debaring these in *Portsburgh* from working within the *City of Edinburgh* , or importing their made work into it'⁵⁶.

These quotations are taken from a document of 1727, by which time the craftsmen of Portsburgh were taking such liberties with the privileges of Mary's Chapel, that the Incorporation felt the need to have them reaffirmed by the Magistrates of Edinburgh. It goes on:

⁵⁴*Information The Deacons and Incorporations of Mary's Chapel ... Against the Craftsmen in Portsburgh 1727 op. cit. p1.*

⁵⁵*idem.*

⁵⁶*ibid. p2*

Of late the Tradesmen of Portsburgh have begun to encroach upon the Privileges of these of Mary's Chappel, by furnishing the Inhabitants within the Town with made Work, and importing it at their Pleasure without Notice or Regard to Market Days.

This document spells out the reasons, as Mary's Chapel saw them, as to why the Incorporation should retain its privileges within Edinburgh - essentially so that the inhabitants of the town could be guaranteed good work, and because its freemen were responsible for taxes and the upkeep of the town - but also contains an aside which perhaps gives us a greater insight into the motivation behind its tenacious protection of its rights:

with regard to the Wrights and Corporations of Mary's Chappel - they are able to work three Times more in their Trades than the Town of Edinburgh have a Demand for ⁵⁷.

If the Trades were so overpopulated it is not surprising that they felt the need to protect their working privileges within the town.

The example of John Kelly is perfect evidence of the continual struggle which Mary's Chapel fought to retain its privileges throughout the eighteenth century, and the increasing number of ways in which they were open to abuse. It is easy to see that only the size of Edinburgh allowed the work going on to be so closely policed, and therefore the privileges maintained against the general tide of increasing trades freedom throughout the rest of the kingdom, especially compared to London. One can only speculate about the exact economic factors which made it worthwhile both attempting to break the closed shop, and maintain it.

In 1756 James Stark, another wright from Portsburgh, attempted to invoke an act of 1749 which could have been designed to infuriate craft incorporations throughout the country. This act was passed to prevent any disadvantage coming to craftsmen who

⁵⁷*ibid.* p. 5.

had joined the army or navy before finishing their craft training, and therefore on return to civilian life had found themselves unemployable. In fact it cast its net much wider and allowed any 'Officer, Mariner or Soldier' who had served during George II's reign to

set up and Exercise such trades as they are apt and able for in any Town or place without any lett, suit or molestation of any person for or by reason of the using of such trade⁵⁸.

If they were prosecuted, and found in favour of, then they were entitled to twice the compensation that they would have been awarded in a civil case. Stark had been 'carrying on a considerable Jobb of wright work in the Reparation of a House' within the City of Edinburgh, for which he had been furnishing the wood and other materials used; paid the servant wrights working on the house, and the glazier; used wright work made in his workshop in Bristo; and he would also be the recipient of most of the profit. His cover was that a certain Captain Leishman, who by right of the above act was entitled to practice as a freeman of the city, was in fact Master of the work. Mary's Chapel believed that this was all a 'colour and device' and that Leishman was merely lending his name to the work in order to get a small share of the profits.

Inevitably the Incorporation 'look upon this as an Invasion of their priviledges not Authorised by the Act of Parliament and incline to have Stark prosecuted' but they are worried about their liabilty for double the costs should their prosecution fail. Their justification for wanting to press these charges has a familiar ring:

such practices under colour of this Act of parliament ... tend to a totall evacuation and Elusion of their priviledges, to deprive them of all benefit arising from the same, and to transfer it in fact and reality to Men who are not Free either by the Act of Parliament or by the Act of the Incorporation While the incorporated Members continue lyable to all the burdens and Services, to the publick and to the City as well as in their own Corporation, which are consequential on their having seclusive priviledges⁵⁹.

⁵⁸'An Act to Enable such Officers, Mariners, and Soldiers as have been in his Majesties [George II] Service since his accession to the Throne [in 1727] to excercise Trades'. NLS Acc7332/box 1/5.

⁵⁹*idem*.

Thirty years earlier the Incorporation would have prosecuted without a thought, however by this time they are sufficiently aware of the erosion of their rights to consider it necessary to consult their Council as to their legal standing and chances of winning the case.

Their Council, who happened to include Robert Dundas, the son of, and later himself to be, the Lord President, prudently, but surely unnecessarily, warned the Incorporation that 'in these days many Appear inclined to restrict and limit the powers of Incorporations'⁶⁰. They then say that Captain Leishman has no more rights than a normal member of the Incorporation, and so is

not intitled to imploy unfreemen under the colour of [his] name to work within the City contrary to the rules of the Trade, [while he] can excercise the Trade in every respect as other ffreemen do.

Council's Memorial goes on to politely remark that

as we were informed that often and of late the Incorporation have been attentive to their privileges by punishing those who have broke thro' the rules particularly in this article of employing unfreemen We advise the Memorialists to cause look into these precedents.

This, they suggest, is just to provide some concrete examples of prosecutions in case the defence offers any instances of similar situations being overlooked. They feel that Mary's Chapel is not in danger of breaching the Act of Parliament as the prosecution is to be brought against Stark, 'for this underhand dealing of purchasing a protection from a freeman', and not Leishman. And conclude:

Upon the whole it does not occur that a more flagrant instance can well happen for trying the question ... and the discovery that probably will come out upon proof of the Attempts made by Stark to disguise his work as if done by Leishman, will be a plain Confession of his being conscious that he was *versant in illucto*⁶¹.

⁶⁰Answers to the Memoriall and Queries for the Incorporation of Mary's Chappell in Edinr'. NLS Acc7332/box 1/5.

⁶¹Quotations from the above. *ibid*.

Regretably there is no note as to whether the case was pursued, and if so whether the Incorporation succeeded with its prosecution. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that both questions can be answered in the positive.

The *status quo* was further threatened by the labour disputes of the 1770's and 1780's. In these instances the disputes were concerned with the whole historic hierarchical structure of the Incorporation, rather than just its ancient privileges within the burgh. Although they clearly signal its unsatisfactory nature in terms of preparing the trade for the changing demands of the nineteenth century, as these disputes are not essentially concerned with the relationship between the trade and the burgh they will be discussed in the section below on the relationship between the Masters and their journeymen.

There is, however, evidence of a major attack on the rights and privileges of Mary's Chapel in 1787. Once again there is no final judgement recorded in the surviving records⁶², even though these run to well over a hundred pages of text, but the causal and supplementary facts of the case are evidence enough of the state of the declining powers of Mary's Chapel.

It was two masons, John Reid and Richard Thomson, who forced the members of Mary's Chapel into this situation:

the general question in all of which being how far these Incorporations are in possession of an exclusive privilege of exercising their Crafts in the City of Edinburgh and of preventing the Memorialists from carrying on that business within the said Bounds without entering

⁶²NLS Acc7332/box 1/5 & 6.

with the Incorporation while at the same time they refuse to admit them except on payment, of a most exorbitant sum in name of entry money ⁶³.

In 1786 they had bought a plot of building land on the South Bridge, which was becoming very much a centre for the trades⁶⁴, and had contracted themselves to build a tenement on the adjoining plot. Both were trained masons but were thwarted from joining the Incorporation and so they just started building, having been led to believe that this would be alright as long as they donated five pounds for each tenement to the Incorporation's charity fund. This was then raised to fifty pounds for each building, which John Reid and his fellow 'adventurers', who by then included 'Masons, Architects, Builders, Wrights, House Carpenters, Cabinet Makers⁶⁵, Plumbers, Glaziers and Slaters' to the above mentioned number of thirty five, refused to pay. It had evidently been decided that this was to be a major test case.

After continual harassment by the Incorporation Reid and the other memorialists sent a petition of complaint to the Sheriff of Edinburgh, who told them to continue building; the Incorporation then applied to the Baillies of Edinburgh, stating that the Memorialists refused to either stop building or pay the required fee, and that the Incorporation had exclusive rights within the Royalty of Edinburgh. The Baillies granted them an injunction to stop the Memorialists from working. Reid's response to this was to demand Mary's Chapel to 'produce the rights on which they founded their claim to the exclusive privileges'. The Memorialists then themselves went through the original Charters and Seals of Cause, at great length and in vast legal detail, and showed that according to the 1475 Charter the Incorporation could not actively prevent craftsmen from working so long as they were shown to be competent,

⁶³Memorial for John Reid and others to the Number of Thirty ffive ... in Edinburgh Against The United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel Edinburgh' NLS Acc7332/box 1/6.

⁶⁴See Introduction and Chapter V.

⁶⁵Including John Brough, Henry Oats and Matthew Sherriff.

and paid a merk for the privilege. They also showed that the Incorporation was not allowed to increase that sum.

In response to this the Incorporation claimed that it admitted members according to its own laws, not the official Titles, thereby walking into the trap of the Memorialists, who promptly stated that the Incorporation's claim for exclusive privilege was based entirely on the Titles. Mary's Chapel now carried out its own ruse, which was to issue a public proclamation in the Edinburgh press:

THE UNITED INCORPORATIONS OF ST. MARYS CHAPEL which are composed of Masons, Wrights, Coopers, Bowyers, Glaziers, Painters, Slaters, Plumbers, Sievewriters, and Upholsterers, and who are possessed of the exclusive privilege of exercising their respective crafts within this city, being willing to extend the benefit of that privilege, do hereby intimate to all Unfreemen bred to any of these trades, That they are ready to admit them members of their incorporations, and to confer upon them the privileges and advantages resulting therefrom, upon their complying with the regulations enacted by them, the particulars of which may be learned by applying to Francis Clerk, wright in Edinburgh, their treasurer. And the said incorporations do also intimate, that they are determined to maintain their privileges against all encroachments, not only of Journeymen, Apprentices and others who are found working within this city without their authority, but likewise against the employers of all such intruders ⁶⁶.

The tone was unmistakably aggressive but this was surely a defensive, face saving act; giving way just so much to try and prevent losing everything. As the Incorporation put it,

so far are they from availing themselves of the valuable privileges they have hitherto enjoyed ... they came to the [above] resolution ⁶⁷.

The 'regulations', which, as the Memorialists point out, the Incorporation does not specify, were quite simple. Anyone wishing to become a member had to successfully complete a standard introductory essay, thereby proving their practical competence,

⁶⁶*EEC* and the *CM* 28th July 1787. They placed a similar notice in the *EEC* on the 4th February 1793.

⁶⁷Pamphlet. NLS Acc7332/box 1/5.

and then pay one hundred pounds sterling as entry fees to the Incorporation if they wished to be a full member, or forty pounds if they just wished to work in the City, without actually joining the Incorporation⁶⁸.

The Memorialists conclude their petition by stating that most of them are already Burgesses and citizens of Edinburgh, and that they have shown that:

This Incorporation [has] no right or power whatever to refuse them admission into their Body or to prevent them from working within the Town so long as they are willing to undergo the Examination appointed by the seal of cause & to pay the legal dues⁶⁹,

which are technically a merk, but a reasonable sum would clearly have been acceptable to them. Thus the two sides seemed to have much common ground, even if the ever-polite language with which they couched their petitions was rather different. The stumbling block was the amount of the required payment. Reid considered the Incorporation's fees 'an exorbitant sum', while the Incorporation in turn,

can however scarcely believe that the Defenders are serious when they insist in a plea which is at first sight so apparently ridiculous and absurd.

They went on, having it seems temporarily dropped the polite tone of voice, to point out that

altho' it was thought proper in those days of Popery and superstition when every body of Men chose a particular saint for their Patron that every person admitted to the Incorporations whether he had served a regular apprenticeship or not should pay a merk for the support of the altar of St. John ⁷⁰.

⁶⁸*ibid.*

⁶⁹*op. cit.* 'Memorial for John Reid and others ... Against The United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel'. This Memorial is 73 pages long.

⁷⁰'Memorial for the United Incorporation of Mary's Chapel Pursuers Against John Reid and Richard Thomson and others Defenders'. NLS Acc7228/box 1/6. *Marwick* actually states that this was half a merk *op. cit.* p48.

Thus the Incorporation, whose meeting hall had originally been a Catholic chapel and whose name was taken from the Virgin Mother, managed to imply that the Memorialists were papists to a man, before going on to put its point of view in a more rational manner. This was essentially that most laws are established by usage, so there was no reason that they should not ask more than a merk. Also that the sum they were asking for was entirely reasonable when the costs of acquiring membership through a full training, and the advantages which membership gave, were considered. The costs of admission after serving a six year year apprenticeship (the fee for which may have been up to fifty pounds) and two years as a journeyman were twenty five pounds, so the Incorporation felt that

it must appear no ways unreasonable to demand £ 100 to strangers who have been probably exposed to few of these heavy burdens.

It goes on to list the benefits, both to body and soul, of joining the Incorporation, as well as once again justifying the charges.

In the next place the present ffunds of the Incorporation which have in a great measure been produced by the entrie monies received from those who have been regularly bred to the business in Edinburgh & performed so long a previous service, yeild now an annual income little short of £300 ster. which is appropriated towards relieving the distress of such of the Members, or the Widows & children, as unfortunately happen to fall into decayed Circumstances ... the Incorporations likewise present four children to the Trades Maiden Hospital ... their children are also entitled to the benefit of Heriots hospital, alongst with those of the members of other Incorporations in preference to ordinary Burgesses, and it seems but just and reasonable that strangers should pay a very considerable sum for being admitted to all these privileges and benefits ⁷¹.

The Incorporation concluded by mentioning the pension scheme for widows, which it supported, and favourably compared general fees and entry practices of Mary's Chapel with other Incorporations in Edinburgh. Then as a final note it

⁷¹*ibid.*

suggested that John Reid and his fellow defendants should pay costs of five hundred pounds sterling, 'or such other sum as shall be modified by our said Lords'⁷².

As has previously been mentioned there is no recorded verdict after all this discussion⁷³, but there was a Decree of the Court of Session in 1792 which stipulated conditions for tradesmen buying membership⁷⁴, and two instances from 1794 suggest, as seemed inevitable, that a compromise was reached. At a Committee meeting in January of that year the Incorporation threatened to press charges against Thomas Hamilton, a wright in Edinburgh, for doing mason work in the High Street, unless he paid five guineas. If he did he would be allowed to finish the job, otherwise he would be prevented from working as a wright ever again⁷⁵. Similarly a Mr Sibbald, who was not a member of the Incorporation at all (but may have been from Leith), was charged ten guineas to be allowed to complete some mason work which he was doing in the city. However, tellingly,

no allowance or deduction shall be given him from his entry money when he comes forward to enter with the Incorporation ⁷⁶.

This was something of a punishment as traditionally fines had often been deducted from entry fees to the Incorporation when the culprit did eventually decide, or was forced, to join⁷⁷.

These disputes continued into the nineteenth century, finally culminating with the inevitable abolition of exclusive privileges in 1846. Then parliament declared that

⁷²Pamphlet. NLS Acc7332/box 1/5.

⁷³It was not possible to trace the records of the case in the surviving papers of the Court of Session.

⁷⁴*The Laws of... Mary's Chapel op. cit.* p11.

⁷⁵NLS Acc7332/box 3/13.

⁷⁶*ibid.*

⁷⁷*Marwick op. cit.* p165.

it shall be lawfull for any person to carry on or deal in merchandize, and to carry on or excercise any trade or handicraft in any burgh and elsewhere in Scotland, without being a burgess of such a burgh, or a guild brother, or a member of any guild, craft or incorporation⁷⁸.

In London, despite the fact that the privileges of the trades withered far earlier than in Edinburgh, it was not until ten years later that

all laws against non-freemen were withdrawn and the companies officially recognized that they had moved from the 'necessary economic fraternities' they had once been to the wealthy proprietorial fellowships with old rituals and charitable traditions that they have become⁷⁹.

The abolition of their privileges effectively signalled the end of the road for the Edinburgh Incorporations, many of which had only a handful of members left even towards the end of the eighteenth century⁸⁰. Printed volumes of the *Laws of the Incorporations of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh* survive from 1827 and 1842⁸¹, the latter of which is already much reduced, clearly anticipating its imminent demise. By 1893 Mary's Chapel only had fifteen members left together with fifteen widows on its books, although it apparently had funds of over £18, 000⁸².

⁷⁸Marwick *op. cit.* p232.

⁷⁹Kirkham *op. cit.* p144.

⁸⁰*The Manifesto of the Edinburgh Congress* Pamphlet in the NLS. Also see A Murdoch 'The Importance of Being Edinburgh' *Scottish Historical Review* Vol LXII April 1983 p12.

⁸¹*op. cit.* These are bound together in the same volume.

⁸²J Reid *op. cit.* p178.

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

That the Incorporations and Guildry survived in Edinburgh until well into the nineteenth century with so many of their privileges intact was less a result of their 'mediaeval traditions' and 'dogged obstinacy to all suggestions of improved methods of manufacture'¹ (although their 'dogged obstinacy' and opportunism clearly did play a role), than a symptom of their political power. Whereas in London the craft guilds and Livery Companies essentially just adjudicated over internal trade disputes, Edinburgh's Incorporations were each entitled to a seat on the Town Council of the capital city of Scotland. This potential for political patronage, and political manoeuvring, was a very important influence on the affairs of Mary's Chapel throughout the eighteenth century.

During this period it goes without saying that political office, although having burdens of its own, brought with it significant commercial benefits. The most tangible of these were council contracts. The accounts books of the Town Council throughout the eighteenth century betray a spectacular correlation between the person doing wright work for the Council and the then current Deacon of the Wrights². Also, just as newly elected councils (or governments) today like to introduce new furniture, throwing out the old incumbents' tastes, so in the eighteenth century; the Deacon of the Wrights generally considered it his right to provide it³. So, for instance, in 1708 Robert Moubray (*Deacon 1707-09*) supplied 'a large Armed Chair of Rusha Leather to my Lord Provost' and '18 strong buffett chairs' for the Lords of Session, together

¹P Hume Brown *History of Scotland* 1911 vol III p59.

²Tradesmen's Accounts 1702-1800; kept in the City Archives Bay C Shelves 23 & 24. See Appendix III for examples of this.

³This abuse of position was taken for granted at the time, and was literally considered to be a right by the Deacon of the Masons. D Robertson and M Wood *Castle and Town Chapters in the History of the Royal Burgh of Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1925 p188.

with an 'Arme chair fynely covered for my Lord President'⁴. In 1725 David McLellan (*Deacon 1724-26*) made a 'large Armed Chair with Russia Leather back & bottom & Arms' for the Lord Advocate⁵. William Brodie (*Deacon 1781-83*) made a 'Carved Mahogany chair for Lord Provost the back & seat stuffd & covered with carpet & laced with brass nails with brass castors' in 1783 for the grand sum of six pounds sterling, together with a table to go with it⁶. Brodie, probably the least reputable Deacon to have served on Edinburgh's town council, typically arranged for a great deal of work to go his way; from this point of view, however, the most successful Deacon was Henry Antonius who did over eight hundred pounds worth of work for the Council while he held office between 1717 and 1719⁷. As a final example from the end of the century, in 1799 Francis Braidwood (*Deacon 1795-97 and probably 1799-1801*) made a 'large mahogany chair carved & richly finished for the Convener' and a 'large mahogany state chair for the Lord Provost', which by this time came in at over thirteen pounds, even though the crimson damask was provided by the Town Council⁸.

So what was the nature of the post of a deacon, how was one elected, what role did he play within the Town Council and indeed what role did the Council play within the town?

To answer these questions in an intelligible manner requires a succinct description of the constitution or 'Set' of the town. The details of this which relate to the election of

⁴*Tradesmen's Accounts op. cit.* 10th March 1708 - 31 Oct 1709. He was allowed a total of £281 Sterling for the work which he did during this period.

⁵*ibid.* September 1725. This is the same man who in 1735 had to flee the country due to bad debts, leaving his daughter Harris penniless; see below.

⁶*ibid.* 20th Sept 1783.

⁷*ibid.* October 1717 to July 1719.

⁸*ibid.* 27th April and 3th July 1799.

the council provide the background for, and hopefully give an insight into, the political machinations which were involved⁹.

The full council consisted of thirty three people, but was controlled by the *Ordinary* council of twenty five. The difference is explained by the omission of eight deacons from the ordinary council. These deacons were known as *Extraordinary Deacons*. Thus there were six *Council Deacons* who represented the Trades, along with two *Trades Councillors*, and the rest of the council was composed of members of the Merchant Guild. To deal with the latter groups first, these councillors were not elected by the merchants but by the outgoing council. This would choose three *Merchant Councillors* and four *Baillies*, together with a new *Provost, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer*. These four latter posts stayed on the council as *Old Baillies, Old Provost, Old Dean of Guild, and Old Treasurer*. The two trades councillors were also elected by the outgoing council, and thus the majority of the council was self-electing and self-controlling, and so almost completely in the hands of the merchants¹⁰. Any outside influence could only be brought to bear on the selection of the six ordinary and eight extraordinary deacons. Even this was severely restricted, naturally by a method of considerable complexity.

Each of the fourteen incorporations¹¹ submitted a list, or 'leet', of six people to the council, one of which would become its Deacon. The ordinary council then reduced this leet to three names, removing its three least desired candidates - a process known as the '*shortening of the leets*' - and returned the abbreviated leets to the incorporations. Then they would each chose their deacon from one of these three surviving names. Thus the council had what almost amounted to a full veto, but it

⁹Extended accounts of this are given by Hugo Arnot in his *History of Edinburgh* 1788 pp507-511, and Alexander Murdoch 'The Importance of Being Edinburgh' *Scottish Historical Review* LXII April 1983 pp2-3.

¹⁰As a pamphlet dated 1777 puts it 'sixty thousand people are thus made the slaves of seventeen'. *An Address to the Citizens of Edinburgh* NLS.

¹¹Mary's Chapel here being considered as two incorporations as it had two deacons.

was possible for the Incorporations to force deacons on to it, although only with great singlemindedness of purpose. The council, having already been able to remove a certain number of undesirables, had the further luxury of being able to choose which six deacons it wanted on the ordinary council, who once selected replaced the outgoing deacons. The remaining eight deacons made up the extraordinary council¹². A dominant group of merchants and magistrates was therefore almost impregnable to outside influence from the trades, although this situation was continually challenged during the eighteenth century. A final restriction which should be mentioned is that the Lord Provost could only hold office for two out of every four years, but there was always a seat for the Old Provost, who could be re-elected. However, although the Lord Provost's was a largely titular post, its specific influence depended on the man. Thus George Drummond was able to dominate the town council between the years of 1746 and 1764, although he was only actually able to be provost for ten of these years.

Drummond controlled the council through the patronage of the Earl of Ilay, who had become the third Duke of Argyll in 1743. Argyll was a statesman of national (in other words British) importance and his Scottish affairs, including the control of Edinburgh, were managed by his agent Lord Milton. The council needed the patronage of a politician in London to pass private parliamentary bills on its behalf, and it in its turn would return an MP favourable to its patron. Thus Argyll pushed through bills which enabled Drummond to improve the university, build the City Exchange and complete the Royal Infirmary¹³. His successor as the town's patron, Sir Laurence Dundas, promoted the Improvement Act of 1767 which made possible the extension of the Royalty and the building of the North Bridge and the New Town. Dundas's rival and namesake Henry Dundas, who was in league with the Duke of

¹²The subtleties of whom among the outgoing and incoming members of the council vote at each step of the selection process need not be investigated here - see *Arnot. op. cit.*

¹³*Murdoch op. cit.* p3.

Buccleuch, obtained the Improvement Acts of 1785 and 1787 which were directly responsible for the building of Old College and the South Bridge¹⁴. This autocratic control of the town council was overwhelming during the eighteenth century, although there was always some sort of opposition of a variable strength. This opposition centred on suspicion that the council was acting more in the interest of the patron than the city, a situation depicted by the lawyer Henry Cockburn who gave vent to a typically colourful and extreme view in a passage of his Memorials relating to the last decade of the century. Even the room in which the town council convened is condemned.

It met in a low, dark, blackguard-looking room, entering from a covered passage which connected the north-west corner of the Parliament Square with the Lawnmarket ... The chamber was a low-roofed room, very dark, and very dirty, with some small dens off it for clerks.

Within this Pandemonium sat the town-council, omnipotent, corrupt, impenetrable. Nothing was beyond its grasp; no variety of opinion disturbed its unanimity, for the pleasure of Dundas [Henry] was the sole rule for every one of them ... Silent, powerful, submissive, mysterious, and irresponsible, they might have been sitting in Venice ¹⁵.

Any political opposition generally took the form of attempts to reform the Set. This reform in its turn revolved around the practice of shortening the leets. The shortening of the leets was the most obvious symbol of the council's power; as Cockburn also points out 'there was no popular representation; all town-councils elected themselves'¹⁶. The election of Deacons by the trades was the only chink in

¹⁴*ibid* pp4-5.

¹⁵Henry Cockburn *Memorials of his Time* 1909 edition. Edinburgh. pp87-88. A further indication of the rather low regard in which the Council was probably viewed is the letter published by J. Hunter Blair, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, in 1784. This asserts the frugality of the Council when it came to entertaining.

Insinuations have been made, that the Tavern Expenses of the Magistrates and Council are extravagant. During the last twenty nine years, the whole Tavern bills have amounted to £ 335:5:8 per annum, at an average, for election dinners, making burgesses, Leith races, &c &c.

Its mere existence condemns the Council. NLS *Pamphlets on Edinburgh Politics*.

¹⁶*ibid*. p79.

this armour, and so attempts to reform the Set seem like assaults by the trades on the merchants. Yet in fact the merchants had no directly elected representative at all, so the issue of the Deacons was essentially a channel for all burgesses grievances¹⁷. The Set was seriously challenged in 1729, 1763 and 1777¹⁸; the method being to convene a meeting with sympathetic members of the ordinary council and the extraordinary deacons; the extraordinary deacons making the meeting quorate. In the latter two cases the council was able to overturn these decisions with the help of the Court of Session, which each time adjudged that the extraordinary deacons had no legal right to act in this way. In 1729 the Earl of Ilay had been chosen as an independent arbitrator (before his specific involvement with Edinburgh politics began), but came to much the same conclusion.

The events of 1777 are by far the most interesting, and give strength to Emperor Trajan's quip to the effect that 'Corporations, whatever the names they bear, are sure to become political Associations'¹⁹. The Trades, under the leadership of the Old Provost James Stodart (who was himself a merchant), formed a Congress with the intention of forcing a reform of the Set through the Court of Session. This was the talk of Edinburgh and the pamphleteers ran amok²⁰. The positions can be summed up as follows. Laurence Dundas had the official support of the town council, the merchant section of which was favourably seen as representing the common people of Edinburgh²¹; Stodart clearly represented the trades and had the support of the

¹⁷Although some burgesses who were not members of an Incorporation resented the Incorporations' ability to have even their limited say. Pamphlet *To the Members of the Fourteen Incorporations* NLS

¹⁸*Murdoch op. cit.* p7. Attempts at burgh reform also swept the country in the 1780's, although Edinburgh again managed to sidestep this far more general wave of feeling.

¹⁹Quoted by *Heron op. cit.* p8.

²⁰See the volumes in the NLS *Edinburgh Politics 1777-1780* and *Pamphlets on Edinburgh Politics*, both containing pamphlets such as *To the Members of the Fourteen Incorporations*, *Fresh Intelligence from the Coffe House*, *The Manifesto of the Edinburgh Congress* [a satire], *The Mock Election - A Farce*, *Coffee House Chit Chat*, *A Rhapsody*, *Faction Displayed &c*, and several others. Most of these can also be found in the Edinburgh Room of the City Library.

²¹Pamphlet *A Short Account of the Elections at Edinburgh*. NLS.

kinsman and political rival of Laurence Dundas, Henry Dundas. He also had the support of the Deacon Convener of the Trades, who had a full seat on the Council. Pamphlets in favour of Stodart are few, but make the point that although the merchants on the council nominally represent many thousands of the inhabitants of the town, in fact they elect themselves; the deacons are at least answerable to their Incorporations²². One, entitled *To the Inhabitants at Edinburgh*, is clearly in support of the Congress but has a rather unfortunate patronising tone, which suggests that it is really coming direct from Laurence Dundas's camp. It has a splendid paragraph on the virtues of the tradesmen, no doubt trying to encourage the general population to support them:

The tradesmen are generally honest, industrious, and useful citizens. Though, from their station, they are deprived of the benefits of a liberal education; yet, by their extensive intercourse with mankind, many of them are shrewd, sagacious, and intelligent. For the maintenance of themselves and families, they depend entirely upon the esteem of their fellow citizens. They, of course, look up to the higher orders of the inhabitants for direction and advice in all their public deliberations.

If this pamphlet is appealing to the more educated populace of the town, many of its audience, namely all the burgesses who were not members of incorporations, were not content merely to support those who were, in their struggle for a louder voice. A pamphlet *To the Members of the Fourteen Incorporations*, which seems to be a direct response to the above one, openly airs these grievances.

The meanest TRADESMAN has a vote for his DEACON, and consequently an influence upon the Government of the City. The most oppulent BURGESS or GUILD BROTHER has no such vote, nor any influence whatever, unless elected to office by the TOWN COUNCIL.

This does misrepresent the case as only those tradesmen who were members of an incorporation (no mean task) had a vote for their deacon, but its demand for more thorough reform is both clear and undoubtedly just.

²²Pamphlet *To the Inhabitants at Edinburgh*. NLS.

The fitness of the council to govern, and the tradesmen's motives in electing deacons were thoroughly discussed. Mary's Chapel played a prominent role, perhaps because the wright's deacon, Francis Brodie, was the Deacon Convener. In 1753 Maitland had poured honour on this post,

the Person and Office of the Deacon Convener is in great Esteem, being not only deemed the chief Craftsman in Edinburgh, but in Scotland ²³.

and Brodie is recorded in the council minutes of this year as persistently pressing the need for reform²⁴. The satirical pamphlet *The Manifesto of the Edinburgh Congress* is addressed from Mary's Chapel, and is clearly a rebut to claims made by Stodart that he was not just campaigning on behalf of the trades. It claims with very heavy irony that

that decent, sober, judicious, and exemplary citizen Francis Brodie was set up by the said James Stodart ... to be Convener, in opposition to the tradesmen in the interest of the Council, and of the said Sir Laurence Dundas, and, notwithstanding was most improperly and ungratefully obstructed and opposed by Sir Laurence Dundas and his friends.

Mary's Chapel, and by association all of the incorporations, were again attacked in a further pamphlet, which seriously maligns the quality of the deacons, while perhaps giving some insight into their process of election.

But what society is this called Mary's Chapel?

They also have two Deacons and because of many lucrative jobs obtained by their representatives while in Council, much contention often arises among them, who shall get in; and they who cannot get into Council, you can be sure, envy those who do. This makes the majority assiduous to render their Deacons obnoxious to the Council, by binding them down as much as they can, to thwart every measure proposed therein, that the City's employments may be more generally shared among them; and I can assure you it is chiefly

²³Maitland *op. cit.* p318.

²⁴Town Council Minutes. City Chambers.

for these reasons that there are more turbulent spirits among them than any of the other Incorporations²⁵.

Although the logic of this argument is somewhat flawed, the idea of the Incorporations sending stooges to the council is hinted at elsewhere²⁶, although the evidence of the men chosen as deacons by Mary's Chapel at least tends to belie this.

Events came to a head when an election was held by the ordinary members of the council sympathetic to the Congress and the extraordinary deacons, with the intention of reforming the Set. These men gathered in Archer's Hall, and accounts of what actually happened there vary wildly. Critics claimed that the relevant members were invited to the Hall by Stodart and his patrons, entertained, and then locked up until they surrendered their vote²⁷. The alternative view, as put in an address *To the Inhabitants of Edinburgh*, is that the relevant council members locked themselves into the hall to prevent attacks by Laurence Dundas's supporters; or as he puts it, not without irony, 'they spontaneously proposed to live together in the Archer's Hall till the election should be finished'. It is even pointed out several times by both camps that Adam Smith, Deacon of the Skinners, had to break out of the Hall despite declaring his support²⁸.

The upshot of all this was that even though the election was completed and obviously won by Stodart the result was later overturned by the Court of Session. Thus Laurence Dundas won the day, although he was soon superceded as the city's patron by the combined team of Henry Dundas and the Duke of Buccleuch. However, reform of the Set was many more years in coming, despite the inequalities

²⁵Pamphlet *Fresh Intelligence from the Coffee House*. This pamphlet also casts aspersions on the Trades by subtly linking them with the Catholic faith. The Hammermen, as well as Mary's Chapel, it proclaims, meet 'in another old Popish church, called Magdalen Chapel'.

²⁶Pamphlet *An Address to the Citizens of Edinburgh, Upon the Nature of the Present Sett of the City and the Necessity of its being Speedily Reformed*.

²⁷Pamphlet *A Short Account of the Elections at Edinburgh*.

²⁸Pamphlets *To the Public from a Member of the Town Council and To the Inhabitants of Edinburgh*.

and inadequacies proclaimed by camps representing what seems like all the citizens of Edinburgh and more. These events do nevertheless put the Incorporations in a firm and actively political context, supporting the view that the more powerful ones, particularly Mary's Chapel, were capable of a considerable amount of self-determination and influence when it came to supporting their own corner with relation to decisions of major significance for the town. Colston put it rather more charitably in 1891:

Apart from the care and attention which in early times they bestowed on the production of their respective crafts, to fulfill a high standard of workmanship, they will be remembered still more for their noble struggles, during many generations, on behalf of free and popular elections in our Municipal Institutions ²⁹.

²⁹J Colston *The Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1891 pL.

FREEMASONRY

Any study of the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons must logically at some stage address the nature of the involvement of freemasonry with the furniture trade. The masonic part of this Incorporation did eventually become the primary Lodge of Edinburgh, which is known as Mary's Chapel No. 1, and in 1736, as has already been mentioned, Mary's Chapel itself had been the venue for the inauguration of the Grand Lodge of Scotland¹. It has already been mentioned that the wrights and masons did to some extent operate separately under the umbrella of their joint incorporation, particularly when it came to policing their separate trades and administering their apprenticeship process. As a result the masons had their own minute books, and surviving ones date back to 1598².

It is clear that the Masonic Lodge had existed as a distinctly separate entity from the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons since at least the early sixteenth century. It was like a shadow to the Incorporation³, and neither body was ever mentioned by the other in their respective minutes. Yet the Deacon of the Masons was always accepted as President or Master of the Lodge, and the Lodge always met at Mary's Chapel⁴. Certainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Lodge controlled the internal affairs of the masonry craft, while the Incorporation was the public face of the organization which dealt with relations with the community⁵. It is hard to tell how close were relations with the wrights at this time, but in 1700 the Deacon of the

¹ Colston *op. cit.* p177.

² Carr *op. cit.* p1.

³ The Lodge is described by D. Murray Lyon as an 'auxiliary' body to the masonic part of the Incorporation. *op. cit.* p42.

⁴ Stevenson *op. cit.* p13.

⁵ Carr *op. cit.* p22.

wrights, Patrick Anderson, and the Boxmaster, John Henderson, were noted in the minutes as having been elected as Masters of the Lodge⁶.

Later on in the eighteenth century the separate nature of the Lodge compared to the Incorporation is indicated by a dispute over hire of the rooms in Mary's Chapel. In 1769 the Lodge reacted indignantly when asked for rent of at least five pounds annually 'for the use of the hall which they have possess'd past memory of man'⁷. Significantly the Lodge noted in its complaint that

a considerable sum of money which was annually paid by the Lodge to indigent widows of members of the Incorporation was always understood as a gratuity for the use the Lodge enjoyed of the Large hall for its meetings.

It eventually agreed to pay the five pounds on the condition that the Incorporation did a certain amount of work to improve the standard of the Lodge's accomodation within the building, conceding, with slightly sarcastic undertones, that the

Incorporation were more proper judges how to distribute charities to the persons upon their poor roll⁸.

This dispute is perhaps a symptom of the growing detachment of freemasonry from its masonic roots. Certainly by the end of the eighteenth century freemasonry was effectively unrelated to the practice of a craft, and membership was largely taken for granted in polite, and probably not so polite, male Edinburgh society.

⁶*ibid.* p220.

⁷*D. Murray Lyon op. cit.* p254.

⁸*idem.*

THE MEMBERS OF MARY'S CHAPEL

The Incorporation of Mary's Chapel was of course composed of, and existed in the first instance for, its members, be they apprentices, journeymen or masters, and their families.

APPRENTICES

Dear Brother

Edr March 1st 1736

I write you this by Mr Gordon My good freind to acquante you that I have bound ffrancy to a wright in Edr he serves five years as aprentice and the sixth year he has touring[?] wadges from his Master but he's oblided to stay with the same master all the sixth year in order to have the freedom of Edr. He Does Not serve with the same Man that he's bound to but serves with one Mr Lenge¹ without the Town where he will have a greate Deall of fine work of all sorts, the prentice fee is 12 guineas and 2 guineas to the Masters wife ... the Man that he's bound with pays all the Charges of binding and booking him in their Corporation books wch comes to one pond five shillings sterl. I paying the treat to their Deacons and Box Master at signing the Indentures, ... Charles Harpson is very Well pleased with the Man ffrancy works with And thinks him better than if he had been in Town the time of his apprenticeship seeing he has the freedom of the Town, I endeavourd to have bound him to a writer or shoemaker but could not get him perswaded from being a wright which I wish to God he may succeed in, being the only Trade he inclin'd ... I am for to advance five guineas of the aprentice fee 1st Novr and the Rest in June or Else I must pay interest for it to Martinmass Next, ... Doctor James is very well and Desired me make his Compliments to you and bedfellow

I am in best Dr Br your own

James Stewart²

¹Perhaps the Alexander Laing listed in the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights*. The EEC of 17th Dec 1753 has a notice posted to the creditors of Alexander Laing, wright in Multreeshill, near Edinburgh, which sounds as though it could easily be the man mentioned above. However, the text goes on to say that he died twenty six years ago; nevertheless, it does seem unlikely that the creditors would be contacted so long after his death, so perhaps this is a misprint.

²GD181/224.

Thus wrote James Stewart of his nephew Francis, who is indeed listed in the *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices* as having become apprentice to John Yetts, wright, on the 17th March 1736. Francis's father was William Stewart of Auchoyle and this is clearly a typical case of a younger son of a landed family (however small the area of land) going into trade. A similar situation is discussed in a letter to William Murray of Polmaise, dated 1752, in which his brother discusses the fate of his son.

I have yet another scheme in hand, to wit, to get Sandy put apprentice to a wright, for seamen I find are employed little more than half of ye year, & tis but bare bread & slavery even then. My endeavour is to get them all work'd into honest callings, whereby they may be in time totally supported without our help³.

However, Smout claims that

most craftsmen apprentices in the Edinburgh area ... were almost never the sons of lairds and were not often the sons of merchants, except those in the smallest burghs: they were the children of peasants, of other craftsmen, of sailors, even of 'workmen' ⁴.

With respect to wrights this must clearly be refuted for the eighteenth century. Most of Edinburgh's furniture makers who had been through an apprenticeship and become burgesses came from the families of either minor landowners, lawyers, successful merchants or tradesmen. Indeed they had to in order simply to be able to afford the training and enrolment, and the costs of setting up in business. Alexander Peter, for instance, was the son of James Peter of Chaple, and one of his apprentices, Michael Malcolm, was the third son of Sir John Malcolm of Lochor⁵. That most of the

³GD189/2/313.

⁴Smout *op. cit.* pp162-3.

⁵*Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* p85. Michael Malcolm in fact became the 3rd baronet on the death of his father in August 1753, his two elder brothers having predeceased him. He was uncommonly well connected for a cabinet maker, having married Katherine, daughter of Peter Bathurst of Clarendon Park, Wiltshire, on the 1st February 1752 (by which time he would have been heir to his father's estates). Katherine's maternal grandfather was the 1st Earl Ferrers. Malcolm died in Edinburgh on the 5th May 1793, having sold his estate in 1790. There is no evidence of him ever actually working as a cabinet maker, although three (possibly one and the same) Michael Malcolms are listed in passing in the *DEFM* as working in London in the 1740's and 50's. *Complete Baronetage* ed. George E Cockayne 6 Vols published between 1900-1909. Microprint facsimile published 1983 vol IV p246.

unrecorded journeymen and labourers came from a 'distinctly lower social origin'⁶ is however indisputable⁷.

The fourteen guineas mentioned in the letter is the only known account of an apprentice fee for Edinburgh, as, unlike the Joiner's Company Records in London, the Records of Mary's Chapel do not record the actual fees taken by the Masters. They simply record the booking fee mentioned above and the date. According to the Accounts of Mary's Chapel, from the end of the seventeenth century until 1749 this was fixed at £ 5 Scots (8/ 4d. sterl.), rising by six shillings Scots in 1753, and then doubling by 1768⁸. These sums are considerably less than the one pound five shillings mentioned above. There were clearly ancillary charges not noted in the books, which may have included recording the apprentice in the Town Register, as well as the 'treat' for the Deacons and Boxmaster. It is interesting that the master was liable for these charges as they are clearly responsible for a substantial amount of the apprentice fee. By 1827 a master had to pay £3 8/ 8d sterling for registering an apprentice, only 17/ 8d of which went into the coffers of the Incorporation, the rest apparently being soaked up by administrative costs⁹. *The Laws of the United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh* of 1827 from which these latter figures are taken also provides information on restrictions which had to be met¹⁰. Apprentices had to be younger than twenty one at the time of registration, and bound for at least six years to one master only. The evidence points to these being reasonably constant laws.

⁶Smout *op. cit.* p162.

⁷Whyte discusses the general mobility of apprentices throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and suggests that Glasgow became an increasingly attractive and popular prospect. He does not deal with the furniture trades specifically. D Whyte 'Population mobility in Early Modern Scotland' RA Houston and ID Whyte eds. *Scottish Society* Cambridge 1989 pp37-58

⁸Mary's Chapel Accounts. City Chambers.

⁹*Laws of... Mary's Chapel op. cit.* p10.

¹⁰*ibid.* p9.

Apprenticeships generally seemed to last about eight or nine years. Masons had three distinct phases to their apprenticeship. There was an initial period of two or three years training after they had been entered in the Town Register as an apprentice; they were then entered as an apprentice with the Lodge, becoming known as an Entered Apprentice; after about seven years as an Entered Apprentice they became a Fellow of Craft, having to work as a journeyman for a further year before being allowed to become a freeman burgess¹¹. The pattern for the wrights is less clear but their apprentices were entered in the Mary's Chapel accounts at the same time as the Town Register, and probably did in fact follow a similar training. Trained apprentices applying to become freemen of the Incorporation always mention this period of work between the end of their apprenticeship and the time of the Petition¹². A glance at the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* reveals ten years as a fairly standard time between enrollment as an apprentice and becoming a Burgess.

However, there is a complication with these calculations as men who had completed their apprenticeships often did not take up their right to become a burgess immediately. Alexander Peter did not become a burgess until fifteen years after his registration, and his apprentice William Mathie waited twenty seven years; Peter Martin was apprenticed to James Tait for six years in 1762, but did not become a burgess until 1797; and as a final example John Little, who had been apprenticed to James Brownhill nine years after Peter, waited fifty years before he became registered as a burgess. It is possible to speculate on the reasons for these and similar delays. In some cases lack of funds may have required it. In others it may not have been deemed necessary by the craftsman in question to spend the money acquiring his freedom; Martin trained as an upholsterer and his father was a wright in Pathhead, so he may have found it convenient to work for his father without needing to be a burgess. Mathie was certainly working independently, although probably under the

¹¹*Carr op. cit.* pp5-7.

¹²See below.

wing of Peter, as early as 1757, so it was clearly unnecessary for him to acquire his freedom at that time. Others may simply have been content working as journeymen, or waiting for an opportunity to marry into the trade. The internal politics of this situation are obviously not as clear as the various Acts of the Town Council and Parliament make out, but one passed in 1717 may provide a clue. This stated that

by the sett and constitution of this citie tradesmen as well as merchants are declaired capable of being gildbrother, but rarely admit themselves untill they be chose to some office that absolutely requires their being gild brothers¹³,

and specified that tradesmen must take up their privilege of gildbrotherhood within three years or forfeit it. Perhaps a similar attitude pertained amongst craftsmen with relation to becoming burgesses.

The most reliable source for information about burgess fees (or 'Upsetts of freemen') would appear once again to be the records of Mary's Chapel. By these accounts the cost of becoming a burgess having served an apprenticeship was £130 Scots (£ 10 16/ 8d sterling) in 1697, and the same in 1747. If one was also the son or son-in-law of a burgess then the fee was reduced to £107 Scots (£ 8 18/ 4d sterling)¹⁴. By 1771 the former fee had been doubled, and one assumes that the latter had been raised as well. In 1827 the *Laws of Mary's Chapel* ¹⁵, gives the fee for an apprentice as £ 30 sterling, that for a son of a burgess whose craft is the same as that being applied for as £18 , and if the craft is different £ 21 13/ 4d. There is no reduction for sons-in-law¹⁶. As

¹³*Marwick op. cit.* p198.

¹⁴William Brodie paid £ 8 19/ 11d to Mary's Chapel when he became a burgess by right of his father Francis in 1763.

¹⁵*op. cit.*

¹⁶*Maitland op. cit.* p293 writing in 1753 and *Marwick op. cit.* p213-4 give conflicting, and much reduced sums. Both were however more concerned with the Town Council, and these may reflect additional fees payable to the Town, once one had become officially free of a craft.

discussed above, the fees were vastly increased if one had not served an apprenticeship.

As well as paying the burgess fees an apprentice had to prove that he was capable in his chosen trade. This involved completing a task set by the Incorporation, within a time limit, to the satisfaction of two appointed 'essay masters'. For the wrights the task involved making an essay piece which would be one of a small variety of standard items. At the end of the seventeenth century the four types most regularly used were a wainscot press, a wainscot aumbrie, an oval table and a box or 'closs' bed¹⁷. In the eighteenth century the wainscot press appears most, but there is the added possibility of being set a mahogany desk, no doubt to test skills at working with this new material¹⁸.

The most interesting aspect of these essays is that they all specifically invoked the use of the Orders, and demanded a practical demonstration of the skills of draughtsmanship. As early as 1683 Charles George was required to make 'ane Closs bed ... with ane dorick entablature'¹⁹, and after this the orders were often specified as having to be in the manner of Vignola, Scamozzi, and most frequently Palladio²⁰. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century Palladio was almost exclusively cited as the source²¹. Charles Peterson considers that this training in 'classical design'

¹⁷David Jones 'Box Beds in Eastern Scotland' *Regional Furniture* V 1991 p84.

¹⁸MSS of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh. NLS Acc7344.

¹⁹Jones *op. cit.* p83.

²⁰*idem.*

²¹See the MSS of Mary's Chapel NLS *op. cit.* Alexander Peter however was ordered to make 'a Wainscot press ... intabulator on the head of the Corinthian order after Scamozie' in 1728. Mary's Chapel Records, City Chambers Bay B Shelf 16.

reveals the unexpected extent to which the ideas of the Enlightenment permeated even the lower ranks of Scottish society²².

Indeed it does seem to have been a requirement unique to Edinburgh, and nothing similar is known to have taken place throughout the rest of Britain. As has already been demonstrated, elevation to a burgess and member of Mary's Chapel was a considerable achievement, involving substantial expence but giving one a certain position in society.

A single example from 1724, will suffice as an example of the rigorous demands of the Incorporation. The apprentice was required to address 'their Wisdoms the Deacons, Boxmaster, Quartermasters and Remanent Members of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapell' stating his claim. In this case

The Petition of Alexander Cairns Wright Burges of Edinburgh

Humbly Sheweth

That I having served my Apprenticeship for the freedom of your Incorporation with William McNicholson wright Burgess of the said Burgh as my Discharged Indentures herewith produced will testify whereby I have good and undoubted right to the freedom and privileges therof likeas since expiring of my Apprenticeship I constantly have practised the said art and trade of wright craft whereby I am become sufficiently able and qualified for serving his Majesties Leidges therein if I were admitted a freeman among the rest of the Brethren freemen wrights in Edinburgh whereto I have good and undoubted right ²³.

'Their Wisdoms' responded to this petition on the 30th July 1724:

The house having considered the above petition they appoint the petitioner to make for his essay a wainscott press pedestall lifting off in two parts having ffour lidds with raist mouldings off the timber itself angled from poynt to poynt having Base and surbase and on whole intabulator in the top of the Corinthian order after Palladio And ordain him to put on the iron work himself and to draw the draught of his essay before the Deacons, Boxmaster, Quartermaster and Essay Master, and to furnish and profyte the same Betwixt the date

²²Peterson *Robert Smith op. cit.* p279.

²³MSS of Mary's Chapel NLS Acc7344/3.

hereof and the first day of November to come and appoint Andrew Ronaldson & James Dunlop wright to be his essay masters²⁴.

It is impossible to get a comprehensive picture of the general ratio of apprentices to journeymen in Edinburgh workshops but clues can be gleaned from a few specific instances. In London over the middle decades of the century Pat Kirkham calculates that the leading firms had about one apprentice for every ten to seventeen craftsmen employed²⁵. Towards the end of the century the relative number of craftsmen in the larger firms seems to have increased.

William Scott, Deacon of Mary's Chapel from 1692-4, is listed in the Poll Tax returns for the same period as employing three men and having one apprentice²⁶. This seems fairly categorical but according to the *Register of Apprentices* between 1688 and 1704 he took five apprentices, three of them before 1694. The poll tax returns may not be correct, but there is clearly a discrepancy here, and Scott was undoubtedly the most successful cabinet maker of this period. He declared property of five thousand merks for the tax returns, which placed him on a par with the wealthy merchants of the city.

The two most successful cabinet makers of the second and third quarters of the century were Francis Brodie and Alexander Peter, and it is possible to produce figures of a kind for them. Between 1735 and 1741 Brodie booked twenty four journeymen yet is only listed as having taken one apprentice in 1738 and one in 1741. By

²⁴The question of what happened to essay pieces once they had been submitted is interesting. They were probably normally kept as mementoes, as the bookcase apparently made by Charles Watson as his 'prentice piece' in the collection of NMS illustrates (fig. 3); it should be said, however, that if this really is his essay piece, as the plaque on it attests, it cannot have been made much before 1785, and it seems extraordinary that the Incorporation should have asked him to make something so old fashioned. A more interesting use was found by Robert Dallas in Aberdeen, who raffled his essay piece, proudly stating it to be 'well completed and finished, and adorned with very fine chequering'. *Aberdeen Journal* 17th December 1754.

²⁵Kirkham *op. cit.* p49.

²⁶Marguerite Wood 'Edinburgh Poll Tax Returns' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XXV 1945 p115.

comparison Peter booked thirty nine journeymen between 1729 and 1749, and took four apprentices between 1733 and 1745, exactly one every four years²⁷. This gives us a ratio of somewhere between one apprentice to ten or twenty journeymen, which is at least in the order of what one would expect given the London figures.

The conditions under which apprentices lived and worked are equally hard to find out about. They are occasionally mentioned in notices in the papers²⁸ and Hugo Arnot scurrilously recounts the decline in the standards of apprentice behaviour during the second half of the century. He writes that in 1763 ‘Masters took charge of their apprentices, and kept them under their eye in their own houses’, which sounds not unlike the situation that Francis Stewart would have found himself in almost thirty years earlier. However by 1783,

Few Masters will receive apprentices to stay in their house; and yet from them succeeding society is to be formed, and future magistrates and councillors chosen; if they attend their hours of business Masters take no further charge. The rest of their time may be passed (as it too often is) in vice and debauchery; hence they become idle, insolent, and dishonest. Masters complain of their servants and apprentices, but the evil often lies with themselves²⁹.

That said, after a few years of service apprentices would often be sent out with orders, and be responsible for assembling furniture and upholstery *in situ*. This perhaps relates to the touring wages which Francis Stewart was to receive in his sixth year³⁰.

²⁷All figures collated from the Mary’s Chapel Accounts in the City Chambers.

²⁸For instance James Caddell placed the following notice in the *EEC* of 24th September 1763.
On Wednesday the 14th inst. Robert Addison, Upholsterer Apprentice, made an elopement from his master. Notice is since had that he has taken his route for Newcastle, and intends to go from thence by sea to London. He had on a black coat when he left this place, he is about 18 years of age, stout made, fresh in complexion, and brown hair. Whoever apprehends the said Robert Addison, shall have a handsome reward by applying to the Publisher of this paper.

²⁹Arnot *op. cit.* p664.

³⁰John Schaw often sent one of his apprentices, James Russell, ‘to put up furniture to some Customers’; GD18/5751. In 1753 the Marquis of Tweeddale was charged 20d a day for the services of Russell and Andrew Gillespie, both Schaw’s apprentices; NLS MS14662/46-55.

JOURNEYMEN

the greitt multitude of jurnaymen or taskmen of the craftis are na thing ellis bot idill vagabund persouns, bund to na maister, trublers of the quyet estaitt of this commoun weill, polluting the sam with all wicketnes, and beris na burding with the towne, bot are verray hurtfull to the honest nichtbouris burgesseis and frie craftsmen of the sam ¹.

This was written in 1583, as part of the justification for an Act which ordained that journeymen had to be enlisted with a freeman burges. By the seventeenth century journeymen had to be registered by their masters in the books of Mary's Chapel², in much the same way as apprentices had to be.

This sixteenth century account undoubtedly does the journeymen of the eighteenth century Edinburgh furniture trade a great injustice. It was these men who really made the furniture discussed in this thesis³, yet their names and particular skills are largely lost to us. Nevertheless some attempt will be made here to give an admittedly fragmented account of their way of life. Journeymen were employed by masters on a daily wage, their title deriving from the french word *ournée*. A letter in the *Caledonian Mercury* gives some idea of their standard of living in the early 1750's.

They all wore leather aprons, which they considered as the badge of their profession; ... their clothes were of Scots manufacture, suitable for their laborious work; and the same coat served on Sunday, while it remained any way decent. Their heads were always covered with stript worsted caps at their work, and the same served to defend their heads from the cold when they rested from their labours. They, indeed, tasted few of the delicacies of life. When they went to the ale-house, or sent for drink to their work,

¹Marwick *op. cit.* p133.

²Mary's Chapel Account Books. City Chambers. The charge for this from at least 1697 until 1749 was £ 2 scots, or 3/4d sterling.

³Disregarding the isolated examples of the estate wrights Charles Douglass at Yester and Thomas Welsh at Hopetoun.

twopenny ale was their highest ambition, unless on some solemnities. In a word they accommodated themselves to their small income ⁴.

The correspondent goes on to recount the state of things in 1778, having himself been a journeyman wright throughout the intervening period.

The leather apron is, indeed, now laid aside by the most of us, except when at work; and numbers of us would be highly affronted to be seen on the street with the leather apron about them.

The clothes now wore by the most of us, are of a finer texture than formerly. We can put on as good English clothes on Sunday as the Lord Provost would have gone to church with 30 years ago.

The worsted cap is now laid aside in the morning, and a hat is introduced in its room; and, were a number of our modern brethren's heads examined, there would be found 20 or 30 hair pins put in by the ingenious hands of Mr Hairdresser.

When we go to the tavern or tap-room, we would be highly affronted if the drawer were to ask if we wanted twopenny. No: Strong ale, porter, or *the water of life*, is our common drink. Even when drink is sent for to the work it must be strong ale or porter ⁵.

These accounts must be qualified by adding that the journeyman writing them - he calls himself 'An Old Hand' - was clearly of a reactionary bent, and disapproved of the posturing of some of his younger colleagues. Arnot, writing at exactly the same time, gives a rather different picture of the hardship of a journeyman's life:

a journeyman in Edinburgh, unless of the better sort, rarely earns more than £14 a year. Suppose him married, and that he has three children; and this is surely no extraordinary case; out of the £14 he must deduct £2 for house-rent, and public burthens; and from the remaining £12 his family, of five persons is maintained⁶.

Journeymen wrights were generally of the 'better kind', and would have earned up to about £20 a year - roughly equivalent to a set of a dozen carved mahogany chairs⁷.

⁴CM 20th June 1778.

⁵*idem*.

⁶Arnot *op. cit.* p557.

⁷To take but one example, in 1741 Francis Brodie charged twenty five shillings for a 'mahogany chair with eagles feet', and the corresponding 'cettee chairs' were fifty shillings. CS238/B/1/79.

They also had to provide their own tools, as notices of fires in workshops make only too clear.

The CHEST and TOOLS of the WORKMEN being totally consumed, they are under the necessity of applying for the PUBLIC AID to procure such a sum as will enable them to purchase Tools, by which to earn a subsistence for themselves and numerous families ⁸.

Masters did not insure their workmen's tools, on which their livelihood depended, when they insured their stock. One wonders whether Mary's Chapel helped journeymen through such traumas, in the way that cabinet makers' Friendly Societies did in England⁹.

If a journeyman did fall on particularly hard times, as a last resort he could petition Mary's Chapel for help, as George Stirling did in 1727, viz.

the petitioner was prentice to John Galloway wright and seved for my freedom (but unhappily never obtained it) and ever since has served as Journeyman ... & faithfully, But now being on in age and weak and infirm Not able to labour and work as formerly so That I am fallen in strait and want ...¹⁰

In a large workshop the journeymen would have been entirely responsible for making the items of furniture, the master concerning himself solely with matters of management, stock-keeping, sales and commissions, and of course design. It is likely that, as in London, an individual journeyman would be responsible for making an entire piece of furniture from start to finish, although specialist aspects of the trade such as upholstery or japanning would be carried out by the appropriate craftsman.

⁸EEC 19th December 1801.

⁹The Leeds, London and Salop Friendly Societies all had as one of their primary functions repairing 'the Loss of Tools by Fire'. Anthea Mullins 'Local Furniture Makers at Harewood House as Representative of Provincial Craftsmanship' *Furniture History* I 1965 p37; Simon Jervis 'A Salop Friendly Society Membership Card' *Regional Furniture* IV 1990 pp124-5.

¹⁰Mary's Chapel Records. NLS Acc7332/2/7. See below for more examples of the charitable works of Mary's Chapel.

However, specific records of items of furniture such as do survive are almost invariably in the form of accounts between cabinet maker and client. Thus, although we know that Francis Brodie signed on twenty four journeymen between 1735, when he started his business, and 1741, and we know of many items of furniture which he sold under his name in that period, to actually identify the input of the journeymen themselves is generally impossible.

Occasionally journeymen are mentioned by name in accounts when doing repairs to houses or furniture *in situ*, but this is rare¹¹. Nevertheless, much can be inferred from the account books of John Fisher, who was declared bankrupt in 1788¹². These record, among other things, wages paid to William Muckle during 1786 for making clock cases. His wages vary depending on the amount of hours he worked, and it is also apparent that Fisher had bought him a pair of shoes¹³, and a small part of Muckles wages went towards these every week. A similar system was probably often operated in order to allow journeymen to acquire their tools. Muckle's exact wage is never stated but must have been somewhere between one and one and a half shillings a day. John Lawder also worked for Fisher on a similar day and hourly basis, but again his exact wages are not stated, and cannot be worked out, as he also owed Fisher money for goods. We are on firmer ground with the journeymen W Walker, who was paid one shilling and fourpence a day, J Cairnton, who was paid one shilling and threepence, and J. F. who was paid a shilling a day. Cairnton only made cabinet work, the items listed including a breakfast table, which took 4 days and 9 hours to make; a dining table 4 foot by 4 foot 10 inches, 6 days 5 hours; a table with music desk, 18 days; a tea chest, 3 days 6 hours; a veneered chest of drawers, 16 days 3 hours; a sideboard table with two drawers and pot stand, 28 days and 3 hours; an inlaid tea tray, 5 days 2 hours; and an oval table with wings and a drawer, 6 days.

¹¹William Dick is mentioned by John Schaw. NLS MS14662/46-55.

¹²See APPENDIX IV for full details of Fisher, and also the Case Study in Chapter V.

¹³These cost ten shillings including buckles, which was well over a week's wages.

Walker also made cabinet work, including a wine cooler, 14 days 8 hours; a solid mahogany chest of drawers, 16 days; and a set of mahogany joining dining tables, 12 days. It is of particular interest that he also made chairs, indicating that these were not totally different skills, as is often assumed. In 81 days and 3 hours he made 23 chairs, 8 of mahogany and 15 of elm, of which two of each were armchairs. This is approximately three and a half days a chair, or four shillings eight pence labour. Another employee of Fishers' was William Bell, who spent 45 days making a desk and a chest of drawers (probably a single item of furniture) at a shilling a day, with three days help from Cairnton. Fisher notes this as a 'cursed time indeed' which perhaps reflects Bell's lowly status on the pay scale. Nevertheless his wage was not too poor compared to Mr Webb, who was 'entered to the Back Room' on the 30th December 1785 at a wage of sixpence a day.

These figures are an invaluable insight into the working practices of a reasonably small but very active, if unprofitable, workshop. The labour costs are of particular interest, Bell's chest and drawers using about two pounds and eight shillings worth of labour, which was equivalent to 48 days, but actually being in the workshop for over two months. Larger workshops with a greater range of journeymen, and apprentices (Fisher is not known to have had any apprentices), would no doubt have indulged in a certain amount of specialization of labour, but perhaps not as much as might have been expected.

A case from the Sheriff Court in 1737 gives some idea of the remuneration which a Master might expect for each journeyman that he employed. This was with relation to charges for work which they had done in a client's house. Robert Butter, an unmarried twenty three year old journeyman, had been sent by his master John Moubray to work at a client's house and the client had queried the charge for his services. Moubray explained the charge by claiming that the ordinary profit which a master expected for each journeyman who worked under him was two shillings a

week. This was corroborated by William McVey and James Herriot¹⁴, both master wrights. If work was available it was obviously very advantageous to keep a large workshop¹⁵. However, journeymen did to some extent have to be paid when work was not available, or had not been paid for.

Specific wages have already been mentioned several times but it is harder to ascertain the broader figures which might relate to an annual salary. For example in 1735 the wright John Brodie was charging between eight and twelve pence a day for his journeymen; in light of the above statements, they would perhaps have received two thirds of this¹⁶. By 1760 wages were in the order of a shilling a day maximum, rising to perhaps a shilling and sixpence by the end of the century. The maximum level is significant, as this was fixed by the town magistrates and Masters were penalised if they exceeded it¹⁷. Thus the masters were conveniently provided (by their peers) with a legal excuse for not raising wages. A figure of a shilling a day (and that would be a twelve hour day¹⁸) gives an annual salary of £15 12/ for a six day week worked throughout the year¹⁹, but it must be remembered that there no pensions or sick leave.

Hamilton maintains that the price of oatmeal doubled over the span of the second half of the century, with wages more than keeping up with this, and reckons that a

¹⁴SC 39/17/140/August 1737 Moubray vs. Butcher.

¹⁵In 1784 the journeymen of Dundee complained sarcastically that 'several of the Masters are generous enough to pay some Journeymen with half the wages they draw for them' *CM* 19th May. See below.

¹⁶SC 39/17/139/Jan 1737 Brodie vs. Denholm.

¹⁷W H Marwick *A Short History of Labour in Scotland* 1967 p2. This practice dated back to the fifteenth century, wage restraints clearly not being a modern invention; see *J. Marwick op. cit.* p. 41. Also see *Carr op. cit.* p15, where an example from 1610 of wages being fixed is given; this was as a direct result of the Masons and Wrights charging too much for their services.

¹⁸Hamilton *Economic History op. cit.* p346.

¹⁹Although there was obviously less daylight in the winter cabinet makers were able to work inside by candlelight. This was far harder outside, and in 1764 journeymen masons stated that they were prepared to work for 1/3d a day in the summer and 1/ a day in the winter. *EEC* 1st September 1764.

common labourer earned about sixpence a day in 1750²⁰. He also points out that throughout the century there was a progressive move from payment in kind to a full wage²¹. There are several examples of cabinet makers being paid at least in part in kind in the first half of the century²², and it seems that journeymen too may often have been employed on a 'meat and fee' basis. Yet journeymen's wages often do not seem to have risen particularly throughout most of the century at all. This situation is confirmed by reports of successive disputes.

Journeymen of all trades often formed unofficial Societies, and there was certainly a Society of Journeymen Wrights in Edinburgh as early as 1755²³. However, the first major dispute that the wrights became involved in was in 1764, when the journeymen masons 'entered into a combination'²⁴ with the intention of obtaining higher wages. They went on strike, and were soon followed by the journeymen wrights, but neither appear to have been immediately successful in their claim for higher wages.

In 1778 the wrights made a far more concerted attempt to improve their lot. The *Caledonian Mercury* of May 25th carried an announcement of the formation of the General Society of Journeymen Wrights, and also laid out their reasons for complaint.

The JOURNEYMEN WRIGHTS in and about the City of Edinburgh, at present standing off for advance wages, on account of the insufficiency of the wages just now given to support them in any decent way, because of the rise in all manner of provisions²⁵, and also in the price of their tools, any Nobleman or Gentleman who have occasion for work in the Joiner or Cabinet way, may have men of the best abilities in either of these branches, by

²⁰*Hamilton op. cit.* p. 377.

²¹*ibid.* p. 343.

²²See Chapter VI; Introduction.

²³Register of Sasines 27/145/346. The Society was taking a dwelling house in a new tenement in Potterrow.

²⁴*EEC* 9th July 1764.

²⁵This would have been exacerbated by the war with the American colonies.

applying to the General Society of Journeymen Wrights in and about Edinburgh, and care of James Rea, Aitken's Land, foot of Robertson's Close, Cowgate.

The announcement finished with an appeal to their colleagues elsewhere:

As our honest struggle on this occasion will be of service to our brethren in the country, as well as to us, we desire that they will postpone coming to Edinburgh till our affair is settled.

This appeal was apparently slightly more sinister than it appeared, as in the same week the Procurator Fiscal felt it necessary to inform such workmen

who are either not connected in such combinations, or who have been improperly induced to enter into the same, [and] would willingly return to their duty, but were intimidated therefrom by the threats of their brethren ... that they are in perfect safety to enter to their master's service, and in case they are in any ways disturbed or molested ... the persons so disturbing them, shall be prosecuted according to law ²⁶.

On May 27th the Master Joiners, Cabinet Makers and Masons 'in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood' took direct action themselves by acquainting

the journeymen of these trades, throughout Scotland, or elsewhere, that upon coming to Edinburgh, they will be provided in immediate employment, and receive all suitable encouragement ²⁷.

By June 17th the General Society of Journeymen Cabinet Makers, Joiners and Carvers, which was after all an 'unlawful combination', had clearly reached a state of considerable organization. They had set up a 'SUBSCRIPTION for BUILDING HOUSES, ... whereof the utmost frugality is to be followed', and had already raised £130. They were also about to establish, with considerable audacity,

a Manufactory of all manner of CABINET and CHAIR WORK, where variety of the neatest and newest patterns of every article may be had, all done by men of the best abilities in the kingdom ... at the same place, Joiner Work of every sort will be contracted for.

²⁶EA 26th May 1778.

²⁷CM 27th May. See below for later comparisons from Dundee, Newcastle, and Dublin.

The journeymen then go on to thank their 'Brethren throughout the kingdom' for goods and money donated to their cause, but still feel it necessary to go on to reiterate that they hope they will 'still keep out of town, till matters are settled'²⁸.

Support from the public, such as it can be judged from the opinions of those who chose to write to the papers, was divided, but vociferous. A Glazier felt that the master wrights had joined in an 'illegal combination against the rights and privileges of their fellow freemen the glaziers'²⁹, and therefore failed to see how could they complain about their own journeymen acting in a similar way. A 'Mechanic' similarly put the journeymen wrights' case with considerable sympathy, arguing that their well-being was for the general good of the community.

The landlord will undoubtedly have a better chance for his rent; the meal seller, the baker, the ale-seller, the cloth merchant, &c will certainly be more pointedly paid; and in fine, every member of society, with whom they have any dealings, will reap advantage of it ... [besides] by apter tools, and readier methods of working, the modern Masters are, when the Journeymen are allowed their pitiful demand, still more in pocket than the ancients³⁰.

This last point seems particularly valid, and may be compared with the rational and impartial opinion of NEUTER, who argues strongly that wages should be graded according to skill, merit and achievement. For, unless merit is rewarded, 'there is no spur given to emulation ... and nothing whatever will ... arrive at any decent degree of perfection'³¹.

Support for the Masters was perhaps not surprisingly rather stronger. The Old Hand mentioned previously felt that the journeymen were getting above themselves. 'X' agreed that wages should be graded, but fiercely disputed the need for a general

²⁸CM June 17th 1778.

²⁹*idem*.

³⁰CM 3rd June 1778.

³¹CM 1st June 1778.

rise. He pointed out that employment was far more regular than it had ever been previously, which was 'equivalent to a further increase of wages, being a real addition to their annual income'; he wondered what would stop them asking for further increases if this dispute was won; and he feels that the consequence would also be general inflation. X's politics, and those of SCOTUS, who states that journeymen are free to work wherever they wish and are currently guilty of 'the most violent infringement of the liberty of trade'³², are clear. He does however claim, and if this is true it is of particular interest, that cabinet makers wages are considerably above the average rate for Scotland, and are not limited; that they earn up to ten shillings a week, and some of them even more; and that 'the prices they are paid for piece-work ... is the same as paid in London'³³.

For the Masters, the United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel published an announcement in the *Caledonian Mercury* on the 1st June. Their position was that

within the remembrance of many of the Brethren present, it appeared clearly, that ... the wages of Journeymen have been raised at least one third of their former amount, without the Masters prices being in any way augmented; consequently, every rise of wages for many years past, has, of course, been a gradual diminution of the Masters profits, ... and if, without the sanction of law, the masters were to grant the present demand of the Journeymen, the natural consequence would be to annihilate their profits altogether³⁴.

The Masters were playing a very canny game, as they wanted the journeymen to submit their case to the Magistrates, who would consider the arguments of both parties, and make a legally binding decision. This way the Masters could not lose; either wages stayed the same; or, if the journeymen had a fair case, the magistrates could set new ones which 'would give a certainty and stability to the rate'. It would also, of course,

³²CM 27th May 1778.

³³CM 1st July 1778.

³⁴CM 1st June 1778.

give authority to the masters to augment their prices in proportion to the rise of wages authorised by law³⁵.

Typically, the outcome of this dispute is not recorded.

There is, however, further evidence of mass unrest in December of 1792, when a General Meeting of the Fourteen Trades of Edinburgh was convened. This pompously announced that stability and tranquility in the city were essential for the good of trade and manufactures, apparently in an attempt to oppose various pamphlets which had been preaching the radical doctrines of *Liberty* and *Equality*. The meeting declared, and this reveals the real nature of its concern, that the Incorporations would

most cheerfully concur with any ... measure which tends to secure the Happiness and Safety of [the City's] inhabitants, and will exert their endeavours to impress upon the Minds of their Journeymen, Apprentices, and Servants, the same Sentiments of Peace and Good Order³⁶.

To conclude, although Hamilton writes, with considerable understatement, that 'in all these cases the scales were heavily weighted against the journeymen'³⁷, they can nevertheless be seen to have improved their standard of living, and in the long term did manage to regulate working practices by the introduction of the *Edinburgh Book of Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet Work* in 1805³⁸.

The journeymen wrights of Edinburgh were not alone in choosing to challenge the dominance of their masters. Their dispute of 1778 clearly inspired the journeymen Barbers and Hairdressers, who in June of that year resolved 'to free ourselves from

³⁵*idem*.

³⁶*EEC* 8th Dec 1792.

³⁷*Hamilton op. cit.* p350.

³⁸See D Jones 'Scottish Cabinet Makers' Price Books' *Regional Furniture* III 1989 pp27-39.

that slavish and sinful practise of having to work on the Lord's Day'³⁹. In the same month the Cooks and Cooksmaids followed suit⁴⁰. Further afield, in 1784 Dundee suffered a similar dispute between its journeymen wrights and their masters. By viewing the debate from Edinburgh it is possible to get some idea of the methods used by the Masters to attempt to break these strikes.

A notice in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* on the 18th May 1784 seems straight forward enough:

WANTED JOURNEYMEN WRIGHTS, For House and Cabinet Work ... Whereas, there are several large buildings presently carrying on in Dundee, and, in respect, there are not a sufficient number of Journeymen Wrights for House and Cabinet Work in Dundee, necessary for executing the demands of such work; these are therefore intimating to Journeymen Wrights, that, upon their repairing to Dundee, they will meet with proper encouragement.

The Journeymen Wrights of Dundee did not agree with their masters reading of the situation, and a lengthy notice which they placed in the Edinburgh press the next day gives a rather more rounded view of the scene.

[the Masters] seemed so much in a hurry that they forgot to carry with them the most essential part of the story, that is what we commonly call the TRUTH ... we have a sufficient number of hands ... the wages ... is very small ... several of the Masters are either unwilling or unable to pay us ... several of the Masters are generous enough to pay some Journeymen with half the wages they draw for them ... every Wright will understand what we mean by this...⁴¹

1784 also saw the masters and journeymen of Newcastle quarreling, partly as a result of the journeymen's desire to only work a twelve hour day. The Masters, as at Dundee, again promised good hands 'proper encouragement', and interestingly offered to pay either by the piece or by day. They were adamant that they would not

³⁹CM 20th June 1778.

⁴⁰CM 24th June 1778.

⁴¹CM 19th May 1784.

be 'imposed upon by the present set of men in town, [who] would not be satisfied on reasonable terms'⁴². The journeymen cabinet makers and joiners for their part appealed to their colleagues both in the town and the surrounding counties to be 'upon their guard, lest they be deceived'. They go on to 'humbly' hope, with perhaps just the hint of a threat,

that no one will prove himself so much an enemy to his own interest and that of his brethren residing here, as to supply the need of the masters, especially on so precarious a foundation⁴³.

Four years later there was a further dispute in Newcastle. This seems to have inspired by one Devergy Lisle, a leading cabinet maker of the city, promising that good cabinet makers, 'if sober men, will meet with proper encouragement, by applying above'⁴⁴. This apparently ingenuous statement provoked a flurry of abuse from the city's journeymen, who took issue with the oft raised concept of 'proper encouragement'.

Had that proper encouragement been given which is promised, there had been no occasion for such an Advertisement. ... There are already too many Good and Sober Cabinet makers out of Work by such proper encouragement ⁴⁵.

In a couple of months this simple dispute had grown into an all out strike, and contrasting notices were once again placed in the Edinburgh press. The Masters of Newcastle were promising journeymen carpenters, joiners, and cabinet makers from Edinburgh full employment throughout the winter season, if they came immediately⁴⁶. The extent of the strike is indicated by a final note:

⁴²*Newcastle Courant* 17th July 1784. Quoted by John Stabler 'English Newspaper Advertisements as a Source for Furniture History' *Regional Furniture* V 1991 pp93-102.

⁴³*idem*.

⁴⁴*Newcastle Courant* 9th February 1788. *Stabler op. cit.*

⁴⁵*Newcastle Courant* 16th February 1788. *Stabler op. cit.*

⁴⁶*CM* 14th and 19th June 1788.

N. B. Two or three hundred is wanted, there being a great number of buildings to finish.

The response to this is most illuminating, giving a very sad image of the journeymen of Newcastle which must be placed next to the apparent prosperity of the Edinburgh journeymen in 1778. Of course, it needs to be said that if they were that prosperous they would hardly have been likely to go to Newcastle.

TO THE JOURNEYMEN JOINERS AND CABINET MAKERS (of Edinburgh)

We expect that there will be an Advertisement in your papers, signifying the Want of Men in both branches; and there is no want of men ... here are too many of us ... but a great want of encouragement to men, who are now urged to the necessity of sticking [striking] for an advance to our wages, which advance is positively refused us. Wages run from 9s. to 10s. pr week, and provisions so very high, that a man who has a wife and three children is in a pitiful situation. Now, we expect that some Master will apply to you in person, and you, not knowing that we are sticking, may accept of the terms of the Master that comes to apply for hands. We do thoroughly rely upon your generosity in rejecting their proposals; and, by so doing, you will ever merit the gratitude of THE JOINERS AND CABINET MAKERS OF NEWCASTLE⁴⁷.

Further notices in the *Caledonian Mercury* complaining of 'a very great scarcity of Good Workmen in the Cabinet and Joiners line'⁴⁸ in Dublin, and in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* offering 'good encouragement' for journeymen carpenters and cabinet makers in Paisley⁴⁹, may reflect similar disputes. The former certainly adds to the impression of the distances which workmen may have been expected, or required, to travel in order to find gainful employment. To this might be added an early resolution of the Belfast Cabinet Club which stated that

the interest of our meeting is for the better encouragement of other travelling journeymen and by no means meant to be detrimental to our employers but for the good of the trade ⁵⁰.

⁴⁷EEC 19th June 1788.

⁴⁸12th July 1786.

⁴⁹24th May 1792.

⁵⁰David Jones 'An Early Cabinet Makers' Club in Belfast and their Book of Prices, 1822' *Regional Furniture* IV 1990 pp100-112.

This club seems to have been composed of most of the journeymen of Belfast, and gives an indication of what must have been the common way of ending these disputes. They made their own informal list of piece work prices, probably inspired by the *London Book of Prices* of 1788, and resolved:

That we shall support each other as brethren and abide by such measures as we think most prudent and that we shall not work for any except those that will agree to our prices.

They did not actually publish the official *Belfast Cabinet Makers' Book of Prices* until 1822, and when they did this was largely derived from the *Edinburgh Book of Prices*⁵¹.

The *Edinburgh Book of Prices*, like most regional Books of Prices, was modelled on the *Cabinet-Makers' London Book of Prices*⁵². This was advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on the 18th August 1787, and the preface to the *Edinburgh Book of Prices* makes it quite clear that the London one had been used for some time by the trade to agree working prices, although not always harmoniously:

Many inconveniences having arisen from the want of an approved standard, by which to regulate the Prices of Piece Work in the Cabinet Business in Edinburgh and neighbourhood; and it being found that, owing to various local circumstances, none of the books on that subject published in other places applied properly to this, made it highly expedient to bring forward the present publication.

This publication left little room for manoeuvre for either the masters or the journeymen of Edinburgh, as its full printed title actually states that it had been 'mutually agreed upon' by both those parties⁵³. One hopes that it was a satisfactory outcome after all those decades of wrangling.

⁵¹All this information from *Jones ibid.*

⁵²Reprinted, with introductory essays, as *Furniture History* XVIII 1982.

⁵³*The Edinburgh Book of Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet Work, with Various Tables, as Mutually Agreed Upon by the Masters and Journeymen* 1805.

CHARITABLE WORKS OF MARY'S CHAPEL

This function of Mary's Chapel has already been touched on, but to give an idea of the range of these activities, it will be instructive to quote some more examples¹.

Paying pensions to widows was perhaps the primary function of the charitable funds which Mary's Chapel had at its disposal. Thus in 1707 the widow of Alexander Douglas, a wright, petitioned the Committee stating that 'it hath pleased God to remove my said husband by Death who left me with three Children'. She was granted twelve pounds Scots a year 'for the use of the children'². In 1735 Rosanna Whyt, the widow of the wright John Moubray, 'being a poor stranger in the place incapable to do anything for subsisting [her] self and children' was given half a crown Scots a week. She petitioned again the next year, 'it being very well known that my husband died in a very low state as to the World' and succeeded in having her allowance doubled³.

In the last quarter of the century Mary's Chapel attempted to put provision of support for widows onto a slightly more organized plane by creating a Widow's Fund. The first of these was founded in 1768, members being obliged to pay six shillings a quarter; it is not clear how much the actual annuity was⁴. This scheme was wound up in 1790 because it was found that only the older members were subscribing, the Incorporation being unable to force its members to join. Thus it was tending to pay out more than it was collecting⁵. Another scheme had been started by

¹Taken from the Records of the Incorporation. NLS Acc 7332, 7344 and 7494.

²NLS Acc7332/2/7. This bundle has many similar petitions.

³NLS Acc7332/2/10.

⁴*Act of the Incorporations of Mary's Chapel Instituting a Scheme for Providing Annuities to Widows of the Members*. Published Edinburgh 1776. NLS. This contains the marvellous clause stating that 'the annuities of all widows shall cease at the term of Whitsunday or Martinmass preceding their deaths'.

⁵NLS Acc7344/4.

1794 which seems to have been more successful; it provided a fairly standard pension of about ten pounds a year, but it is hard to establish exactly what conditions were necessary to qualify for this⁶. By 1827 admission fees for everyone included a five pound statutory contribution to the Widow's fund⁷, which perhaps explains its healthy state in 1893⁸.

As well as providing pensions for widows Mary's Chapel would ensure that its members had a decent burial, and is frequently recorded as contributing towards the costs of funerals⁹. It also took care to see that a respectful number of mourners were present by obliging a quarter of its members to attend every funeral of a fellow member. This was done by assigning every member to one of four groups within the Incorporation, and each group had to attend funerals in turn¹⁰.

A related problem to that of widows, and seemingly a rather common one, was having a husband or father who fled abroad to escape bad debts. Thus in 1705 the wife of John Summerdaill complained of him 'having gone abroad and left me with three small children in a very bad condition'¹¹. She was awarded five pounds Scots quarterly. Similarly Harris, the daughter of David McClelland wright, had to petition Mary's Chapel in 1735:

My Father's affairs having fallen into Disorder in Augt 1732 he was necessital to Hurry himself abroad leaving your petitioner an Orphan upon the Breast and tho he had made some small provision for me by appointing some part of his Effects to be sold for my

⁶NLS Acc7332/3/15.

⁷*Laws of... Mary's Chapel op. cit.* p13.

⁸See above.

⁹NLS Acc7332/2/7 & 8.

¹⁰*Laws of... Mary's Chapel op. cit.* 24.

¹¹NLS Acc7332/2/7.

maintenance, yet these and all his other plenshing having fallen into the hands of his Creditors ... I thereby lost the fund of my subsistence ¹².

She was given twelve pounids Scots quarterly.

A perhaps more expected reason for petitioning the Committee for money was in the straight forward sense of a pension to cover an inability to work due to sickness or infirmity. Take an example from 1707:

The Petition of John Denham wright burges of Edr Humble Sheweth That where it hath pleased God of his providence to visit and afflict me with the Gout and severall other Diseases under which I have laboured this long time which has rendered me uncapable of working or earning my bread in a very sober way and seeing it is the laudable custom of the Incorporation to take care to prevent the sterving of freemen that are fallen aback

May it therefore please your Wisdoms to take my Lamentable sterving condition and out of your wonted bounty to order me to be Inrolled as a quarterly pentioner for what pention your wisdoms shall think proper for my necessary subsistance in respect of my inability to work and your petitioner shall ever pray

Att Mary's Chappell the twentie fourth of May 1707 ¹³.

Their 'Wisdoms' enrolled Denham as a quarterly pensioner receiving twelve pounds Scots yearly. In this context it is also of considerable note that Mary's Chapel also paid out money to journeymen in similarly constrained straits. Thus for instance in 1707 William Marshall, a journeyman wright, claimed that

Old age and povertie attended with unabilitie to work have all at once seized upon me where through I am reduced to the point of starving

May it therfore please your Wisdoms to order me something to supply my present urgent necessitie¹⁴.

¹²NLS Acc7332/2/10.

¹³NLS Acc7332/2/7.

¹⁴*idem*. This bundle and Acc7332/2/9 have many similar petitions.

Marshall was allowed forty shillings Scots. In 1750 another journeyman was given a one off payment of three pounds Scots,

having spent a great part of his lifetime in working journeywork to several of the Master wrights in Edinburgh, and is now thro' old age & other infirmitys confined to his bed, & is in a very weak, miserable, & starving condition, having nothing to support him¹⁵.

It seems that journeymen were never allowed a proper quarterly pension, merely sums to keep the wolves from the door.

The more honest alternative to fleeing abroad when faced with bad debts was prison, and in this situation once again Mary's Chapel was the final place to turn for assistance, viz:

[To the Deacon of the Wrights]

Sir

I am sorry that I am obliged to give you this trouble but as I know that you have been acquainted of my unlucky situation, I have used this freedom to desire the favour of you that, you would be so good as to take any method you think properest, to apoint the Boxmaster to advance the money for my Prison dues ... I am told by the folks here that it will cost three pounds sterling at least for my Prison dues, and therefore what I mean is, that you would be so good as ... to advance me Four pounds sterling for which I will willingly grant my Bill, and hope if it please God to enable me ... to repay the same thankfully...

Edinr 3rd July 1751.

Fortunately for the prisoner William Kendall the Incorporation looked charitably upon him, and saw fit to

appoint the Boxmaster to speak with those Concerned & Transact in the best manner the case for William Kendall's Liberation But judge it unnecessary to take any Bill for the money to be paid out on that account ¹⁶.

¹⁵NLS Acc7332/2/11.

¹⁶*idem*.

Mary's Chapel was also able to bestow its evidently not inconsiderable generosity on one David Ewing, a wright who was dumb. He was given a suit of clothes in 1735, and a couple of months later he duly thanked them for this while at the same time taking the opportunity to complain that he did not have a shirt to wear with it. As if to prove that everything is given to those who ask the Committee provided him with three¹⁷.

¹⁷NLS Acc7332/2/10.

III

1690-1740

FOUNDATIONS OF THE TRADE

Let us now turn to the three strands which comprise the furniture trade; the furniture itself, its makers, and their patrons. To fully understand the furniture trade in Edinburgh during the first decades of the eighteenth century it is necessary to investigate its origins in the city at the end of the seventeenth century, and the nature of the society for which it developed. The period after the Restoration in Edinburgh was, on balance, one of increasing prosperity and population, and also increasing English influence, culminating in the Union of 1707. The Union has been described as 'a political necessity for England and a commercial necessity for Scotland'¹, but if it did lay the ground for the commercial success of Scotland in the eighteenth century its effects took a couple of decades to take hold, being hampered by the political uncertainty of Jacobite rebellion.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, and before the Union of the Parliaments, Holyrood Abbey had been rebuilt at the instigation of Charles II², who wished to have a Palace suitable to his station in Scotland. This was symbolic not only of the restoration of the Monarchy, but also of the return of the Scottish Parliament, and of the revival of the fortune of Scotland itself. The 1670's was a decade of much prosperity and optimism in the country³, and it saw the revival of a court in the Canongate, to the west of Holyrood.

¹P Hume Brown *The Union of 1707; A Survey of Events* 1907 p101.

²Between 1671 and 1679. J Gifford, C McWilliam & D Walker *Edinburgh Buildings of Scotland* Edinburgh 1984 pp126-8.

³T C Smout *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union* Edinburgh 1963 p241.

At least, it was the semblance of a court, missing as it did the essential ingredient of a monarch; neither Charles, James, William, Mary, Anne or any of the first three Georges ever visited their Scottish palace⁴. Nevertheless, the Privy Council met at Holyrood until 1687⁵ and, as Mackay pointed out in 1723:

since the Abbey was converted into a Royal Palace, the Prime Nobility built their Palaces in this street, and those that were oblig'd to attend the Court, took their lodgings here⁶.

Many of these noblemen were of course wealthy in their own right, and were often also the recipients of royal or governmental patronage. Thus, in spite of the English view (which used to be largely accepted in Scotland) that Edinburgh was considered home to 'the grimmest of Presbyterians'⁷, and that the Scots considered that 'any regard for beauty and ornament was a concession to the lust of the eye and the pride of life'⁸ much of the Canongate was in fact furnished with considerable lavishness. Sitwell and Bamford talk of the 'depressing effect which Edinburgh must have produced on all strangers', but do concede that 'these houses did certainly possess ... elaborate interiors'⁹.

Elaborate interiors were also prominent in the clutch of country houses that was erected in these boom years by the extraordinary triumvirate of classically minded architects William Bruce (with Alexander Edward), James Smith and Alexander McGill. The 'Scottish landed class was investing in a big way in sumptuous country

⁴Although James, when Duke of York and the King's Commissioner for Scotland, did live at Holyrood between 1679 and 1682. Therefore there was at least a Royal Court of sorts during these years.

⁵In this year James VII foolishly established a Jesuit college in the Abbey, and ordered the Council Chamber to be converted into private Catholic Chapel Royal. This was ransacked by a mob after the accession of William and Mary. Margaret Swain 'The State Beds at Holyroodhouse' *Furniture History* XIV 1978 p128.

⁶John Mackay *A Journey Through Scotland* London 1723 p62.

⁷S Sitwell and F Bamford *Edinburgh* London 1948 p134.

⁸John Warrack *Domestic Life in Scotland 1488-1688* London 1920 p143.

⁹*Sitwell and Bamford op. cit.* p8.

houses'¹⁰ and this meant that, among others, the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensbury, and Lauderdale, and the Earls of Leslie, Panmure, Melville, and Annandale were all furnishing new houses in the country, and lodgings or apartments in the Canongate, simultaneously.

These noblemen would all have been familiar with the fashionable and expensive tastes of the English Court, many of them being an essential part of that court. They wished no doubt either to emulate these tastes or introduce them into Scotland and this 'increasing familiarity with English standards of comfort and elegance'¹¹ had a great influence. By the late 1680's Lord Strathmore was intending 'to be very profuse upon all things of ornament for my houses'¹², notable among them of course the recently rebuilt Glamis, and by 1689 a contemporary commentator was able to write that the Scottish aristocracy 'begin to have better buildings and to be very modish both in the fabric and furniture of their dwellings'¹³. Similarly, they wished the chamber of the Privy Council of Scotland to be fitted up in the best of taste; the spectacular beds, chairs and hangings in the Council Chamber and the Duke of Hamilton's apartments¹⁴ at Holyrood are well documented¹⁵, and other comparable inventories of the time confirm this picture of richness¹⁶. Inventories are however

¹⁰R Mitchison *Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603 - 1745* Edinburgh University Press 1983 p101.

¹¹J Warrack *op. cit.* pp146-7.

¹²J Macaulay *The Classical Country House in Scotland 1660 - 1800* London 1987 p3.

¹³Thomas Morer 'A Short Account of Scotland' *Early Travellers in Scotland* ed. P. Hume Brown Edinburgh 1891 p275. Three hundred years later, Ian Gow was able to write of the 'surprisingly lavish contents ... [and] grand furniture in the aristocratic lodgings of the Canongate'. I Gow 'The Eighteenth Century Interior in Scotland' *Scotland Creates* London 1990 p93.

¹⁴The first Duke of Hamilton had been appointed hereditary keeper of the Palace by Charles I.

¹⁵Inventories exist from 1672, 1684, 1693, 1707, 1727, 1761 and 1784. Margaret Swain 'The Furnishing of Holyroodhouse in 1668' *Connoisseur* Feb 1977 pp122-130, 'The State Beds at Holyroodhouse' *Furniture History* XIV 1978 pp58-60, and *Tapestries and Textiles at the Palace of Holyroodhouse* HMSO 1988.

¹⁶For instance, 'An Inventor of the household furniture belonging to the Countess of Roxburgh and the Duke her son in his graces house in the Canongate Taken upon the 26th of Sepber 1706' Roxburgh MSS NRA(S)1100/279; 'Ane Accompt of Houshold furnitor bought for the Earle of Panmure Lodgings att Edn 1696' and an 'Inventor of Household ffurniture in the Lodging at Edinb 21st Apryle 1714' GD45/18/992 & 909. Also inventories survive

generally quantitative rather than qualitative, and although they give us an idea of the furnishings, we are invariably left wanting more information; for instance, at the very beginning of the eighteenth century the Drawing Room at Craigiehall contained '5 black japand chairs covered with green and silver stuff with red fringes' which may have rather clashed with the '3 window curtains of blue Damask ... with red and whyt fringes'¹⁷. But are the items new, or expensive, or even admired? Contemporary descriptions can often help put flesh on these inventories. The diarist George Home, recounting his visit on the 11th July 1698 to the apartments in Holyrood occupied by his cousin Lord Polwarth, then Lord Chancellor of Scotland, gives a first hand impression of the type of lavish interior common to the Canongate.

I went with my Ld Polwart to the Abbey where I see some furniture they had put up which is very fine: the hangings of the drawing room have silver in them and Chairs of Crimsone Damask, the Bed of State is very fine the Curtaine of Damask bleu and white and lined with green satine and orange frings: I never thought bleu and green suted well near each other before. The chairs are [the same as] the bed, the hangings wer not up. There are also 2 cabinets 2 Tables 2 large glasses 4 stands all finely Japand ... my Lady has also a very fine chair Japand. They tell me they have spent £1200 more than their allowance¹⁸.

We are left in no doubt that this is a room of great swagger and taste.

In contrast to this, a rather unreliable traveller describes the Duke of Douglas's home in 1704 as a rather 'ordinary house for a Duke'. This account goes on to say that this was 'the last nobleman's seat I saw in Scotland, and all that I did see were old and most of them ruinous, except Duke Hamilton's'¹⁹. It hardly needs saying that this was blatantly untrue, but this does emphasise the potential unreliability of sources

for comparable country houses, such as for the 'Household furniture in the House of Panmure' from 1695 and 1705 GD45/18/864 & 882; the 'furniture within the house of Thirlestone Castle 20 Nover 1691' NRA(S)832/16/1; the 'Household furniture in ye Palace of Hamilton 9 Decembr. 1690' NRA(S)2177; and an inventory of Craigiehall from about 1710 NRA(S)2171/871.

¹⁷NRA(S)2171/871. Craigiehall was the Marquis of Annandale's new house outside Edinburgh; it was largely designed by William Bruce.

¹⁸Diary of George Home GD1/891/1-4. Blue and green were obviously the fashionable colours at the time. Lord Polwarth was later created Earl of Marchmont.

¹⁹*A Tour Through the North of England and Scotland in 1704* Edinburgh 1818 p52.

such as travellers' accounts. Brief, rather more accurate accounts of Scottish interiors have been left to us by the invaluable John Macky, whose *Journey through Scotland* was published in 1723. By this time, Macky was able to say that Drumlanrig was 'richly furnish'd', that Tynningham was 'nobly furnish'd', that Smeaton and Dalkeith were 'finely furnish'd', and that Duplin was 'extremely well furnish'd ... [with] a great deal of rich furniture'²⁰.

Where did this furniture come from? The simple answer is that much of it came from London, some from Holland²¹, and the very finest pieces perhaps from France²², but that a considerable quantity was also made in Edinburgh, or even locally by estate wrights.

²⁰John Macky *A Journey through Scotland* London 1723 pp14, 27, 48, 50, 154.

²¹Robert Moubray, who is discussed below, charged for 'mending ane large dutch chair' in 1698. NRA(S)2171/152/1. This had perhaps been damaged in transit.

²²In 1678 Lord Duffus was requesting that Arras hangings be sent to Leith from France, and he also may have been ordering a 'black varnisht' triad of glass, candlestands and table - it is not entirely clear, however, whether these were intended to come from France as well; RH15/47/13.

FURNITURE FROM LONDON

The Earl of Lauderdale, a political animal of extravagant tastes, and intimate friend of Charles II (he was the 'I' in *cabal*), was sending chairs, carpets and tapestries to Holyrood as early as 1668¹. These chairs fulfil what is perhaps the expected pattern, being purchased in London and sent to Edinburgh, where damage in transit was repaired by a local wright and loose covers were made for them². In 1672 Lauderdale was created a Duke, and married the Countess of Dysart, acquiring in the process a house at Ham³ which was duly enlarged in a manner appropriate to the ambitions, and ample pockets, of both himself and his wife⁴. His intentions for his Scottish properties, both official and personal, were no less ambitious. It was Lauderdale who instigated Bruce's rebuilding of Holyrood, and he also employed the architect to transform his Scottish seat, Thirlestane Castle. It was surely Lauderdale's star that others followed in the powerplay of late seventeenth century decoration, shadowing as it did the endless political manoeuvring of the time⁵.

Another Scottish nobleman of comparable title and purse was the Duke of Hamilton, who had started rebuilding his family seat at Hamilton on a palatial scale in 1684⁶, as Macky noted. As well as this he was also building Kinneil, a substantial

¹Swain *The Furnishing of Holyroodhouse op. cit.* p122/3.

²*ibid.* p127. Damage in transit was a perennial problem - the Duke of Hamilton had a consignment of chairs badly damaged in 1678. R Marshall *The Days of Duchess Anne* London 1973 p157. See also *Mitchison op. cit.* pp101-2.

³In this same year furniture was shipped from Ham to Scotland, including a billiard table, virginalls, gilt stands, looking glasses, chairs and tables. NRA(S)832/63/65.

⁴Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomlin 'The Furnishing and Decoration of Ham House' *Furniture History* XVI 1980. William Bruce was responsible for the designs of many of these alterations; a rare example of a Scots architect, based in Scotland, being employed in the south. It is nevertheless indicative of the esteem in which Bruce, and by inference his circle, were held at that time.

⁵Lauderdale also added another variable to the equation by bringing Dutch craftsmen to work at Thirlestane. His Duchess entrusted one of these joiners to make cedar tea tables and close stools, and walnut chests of drawers; she also bought long backed chairs from Holland. *Marshall op. cit.* p47

⁶*Macaulay op. cit.* p36.

house on his estates to the west of Edinburgh, which included the port of Bo'ness, through which most of the trade with Holland passed. He visited London often, and the scale of his purchases was legion. Smout discusses the flourishing trade in furniture coming from London at the end of the seventeenth century, and notes especially the standard status symbol of an English coach (despite the danger of driving one on Scottish roads)⁷. The Duke of Hamilton's vanity, which is expressed by Rosalind Marshall, was a perfect example of this:

Expensive and time consuming his purchases had undoubtedly been, but as he jolted northwards in the hired coach, he must have reflected with considerable satisfaction on the elegant acquisitions awaiting him at home. When he drove down the High Street of Edinburgh in his fine new English Coach, clad in his splendid English clothes, he would look around him with pleasure at the envious expressions on his friends faces⁸.

Lord Polwarth also had an English coach which he proudly displayed in 1698. George Home described the coach as 'very fine and very high' but went on to say that 'the painting was spoilt in the ship but it is done up again, tho' not so well'⁹. The damage of goods in transit was of course a constant problem throughout the eighteenth century¹⁰. It did however work to the advantage of local craftsmen, the repair work providing not only employment but also giving them an opportunity to examine these goods. Quite what these craftsmen felt about repairing alien goods is hard to say, especially in cases when the quality of work required was beyond them. We can however be certain that they would hardly have relished the recent suggestion that their primary purpose was 'to keep in repair luxury equipment or furniture ... bought abroad'¹¹. Despite the dangers of transport even goods which could have been

⁷Roughly a dozen coaches arrived each year, ironically by sea. Smout *Scottish Trade op. cit.* p200.

⁸Marshall *The Days of Duchess Anne op. cit.* p166.

⁹Diary of George Home 11th July 1698 GD1/891/1-4.

¹⁰See Chapter VI and note 2.

¹¹*Mitchison op. cit.* p101.

acquired in Edinburgh were often bought in London at greater expense, where the flourishing 'market for luxury goods'¹² after the Restoration, in part created by the Scottish aristocracy¹³, was pushing up the price of everything.

Nevertheless, the finest articles did have to be bought in London, and none were finer than the concentration of state beds which found their way to Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton bought at least two particularly good examples. In 1682 he acquired from John Ridge a 'crimson and gould velvett bedd, loyned with satin' together with '8 chairs and velvet cases' and a 'Japanned glass and stands'; this suite cost £218 10/¹⁴. Five years later Jean Paudevin, who had been cabinet maker to Charles II, sent a crimson mohair bed with eight black armchairs, and a walnut easy chair and couch, for the total cost of £ 326¹⁵. There is a bed of perhaps similar quality at Blair Castle which was bought in London for the Holyrood apartment of the Marquess of Tullibardine¹⁶, and it is likely that the most extravagant of all, the Melville bed (now at the Victoria and Albert Museum), was also originally intended for the Canongate. This was made for the Earl of Melville, who had been appointed Secretary of State for Scotland in 1689, if not for his Canongate lodging then certainly for his new house in Fife, which was completed to the designs of James Smith and William Bruce between 1697 and 1702¹⁷. Peter Thornton goes so far as to say of this bed that

¹²*ibid.* p154.

¹³*Smout op. cit.* p267.

¹⁴*Swain State Beds op. cit.* p59.

¹⁵*Marshall op. cit.* p156/7. Paudevin was of French extraction. See *DEFM*. The imagination of the housekeeper at Holyrood at the end of the eighteenth century deemed these beds sufficiently grand to have belonged to Queen Mary and Lord Darnley themselves, and the nineteenth century was happy to believe her. Margaret Swain finally debunked this myth in print in her 1978 article in *Furniture History op. cit.*

¹⁶*Swain Tapestries and Textiles op. cit.* p4.

¹⁷*Macaulay op. cit.* p30.

such an elaborate confection can only have been made by one of the leading London Upholsterers, and very probably by one of French extraction like Guibert or Lapierre¹⁸.

It is also the only individual item of furniture in the whole of Scotland deemed worthy of praise by Macky in 1723. He says of Melville House that

the apartment of State [is] as well furnish'd as in any of the Royal Palaces. The Bed of State is very noble, of Crimson Velvet, richly lin'd and adorn'd; the Chairs of the same with the finest small-figur'd Tapistry I have seen¹⁹.

It is not impossible that this bed might have come from France²⁰.

Melville, Hamilton, Queensbury, Lauderdale, Annandale²¹ and Polwarth were all statesmen and able to make great financial advantage of their position. Similarly, when the Countess of Rothes wrote from her new house at Leslie to her husband in London that

I would have all the fringes for this bed very slight, but let them be of as gadie colours as ye please²².

she was writing to a past Chancellor of Scotland. In the same way, it was natural for her to order chair frames from London because as far as she was concerned 'there is none in Scotland can turn them in that fashion'. It does seem, however, to have been largely the court that bought from London. Examples exist of lesser aristocracy and gentry following their example, but certainly at the turn of the century they are not particularly common. Lady Grisell Baillie's meticulous account book records glasses

¹⁸P Thornton *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France & Holland* London 1978 p101.

¹⁹Macky *op. cit.* p160.

²⁰See previous section note 22.

²¹The Earl and Countess of Annandale supplemented their purchases from Edinburgh cabinet makers for their new house at Craigiehall with furniture from London made by Samuel Laverick, John Harris and John Hibbert; the latter made a 'rich yellow damask bed' with matching chairs and curtains for £121 in 1709. NRA(S)2171/150/1-2, and 155/2.

²²GD29/1901/9.

bought from London, as well as from Edinburgh²³, and William Hay, in a curious letter of 1697, asks the Countess of Roxburgh to acquire second hand furniture and hangings for Duns Castle while she is in London. He wants his furniture to be 'not very fine but honest like of what may please yourself', and for his hangings 'old fashioned ones will doe very well and I beleive will be cheap'²⁴. Let us now turn to the substantial cabinet making and upholstery trade which did exist in Edinburgh.

²³'The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie 1692-1733' ed. R Scott Moncrieff *Scottish History Society* Edinburgh 1911 pp164-188.

²⁴NRA(S)1100/789. Duns is no more than 40 miles southeast of Edinburgh, so one can only wonder why he was buying second hand goods from London.

FURNITURE FROM EDINBURGH

The Restoration period had seen, as Mitchison states, ‘attempts to widen the manufacturing base of luxury goods’¹ throughout Scotland, and several monopolies or patents had been granted in an attempt to foster the entrepreneurial spirit. The same author suggests that although most luxury items were still imported, ‘some, and probably a growing share, were home made’². A handful of examples of cabinet makers working over these years can verify this, as well as confirming their involvement with imported goods. However, before discussing this it will be instructive to briefly consider the role of these patents, and the way in which they affected the developing furniture trade.

The principle of the patent or warrant was based upon granting a tradesman the sole right to practise an imported and more sophisticated technique than was already known in Scotland. It would then be theoretically worth his while not only to master this craft but also invest in the materials and perhaps manufactories necessary to introduce it. So, for instance, soon after 1689 the cabinet maker James Turner applied to Parliament for permission to erect Oil Mills near Edinburgh for producing ‘*Rapseed, Lintseed, Birdseed*, and several other Oils of common and ordinary uses’³. He maintained that he had spent several years abroad mastering the art of making these oils, and learning how to build the necessary mills, and argued that the Kingdom suffered ‘great prejudice ... by Exportation of great sums of ready Money for buying [such] oils’. Thus in return for ‘the sole Priviledge of Erecting Mills & making Oyls ... and all Priviledges and Immunities by Law allowed other Manufactories within this Kingdom’ he would invest his money, thereby improving

¹ *Mitchison op. cit.* p102.

² *ibid.*

³ This and the following quotations are all from ‘The Petition of *James Turner* Cabinet-maker in *Edinburgh* ‘ GD406/119/259/16.

the Scottish balance of trade and bringing down the cost of oil⁴. Turner was no stranger to litigation and privilege, having appealed to the Privy Council of Scotland in 1678 for permission, despite the fact that he was not a Burgess, to be allowed to continue making small luxury items of cabinet furniture. He claimed that he did this with a degree of proficiency that was beyond any of the cabinet makers in Edinburgh, and so he was bringing an extra service to the city. The Incorporation of Mary's Chapel had tried to prevent him working, and despite the judgement of the Privy Council in Turner's favour they had continued to intimidate him for twenty five years⁵.

Turner's case and patent illuminate several points. Not only was Edinburgh lacking the potential for manufacturing many of the materials used by the furniture making trade, but there was also fierce professional jealousy directed towards a cabinet maker who claimed talents beyond those of his local competitors, and, moreover, was vindicated in his claim. Several years later Sarah Dalrymple emphasised the 'great industry pains and expence' to which she had gone, in order to 'acquire the art of jappanning & perspective work'⁶. The latter had 'never before [been] practised in Scotland', and in return for bringing this skill to Edinburgh and so serving the citizens of the town, she merely wished to be able to sell her wares; as a woman she could not be a Burgess and so could not do this without the permission of Mary's Chapel⁷. She was treated rather more fairly than Turner, by the standards of the day, and may have had more commercial success. Certainly, Dalrymple numbered

⁴The catch was that one James Lyel had already been granted the privilege, in 1689, but had never taken advantage of it; Turner is appealing on these grounds.

⁵See Chapter II. Also *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* pp5-8.

⁶22nd April. 1721. Minute Book of Mary's Chapel. City Archives Bay B Shelf 16.

⁷See Chapter II. It is noteworthy that Dalrymple always referred to herself as a 'merchant', although she was clearly practising a craft. Perhaps this was a sop to the sensibilities of Mary's Chapel.

among her many clients the eminent baronets James Dalrymple and John Clerk⁸, while no accounts for Turner's work are known.

William Scott, who was Deacon of the Wrights between 1692 and 1694, evidently had no problems with Mary's Chapel, and was further blessed with a Royal Warrant to manufacture cane chairs⁹. At the end of the century there was a flourishing trade importing such chairs¹⁰, but Scott was also apparently making them in Edinburgh. In 1691 he supplied 'twelve cain chaires' to the Earl of Panmure¹¹, and he does seem to have been the only person manufacturing them in the city at the time¹². He was also the first wright in the city to actually call himself a 'Cabinet Maker'¹³ on his accounts, which incidentally were always submitted in Sterling, by no means a common practice at that time. Further light is shed on Scott in an interesting letter of 1693, which talks not only of furnishing a lodging in Edinburgh but also Marlefield, an elegant new house near Kelso¹⁴.

Your Chaires are very good though a litle Dearer than ordinary Mr Scott himself is gone this morning for London but his wife will undertake to furnish you with buft Chaires and Mirrours as many as you need the Chaires will be ready some time nixt week but the Glasses may be foreborne for a time¹⁵.

⁸See APPENDIX I. Accounts exist to at least eight different people.

⁹This was in the Hamilton of the Ross MSS but unfortunately has recently been mislaid. Information from David Jones.

¹⁰*Smout op. cit.* p200. For instance, Lord Lothian bought two dozen 'kain chears' from John & James Shewell of London in 1689. Almost 10% of the final bill for these chairs was the packaging, carriage and customs fees. Lothian MSS GD 40/8/404/2. In 1693 Lothian was also looking for 'Cabinetts, Glasses, &c' in London. *MacAulay op. cit.* p56.

¹¹At a cost of 7/ 6d each. GD45/18/986.

¹²I have not been able to trace another account for cane chairs before 1703, when John Gilchrist made twelve for the Marquis of Montrose. GD220/6/969/444.

¹³Susan Stuart notes that in Lancaster the term 'cabinet maker' only came into use in the 1740's. S Stuart 'Prices for Workmen in Lancaster The Earliest Surviving Cabinet-Makers' Price List' *Regional Furniture* II 1988 p19.

¹⁴It was largely reconstructed in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but retains much of its original form.

¹⁵Letter from Alexander Hamilton to Capt Bennet of Grubit 28th September 1693. GD205/36/6.

That he is mentioned by name, and in association with his chairs, is especially worthy of note given the vein in which the letter continues:

you want tables a great many but when you come wee will goe together and try for some amongst ye Wrights in ye Canongate where several other things very necessary for you may be found.

Clearly Scott was pre-eminent in his chosen line of chair manufactory, and his shopping trips to London must have made his wareroom particularly enticing. This passage also suggests, or confirms, that the Canongate had the greatest concentration of cabinet workshops, or at least wrights. The area was outside the direct jurisdiction of Mary's Chapel, although not free of it, and the work was probably cheaper¹⁶.

These wrights must have cursed the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. Trade throughout Edinburgh was threatened by the removal of the seat of government, but, in the poet Allan Ramsay's words, the Canongate

was the greatest sufferer by the loss of our members of Parliament, which London now enjoys, many of them having had their houses there¹⁷.

The last decade of the 17th century had been a disastrous one for Scotland. The harvest failed drastically twice, in 1695 and 1698, and between 1688 and 1700, the organisers of the Darien colony contrived to lose over one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, perhaps a sixth to a quarter of the total Scottish capital available at the time¹⁸. Some perceived the Union as economic salvation, although the majority of the

¹⁶See Chapter II.

¹⁷Robert Chambers *Traditions of Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1931 ed. p295. According to Chambers, in the very early 18th century the Canongate was home to 2 dukes, 16 earls, 2 countesses, 7 lords, and 13 baronets.

¹⁸*Smout op. cit.* p252.

population were highly suspicious¹⁹. Smout considers the wrights to have been less at risk from its effects than, say, the vanity trades, such as hatters, wig makers and glovers²⁰, and the evidence such as it survives seems to bear this out. There is a steady growth of surviving accounts to Edinburgh cabinet makers and upholsterers from 1690 onwards, as exemplified by the careers of men such as Robert Moubray, William Schaw, and their sons.

The two decades following the Union of 1707 were most unstable for Scotland, with the Jacobite threat hanging heavy until well after 1715. It was not really until the 1730's that political stability became a reality under the Earl of Islay and his Scottish lieutenant Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, and with this the economy started on the road to the prosperity of the later years of the century. The political significance of the '45 can and will be debated endlessly but it had little direct economic effect; a new era had already been ushered in. By 1750, as Lenman points out, the economy was 'poised for expansion'²¹. It has been said that after the adjournment of the Scottish Parliament

while the more important of the nobility and gentry moved to London, many of the less wealthy returned to their country estates²².

It was this new breed of landowner, improving not only his estates, but also rebuilding and furnishing his houses 'in the latest fashion', who was to encourage a new generation of cabinet makers working in the middle decades of the century.

¹⁹Although the financial settlement, known as the Equivalent, did go some way to towards compensating those who had lost money in the Darien Scheme. Michael Lynch *Scotland; a New History* London 1992 pp319-324.

²⁰*Smout op. cit.* p271.

²¹Bruce Lenman *Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialization Scotland 1746 -1832* London 1981 p7. The expansion of trade in the 1750's is also noted by S Lyle and J Butt *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939* Glasgow 1975 p138.

²²Gifford et. al. *Edinburgh* p157.

CASE STUDY I: ROBERT AND JOHN MOUBRAY

Moubray was the only one of William Scott's four apprentices¹ who appears to have gone on to set up his own business. He had become a burgess, after nine years as an apprentice to Scott, on the 18th August 1697 and his first known account was for Lady Annandale just over six months later². It included 'a ffine bed & all belonging to it', a 'japan table and stands' and numerous 'ffine' chairs and elbow chairs, so Moubray was clearly fully established even at this early stage in his career. In 1699 he took on George Hay as an apprentice, the first of the six that he enrolled over the next thirty years, which included his son John in 1720. After 1703, which may have been when Scott's warrant expired, he made a considerable number of cane chairs³, and to supplement his usual chair, cabinet making and wright work he carried on a substantial upholstery trade. This not only involved upholstering chairs, but also making bed furnitures and curtains⁴, and supplying and erecting paper or cloth hangings⁵. Moubray's wife Elizabeth may have run this side of the business; one account exists which is solely for upholstery work for the Countess of Moray, and is addressed to Elizabeth Moubray, but discharged by Robert⁶. In turn, Elizabeth occasionally discharged his accounts⁷.

¹*Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights.*

²NRA(S)2171/152/1. The Annandale's also patronised William Scott, whose chairs were certainly no more expensive than Moubray's. NRA(S)2171/140/1 and 2171/397.

³Sir John Foulis bought 16 cane chairs in 1703, and requested another 8, on condition that final payment would be withheld until all the chairs were better varnished. *Foulis of Ravelston Account Book 1671-1707* Scottish History Society Edinburgh 1894 pp315-317. Moubray also supplied cane chairs to, among others, the Marchionesses of Montrose and Annandale. GD220/6/1304/7 and NRA(S)2171/150/1.

⁴For example for the Panmures GD45/18/1010 or Sir James Hall GD206/3/2/5/4.

⁵For Baron Clerk GD18/1839/1/66.

⁶NRA(S)217/VI/16/376.

⁷For instance, to Lady Panmure GD45/18/1010. This was a fairly common practice. See Chapter II.

After just ten years as a burgess Moubray was elected Deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights⁸, and in 1708 he was the first wright ever to be appointed Deacon Convener of Trades. The following year, when he stepped down as Deacon, he was honoured by being made a Guild Brother,

for good services, gratis by Act of Council of 14 September 1709; which grants him and his successors the seat in the College Kirk lately built by him rent free for 21 years⁹.

Moubray's last known account is dated 1724¹⁰, but his son John took on the mantle, becoming Deacon himself in 1751. Robert was a significant figure in the trade, and John seems to have inherited this position. This standing is perhaps reflected in an extraordinary entry in an inventory, which is almost certainly of Floors Castle, of about 1735. In it both an 'oval mahoganie table' and '12 chairs ... with elm frames and black leather bottoms and fenired backs of one broad barr each' are identified as having been made by John Moubray in 1734¹¹. This seems to be a unique instance of a cabinet maker being mentioned by name in a Scottish inventory of the eighteenth century and may relate to his pre-eminence¹².

⁸From 1707 -1709. See APPENDIX III.

⁹Mary's Chapel Minute Books. City Chambers *op. cit.*

¹⁰For Sir John Clerk. GD18/1839/1/178.

¹¹NRA(S)1100/279. Although the inventory is not titled the rooms relate very closely to another, of a different date, for Floors.

¹²The Moubray's are recorded as having had a country estate in Midlothian, and were called Wrights to the King. It is not clear what this title signifies or where it originates from. Jane Thomas *Midlothian* RIAS Guide 1995.

CASE STUDY II: THE SCHAW FAMILY

William, John and Alexander Schaw do not fit easily into the structure of this thesis. Their three generations cover virtually the whole of the eighteenth century, and John's career, the most outstanding of the family, straddles the first two periods which have been defined. They are considered here because their careers (and it should be emphasised that not a great deal is known of them¹) started at the beginning of the century and grew with the trade, but peaked, unlike the trade, at mid-century². Also they were renowned, and renowned highly, primarily as upholsterers, and so provide an element of balance to the emphasis generally placed on cabinet makers.

The Schaws to some extent fall through the documentary net of this study, being neither registered as apprentices nor burgesses of Mary's Chapel, but rather being merchants professionally³. There is little doubt, however, that they ran not only active upholstery workshops, but also eventually a cabinet workshop. John did take four apprentices, two of whom worked as upholsterers and cabinet makers on the firm's behalf, and later their own⁴. It is also of note that the wives of William and John also played an important role in their businesses. Indeed, it is Janet Hardy, William's wife, to whom the earliest of the family's known accounts is addressed, in 1705. Typically, this was largely for upholstery, but also included several chairs and small tables⁵. Of the five accounts to her husband listed in APPENDIX I she receipted at

¹There is, for instance, as yet not firm evidence that John was William's son. It is, however, hard to believe that they were not related; their name is not common, the precise trades which they engaged in were very similar, and their careers overlapped by only four years.

²John Schaw could number among his clients the Dukes of Hamilton, Gordon, Montrose and Argyll, the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earl of Balcarres, and Lords Glenorchy, Milton and Arniston. See APPENDIX I. Only one account is known for Alexander, dated 1773, although he is listed in street directories as a cabinet maker as late as 1792. NLS ACC7228/540.

³A document of 1752 refers to both John and Alexander as merchants. SC39/80/200.

⁴James Russell and Alexander Gillespie. These two are frequently named in the firms accounts. See APPENDICES I and II for their own careers.

⁵For the Earl of Stair. NLS Acc7228/493.

least one⁶, and John's wife Margaret seems to have played a similar book-keeping role⁷.

William and John's primary concern as upholsterers is shown not only by their accounts but also by their particular involvement in funerals. Both, when they did engage in undertaking, supplied hangings and sconces, but never coffins⁸. Of greater significance, however, is the 1740 testimony of William Adam to the Duke of Hamilton that Mr and Mrs Schaw were 'the most employed upholsterers in Edinburgh', while Francis Brodie was the leading cabinet maker. All were involved in the refurbishment of the Duke's Holyrood apartments, and from the Schaws' offer of the 'newest fashion in beds' Adam specified one 'agreeable to the one lately come from London for the Duchess of Gordon'. The *tour de lit* was to be of 'watered Harraton' and Schaw agreed not to have 'the phim [presumably plume] of feathers but ... a gilt ornament on top', as this was the 'fashion in London where he had lately been'⁹. The blue silk damask hangings were provided by the Duchess, and the bed was listed in an inventory of 1761 in the Duchess's bedroom, with Brodie's chairs upholstered *en suite*¹⁰. Schaw also supplied the carpets for the apartment, declaring that he had 'plenty of French carpeting with borders' in stock, and wallpapers, including 'Blois papers' for the Duchess's bedroom¹¹. There survives at Holyrood a large settee with a mahogany frame, cabriole legs with ball and claw feet and shells

⁶For Lady Clerk. GD18/1767/5/60.

⁷She, for instance, receipted an account of 1742 for the Duchess of Montrose. GD220/6/900/29. They may have also been responsible for supervising the warerooms at times.

⁸William supplied 'fine murning furniture' to Lord Panmure in 1729, and John supplied black hangings and sconces for Lady Balcarres in 1744; her coffin was made by Francis Stewart. GD45/18/1344; NLS Crawford MSS 21/3/134.

⁹Brodie was then at the outset of his career; see following chapter. Quoted by John Fleming *Robert Adam and His Circle* London 1962 p59-60. This contains a good account of the commission.

¹⁰Margaret Swain *The State Beds at Holyroodhouse* *op. cit.* p59. In this article the bed is mistakenly suggested to have come from London.

¹¹*Fleming op. cit.* p60.

on the knees, and embroidered canvas work upholstery. The canvas backing has been stamped 'I. S. Edenbg', presumably by John Schaw. The settee and matching chairs belonged to the Duchess of Gordon, whose husband employed Schaw in 1739¹², but it is not clear what role he played in their manufacture¹³.

John Schaw's activity as a merchant seems to be confirmed by the provision of 'two large glasses' for the State Dining Room at Hopetoun House in 1755, at a cost of £ 102¹⁴. This was presumably just the glasses as the frames were supplied separately¹⁵. Similarly, at Yester House, East Lothian, a few years earlier, he had carried out almost six hundred pounds worth of work over the space of five years. This was mostly upholstery, but the account contains an ambiguous section noted as the 'Accott of glass frames'¹⁶. No glasses were supplied, but Francis Brodie and a Mrs Craigie are paid for mounting, silvering and polishing them, so they were probably ones which the Marquess of Tweeddale was reusing, a common practice. Again, there is an implication that Schaw had acquired these frames from an independent carver as part of the overall service which he was providing.

It was to cover just such a situation as this that he and his son Alexander entered into a 'Copartnery' with David Smith, a cabinet maker, and James Cullen, an entrepreneur and trained upholsterer from London, 'for their several and respectful interests' in 1752¹⁷. The idea was to provide a complete household furnishing service, but the partnership was short lived. Cullen went on to form a similar firm, the

¹²To do upholstery work. GD44/51/465/1/5.

¹³Chairs with canvas backing stamped by Young and Trotter are also known. See figs. 66-7.

¹⁴Quoted in the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights*, and clearly an entry in an account book. I have not been able to trace this.

¹⁵By the Edinburgh Upholstery Company; see following chapter.

¹⁶NLS MS14662/46-55.

¹⁷The contract of partnership is discussed and quoted from in Chapter VI: Relationships. SC39/80/200. Dated 7th July 1752.

Edinburgh Upholstery Company¹⁸, and it is possible that the Schaws engaged their own cabinet maker in response to the failure of this initial experiment. For instance, at Blair Castle, Perthshire, there is a mahogany tripod tea table with a fret work gallery supplied by Schaw in 1753¹⁹. More significantly, at Buchanan, Stirlingshire, the Duke of Montrose employed John Schaw and Company in 1754 to completely refurnish his old family house. Schaw supplied new suites of furniture, curtains and carpets throughout, and this account firmly establishes his cabinet making credentials. The total came to £ 705 12/ 7d²⁰, but sadly it has not been possible to trace any of this furniture. There is also at Blair a bed supplied by John Schaw, which Bamford suggests he did not make. The account is not dated, but as we have seen this need not have been the case²¹.

Alexander had first been mentioned in the Yester account, which is remarkable for the information it gives about John Schaw's employees. Six men are mentioned by name, including his apprentices James Russell and Andrew Gillespie, as well as 'three lads' and his son. Between them they worked a total of 928 days at the house, with daily charges for their time being twenty pence, including board, or twelve pence without. He does not seem to have charged for his son's time, but did allow three shillings and sixpence a week for his board and lodging in the local village. Schaw himself visited the house at least twice, once to take measurements for tapestry hangings, over which the utmost care had to be taken, as Lord Glenorchy had discovered to his cost²².

¹⁸Who provided much of the furniture at Hopetoun; see following chapter.

¹⁹Illustrated by Anthony Coleridge 'John Hodson and Some Cabinet Makers at Blair Castle' *Connoisseur* April 1963 plate 16 p229.

²⁰GD220/6/1426/7. See following chapter.

²¹No date is given for the bed, but it is of note that the sewn hangings were made separately by Helen Dallas of Edinburgh; it is in the private apartments. F Bamford 'The Schaws of Edinburgh and a Bed at Blair Castle' *Furniture History* X 1974 pp15-16.

²²When an upholsterer had sent him incorrect dimensions of a room for which he was buying tapestries. RH15/10/41/5; see also following chapter.

Further evidence of the Schaws' cabinet making enterprises (or partnerships) is given by a notice placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* in 1759, announcing the dissolution of another partnership, this time with one Anderson. Their mutual stock was being sold and included much cabinet furniture, 'a Large parcel of well seasoned Wood ... [and] Benches and Tools belonging to the Factory'²³. John Schaw continued at his shop at the sign of the Golden Plough, in the Luckenbooths, until 1761 when he sold his 'Large Assortment of Upholstery Goods' and retired²⁴. It is ironic that his former apprentices James Russell and Andrew Gillespie went on to have busy careers, as partners and in their own rights, while Alexander Schaw seems to have made little impression on the remainder of the century.

²³ *CM* 12th May 1759.

²⁴ *CM* 30th March 1761.

IV

1740-1775

FURNISHING THE COUNTRY

From 1740 onwards the signs of growing prosperity can be marked in the history of country towns. New trades sprang up, new occupations were formed. Goods which had formerly been imported from England or the Continent then began to be made in Edinburgh and many a country town. Coaches had all been brought from abroad, and fine furniture from England; but upholsterers and coach builders opened their yards as the gentry increased in income from the larger rents of their lands¹.

Although steeped in the prejudices of previous generations this view is not so far from the truth. The period covering the middle decades of the eighteenth century was one of increasing prosperity and stability for Scotland. The Union had been firmly established, the Jacobite threat was diminishing, being finally put to rest in 1745, and the seeds of the Scottish Enlightenment were being sown. It corresponded with the swansong of the old, medieval, town of Edinburgh and the inception of the planned new town which was to some extent to usurp it. The tradesmen discussed below were all based in the Old Town, and obviously made furniture for its inhabitants, as well as ladies and gentlemen who were furnishing their new, or newly refurbished, country seats. If there was a significant difference between the furniture made for the town and that made for the country it is not discernable now, but in documentary terms it is undoubtedly the country house commissions which illustrate this period, with the shining but unique exception of the private apartments at Holyroodhouse².

The lavish lodgings of the Canongate have already been discussed, and this grandeur could often be echoed in the tenements of the Old Town, one in James Court

¹H Grey Graham *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* 1899 London vol II p253.

²John Gifford in his biography of William Adam has a chapter entitled 'Housing the Great and the Good'. 'Furnishing the Great and the Good' could be a subtitle for this chapter. J Gifford *William Adam 1689-1748* Edinburgh 1989 pp111-162.

being described as having ‘well finished public rooms ... with handsome marble chimneys and hearths ... and one of the rooms ornamented with a Chinese temple, Apollo and the Muses’³. The gentry however soon moved out of these to the individual terraced houses which were being built to the immediate south of the city, in the diminutive and irregular Argyll Square from the 1730’s, and culminating with George Square in the 1760’s. These developments were outside the Royalty of the City of Edinburgh, and therefore outwith its jurisdiction, but this problem was addressed by the extension of the Royalty northwards in 1767 and the almost immediate commencement of James Craig’s plan for the New Town on that site⁴.

Robert’s father, William Adam, was the dominant, but by no means only, architect erecting classical country houses of all scales before his death in 1748, and his mantle was transferred smoothly to his sons. It was Adam who refitted the Holyrood apartments of the Duke of Hamilton in 1740 to provide what was probably the most lavish and up to date accommodation in Edinburgh. He was responsible for a certain amount of the built in furniture, including ‘2 Screwtores of Mahogany in my Lady Dutchess Bedchamber’⁵ but the movable furniture was provided by the cabinet maker Francis Brodie⁶, and the upholsterer was John Schaw. As has already been mentioned Adam described the Schaws as ‘the most employed upholsterers in Edinburgh’⁷, and Brodie as ‘the best man in town’⁸, when sending sketches to the

³In an advertisement in the *EEC* 12th February 1763.

⁴George Square was the Edinburgh home of, among others, the Duchess of Gordon, the Countess of Sutherland and Viscount Melville. Despite this new official development, the houses in George Square were to remain the most fashionable in Edinburgh until the City commissioned Robert Adam to design Charlotte Square as the fitting climax of the first New Town at the end of the century. A J Youngson *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1966 p69.

⁵NRA(S)2177/873. It is possible that these were lots 130 and 131 in the Sotheby’s sale of Silver and Furniture from Lennoxlove on the 24th June 1980 (fig. 4). They were recorded *in situ* at Holyrood by the National Art Survey in 1897. Drawings held at the NMRS.

⁶Who supplied the glasses for the above ‘screwtores’. *ibid.* Brodie eventually had to sue for payment of his account. CS238/B/1/79.

⁷John Fleming *Robert Adam and His Circle* London 1962 p59. This contains a good account of the commission.

⁸NRA(S)332/C3/1794/1.

Duke of their intentions. He complained of having 'so many different folk who furnish different hands to so small a job'⁹, but was content to use Edinburgh tradesmen. Indeed Brodie, Schaw and in particular the carver William Strachan appear again and again working for patrons of Adam¹⁰.

Lord Glenorchy, a diplomat based in England, on the other hand was experiencing considerable difficulties with the tradesmen he was using to repair and fit out his apartments at Holyrood and his castle at Taymouth, Perthshire. He was driven to taking 'a resolution of not laying out a sixpence in the Nation [Scotland] but have all from London'¹¹, later exclaiming that 'all the Tradesmen are alike in this Countrey, and I'm sure all that I ever had made at Edinr is abominable' and repeating his vow to spend what 'little money' he does with 'people who deserve it' in London¹². In spite of these angry and disillusioned words his personal account books show that he continued to use Edinburgh tradesmen, notably the upholsterer James Caddell (as well as John Schaw), and the cabinet makers Alexander Peter and, not surprisingly, Francis Brodie.

Peter and Brodie were undoubtedly the dominant cabinet makers of this period. Both started their careers in the 1730's, and both were very successful, yet although Brodie had a vast client base¹³, of the two only Peter is known to have been involved in a big country house commission. Their careers are directly comparable and contrasting, and are the subject of individual case studies, below.

⁹*Fleming op. cit.*

¹⁰Such as the Dukes of Hamilton, Gordon, and Montrose, the Earls of Breadalbane, Hopetoun, and Stair, Sir John Clerk, Sir James Dalrymple and Robert Dundas of Arniston, all of whom employed William Adam and at least two of these tradesmen.

¹¹RH15/10/41/5. 15th June 1743.

¹²*ibid.* 29th July 1744. His bile was mostly directed at the wright James Runciman, who had refitted his Holyrood apartments in 1741, and went on to work, unsatisfactorily, at Taymouth. GD112/21/277,279 &285. Runciman was the father of the painter Alexander, who learnt his trade as apprentice to the house painter Robert Norie. It was Norie who decorated the Duke of Hamilton's apartments at Holyrood.

¹³Accounts to over thirty members of the aristocracy and gentry have been traced. See APPENDIX I.

When the Earl of Dumfries finally decided in 1754 to build and furnish a new house to replace his old mansion of Leifnorris on his Ayrshire estates he created, using exemplary patterns of patronage, an absolute model of taste which has survived documented and virtually wholly intact to this day. He clearly intended to create a handsome and fashionable edifice, and indeed sought Lord Burlington's advice on the undertaking¹⁴. With regard to the furnishing, Lord Dumfries bought his finest pieces from London, essentially for the State Bedchamber and the Drawing Room, supplementing these pieces with furniture made in Edinburgh. Dumfries stated initially that he 'would only have a pateron Elbow Chair, and the two Settees made at London, and the others I should chose to get made at Edinburgh'¹⁵, but eventually he bought his complete suite of Drawing Room chairs, together with many other pieces, from Thomas Chippendale. Nevertheless he did buy furniture from Edinburgh, Alexander Peter making his Dining Room furniture (figs. 6-8), together with furniture for all the secondary bedrooms, and William Mathie, who had been apprenticed to Peter, carving many pier glasses¹⁶ and a spectacular *in situ* picture frame (fig. 11)¹⁷. Young and Trotter carried out and supplied most of the upholstery work, although the best carpets came from Crompton and Spinnage in London¹⁸.

It is of particular note that the design for Peter's Dining Room sideboard was taken from Plate XXXVI of the 1754 edition of Chippendale's *Gentleman and*

¹⁴James Macaulay *The Classical COUNTRY House in Scotland 1660-1800* London 1987 pp123-6.

¹⁵Christopher Gilbert 'Thomas Chippendale at Dumfries House' *Burlington* November 1969 p664. For Dumfries House in the context of Chippendale's career see Gilbert *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1978.

¹⁶*ibid* and Francis Bamford 'Two Scottish Wrights at Dumfries House' *Furniture History* IX 1973 pp80-88. See fig. 78. There are further illustrations in *Bamford*.

¹⁷The account for this picture frame, which has gone unnoticed to date, is in the Dumfries House MSS NRA(S)631/A720. Also see below, Chapter VI: Carving.

¹⁸James Caddell also did a small amount of work. NRA(S)631/A720.

Cabinet Maker's Director (fig. 9). The account, dated September 1759, makes no specific reference to this, simply referring to 'a Mahogy side board table for ye dining room ... cut wt fret work on ye feet & rails' (fig. 8) and one 'ditto for ye Parlor'. As such, it is not clear whether Peter possessed his own copy of the *Director* (he was not a subscriber)¹⁹ or was responding to a direct request of Lord Dumfries, who should by this time have received the furniture which he had acquired from Chippendale earlier in the year²⁰.

From a Scottish perspective there are many significant points to be made about the furnishings of Dumfries House. The acquisition of the finest items from London; the use of Edinburgh pieces to complement and supplement these; the only documented use of furniture pattern books known in Scotland during this period; the suggestion of the use of pattern furniture. In essence, the judicious blending of economy and taste. The only expedient which Lord Dumfries resisted was the use of an estate wright²¹, but the relatively modest scale of his house perhaps did not justify this economy. This pragmatic attitude is typified by the wealthy Earl of Marchmont, another intimate of Lord Burlington, who justified the economies he took with the exterior of his new house in Berwickshire by quipping that he intended 'to live in the inside of [his] house and not on the outside'²². A patron such as this must have warmed the hearts of upholsterers and cabinet makers used to playing second fiddle to architects, especially as Lord Marchmont, despite his economies, was determined to have 'the best house in Britain'. Sadly we know little of his furnishings but Marchmont was described soon after completion as finished in 'high and good taste',

¹⁹Subscriptions were collected in Edinburgh, and the book offered for sale when published. *CM* 5th April 1753 and 30th April 1754.

²⁰Samuel Smith also made an item of furniture for Lord Dumfries using a design from the *Director*. See below. It is of note that Dumfries was also not a subscriber.

²¹See below for a discussion of estate wrights.

²²*Macaulay op. cit.* p 166.

the writer being disappointed that 'the fine furniture in Lady Marchmont's room was covered with paper and the library locked up'²³.

At Hopetoun House, West Lothian, the 1st Earl of Hopetoun had been carrying on a building campaign which would have made Lord Marchmont blanch. Between 1721 and 1746 he had engaged William Adam to rebuild the front and wings of a nearly new and probably itself unfinished house with the intention of creating the grandest domestic classical facade in Scotland. It was left to the second Earl and Adam's sons to complete the house and interiors²⁴. As has been pointed out 'furniture and architecture were for [the 2nd] Lord Hopetoun quite different things'²⁵. He was prepared to have Robert Adam send him marble tables from Rome for his State Drawing Room and Dining Room, yet the evidence suggests that he had frames for these tables made up in Edinburgh.

The pattern of furnishing was not dissimilar to that at Dumfries House, but the scale, and length of time it took, was broader. Lord Hopetoun retained James Cullen, the upholsterer who had been in partnership with the Schaws²⁶, to supervise the entire furnishing of the house over almost two decades. Hopetoun is broadly speaking another example of a house with the finest pieces of furniture making their way from London, and the (considerable) gaps being filled locally²⁷. The same was true at Arniston, Midlothian, another William Adam house completed by his sons, and at Inveraray, Argyll, and a trend can certainly be established. The twist at Hopetoun, and

²³'Diary of George Ridpath, Minister of Stichel 1755-61'. Quoted by Macaulay. *ibid*.

²⁴The best account of this is Alistair Rowan's 'The Building of Hopetoun' *Architectural History* XXVII 1984 pp183-209.

²⁵*ibid* p199.

²⁶For more on Cullen see below, Chapter VI: Relationships and Dynasties and *DEFM*.

²⁷The furnishing of Hopetoun was first discussed in detail by Anthony Coleridge, and this is still the best published account. It is well illustrated but is too eager in attributing pieces to Cullen for which he was not directly responsible. A Coleridge 'James Cullen, cabinet-maker, at Hopetoun House I and II' *Connoisseur* November pp154-160 and December 1966 pp231-234.

at other houses such as Yester, East Lothian, however, was that locally meant not only from Edinburgh, but also from the house's estate itself.

FURNITURE FROM LONDON

This has already been discussed extensively, but a few more examples should be mentioned, and types consolidated. Fine beds and carved work, particularly pier glasses, were the most common items to be acquired from the south, as well as the best quality fabrics and carpets. Thus at Hopetoun and Arniston the Drawing Room pier glasses were made in London, the former sent by James Cullen but made by 'a very Eminent Carver and Gilder'¹, and the latter made by James Livingston². Similarly the State Bed at Hopetoun was acquired by Cullen second hand, but clearly nearly new, from the cabinet maker Samuel Norman³.

That Lord Hopetoun wanted his house furnished in a manner appropriate to his position, while spending as little as possible, is further emphasised by correspondence from Cullen concerning silk damask for the State Drawing Room. He wrote to Lord Hopetoun in 1766 suggesting that

if you have not furnished yourself with the Crimson silk damask for the grand Apartment I have an Opportunity of getting a quantity for you now much below the market price. there is about 800yds & has been offerd me at 12/6 p. yard. it was brought from abroad by a Nobleman who is going back & at present has not use for it.

Cullen went to great lengths to avoid paying duty on this imported silk, and reported later to Lord Hopetoun that he

had great Apprehensions of Danger by sending them directed to any House subject to Excise officers as every Grocer is, & therefore have took the Liberty to send them yesterday by the Newcastle Waggon, viz ... Messrs B & L H Williamson Lawn Market, Edinburgh. Bertram and Williamson are Linnen Factors & my Friends ... I thought of packing in a dry cask but that peice of Cunning might cause it to be searched for Teas, & if

¹Probably in fact Samuel Norman. See S Pryke 'Furniture Designs at Hopetoun House' *Furniture History* XXVII 1992 pp35-41.

²NRA(S)3246vol63 Household Accounts p398.

³NRA(S)888/147/622.

in a flatt Case as marble Slabbs or Glasses directed to Miss H ... might expose it to the like fate from the curious, this determined me to pack them in Straw in a pack shut corded like Manchester Goods & directed to people who deal in such⁴.

James Livingston supplied much furniture to Arniston, both cabinet and seat, but apart from the above pier glasses, and their corresponding tables, little can now be identified⁵. Arniston is unique in Scotland, however, in that Robert Adam designed a sofa for the house⁶ (fig. 13). Together with the sketches Cullen sent from London for Hopetoun⁷ these are virtually the only surviving designs for specific pieces of eighteenth century furniture intended for Scotland, as opposed to general designs such as those found on billheads.

At Blair Castle virtually all the furniture acquired during this period came from a miscellany of makers in London, and much of it has been traced⁸. This is certainly exceptional though, and is hard to explain rationally. Ironically, the only significant Scottish pieces were made by George Sandeman, a cabinet maker in Perth⁹. Even the Duke of Argyll, who had spent a lifetime in politics in England, supplemented the

⁴*ibid.* Cullen is best known in England for his involvement in smuggling furniture from France. Geoffrey Wills 'Furniture Smuggling in Eighteenth Century London' *Apollo* LXXXII August 1965 pp112-7.

⁵In part because much of it is not actually itemised in these account books. NRA(S)3246/vols51&63. Chippendale is also known to have worked for Robert Dundas of Arniston. See Gilbert *Chippendale op. cit.* p128.

⁶Soane Museum Vol17 No77. There is a pair of sofas at Arniston which can be very tentatively related to this design, but their manufacturer, and even their date is not clear.

⁷See *Coleridge op. cit.* and S Pryke 'Furniture Designs at Hopetoun House' *op. cit.*

⁸See the series of articles by Anthony Coleridge in *Connoisseur*. 'Chippendale, the Director and some cabinet-makers at Blair Castle' December 1960 pp252-256; 'John Hodson and some cabinet-makers at Blair Castle' April 1963 pp223-230; 'William Masters and some early eighteenth century furniture at Blair Castle' October 1963 pp77-83; 'The 3rd and 4th Dukes of Atholl and the firm of Chipchase, cabinet-makers' February 1966 pp96-252. There is also furniture supplied in the nineteenth century by Gillows and Bullock. See *DEFM*.

⁹These were made of broomwood, a distinctive Scottish wood found locally, and reflect the Atholls' abiding interest in Scottish materials. See Anthony Coleridge 'George Sandeman of Perth, Cabinet-Maker' *Connoisseur* March 1960 pp96-101 and David Jones *Looking at Scottish Furniture* St Andrews 1987.

furniture made by the Linnells for his principal rooms at Inveraray¹⁰ with Scottish pieces which will be discussed below.

The man who must be singled out in this context is of course Thomas Chippendale, who had a Scottish business partner, many Scottish subscribers for his book, and several Scottish patrons. Dumfries House and Paxton House are his only substantial known commissions in Scotland, but his work can also be linked to Arniston, Blair Castle, the Earl of Morton at Dalmahoy, West Lothian, and Thomas Mouat in Shetland. He also of course worked for the Earl of Mansfield at Kenwood and Sir Lawrence Dundas¹¹.

Another London cabinet maker who seems to have had an interesting relationship with Scotland was Samuel Smith. Only one English patron of Smith's is recorded in the *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers* yet five are known in Scotland. In 1756 he had made a breakfast table for Dumfries House and was clearly hoping to get a much larger commission there¹², before he was usurped by Chippendale. For Sir James Dalrymple's new Library at Newhailes he made a 'large mohogoney Library table' for fifteen pounds in 1743¹³, and the year before the Duchess of Montrose spent eight pounds with him¹⁴. He also supplied campaign equipment to the Earl of Dalhousie¹⁵, and it seems likely that he was the Smith who sent a great deal of

¹⁰See I Lindsay and M Cosh *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* Edinburgh 1973 and H Hayward and P Kirkham *William and John Linnell* London 1980.

¹¹See Gilbert *Chippendale op. cit.* It is possible to speculate at length about Chippendale's links with the north generally, but it is worth emphasising that the *Director* was very heavily subscribed to in Scotland.

¹²NRA(S)632/A720. This table was copied from Plate XXXIII of the 1754 *Director*. See Gilbert *Chippendale op. cit.* p131.

¹³An isolated piece, but the most important in what Samuel Johnson called 'the most learned room in Scotland'. Paul Duncan 'Newhailes, East Lothian II' *Country Life* 5th February 1987 p58. It still survives in the room for which it was made. NLS MS Acc7228/497.

¹⁴The items are not specified. GD220/6/897/100.

¹⁵GD45/2/69.

furniture to Scotland for Lord Glenorchy in the 1750's and 60's¹⁶, perhaps being one of the 'deserving' English tradesmen who benefitted from Glenorchy's disillusionment with Edinburgh.

With the exception of James Cullen, who is slightly different as he actually worked in Edinburgh for several years, and Chippendale, the only other London cabinet makers to have had this sort of impact in Scotland were Robert and John Hodson, who could number the Dukes of Atholl, Gordon and Montrose, and Col. Kennedy of Dalquharran among their patrons between 1724 and 1745¹⁷. Neither Smith nor the Hodsons have any discernible link with Scotland, but strangely Francis Brodie seems to have imitated the former when it came to naming his shop, and the latter when he designed his billhead¹⁸.

¹⁶GD112/21/77-80.

¹⁷DEFM and GD220/6/1250/30. See also *Coleridge op. cit.* note 31.

¹⁸See the Case Study below.

FURNITURE FROM EDINBURGH

As a subtitle this could almost be mistaken as a *precis* of this whole thesis, yet that is not the intention. This chapter deals essentially with patterns of patronage, and this section must be seen in that context, with the furniture representing these patterns rather than the individual items which are implicit throughout this work¹.

It must be said that large commissions of furniture from Edinburgh alone were rare, and from single manufacturers rarer still. As already discussed, at Buchanan, Stirlingshire, the Duke of Montrose employed John Schaw and Company in 1754 to completely refurnish his old family house. Schaw supplied new suites of furniture for the Drawing Room, Dining Room, Breakfast Room, Staircase lobby, all the bedrooms, and the servants quarters. As well as this he did all the upholstery and supplied new curtains and carpets throughout, unless he could re-dye and re-make old ones. The total account came to £ 705 12/ 7d², roughly a little under half the sum that Lord Dumfries spent furnishing a similar number of rooms at Dumfries House.

Between 1766 and 1768 James Russell, who had learnt his trade as an apprentice to Schaw, provided a similar service at Glamis for the Earl of Strathmore. Again all the rooms were refurnished and supplied with upholstery, curtains and carpets, and many were hung with new wallpaper. The scale of this commission is emphasised by entries in the accounts such as '14 mohogy Bason stands' at eleven shillings each, or '12 wainscott night tables & pans' at twelve shillings each. The five mahogany night tables, with their pans, were charged at forty two shillings each. The whole account came to £ 1123 6/ 3d³. An inventory of 1768 confirms the presence of this furniture,

¹For instance, for the period dealt with in this chapter alone over five hundred individual accounts from Edinburgh furniture makers and upholsterers are listed in APPENDIX I.

²GD220/6/1426/7. Buchanan burnt down in 1850, and although it was rebuilt is now abandoned, so none of this furniture can be traced.

³NRA(S)885/150/7. This account runs to 28 sides of paper.

but it is interesting to note that it is mixed with a considerable amount of, clearly valued, 'old' items⁴. This should perhaps not be surprising in a house such as Glamis, which had been rebuilt less than a hundred years earlier in a manner which consciously affirmed links with a glorious past. Unfortunately the contents were mostly dispersed in 1776, and it has proved impossible to trace any of this splendidly documented furniture⁵.

As has already been made clear furniture has survived at Hopetoun House, and some of it can be identified more or less certainly in existing accounts. This included pieces made in Edinburgh, among the most significant of which are a set of mirrors made by William Strachan, and the suite of Dining Room furniture made by the Edinburgh Upholstery Company. Strachan worked at several Adam houses, including Arniston⁶ and the House of Dun⁷, and his finest hour was probably at Newhailes⁸, just to the east of Edinburgh. Here he carved much of the lavish internal woodwork, and the sequence of mirrors, which are at least as spectacular as those at Hopetoun, can surely be attributed to him.

The finest of Strachan's mirrors at Hopetoun are architectural, or Palladian, in form and made for rooms in the earlier part of the house which had been converted by Adam into family accommodation. Two are now in what is known as the Bruce Bedchamber, which houses Hopetoun's state bed, but had been adapted as a family drawing room in 1741, with decorations by James Norie⁹. Strachan's 'Chimney-piece

⁴An Inventory of the Household Furniture in Glamis Castle Decbr 1768. NRA(S)885/252/1.

⁵NRA(S)885/188/3. Russell actually bought back a fair quantity of the furniture which he had made. See Chapter VI: Second Hand Trade and Auctioneering.

⁶He made picture frames in 1739 and 1747. NRA(S)3246 Personal Account Book vol 51.

⁷William Kay *House of Dun Guide Book* NTS p1.

⁸NLS MS Acc7228/490 Estate Accounts 1734-41. See also Paul Duncan 'Newhailes, East Lothian' *Country Life* 29th January pp86-89 and 5th February pp58-61 1987. This includes various illustrations.

⁹Rowan *op. cit.* p195.

frame with a Compartment 2 Vauzes and two Cartouches ditto £8'¹⁰ (fig. 14) was most probably made for this room, but the 'Sconce frame ... with a Large Pediment and bottom with a rich frett work in the flatt and muildings all Carv'd and Guilt in Burnish'd Gold' (fig. 15) which cost nine pounds was made for the adjoining dining room contrived at the same time¹¹. There are at least two other Strachan frames at Hopetoun which can be firmly identified¹², as well as some small sconces and a set of small pier glasses in the Library which can be associated with him. Sadly, as it is the only table which he is known to have made, the 'frame for a Marble Table of Wainscott Carv'd & Guilt in Burnishd Gold'¹³ for which Strachan charged ten guineas has not been identified. One wonders whether he made frames for many of the marble tables which Adam supplied.

The Edinburgh Upholstery Company also made frames for marble tables at Hopetoun, notably the 'two very neat carved marble slab frames' for which they charged eighteen pounds in 1757¹⁴, and which still stand in the position for which they were made, in the Yellow Drawing Room. This room was originally the State Dining Room, and the 'Carved & painted Sconce Frames' made by the Company also survive *in situ*¹⁵ (fig. 16).

¹⁰Supplied in 1742. NRA(S)888/147/388.

¹¹*ibid.* This can be associated with a design for altering the family dining room by John Adam of 1752 (fig. 15a). Perhaps he had the glass in mind. An alternative design shows a rococo pier glass. NRA(S)888/147/639; photographic copies are held at the NMRS.

¹²The 'frame for a Glass & picture for the Drawing room Closett', which is still *in situ*, and the 'Large double Architrave frame for a Pier Glass with a Pediment Top and bottom Carv'd and Guilt in Burnishd Gold', now in the private apartments. The latter cost £20. NRA(S)888/147/388

¹³*ibid.*

¹⁴All the accounts referred to from the Edinburgh Upholstery Company for Hopetoun can be found in NRA(S)888/147/388. These tables were originally painted white, as recorded in an inventory of 1768; NRA(S)888/607.

¹⁵Frames for the tables and glasses were gilded in 1827. NRA(S)888/87/1.

The Edinburgh Upholstery Company was a creation of the by now familiar James Cullen¹⁶, and consisted of an elite co-operative of cabinet makers and upholsterers in Edinburgh. They supplied almost four hundred pounds worth of furniture and upholstery to Hopetoun between 1755 and 1759, including much bedroom furniture and the above mentioned dining room furniture. This was the first instalment of Cullen's commission to furnish Lord Hopetoun's new house, and he clearly started with the family accommodation, and then worked through the State Apartment as the fitting out of those rooms progressed. The Hall and Dining Room were the first to be completed (the apartment recedes in a Baroque manner laterally from the Hall) and although there are no accounts for the hall chairs it is likely that the Edinburgh Upholstery Company made them (fig. 17). They were specified by Cullen in a Memorandum for the furnishing of the State Apartment which he drew up in 1753¹⁷, and are listed as 'two white painted wooden settees [and] four chairs do.' in an inventory of the house collated when the furnishing had been completed in 1768¹⁸.

To return to the Dining Room, '10 Mohy fine Carved Eagle Claw foot Chairs' at thirty shillings and '4 Elbow ditto', for an extra five shillings, were made by the Company (fig. 18). Although it is accepted that dining chairs made at this time were generally covered with leather¹⁹ or horsehair, these were 'stufft in Canvas with slipping on seats' and supplied with loose 'Crimson all cotton Cheque' cases. These must not be confused with case covers; they were the primary decorative finish. This seems to have been something of a trend in Scotland. Indeed the twenty four 'Mahogy dining room chairs wt carving on ye front & feet' which Peter made for Dumfries House four years later (and which also cost thirty shillings) had 'buff'd over

¹⁶See below Chapter VI: Relationships and Dynasties.

¹⁷NRA(S)888/147/621.

¹⁸NRA(S)888/607.

¹⁹As were the ones made for Buchanan. Certainly a straw poll of all the dining chairs which Chippendale made reveals that they were exclusively covered in either leather or horsehair. Gilbert *Chippendale op. cit.*

seats [and] osenburgh covers'²⁰ (fig. 6) for which loose covers were undoubtedly intended. The Edinburgh Upholstery Company also made dining chairs finished like this for the Earl of Lauderdale in 1762, although significantly only after some discussion with the Earl. Their initial suggestion was black figured haircloth,

which comes full as cheap and lasts as well & is not subjected to throwing the colour nor greasing the cloaths w^c is the fault of leather²¹.

The factor did not think this appropriate, expressing the opinion that 'hair cloth is ye worst of all things and it [is] most unfashionable in a gentleman's house' and requested that the Company 'do them over w^t green lining and Baked hair - to be tacked under w^t common tacks only & so have covers'²².

For the Dining Room at Hopetoun the Company also made the tables, of the 'finest' mahogany, 'to join' at four pounds for a pair²³, a mahogany cheese board 'on castors' at six shillings, and a 'large mohy soph^a with Eagles Claw feet Carved and stufft in Canvas' with a loose cover as above and six cushions²⁴ (fig. 19). Sofas were not uncommon in dining rooms of this period, but strangely the room does not seem to have had a sideboard²⁵. There are, however, two simple side tables in the present State Dining Room with cabriole legs, pad feet and marble tops.

²⁰NRA(S)631/A720/22. Osenburgh was a type of heavy linen.

²¹24th March 1762. NRA(S)832/1/16.

²²*ibid.* The letter is annotated by him.

²³They charged an extra shilling for the polished Iron 'cleeks' which joined them.

²⁴The sofa alone cost £ 6 10/. It was returned to the room for which it was made in 1966, although the room is now the Yellow Drawing Room, and the sofa has been recovered in matching silk damask.

²⁵The Inventory of 1768 makes no mention of one, and there is no obvious entry for one in the accounts. *op. cit.*

PATTERN FURNITURE

Lord Dumfries's initial desire to 'only have a patteron Elbow Chair' from London and have it copied in Edinburgh has already been mentioned, and this is one of the three ways in which the term pattern furniture can be interpreted¹. Of a second and more exotic type are the pattern chairs which literally show several different potential designs within the one chair - a three-dimensional version of the pattern book format where a single design could illustrate several different final options. Finally furniture could simply be copied from a different house, or even a different room, or pieces made to complete a set. A good example of the latter can be found at Blair Castle, where there are two sets of candlestands or torchères, one of which was made by Chippendale, and the other, clearly in imitation, by the Edinburgh carver John Thomson² (fig. 26). Economy was clearly always an issue, but it is possible, given the difficulties of transport, that convenience was a strong consideration when it could be allied to fashion in this way.

The first two options are illustrated at Hopetoun. The sofa made for the Dining Room by the Edinburgh Upholstery Company (fig. 19) was specified by James Cullen for use as the model for the sofas of the State Drawing Room (fig. 20). These, and the accompanying chairs, were to be made by the estate wright, Thomas Welsh. The chairs were a simplified version of a pattern chair, which is still in the house (fig. 22). This chair has alternative treatments for each seat rail, a Vitruvian scroll, a Greek key and a diamond-paned fret. Its origins are obscure, but in 1758 the Edinburgh Upholstery Company had sent a single 'carv'd mohy Elbow Chair' to Hopetoun. There would perhaps be nothing exceptional about this singularity were it not for the price of the chair - five pounds. This was more than three times the cost of the 'fine

¹Furniture in this context can invariably, but not exclusively, be taken to mean chairs, as these were generally the only items which were produced in this way, presumably due to the quantity in which they were required. There are of course exceptions to this generality, notably at Inveraray and Blair, see below.

²See Gilbert *Chippendale op. cit.* pp129-130. For Thomson also see below Chapter VI: Carving and Gilding.

Carved Eagle Claw foot' mahogany dining chairs supplied by the same firm three years earlier³, and is surely enough to justify an attribution, given the exotic nature of the surviving chair. The chair was listed in the inventory of Hopetoun taken in 1768 as 'one model elbow chair mahogany buffed with crimson morine and check cover'⁴; it has since been covered in an exquisite Genoese cut velvet, and is displayed alongside the State Bed. It has clearly always been valued in its own right.

Cullen had returned to London in 1759, and it is interesting to note that in 1760 he sent Lady Milton 'a rich carved mahogy dining roome chair, seat stuffed in Canvas'⁵. This was surely intended to be copied for either her Edinburgh house or the family's country seat in East Lothian. It cost 34 shillings, so was probably simply a fashionable chair which would provide a model, rather than a 'pattern' chair in the Hopetoun sense. Similarly, in 1760 Viscount Macduff bought a 'pattern chair' for twenty one shillings from James MacKay of London⁶. Between the years of 1758 and 1762 Macduff spent almost seven hundred pounds with James MacKay, and although much of this was for his London house the pattern chair was surely destined for Scotland, where his family had very extensive properties including Duff House, Banffshire.

Another family who seem to have been particularly keen on the general principle of pattern furniture were the Dukes of Argyll. In 1758 the 3rd Duke paid William Hamilton, an Edinburgh cabinet maker with an extensive business⁷, two shillings and sixpence for 'Joining 2 Mahogany pattern Chairs that came from London and

³The price also compares favourably with the £3 5/ famously charged by William Hallett for 'a pattern chair for Holkham'. See Anthony Coleridge *Chippendale Furniture* London 1968 p42.

⁴In the North Front Anti-Chamber. *op. cit.*

⁵NLS MS16885/53.

⁶AU MS3175/89.

⁷See following chapter.

polishing Ditto'⁸. There is, however, no evidence that he went on to copy one or other of the chairs, although it seems likely he would have been required to if they were appropriate. When it came to furnishing Inveraray Castle in the 1770's the 5th Duke acquired his best suites of gilt furniture from the Linnells⁹ and had them supplemented with (admittedly inferior) copies made by Peter and Douglas Traill of Edinburgh¹⁰, which were probably intended for different rooms. The Duke also had the Traills make tables 'according to the patterns of those which have been sent from London'¹¹.

Lord Marchmont's furniture in 'high and good taste' has already been mentioned, and although it is not known who made it, his neighbour David Gavin of Langton also admired it, sending Robert Young, of the Edinburgh cabinet makers and upholsterers Young and Trotter, to see the house in order that Gavin might have the furniture copied for his own house. Young's correspondence illuminates the situation, and his input, excellently.

As I promised after leaving Langtoun I called at Marchmont House & found the drawing Room there had three settees, ... 12 chairs & 2 stools which ... fill the room as it should be. Your drawing Room will not contain so much without crouding it, but 2 sofas & 8 or 9 chairs cannot be too much ... The chairs in Marchmont drawing Room have a fret cut upon the feet whether you would incline yours done so or plain, you will be able to judge from your haveing seen these chairs ...¹²

Young and Trotter eventually made 8 chairs, 2 elbow chairs and 2 sofas for Gavin, evidently with plain feet, yet even with these economies he was reluctant to pay.

⁸NLS MS17630/216. It should be mentioned that Lord Milton was the Duke of Argyll's Scottish agent.

⁹*William and John Linnell op. cit.* 1980 pp126-8.

¹⁰*Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll op. cit.* p219.

¹¹In other words simply copying some tables which he had already bought in London. *ibid.*

¹²GD282/13/122. It is noteworthy that the dining chairs Peter made for Dumfries House (fig. 6) do have a fret, while the similar ones at the Georgian House do not (fig. 5).

Despite their flattery ('we know it can be a matter of no difficulty to you & would really be the greatest favor imaginable to us') the account was never receipted¹³.

In a similar way William Shiells made a large quantity of furniture for the Earl of Lauderdale, submitting an estimate in 1761 for copying furniture at Hatton, the home of Lord Lauderdale's brother, to be used at Thirlestane, his own house. This estimate is worth quoting at length as it reveals some of the complexities which could be involved for a wright working in this capacity.

Estimate of Tables & Chairs proposed to be made by William Shiells for Thirlestane Castle

He proposes to make side boards like that in the big dining room at Hatton of the same Dimensions Every way, without Fret work and of Elm at 18 shillings he furnishing the Elm or if my Lord furnish it He will make them for 10 shillings & six pence or for 8 shillings if my Lord pay for planking out the wood

He proposes to make ... 18 chairs for the Dining room, and 6 chairs for the bed chamber ... of Geen tree¹⁴ or Elm of the same size of those in the big dining room at Hatton & of the same pattern & dimensions every way, with a Notch round the feet of them, My Lord furnishing the wood [&c] ... & to furnish oyls for oiling them, but not to furnish or make the seats of them

He proposes to make a Settee or Couch of the same pattern & dimensions of that in the Drawing Room at Hatton, [&c] ...

He will also make 12 armchairs like those in the Drawing room at Hatton at the same price with the other chairs ¹⁵

We do not know who made the furniture at Hatton (it may even have been Shiells), and none of the above can easily be identified at Thirlestane, but the way in which Shiells laid out his costs is revealing. It seems likely that he was a retained estate

¹³*ibid.*

¹⁴A type of cherry.

¹⁵NRA(S) 832/14/23.

wright, who was nevertheless paid at a rate per piece, but he may have just been a local wright capable of making furniture but with no cabinet workshop as such.

The idea of pattern chairs was not particular to this period, but it is most appropriate to continue the discussion in this context. For instance, in 1796 a single library chair was bought in London for Duff House, along with five library presses¹⁶, and this was surely intended for copying, with the more important cabinet furniture all coming from London. However, the machinations employed by William Forbes in the 1790s, when furnishing Callendar House, near Falkirk, are rather more telling, and bring this study to an appropriate end.

In 1790 Forbes had bought a single elbow chair, a single sofa and a single cornice from Kent and Luck, all no doubt intended as patterns¹⁷. Whether he ever had these copied is unclear, but he certainly got a taste for the concept, as is made clear by an account and letter of August 1795 from Seddon, Sons and Shackleton. Forbes was sent a 'Mahogany Chair cover'd & border'd in Red Morocco Leather & finish with two rows of best gold lacquer Nails @ £2 10/' and an 'Elbow Do @ £3 13/ 6d'. The letter fills us in on the background to this order.

Permit us to mention that in consequence of you saying you shou'd want one or two sets of Chairs of the same pattern we have prepar'd so as to compleat them at a short notice and request the favor of you to say what number of them you will want¹⁸.

Forbes did order more chairs of the same pattern, but not from Seddon's. Indeed, it is hard to tell whether he had ever intended to buy a full set from Seddon, although that is clearly what Seddon had been led to believe. Instead, in February 1796 Forbes wrote to William Lamb in Edinburgh

¹⁶AU MS 3175/1397.

¹⁷GD171/2598. Kent and Luck made furniture for Sir Thomas Baring and the Bank of England, which may explain why Forbes, a banker, went to them. *DEFM*.

¹⁸GD171/2413/118. The letter goes on 'also that you will have the goodness to return us the drawing of the Bed which we presume has escap'd your memory'.

Please to get made twelve Arm Chairs exactly the same as the Arm Chair which I sent to you for a pattern. As I allow so generous a price as three guineas for each of these chairs now ordered I rely upon their being made of the best materials and finished in an elegant manner¹⁹.

The chairs were delivered in March, at the agreed price, and another seven ordered nine months later²⁰, so Forbes was obviously satisfied with their quality. That he had saved himself ten shillings and sixpence on each chair, compared with the London price, was no doubt of even greater satisfaction to him.

The initial principle concerning the use of pattern furniture as a complement to London furniture was summed up by the Dowager Marchioness of Lothian when advising her daughter-in-law about redecorating Newbattle Abbey in 1776.

My humble thought is, that it will be best for you to get your chairs for the Old Drawing [room], at London to your taste ... as for the other chairs may be wanted, you had better send patrons which you like to Sam: Elliot ... and he will make them²¹.

Elliot was the estate wright at Newbattle, Midlothian, and apparently a 'most ingenious Creature & complete workman'²². Now let us turn to his breed.

¹⁹ GD171/2669/3.

²⁰GD171/2669/7. Presumably only seven because he already had the Seddon chair, which made the set up to eight.

²¹G40/9/177. She may of course be referring to patterns on paper.

²²*ibid*.

ESTATE WRIGHTS

An estate wright was retained on an estate, or by a landowner, as a member of staff. The exact conditions of employment, and the nature of the attachment to the estate, differed from instance to instance and it will be most instructive to cite individual examples, rather than attempting to generalise.

Once again, Hopetoun provides the cue. The estate wright there, Thomas Welsh, was a salaried employee and much of his furniture was destined for the State Apartment. Welsh had learnt his trade working at Newhailes, the other side of Edinburgh from Hopetoun, in the employ of Sir James Dalrymple, who seems to have actively encouraged his training. Dalrymple recommended him to Lord Hopetoun, in a letter of 1750.

My Good Lord

In obedience to Your Comands I some time ago talked with Thomas Walsh the wright lad who carves in wood and has taught himself to draw neatly enough, all things considered; I did not think it proper to mention my commission from Your Lordship, but told him that as my work would soon be at an end, and as I knew him to be honest, and of that degree of capacity as to be improving daily, especially under directions as Your Lordship could give him, I would venture to recommend him to your Lordship, but that it would be proper I should know what encouragement he expected. He said that he had a family settled in this Parish and that it would be considerable expence and inconveniency to remove it, unless he was certain of Bread for some Years. to which I answered that it must be his own fault in all probability if that failed after Your Lop: and he were in bargain. We then spoke of his Wages, he named half a crown a day, then two shillings, he may be had (I think) for twenty pence, he furnishing the small Tools, or eighteen pence, Your Lordship furnishing all tools and not lower: ... so much for Walsh in wch I flatter myself I have complied with Your Lordships intention, and I am persuaded the man will not give you any cause to complain of My recommendation ...¹

¹23rd October. NRA(S)147/388.

It was arranged that Welsh should go to Hopetoun in five weeks time, before which 'att his earnest desire' Dalrymple was 'to try him with gilding some of his own carving' hoping that 'that may also turn out usefull to Your Lordship'².

Once Welsh had been employed he soon acquired an apprentice, and he continued to have one throughout his time at Hopetoun, maintained at Lord Hopetoun's expense³. Between 1758 and 1768 he was being paid at the rate of two shillings for each day he worked, but he did have to submit quarterly accounts detailing the furniture which he had made⁴. In 1764 Welsh started making all the seat furniture for the State Drawing Room, Bed Chamber and Dressing Room. These were finally 'finish'd & put in their Places' on the 16th January 1768⁵, by which time he was 'planning wood for more chairs for the House'⁶. Lord Hopetoun certainly kept him busy. Welsh 'and the men who wrought with him' made all the furniture and completed much of the joiner work at the family's new house in Moffat in 1766-7, and he was given twenty five pounds by Lord Hopetoun 'in a Gratuity after the Work was finishd over and above his wages for Overseeing and Directing the work'⁷. He also made furniture for Lord Hopetoun's other houses at Keith and Ormiston, and did joiner work on the estate where necessary⁸. He was still at Hopetoun in 1781, when mourning clothes were provided for him for the funeral of the Countess of Hopetoun. He ranked in precedence with the gardeners and smiths⁹.

²*ibid.* 26th October.

³He had his first apprentice, Roger Hogg, for five years. Hogg was actually paid by Lord Hopetoun: 5d a day for the first six month, 6d for the next six, and then increasing by 2d a day for each year of his apprenticeship. *ibid.*

⁴NRA(S)888/69/1.

⁵NRA(S)888/147/621.

⁶*idem* note 4.

⁷NRA(S)888/147/642.

⁸Such as making windows for the parish church, or the Pigeon House. NRA(S)888/69/1.

⁹NRA(S)888/147/456.

The quality of furniture which Welsh made was very high, if hardly at the forefront of fashion (see figs. 20-25). Despite the fact that his patron Lord Hopetoun was a subscriber to Chippendale's *Director*, and that Welsh himself owned a copy of the first edition¹⁰, the furniture which he made betrays little of this influence. The pair of easy chairs which earlier in this century took their place alongside his other chairs in the State Drawing Room are particularly idiosyncratic (fig. 24)¹¹. This must have been a permanent hazard, or delight, when commissioning furniture from estate wrights, who by their very nature had no commercial need to be fashionable, and little direct contact with the trade. There was an estate wright called John Fife at Kelburn Castle, Ayrshire, who can be associated with a pair of bookcases still in the house. If he did make these, and his account for 'four Sets of Mahogany Drawers & Bookcases' is dated 1773, then they are remarkably, but by no means impossibly, old fashioned¹² (fig. 27).

Fife was paid a piece rate, and always noted when he was using his own timber as it naturally affected the cost, as did William Shiells at Thirlestane. This was also the way in which Charles Douglass, who worked for the Marquess of Tweeddale at Yester between 1732 and 1750, was remunerated¹³. Douglass made a great deal of furniture at Yester, of alder, elm, beech, oak, deal, walnut and mahogany. He bought the latter on Lord Tweeddale's behalf in London in 1732, and must have been one of first people to use it in Scotland¹⁴. While he was in London he also acquired a variety

¹⁰Bought bound from Gavin Hamilton on the 11th May 1754 for £ 1 11/ 6d. It sadly has virtually no annotations. Now in the possession of Messrs Whytock and Reid, Cabinet Makers and Upholsterers, Edinburgh.

¹¹A chair of similar pattern but without the carving, which came from Moffat House, is in the possession of Lord Hopetoun's descendant the Earl of Annandale at Raehills, Dumfriesshire (fig. 25).

¹²The bookcases cost six pounds each, a considerable sum, which assists with the attribution. NRA(S)94 Deed Box 5.

¹³However Robert Wilson, who was the estate wright at Newbattle in the 1720's was paid 12d a day, and his apprentice 8d. It is hard to generalise. GD40/8/491.

¹⁴The accounts can be found in NLS MS14665/25-60 & 14679/260-261. Yester was sold by the family in the early 1970s and the contents largely dispersed; however, some Douglass pieces still survive in the family. See fig. 48. There is a family tradition that this was the first furniture made from mahogany in Scotland.

of brass and ironwork, saws, other tools and two 'Architect books'. These were presumably pattern books, and although their price is recorded, sixteen shillings for the pair, sadly their titles are not¹⁵. Over the following seven years Douglass brought wood from the estate to his workshop, planked, veneered and seasoned it, did various wright work and 'ode jobs' about the house, and made a total of one hundred and twenty chairs and nine stools, forty other items of furniture, including dining, tea, claw, night and writing tables, and chests of drawers¹⁶. He was clearly a very accomplished craftsman, veneering and carving with alacrity.

When he presented the accounts for these years to the factor, various deductions were made, which are quite instructive, remembering that Douglass charged on a piece rate basis, but did not have to buy his wood. The factor refused to allow the price of tools 'bought for his use' (almost eight pounds)¹⁷; refused to allow for the sawing of timber, considering it to be 'included in the price of the Chairs & ye Tables which are too high stated besides'; and pointed out that 'the Article of Bringing home Beech Trees ... might have been done by common Workmen as well as himself & his man'. The account came to £ 217 16/ 4d, from which the factor managed to deduct £22 2/ 8d. Clearly terms had not been agreed to both parties mutual understanding when Douglass was engaged. Lord Tweeddale on going through these accounts was slightly more generous, allowing Douglass an extra five pounds over and above his factor's estimate¹⁸. Douglass continued to work for the estate, with an apprentice or assistant, until his death in 1756. Subsequent to 1739, however, he seems mostly to have worked for the daily rate of 18d, which was perhaps simpler for everyone concerned.

¹⁵One presumes that they were for Douglass's use, but they may have been for Lord Tweeddale. NLS MS14665/29.

¹⁶NLS MS14665/30-37.

¹⁷When Thomas Welsh's initial wage was being discussed it depended on who supplied the tools.

¹⁸NLS MS14665/39-40.

Finally, the contract between the Earl of Fife and Thomas Dott is particularly instructive, not only for the informative it gives about estate wrights, but also about working practices at the time. Dott moved from Edinburgh to work for Lord Fife at Duff House in 1755. He stayed at Duff until 1762, by which time he was ‘wright in Banff’, and presumably he remained there.

The contract between Dott and Lord Braco is dated 25th April 1755, and was valid for a year¹⁹. It specified that Dott should ‘oversee and direct the wright work that shall be carrying on at Lord Braco’s new house of Banff’. He was also required

to work and make with his own hands and by other sufficient workmen to be employed by him all sort of House and Joiner Wright work, Cabinet, ffurniture & Chair work that Lord Braco shall desire or require of him for the use of the said new house at Banff as good, neat, ffashionable, and sufficient as can be made in Scotland of such Timber & materialls as Lord Braco shall ffurnish for that purpose.

It is not known how much furniture Dott ended up making, but there is an account of 1762 which includes eleven chairs ‘to the Vestibule’ and a ‘Gilt picter fream on the Chimney of ye Low Parlour’. These are the only specific mentions of furniture²⁰.

The contract specified that Dott and his employees should ‘enter to work every Morning at six o’clock and continue till six o’clock at night’. They were allowed ‘an hour for Breakfast and an hour for Dinner’, but Dott was encouraged to work ‘as long after that hour [six at night] as he can prevail with the workmen to continue’. He was to be allowed to take one or more journeymen wrights with him from Edinburgh, at a wage ‘not exceeding one shilling and six pence sterling a day to each’, but they would have to pay for their own food. Dott and his men were expected to provide all their tools except for a long saw, and were allowed five days

¹⁹AU MS 3175/623/2.

²⁰*ibid.* After a very chequered history Duff House is to open in 1995 as an out-station of the National Galleries of Scotland.

to travel from Edinburgh. He was to be paid for his first year 'the neat sum of fifty pounds ster for meat wages and all other demands whatever'.

CASE STUDY I: ALEXANDER PETER

Little is known about Alexander Peter, and what information there is mostly has to be pieced together from standard sources. From this point of view, he is the norm rather than the exception. Peter was, however, responsible for one of the most remarkable collections of documented Scottish furniture which survives today, and it is justifiably that on which his significance rests.

His father was James Peter of Chaple, and he was registered as apprentice to James Brownhill on the 16th December 1713. Brownhill was Deacon of the Wrights from 1713 until 1715 and the builder of James Court in the Lawnmarket; he was undoubtedly essentially a wright rather than a cabinet maker, although he did make furniture, notably for Sir John Clerk in 1722¹. Peter only completed his apprenticeship and become a burghess in 1728, and this fifteen years apprenticeship suggests that he may have joined Brownhill very young². On the 4th May 1728 he was appointed to make as his essay piece,

a Wainscot press pedestall forme lifting off in two parts having ffoure lidds or doors with raised muldings ... with Basse & sub basse and an whole intabulator on the head of the Corinthian order after Scamozie³.

He was admitted as burghess a month later having completed this task, and over the next year booked three journeymen in his name with the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel⁴.

In 1732 Peter married Isobel, the daughter of Andrew Dunbar of Lenholt, and the first known account in his own name is to the Earl of Islay, later the Duke of

¹GD18/1839/1/100. By this time Peter himself may have been responsible for this.

²This was well over the usual length of an apprenticeship.

³Mary's Chapel Records 1727-40 Bay B Shelf 16. His essay masters were William Gifford and Andrew ffisher, and he was admitted as burghess on the 8th June.

⁴Mary's Chapel Records 1709-20 [includes accounts 1729-48] Bay B Shelf 16.

Argyll, in the following year⁵. Islay continued to use Peter throughout his life. Among Peter's other patrons can be numbered the Duke of Montrose, the Earls of Hopetoun, Cassillis and Lauderdale, Lords Doune and Carmichall, Lady Hall, Sir John Clerk, and Archibald Grant of Monymusk, as well as, of course, the Earl of Dumfries⁶.

Between the years of 1731 and 1749 Peter registered thirty seven further journeymen with Mary's Chapel; he took as apprentices William Mathie, son of Captain Thomas Mathie, a merchant in Cockenzie, in 1733⁷; Michael Malcolm, a son of Sir John Malcolm of Lochor in 1737; Daniel Laury, the son of a surgeon, in 1741; and Henry Stuart, son of Robert Stuart of Newmains in 1745⁸. He never held any official posts within the Incorporation, and never did any work for it. He also never worked for the Town Council. Peter rarely placed notices in the papers, and never repeated a notice more than once⁹. He also never used printed billheads, and was clearly a man who simply got on with his job.

Peter lived above his shop in the Horse Wynd¹⁰, from at least 1752¹¹ until he sold his business in 1772. He also for a while maintained a 'large warehouse within Advocate's Close' which he moved to a site in the Cowgate, opposite the Old Assembly Close, in 1758. This presumably was his workshop, as well as being his

⁵NLS MS17643/52. The finest item was a 'walnuttree Desk and Bookcase' which cost £6 10/.

⁶For furniture made by him for Lord Dumfries see figs. 6-8 and the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* plates 2 to 10a. This is the only documented furniture which can be traced to Peter. The National Trust for Scotland has a pair of chairs at its Georgian House in Edinburgh of almost identical design to the dining chairs at Dumfries House, which must surely also have been made by him, but which have no provenance (fig. 5).

⁷The relationship with Mathie was curious as he did not become a burgher, and therefore technically complete his apprenticeship, until 1760. However he worked in his own name before this date, notably alongside Peter at Dumfries House.

⁸Mary's Chapel Records 1727-40 Bay B Shelf 16.

⁹See APPENDIX II. If information is not otherwise noted it has come from this source.

¹⁰In the Cowgate. In today's terms about half way between the South Bridge and George IV Bridge.

¹¹He is listed here in the *Directory of Edinburgh in 1752* compiled by J Gilhooley, and the press notices confirm this from 1759. J Gilhooley *Directory of Edinburgh in 1752* Edinburgh 1988.

‘Cabinet Warehouse’ where he had fitted up ‘two large light warehouses ... wherein his stock of ready made goods’ was shown. It was also conveniently near his house, being almost opposite the Horse Wynd. As well as this at various times he had a ware room ‘fronting the high street ... within Writer’s Court’ and a wood yard at Alison’s Court, Potterrow¹², from which timber could be bought. The advertisement in the *Edinburgh Chronicle* of 23 January 1760 (fig. 10) illustrates the range of goods which Peter made, and makes it is clear that he was very much a cabinet maker rather than an upholsterer. Note that he also sold second hand furniture, as was to be expected¹³.

Although no mention was made of Peter when the Edinburgh Upholstery Company was formed, on its initial dissolution in 1759 Peter had a share. Most of the Company’s goods were sold, and Peter’s remaining ‘goods and cabinet work’ were moved to his own warehouse. If the company was a co-operative, as it seems, Peter must simply have been investing in it and selling his own work through it. Peter was also involved in property development and ownership, having two villas outside Edinburgh to let in 1764. He offered to make ‘any reasonable alteration ... [for] a good tenant that would keep them neat and genteel’.

He gave notice in 1772 that he was ‘intending to give up business’ and was ‘ready to treat with any person whom it may suit to take his Shop and Yard and to purchase what quantity of his stock of seasoned wood etc he may have occasion for’. He ends by saying, surely with justification, that

as this Shop has been long in repute for Cabinet Work, any person who employs the same hands, and uses proper materials, may expect to meet with proper encouragement.

The final word came on 20th July 1772, fifty eight years and six months after he joined James Brownhill, when he announced that he was selling off his last remaining

¹²The Horse Wynd continued south as Potterrow, and so this was again very convenient.

¹³See Chapter VI: Second Hand Trade and Auctioneering.

goods 'at least Ten per cent below the usual prices, though they are of equal value with any that ever were made by Mr Peter'.

CASE STUDY II: FRANCIS BRODIE

Brodie is quite simply exceptional in this context. Exceptional not only for the amount of biographical information which it is possible to piece together, but also, for the details of his life and work. The latter has no doubt contributed to the former, helped by a healthy dose of public interest aroused by the iniquitous death of his infamous son William 'Deacon' Brodie.

Francis Brodie was born on the 24th June 1708, the eldest son of Ludovick Brodie of Whytfield, a Writer to the Signet¹, and Hellen Grant. In the words of a contemporary, he

was a gentleman who was much respected; he was from a branch of a good family in the North of Scotland. He carried on the business of a Wright, Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer, to a very considerable extent, and was employed by some of the best families in this part of the kingdom².

The 'good family', from which Ludovick was descended, were the Brodies of Brodie Castle³, while Francis's wife, Cicel, and mother, Hellen, (who were cousins) were the nieces of Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, also a famous lawyer⁴.

Given this legal background the profession of a cabinet maker was perhaps not the most logical step for Francis, especially as the eldest son, but there was clearly an

¹An advocate with particular privileges.

²A Robertson *Anecdotes and Other Curious Information Concerning William Brodie* Edinburgh 1788 Vol II p12.

³Ludovick was the great grandson of the 13th Laird, and brother of Alexander Brodie of Milntown. W Brodie *Genealogy of the Brodie Family* 1893. This is not as distant a connection as it sounds; Ludovick lent Alexander Brodie of Brodie £ 531 in 1741, which Francis sued the family for in 1773. By this time the debt had accumulated to £ 1153. CS177/197/24th July 1773.

⁴J Stark *Lord Cullen, the First of the Monymusk Grants* Aberdeen 1912. Hellen's father was also a W. S. The King James Bible at the Huntly House museum in Edinburgh was owned by the Brodie family. It has much biographical information, mostly entered by Francis himself, written on six sheets of paper inserted between the Apocrypha and the New Testament.

artistic strain in the family. His brother Joseph⁵ was an accomplished painter who has left us portraits of several members of the family, including Francis⁶ (fig. 28). Besides, Francis clearly intended to be no ordinary cabinet maker, and put his education and background to the best possible advantage⁷.

First, however, he had to train, and on the 30th June 1725 he was registered as an apprentice with John Antonius. Little is known about Antonius but his father Henry was Deacon of the Wrights from 1717-19 and died in 1723. John presumably inherited his business. Brodie, not unlike Peter, served a long apprenticeship of ten years, and on the 1st November 1735 was appointed to make

a machogany Desk with drawers below the same, and to draw the draught of a press of the Corinthian order after Palladio.⁸

It is singularly appropriate, given later developments, that Brodie should have been given a Palladian Order to draw.

Within a year he had four journeymen working for him⁹, and his first known account is dated March 1737¹⁰. A measure of his ambition is that over the next four years he employed a further nineteen journeymen¹¹. Between 1737 and 1769 he took six apprentices, having two at a time. Of these, mysteriously only one, William Ross,

⁵See James Holloway *Patrons and Painters: Art in Scotland 1650-1760* The National Galleries of Scotland 1989 pp99-100 & 141. He is incorrectly called James here, an easy mistake to make as he signed his paintings 'Jos. Brodie'. Holloway suggests that there is a possibility Joseph learnt his craft in Italy.

⁶The National Portrait Gallery has photographic copies of these. Sadly the whereabouts of the portrait of Francis is unknown.

⁷It is instructive to compare his handwriting, which was very elegant, with that of Alexander Peter, which was not.

⁸His essay masters were Alexander Menteith and Daniel Wright; he was given until the 1st February to make his piece, but was admitted as a burgess on the 27th December 1735 on paying the standard fee of £ 10 16/ 8d (£ 130 Scots - see Mary's Chapel: Apprentices). City Archives Mary's Chapel Records 1727-40 Bay B Shelf 16.

⁹Mary's Chapel Records *op. cit.*

¹⁰To Sir John Clerk for a 'large Mahogany Standard for a jappaned table 8/'. GD18/1839/1/134

¹¹Mary's Chapel Records *op. cit.*

is listed in the Register of Apprentices, the remainder having been traced only through the Mary's Chapel Records¹².

In 1739 Brodie's workshop was 'overagainst the Guard, North Side of the Street', the Street being the High Street and the Guard being just up from the Tron Kirk¹³. In the following year he married, and before his first child William was born in October of 1741 he had moved his workshop, wareroom and presumably home to the 'Second Close above the Old Bank, Lawnmarket'¹⁴. This close was also known as Cullen's Close, as Lord Cullen had lived there, the above mentioned relative of Brodie's wife and mother, and this connection must have either facilitated or inspired the move. Brodie and his business remained there for the rest of his life, the whole only being sold with his son's bankruptcy and subsequent death in 1788.

Accounts from Brodie are known for over forty seven different patrons, among them the Dukes of Hamilton, Gordon, Montrose and Argyll, the Earls of Dumfries, Traquair and Stair, Lords Glenorchy, Milton, Arniston and Braco, as well as the Baronets John and James Clerk, Archibald Grant, John Kennedy and Charles Gilmour¹⁵. It has been suggested that Brodie was a Catholic¹⁶, and that this may have guaranteed him a circle of like-minded patrons, as it seems to have done for Gillows

¹²Namely, Charles Hay, 1737; Robert Mclean, 1753; Alexander Lawson, 1756; Thomas Muir, 1768; and Thomas Vass, 1769 (William Brodie also took an apprentice in this year) *op. cit.*

¹³Subsequent billheads confirm his addresses (figs. 29-31).

¹⁴The close was actually owned by the Little's of Liberton. Gilhooley's *Directory of Edinburgh in 1752 op. cit.* lists this as his address, but there is no clear evidence that he lived here until an account of 1767 to William Little mentions 'your house possessed by me'; British Museum MSS Bank Collection 28.18. The house was described by Robert Chambers: 'The outdoor is remarkable for its curious, elaborate workmanship. The house is well built, and the rooms exhibit some decorations of taste. The principal apartment, of which the ceiling is remarkably high, contains a panel painting of the Adoration of the Wise Men, and has an uncommonly large arched window to the West'. R Chambers *Traditions of Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1825 vol I pp194-5. It seems likely that the painting was by Alexander Runciman, in which case it must have been commissioned by Brodie himself. Daniel Wilson *Memorials of Edinburgh in Olden Times* Edinburgh 1891 vol I p222. The close eventually came to be known as Brodie's Close, as it still is today. Most of the house and close were demolished to make way for Victoria Street between 1829-36, but two mid-17th century century ceilings survive at the front.

¹⁵See APPENDIX I.

¹⁶*Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* p18.

in the north of England¹⁷, but the above list does not bear this out. In fact quite the opposite; to take just a few examples the Gordons and Hamiltons had converted very publicly to the protestant cause, and Lord Glenorchy, Sir John Clerk and Lord Arniston were very active Unionist politicians who would have shied away from anyone who was in any way publicly Catholic¹⁸.

The remarkable engraving used by Brodie at the top of most of his bills predates his move to Cullen's Close, being used from at least 1738 to 1758, with only small changes to the text (figs. 29-31). When it was replaced in 1767, Brodie having taken his son William into full partnership, the new design consisted simply of playful rococo foliage surrounding nine diminishing lines of text¹⁹ (fig. 35).

This billhead was certainly unique in a Scottish context, as the only known billheads of other cabinet makers and upholsterers are of the fairly standard pattern of a decorative design surrounding a specific piece of furniture, or other emblem, which normally also served as the address and shop sign. Consider for instance William Lamb's *Gilded Sopha*, William Murray's *Royal Tent*, or James Caddell's *Crown and Cushion* (figs. 36-9).

The overall pattern of this engraving seems to have had a particular source. The billhead used by Robert and John Hodson between 1730 and 1786 is of striking similarity to Brodie's and must surely have been the inspiration for it²⁰ (fig. 32). It is not improbable that Brodie could have seen it, given the Hodsons' Scottish connections, discussed above. Of the known Hodson accounts for these patrons all

¹⁷DEFM.

¹⁸It should be said however that family Bible, which was printed in Edinburgh in 1722, was dedicated to 'the Most High and Mighty Prince James by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc'. This certainly does suggest Jacobite sympathies.

¹⁹For a discussion of rococo engraving in Edinburgh at this time see I Gow 'A Scottish Rococo Bookplate and its Peers' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* New Series vol II 1992 pp137-141.

²⁰See, for instance, an account from John Hodson to the Duke of Gordon, dated 1745. GD44/51/202/2/33.

but those for the Duke of Gordon pre-date the appearance of Brodie's billhead, so he might perhaps have had opportunities to see the billhead as the furniture passed through Edinburgh on the way to its final destination, or if he was called in to repair damage which occurred in transit²¹. He certainly worked at one time or another for two of the Hodsons' Scottish patrons²². A more interesting possibility is that a patron who was clearly aware of his ambition, or wished to foster it, suggested that he copy the engraving.

His use of the billhead is first known only three years after he completed his apprenticeship, and the quality of the engraving is a substantial improvement on the Hodson example. The most obvious and significant differences are the Palladio motif, and the addition of the eagle pier table, a type strongly associated with neo-Palladian interiors. Also there is the fashionable updating of chair and pier glass. The similarities speak for themselves, but the correspondence between the text of Brodie's first example and the Hodson text is particularly striking, even down to the initial character of the lettering, which he later changed to a more elegant copperplate.

The major distinction of this engraving, especially in the context of its use by a cabinet maker, is the presence of a bust at the centre, inscribed above *Palladio* and below *Fras. Brodie*. That the bust represents Palladio, and not Brodie as has been suggested, becomes clear with the recognition that Brodie's shop was commonly referred to as being at 'Palladio's Head'. Is it of any significance that Samuel Smith, also discussed above with the Hodsons, had his shop in London at 'The Inigo Jones Head'²³?

²¹A common enough occurrence, as already mentioned. See Chapter VI: Repairs.

²² For the Duke of Gordon between 1739-42 GD44/465/1/34 & GD44/51/297; for the Duchess of Montrose in 1742 GD220/6/900/35.

²³Although it is not clear when Smith started working; his earliest known account is perhaps 1739, which post dates Brodie's use of Palladio. GD112/21/77; *DEFM*.

It is possible to trace an exact source for this portrait to Sebastiano Ricci's design for the frontispiece of Leoni's 1715 edition of *The Four Books of Palladio* (fig. 33). This was a completely fictional portrait - Palladio was in fact bearded and balding - but was nevertheless the accepted one at the time, even being used by Campbell in his 1728 edition of the *First Book*²⁴. Did Brodie own a copy of these books, or again was he lent one by a patron? Whatever the circumstances, it was an unprecedented move at that time for a cabinet maker to associate himself so strongly, in a metaphorical sense, with architecture. That Brodie chose Palladio as his muse is a good indicator of his knowledge not only of design and fashion but also of the tastes and pretensions of his potential patrons. It was sixteen years later that Thomas Chippendale, who was content with a chair on his trade card, stated in the preface to *The Director* that

Of all the Arts which are either improved or ornamented by Architecture, that of CABINET-MAKING is not only the most useful and ornamental, but capable of receiving as great Assistance from it as any whatever²⁵.

Brodie had clearly realised this and wished his prospective patrons to know it. He not only used Palladio's head when he placed notices in the newspapers (fig. 34), but also as a book plate²⁶, and, significantly, as his seal²⁷. William Adam and Sir John Clerk both had intaglios of Inigo Jones's head, and Adam certainly used his as his seal from about 1740. His son James used Palladio's head, but not until the

²⁴ It was claimed by Leoni to be derived from a Veronese portrait, but is clearly an eighteenth century man. Ricci was infamous for his Veronese 'copies' and it seems likely that the pair of them concocted the portrait. For a comprehensive account of the English editions of Palladio see R Wittkower 'English Neoclassicism and the Vicissitudes of Palladio's Quattro Libri' *Palladio and English Palladianism* London 1974 pp73 - 92.

²⁵ Thomas Chippendale. *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director* 1754 Preface. Only the year before this subscribers for Isaac Ware's *Four Books of Palladio* were being canvassed for in the Edinburgh press. *EEC* and *CM* 20th August 1753

²⁶For his family Bible, *op. cit.*

²⁷An example of this still survives on a letter to Lady Duff. AU MS3175/1690.

1750's. Brodie was moving in rarefied circles with these associations, in a manner which was unparalleled among his peers throughout Britain²⁸.

Brodie's links with William Adam have already been discussed and it is possible that Adam may have fostered his career in several ways. It is worth quoting from Adam's letter to the Duke of Hamilton at greater length.

I sent this day to Mr. Broddie and talked with him about chairs he's the best man in town and I doubt if anybody else would please. I have sent from him a pattern of some chairs he has ready. The bottoms are to be wood with stuff but the backs are Walnut tree. He has some for the Dutchess of Gordon which are to be covered back and bottom, but he cannot manage to dispose of them. They are made of elm no part is seen but the feet which are of the form of the scitch also sent. He says to make new ones you'd not be done sooner than the middle of Jan ²⁹.

Adam clearly thought highly of Brodie, and although he employed Peter as well³⁰, it would nevertheless be fascinating to know more about their relationship.

This letter's tantalising mention of 'scitches' brings up a further relevance of Brodie's engraving. In the absence of any drawings these are virtually the only Scottish eighteenth century furniture designs of any sort that are presently known. It seems likely in view of the above description that the chairs made for the Duke of Hamilton would have been similar to that depicted on the billhead. They were described in the final account as 'Six Mahogany Chairs with Eagles feet 25 sh/ each', so perhaps were covered 'back and bottom' like the Duchess of Gordon's, or were one of those rare examples of solid splat back chairs made of mahogany. At any rate

²⁸The seals of the Adam family are discussed at length, and given considerable significance, by Iain Gordon Brown in three recent articles: 'William Adam's Seal: Palladio, Inigo Jones and the Image of Vitruvius Scotticus' *Architectural Heritage* I Edinburgh 1990 pp91-103; 'Architects or Gentlemen? Adam Heraldry and its Implications' *Architectural Heritage* IV Edinburgh 1993 pp82-92; and 'Atavism and Ideas of Architectural Progress in Robert Adam's Vitruvian Seal' *The Georgian Group Journal* 1994.

²⁹ William Adam to the Duke of Hamilton Nov 25 1740. NRA(S)2177/C3. 1794/1. I am indebted to William Kay for this transcript.

³⁰For instance, Adam bought a 'mahogany frame' from him for the marble table which he supplied to Arthur Gordon of Carnoustie in 1736. RH15/1/18/6.

they must have been 'new ones' as they were not invoiced until the 14th of January³¹.

Unfortunately it has been possible to trace only a very few items of furniture made by Brodie. Two eagle tables can be firmly associated with him, one made for the Duke of Gordon, now at Holyroodhouse³² (fig. 40a), and one made for the Earl of Dumfries at a slightly later date and showing a distinctly lighter touch³³ (fig. 40b). He also made one for the Duke of Hamilton³⁴, and these three accounts taken with the appearance of such a table on his billhead clearly mark this type out as something of a speciality³⁵. The only other significant documented piece is the 'Lady's Closet' made for Lord Dumfries in 1753³⁶ (fig. 42). This is a variant on the bureau writing cabinet and has a lower section in the form of a chest of drawers supported on serpentine bracket feet, surmounted by a cupboard of half the depth with a single door containing a full plate of mirrored glass. The flat section in front of this folds forward to give a baize lined writing surface. Within, there are two adjustable bookshelves and nine drawers surrounding a small central mirror with a compartment behind it; one assumes that this was a dressing glass. All the finishes are of very fine mahogany, and the piece compares favourably with the cabinet depicted on Brodie's

³¹CS238/B/1/79.

³²In 1739, 'To a marble table Supported by ane Eagle guilt in Burnisht gold £ 16'. GD44/51/465/1/34. This was listed in an inventory of the apartments of Lord Adam Gordon, the Duke's son, in 1796. See Margaret Swain 'Furniture for the French Princes at Holyroodhouse, 1796' *Connoisseur* January 1978 pp27-35.

³³'To a Marble Slabe supported by an Eagle guilt in Burnisht gold'. NRA(S)631/A666. The account for this is not actually dated, but was receipted in 1753. The illustrated part of the billhead has been cut off.

³⁴In 1738. It was described as a 'sideboard Table supported by an Eagle done in burnisht gold & a Marble Top' and cost seventeen guineas. CS238/B/1/79.

³⁵Although this type is associated with William Kent, he is not known to have designed one. There is in the RIBA Drawings collection a design by John Vardy for a pier glass and table which is comparable to Brodie's designs. This is probably of a similar date to the Dumfries House table, although having even more distinct rococo overtones, with scrolled supports flanking and rather subordinating the position of the eagle, and rococo foliage playing around the architectural frame for the glass. See Peter Ward-Jackson *English Furniture Designs of the Eighteenth Century* 1958 reprinted 1984 plate 42. As far as I am aware Brodie's are the only known accounts for eagle tables.

³⁶NRA(S)631/A666. George Riddell also made a 'lady's closet' for Sir John Clerk in 1722 (fig. 43). It seems to have been a distinctive Scottish type (see also Chapter V). GD18/1839/1/187.

billhead. Although the lady's closet and eagle table predate the building of Dumfries House, and must have been made either for Lord Dumfries's Edinburgh house, or his old house of Leifnorris, it is a happy coincidence that they are now there in company with Peter's furniture³⁷.

Like Peter, Brodie always called himself a Wright, although he always appended the trade Glass Grinder as well. In comparison to Peter, however, Brodie was involved in an extraordinarily diverse range of activities not immediately associated with the work of a wright and cabinet maker. He advertised quite extensively between 1751 and 1769³⁸, offering the expected range of furniture made of 'well seasoned woods' and 'manufactured in [his] own shop, by the best workmen'³⁹; he could also offer upholstery services and goods, and frequently charged for 'workmanship' with relation to upholstery, although like Peter he was certainly primarily a cabinet maker; he worked extensively as a wright, his billheads and notices always offering 'House, Carpenter and Joiner Work', and numerous accounts testify to this⁴⁰; a notice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* announced that 'Mr Brodie ... gives plans and designs for buildings'⁴¹, and he certainly built extensively for himself; he worked as a glass grinder, as he always made plain; he dealt in a huge variety of goods at different times, including 'japanned work', 'brass work', snuff-boxes, 'paintings on glass', tiles, and wrights' tools; he had a flax factory at the bottom of his close for seven years; and still he found time to offer an undertaking service⁴².

³⁷For a fuller discussion of the billhead and furniture which can be associated with it, see S Pryke 'The Extraordinary Billhead of Francis Brodie' *Regional Furniture* IV 1990 pp81-99.

³⁸See Appendix II.

³⁹*EEC* 3rd March 1766.

⁴⁰For instance the ones for the Duke of Hamilton, or William Little *op. cit.*

⁴¹15th October 1757. On 3 March 1766 a notice in the same paper stated 'designs of buildings drawn when required'

⁴²See the relevant sections of Chapter VI.

The businessman in Brodie was never far from the surface. In 1766 he appealed in emotive but pragmatic words to the Lords of Council and Session for compensation due him because of a road widening scheme.

The great improvements everywhere making in the City, and its Environs, with the particular attention given to the Avenues leading to it, give him much pleasure, and he shall never allow his private interest to stand in the way of schemes proposed for rendering it more commodious, but will cheerfully part even with his property for the publick conveniency; he cannot, however, afford to part with it for nothing, and it will not be said or expected that he ought⁴³.

This sense of public duty, tempered by private interest, was evident in his administrative career. His first practical involvement with Mary's Chapel came in 1749 when he was appointed Boxmaster (effectively the treasurer) for the following two years, during which time he did almost thirty pounds worth of work for the Incorporation⁴⁴. In 1775 he was elected Deacon, a post which he seems to have held for the next six years, being succeeded by his son, who remained a Deacon until his death in 1788⁴⁵. In 1775 he had also been elected as one of the six Deacons, from among the fourteen Incorporations, who had a seat on the Town Council, and in the following year he was elected Deacon Convener of all the Trades. As already discussed, these were exciting times for the Town Council, and Brodie played his part, even being immortalised in a satirical poem:

Fy let us a' to the Chamber,
The Convener will surely be there,
And there will be tradesmen in plenty ...
There will Francis O'Brodie
Who opposed us once or twice ...⁴⁶

⁴³CS235/B/3/3. He won his case.

⁴⁴Mary's Chapel Records. *op. cit.*

⁴⁵*ibid.* They may technically have only been allowed to hold the post for two years consecutively, but as with the Lord Provost, it was probably possible to subvert this rule.

⁴⁶'The Mock Election - A Farce'. From a collection of political pamphlets bound as *Edinburgh Politics 1777-1780* NLS RB.m.262f36. There cannot be many be many eighteenth century cabinet makers accorded this poetic

The dreadfulness of this verse should not conceal Brodie's celebrity; he was, incidentally, opposing the camp of the merchants and Sir Laurence Dundas⁴⁷ and arguing for more power and representation for the Trades.

Of course, as well as running the risk of being satirised, the incumbent Deacon had the benefit of first refusal on wright work being commissioned by the city. Brodie took full advantage of this, charging for over three hundred and twenty five pounds worth of work during his tenure⁴⁸, including 'hanging the Bells in High and Tron Church Steeples', 'making water spouts for conveying water from the New [South] Bridge' or building a shed for the 'fire engine'⁴⁹.

Brodie was obviously a small but significant cog in the life of Edinburgh during this period, and this was reflected in his ultimate election to the Town Council. He was successful and respected, and if of a litigious bent, that is understandable given his family background. He was reputed to have had an income of some nine hundred pounds a year by the time he died⁵⁰, a fairly spectacular sum which speaks for itself, and his status during this period cannot be overestimated. When he died on the 1st June 1782, three weeks before his seventy fourth birthday, and mercifully before William's demise, he had been a widower for five years and was survived by only four of his eleven children.

honour. William Hallett, whose portraits (like Brodie's) are well known, also appears, in a rather more favourable aspect, in an *Elegy Written in an Empty Assembly Room* by Richard Cambridge, 1756. '... In scenes where Hallett's genius has combined, With Bromwich to amuse and cheer the mind ...'. Quoted by Anthony Coleridge 'A Reappraisal of William Hallett' *Furniture History* I 1965 p11.

⁴⁷See Chapter II.

⁴⁸This was not particularly outrageous. Henry Antonious managed over £800 worth when he was Deacon from 1717-19. Town Council Records Tradesmen's Accounts Bay C Shelf 23 and Mary's Chapel Records *op. cit.*

⁴⁹City Archive. Town Council Tradesmen's Accounts 1767-84. Bay C Shelves 23&24; Town Council Records vols 92-95.

⁵⁰*Robertson Anecdotes op. cit.* p12.

His death was reported in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, and duly noted in the Brodie Family Bible by his daughter Jean. She included her own epitaph, describing him as

an honest man, an affectionate husband, an indulgent parent, a faithful friend and a generous master⁵¹.

⁵¹*op. cit.* Huntly House.

V

1775-1805

FURNISHING THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH

From the old flats descended in gradual exodus persons of position and quality, who, instead of a modest rental of £15 or £20, were able now, through advancing wealth and larger incomes, to pay £100 for mansions which contrasted strangely with the mean and dirty abodes from which they emerged¹.

Although this is undoubtedly a simplistic and rather partisan view of the situation in Edinburgh at the beginning of the final quarter of eighteenth century, it does give a flavour of the time, and highlights the opportunities for cabinet makers and upholsterers alike. The economy was booming and the population of Edinburgh expanding rapidly². These 'mansions' were in fact terraced houses marching along the New Town, which had been begun in 1767 and was nearing completion by 1800³. It was the dream and product of many men but owes its form to James Craig, a young architect who won the competition to plan the New Town, and so changed the shape of Edinburgh forever. The building trades were first to benefit from this expansion, but following on from them were the cabinet makers and upholsterers whose responsibility it was to decorate and furnish this new town. It was this urban market which dominated the period, and was itself in turn dominated by the fickleness of changing fashions emanating from London.

Although architects had their place in the genesis of the New Town, it should not be overemphasised. The area owes its specific character, and individual houses, to the builder-developers who built both speculatively, and to order, houses tailor made

¹H Grey Graham *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* London 1899; 1928 edition p125.

²C Smout *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* London 1969 p224.

³A J Younson *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1966.

for Edinburgh society. There were exceptions, notably the mansion designed for Laurence Dundas by William Chambers (unique in the New Town for being freestanding), and, of more significance, No 8 Queen Street which was commissioned from Robert Adam by Baron Orde. Virtually nothing is known of the furnishing of either, except that Dundas, a patron of many of the finest London cabinet makers, paid William Deas in Edinburgh two hundred and fifty six pounds for painting his house, and a pound for painting his crest on eight hall chairs⁴; also designs by Robert Adam survive for chair seats or covers for Baron Orde, presumably intended to be embroidered⁵. The implication is that Deas was embellishing a London chair, while Adam was covering Edinburgh chairs. It is interesting that the plan of No 8 was reversed in execution, and recent paint scrapes have revealed that Adam's proposed colour schemes were essentially ignored⁶. It seems that the nobility, gentry and professional classes of Edinburgh were content with houses created by local masons, plasterers and joiners, and consequently furnished and decorated by local cabinet makers and upholsterers. This should not be taken as a slight either on the standard of execution of the fabric or contents, or their aspiration to beauty and taste, but more as an affirmation of those qualities, within the regional context.

⁴GD1/548/1 Day Book of William Deas Painter June to August 1776.

⁵Soane Collection Vol49/50&52.

⁶Carried out by Stenhouse Conservation Unit during the restoration by Simpson and Brown Architects, 1992.

FASHION, TASTE, AND THE INFLUENCE OF LONDON

London, and of course Paris, were undoubtedly the touchstones of taste. Mullins writes, with considerable justification, that ‘the dependence on London models was the keynote of every aspect of the provincial furniture trade’¹. Unsavoury as this may sound today it is hard to refute, although one might add ‘genteel’ before ‘furniture trade’. The tone of the period was set in 1775 by one Archibald McGillspike, a chairmaster who proudly announced that he had a few

SEDAN CHAIRS built according to the London fashion, which [are larger] than any hitherto used in this place, being so large and commodious that they will effectively prevent the bad consequences too often arising from the smallness of the common chairs to Ladie’s heads, which are dress’d according to the fashion, as well as to the gentlemen’s high fashionable French tuppees².

It is significant that these chairs were ‘built *according* to the London fashion’ rather than built in London, and this also applied to chairs intended for a slightly more sedentary life. James and William Anderson, for instance, stocked ‘an elegant assortment of the most fashionable Carved Chairs, as patterns from London’³, and Braidwood and Bruce were very proud of their

GREAT VARIETY of CABINET WORK, Chairs, Mirrors, &c to the newest London patterns, and of the very best materials⁴.

It is not clear whether these ‘patterns’ were literally taken from the string of books which appeared in the wake of Chippendale’s *Director*. These books were

¹Anthea Mullins ‘Local Furniture Makers at Harewood House as Representative of Provincial Craftsmanship’ *Furniture History* I 1965 p32.

²EEC 23rd December 1775.

³EEC 11th April 1789.

⁴They placed ten notices in the *EEC*, starting on the 15th May 1788.

undoubtedly available in Edinburgh⁵, and would have been owned by patrons as well as tradesmen. At least fifteen Edinburgh cabinet makers and upholsterers subscribed, for example, to Sheraton's *Drawing Book*⁶, among them Young and Trotter, Braidwood and Bruce and William Lamb. Indeed, the latter made a pair of sofas for Robert Hay of Duns copied from plate XXXV of the *Drawing Book*⁷ (see figs. 44-5), the only documented example from this period of an Edinburgh cabinet maker actually using one of these pattern books directly. Cabinet makers and upholsterers certainly travelled around Britain acquiring materials, and when they referred to 'London patterns' may have been simply wishing to imply that they were aware of current trends. Braidwood himself returned from London in 1775 with 'a large assortment of WOODS of different kinds and colours, for the purpose of making variegated and inlaid work'⁸. With the rise of neo-Classicism inlay was just beginning to replace surface carving as the fashionable finish for furniture and Braidwood was clearly determined to be the first to offer this style in Edinburgh, claiming that

the making of inlaid work is new in this place, and ... [he] can furnish anything in that way, a great deal cheaper than it can be got from London⁹.

The upholsterers stock-in-trade was also dependent on goods from the large manufacturing towns in England, as well of course as the famous carpet manufactories. Thus in 1769 Alexander Beverly travelled to London to buy upholstery goods¹⁰, and thirty five years later Alexander Giles actually thought fit to

⁵For instance, Hepplewhite's *Cabinet Maker's Guide* was advertised for sale at two guineas bound in the *EEC* on 1st June 1795.

⁶The upholsterer Andrew Lawrie took subscriptions for Sheraton's *Encyclopaedia*. *EEC* 13th September 1804.

⁷In 1796. They were described in the account as '2 Mahogany Soffas french stufft with 3 French stufft Cushions to each back & end framed to take out the seat 6 Inches deep'. NRA(S)2720/731.

⁸*CM* 16th August 1775.

⁹*ibid.*

¹⁰*CM* 20th May 1769.

place a notice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* announcing that he was 'just now in London, collecting every new fashion that the season has produced' and would soon be opening a new wareroom¹¹. The stock that he acquired was naturally 'from the present most prevailing Fashions of London' and by this time also of Paris. The following year he again made his annual pilgrimage, but had by now honed his ability to provide the most up to date service. He did this by suggesting that

Gentlemen wishing their houses done up after the stile of any particular place in London, may have their orders executed, by communicating their demands to A G before he sets off¹².

Giles characteristically pulled a final ace out of his sleeve by stating in one notice that he had 'brought down *several of the finest workmen in London*' [his italics] so 'every article will be finished with the most superior workmanship'¹³.

Given the evident cachet and sway which London held over fashionable society in Edinburgh, or at least was believed to hold by cabinet makers and upholsterers, it is hardly surprising, therefore, that those that could boasted widely, if irrefutably, of their training there. The reason for their move north was rarely explained, but one must presume given the insolvency of the times that a move was often politic. As early as 1708 an anonymous upholsterer from London was advertising his services in Edinburgh. He claimed that he

mounts all kinds of Beds after the Newest Fashions, and makes several kinds of Easy Chairs, and other Houshold Furniture, as well and much Cheaper than any other will do them¹⁴.

¹¹EEC 26th February 1803. Cabinet makers and upholsterers from Edinburgh were not alone in stocking goods from London. William Armitage of Leeds and James Marshall of York, for instance, also advertised that they had such goods in stock, and it has been suggested that this was primarily to 'draw customers into [their] shops in the hope they would buy [their] own goods while they were there'. *Mullins op. cit.* pp33-4.

¹²See APPENDIX II; series of notices in 1803, 1804 and 1805.

¹³EEC 22nd May 1804.

¹⁴*Edinburgh Courant* 29th December 1708.

The principle was continued by the likes of James Cullen during the middle years of the century but from the late 1760's there was a positive rash of such claims. In three separate notices in 1768 and 1769 William Lamb had emphasised his London training, culminating with the statement that in order to

procure the greatest experience of the business in general, and particularly in the modern taste of furniture and ornament, he long served foreman to two of the most eminent upholstery companies in London¹⁵.

In the same way William Bruce had been 'regularly bred to the business, and served in the first shops in London, where he had opportunity to see and perform the best work'¹⁶; rather less convincingly Lewis Gordon claimed that he had 'lately come from London, where he has been several years for improvement'¹⁷; Andrew Lawrie as well as having been foreman to William Hamilton in Edinburgh, had 'likewise wrought under the most eminent Masters of his Profession in London, Bristol and Liverpool' - a roll call of cities which invokes suspicion as well as confidence; Francis Allan's son was 'lately arrived from London to take an active part in the business'¹⁸; and Thomas Pringle's business was acquired by his brother-in-law from London, who

from his long experience of the business in London, and his connections there, ... flatters himself [his work] shall be executed in the neatest manner, and on such principles as will give the utmost satisfaction¹⁹.

Angus McKinnon, 'late cabinet foreman in the most fashionable and extensive manufactories in London'²⁰, actively used this background to promote and give credence to his claim that

¹⁵*EEC* 1st February 1769. Also *EEC* 10th August 1768 and *CM* 21st June 1769.

¹⁶*EEC* 19th June 1769.

¹⁷*EEC* 1st June 1765.

¹⁸*EEC* 30th October 1800.

¹⁹*EEC* 27th August 1796.

no expense will be spared to procure from the Metropolis, so soon as discovered, every IMPROVEMENT, whether in ELEGANCE or UTILITY, nor any assiduity wanting to execute with fidelity and dispatch the commands he is favoured with²¹.

Nevertheless, this sophisticated approach could not compete with the three simple words used by Leonard Dupasquier, a carver and gilder 'lately from Paris'²².

²⁰EEC 28th March 1789.

²¹EEC 26th January 1793.

²²EEC 30th November 1776. Dupasquier went on to work extensively at Inveraray. Edinburgh was doubtless not unique in this obsession with the metropolis. In Glasgow, Newcastle and Dublin, for instance, there was evidently a not dissimilar infatuation. James Cleland of Glasgow spent two years in London before joining his father's firm; Ralph Brown of Newcastle made it known in the *Newcastle Courant* that he had formerly worked in London for William France; and William Moore announced on his settling in Dublin in 1782 that he had had 'long experience with Messrs. Mayhew and Ince, London'. Celine Blair and David Jones 'Furnishing the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow Style, 1809' *Regional Furniture* V 1991 p91; John Stabler 'English Newspaper Advertisements as a Source of Furniture History' *Regional Furniture* V 1992 p98. Desmond Fitzgerald, the Knight of Glin *Irish Furniture* Irish Heritage Series Dublin 1978.

FURNITURE FROM LONDON

Of course there was competition direct from London too. If metropolitan makers found themselves being used either as fashionable training grounds or, more irritatingly, as unwitting providers of pattern furniture¹, they could also challenge Edinburgh cabinet makers on their own ground.

Thus in 1774 there was to be sold by the (anonymous) manufacturer from London

a Large and Elegant Assortment of LOOKING GLASSES and GERINDOLES in Burnishd Gold Frames of entire new fashions ... the Gilding and Workmanship of the Glasses (for the Prices) superior to any bought in this City².

Similarly in 1779 Mr Williamson the 'real maker from London' was selling looking glasses by auction 'of the newest fashions in London'³, and in 1787 James Aitken, a carver and gilder from London, had a large selection of looking glasses 'in the most elegant manner and present taste, and at least thirty per cent below the usual rates' for sale⁴.

This apparent obsession with fashion and, by association, London was epitomised by Francis Braidwood who in May of 1803 had chairs and other furniture for sale 'in a stile altogether new'⁵, and in June of the same year had 'several new DRAWING ROOM and DINING ROOM CHAIRS, just now arrived from London, of the most elegant fashion'⁶. It is notable that he was perfectly happy to sell new

¹See Chapter IV; Pattern Furniture.

²EEC 30th July 1774.

³EEC 3rd July.

⁴EEC 15th February.

⁵EEC 14th May 1803.

⁶EEC 6th June 1803.

furniture actually manufactured in London alongside that which he had made himself, and one presumes the most important thing for Braidwood was to establish his wareroom's credentials as a place where the most fashionable items could be bought. In fact, there is less evidence of furniture being bought direct from London manufacturers during these years than in the preceding period, with exceptions at Paxton, Blair Castle and Inveraray. The only known major country house commission given to a London manufacturer was the complete furnishing by Seddons in 1794 of Cairness, Aberdeenshire⁷, where any furniture would have had to arrive by boat regardless.

The most likely explanation for this rise in the dominance of the Edinburgh cabinet maker is that their numbers had increased, and therefore, according to the theory of the free market, competition will have not only raised the standards, but brought down the prices and broadened the selection of goods available.

⁷AU MS1160/28/4.

SCOTTISH TYPES

Despite all the above evidence this selection of goods included fashionable pieces of furniture that were nevertheless distinctively Scottish. The sideboard with a raised stage at the back, was made in the finest neo-Classical taste by the likes of James Russell¹(fig. 46); Henry Tod - 'a double Top side Board Table inlaid in front £6 6/’²; William Hamilton - 'To a large Mahogany Sideboard, the Top in two heights £6 12/’³; and Young and Trotter. The latter made sideboards for James Stein of Kilbegie, with an 'Elegantly Inlaid Stage behind'⁴, and Adam Gordon of Cairnfield⁵. It has only been possible to trace one of these, but other examples throughout Scotland are legion (see figs. 47, 48 & 56), and the type is clearly described in the first edition of the *Edinburgh Book of Prices* of 1805⁶. Clearly the reason for the stage is to display plate to greater advantage, yet why was this not done in England? It is of note that when Mr and Mrs Gordon were ordering furniture for Cairness they requested a sideboard similar to the one which they had seen in Seddon's wareroom, but slightly larger and with an additional 'shelf Behind for Waiters &c'⁷.

What is certain is that this feature was transported to America with emigrating cabinet makers, particularly to towns in the South such as Charleston, where many can still be seen today. It is one of the clearest expressions of links between the

¹For Robert Hay of Duns in 1789 'A Mahogany Sideboard Table wt wine lockers £8'. NRA(S)2720/483.

²For Charles Broun of Colstoun in 1785. NRA(S)2383/186.

³For William Nesbitt at Archerfield in 1777. GD205/48/18/1/20.

⁴In 1787. CS230/SEQN/S/1/9.

⁵This one described as '2 staged' in 1803. NRA(S)2940/219.

⁶The 'stage top' was available in straight, hollow, elliptic or ogee form, and could have drawers, sham drawer fronts, sliders, plain tablets, partitions or a tambour front. David Jones 'Scottish Cabinet Makers' Price Books, 1805-1825' *Regional Furniture* III 1989 p35.

⁷This in 1794. AU MS1160/28/4. Ian Gow has recently suggested a 'folk memory' link between the buffet niche and the stage topped sideboard in Scotland. 'The Buffet Niche in Eighteenth Century Scotland' *Furniture History* XXX 1994 pp113.

furniture of the colonial and newly independent states, and that from the British provinces, where after all, most of those people emigrating originated from⁸.

The brander back chair⁹ is another distinctively Scottish type which developed in harmony with current fashion, particularly as espoused by Thomas Sheraton. In fashionable examples the back is always framed by a moulded bead forming a complete square raised above the seat, and the vertical splats (whether moulded or not) generally terminate in fish-tails. The legs are normally of square section with a very distinct taper, and this style of leg was particularly popular in Scotland during this period. The brander form lent itself to construction in Scots laburnum, a very dense wood not dissimilar to mahogany, and there are many examples in this timber¹⁰. When in 1792 the Council of the Royal College of Physicians commissioned William Lamb to make a set of chairs for their new Hall in George Street he chose to use this form (fig. 49), but in mahogany¹¹. This is a fine pointer to the actual taste that might be expected in the New Town, as opposed to that indicated by the hyperbole of cabinet makers' and upholsterers' advertisements.

The currency of taste should not, however, be underestimated. Charles Esplin, who sold wallpaper 'in the newest and most fashionable patterns', summed this up when

⁸This is a subject that would definitely repay further study.

⁹Resembling a gridiron, or 'brander'. Brander was also used to describe types of joinery construction. *The Concise Scots Dictionary* ed. M Robinson 1987. George Sandeman is also known to have made brander back chairs. David Jones *Looking at Scottish Furniture* cat. nos 11,12 St Andrews 1987.

¹⁰Jones *ibid.* See Chapter VI: Variety and Supply of Timber for a discussion of the use of laburnum in Scotland.

¹¹J A Strong 'The College Office-Bearers' Chairs' *RCPE Chronicle* 1983 IV pp23-5. There is also a fine set of mahogany brander back chairs in the Glasite Meeting House, Edinburgh, stamped ROBERT HODGE under the seat rail (fig. 50); it is most likely that these came from a private house. The Glasite sect had very close links with the Sandeman family, and it is entertaining to speculate on the links between Hodge, George Sandeman, the brander back chair and this religious sect. D Jones ed. 'An Anthology of Regional Furniture with Maker's Identification' *Regional Furniture* VII 1993 plate80.

he stated that those who 'pay little respect to fashion may have very great bargains of old patterns for ready money'¹². It was clearly important from the tradesman's point of view not to be caught with old stock. From the customer's angle a way of guaranteeing the modernity of their furnishings was to hire houses for the season complete with furniture; this also meant that as the town grew one could change one's address easily. This was customary practice, and many cabinet makers and upholsterers were also letting agents for houses, naturally at the same time providing a furniture rental service¹³. In the same way, just as Edinburgh's fashionable populace wished to be housed in the right place in the right style, so it was important for Edinburgh's tradesmen to be situated so as to take advantage of this.

¹²*EEC* 12th July 1783.

¹³See Chapter VI: Property.

FURNITURE FOR PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

The key which finally opened the floodgates of New Town development was the final completion, after much tribulation, of the North Bridge in 1772. This gave direct access from the High Street to Princes Street, and was on axis with Robert Adam's Register House, the building of which was the greatest sign of confidence in the New Town that there could be. Within no time

old merchants spoke with astonishment about the enormous rents of £30 or £40 which ambitious rivals were paying for shops beside the "Brig"¹.

The first cabinet makers to have a shop not only beside the bridge but in the New Town were Young and Trotter, who opened their new wareroom on Princes Street in September 1772²(fig. 51). This was yards from the North Bridge, on the south side of Princes Street. Young and Trotter had been building workshops on this site, sloping steeply away from Princes Street, since 1770³ and with the opening of their 'Cabinet Warehouse' had everything 'PRESENTLY IN TASTE' the occupants of the New Town could possibly want, and all virtually under one roof. Their stock included furniture for Libraries, Halls, Dining Rooms, Drawing Rooms, Bed Chambers and Dressing Rooms, and they also had a

complete assortment of Upholstery Goods, [available] at their ware house in the Luckenbooths, as Carpets, Blankets, printed Papers, and all different kinds of Silk, Worsted, and washing stuffs in use for furniture⁴.

¹*Grey Graham op. cit.* p124. This is confirmed by notices in the newspapers. For instance, the cabinet maker Alexander Beverly moved in 1769 to a new shop at the 'entry of the new bridge, High Street', and in 1774 Robert Scyth took a shop in the 'first fore stair below the entry to the New Bridge'. *CM* 20th May 1769 and *EEC* 21st May 1774. Also see APPENDIX II.

²*EA* 15th Septmeber 1772.

³*Youngson op. cit.* pp. 86-90. It was this building which ultimately provoked the famous Act of Parliament protecting the rest of the gardens to the south of Princes Street.

⁴*EEC* 20th February 1773. For a complete transcription of this notice see Chapter VI: Cabinet Making.

Throughout their career they seem to have been specialists in the production of drawing room furniture. As well as offering such furniture for sale from their workshops, in 1780 and 1782 they sold complete sets, including curtains and carpets, from recently furnished houses⁵, the implication being that they had made them themselves. The span of their business interests would have enabled them to provide exceptionally unified interiors, with the minimum of fuss and maximum economy, and they dominated the market during this period. Although accounts for furniture supplied to the professional classes who largely filled the New Town are rare, the status of Young and Trotter can be judged from their public commissions. One of these also gives a good idea of the type of furniture with which they were filling the New Town, and, it seems, many of Scotland's country houses.

As early as 1774 it was Young and Trotter who were asked to make furniture for the new room of the Advocates' Library, recently carved out of the Laigh Hall in Parliament Square. This was the most learned and august body in Scotland, and it is significant that Young and Trotter were chosen to make their new furniture, including a 'fine library table with 3 drawers fitted with accomodations for writing and 8 plain drawers, with panelled feet and brackets'⁶. By the time the Assembly Rooms, at the spiritual and physical heart of the New Town, were nearing completion in 1786, it must have seemed natural to call in Young and Trotter to make the furniture, the final account for which came to some six hundred pounds⁷. Sadly none of this seems to

⁵CM 8th July 1765 'To be Sold ... a Complete Drawing Room Furniture of superfine yellow worsted damask, a very fine colour, and quite new' - this included a sofa, 2 elbow chairs, 8 back stools (all with slips) 3 large curtains, a gothick bookpress, 2 used sofas and 2 fine pier glasses. See also similar notices on the 3rd May 1780 (from 'the fourth most house of the west row of George's Square') and 8th April 1782 ('A Complete Set of Furniture for a Drawing Room of the finest crimson silk and worsted damask').

⁶This was eight foot long and almost five foot wide, and covered in green cloth. It cost sixteen guineas. I Gordon Brown *Building For Books The Architectural Evolution of the Advocates Library 1689-1925* Aberdeen University Press 1989 p53.

⁷GD1/377/40/1/60.

have survived, or at least not in the Assembly Rooms. However, the accounts give some idea of the scale of the commission, while its profile needs no comment. Four 'elm cabriole Sophas' fifteen feet long with a pair of accompanying benches, a further twenty eight sofas and thirteen benches of various slightly smaller sizes, thirty seven 'elm oval back Cabriole Chairs' and four elbow chairs, all upholstered in 'best brown Linen' and supplied with 'buff and red stripe Cotton slips'. An 'Elegant Chair for Lady Directress in Carvd and burnished Gold covered with Crimson Tabaray and brass naild £7 9/ 6d ', with a slip for this 'of Green Linen lind with Flannell' and 'a Half Circular Mahogany Table'. Seventy six rush-bottomed chairs, fifteen mahogany tea tables, six mahogany card tables, fifteen mahogany tea trays, sixteen hand boards, thirty two pairs of mahogany, brass and silver candlesticks, seven benches for the orchestra, two oval pier glasses, and all the curtains. In short everything a fashionable Assembly Rooms needed. The only drawback to this spectacular and very public commission was that the architect had specified the number and sizes of the sofas, only to change his mind later, which meant that Young and Trotter found themselves with six very large sofas 'lying on their hands'. Still, they did continue to work at the Assembly Rooms for at least the next ten years, so they clearly came to a satisfactory arrangement.

Undoubtedly the greatest public building in the New Town then, as now, was Register House. This had a troubled building history, but when the first areas were ready for furnishing in 1790 the Lord Register turned to Young, Trotter and their new partner James Hamilton⁸ to provide furniture, including library tables, writing desks, stools and chairs, and an Axminster carpet. The account came to one hundred and twelve pounds which included sixteen pounds and six shillings for 'A Square Table for the Board room of Mahoy top covered with green Cloth 12ft long 6ft wd and 3ft high'⁹. This was surely the table for whose design Robert Adam charged the Lord

⁸Hamilton had been taken partner in 1790, see below.

⁹SRO 4/71.

Register one and a half guineas¹⁰, and if so this makes Young, Trotter & Hamilton perhaps the only Scottish firm to make furniture to Adam's design¹¹. There is some evidence to suggest that they made furniture to his designs for Culzean, but it is only secondary. They certainly did make furniture for Culzean¹², and Adam designed pier glasses for the house which bear comparison with a pair that Young and Trotter made for Gilmerton House, East Lothian (fig. 54)¹³. However, the accounts are frustratingly silent not only on whether there is any relation, but also on the furnishing of Culzean generally, although there is much at the house that could be theirs¹⁴.

Young, Trotter & Hamilton's greatest moment, however, came in 1796 when they were asked by the British Government, in the guise of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer for Scotland, to fit up and furnish the Royal Apartments at Holyroodhouse as accommodation for the deposed French prince the Comte d'Artois, heir to the French throne, and his son. The apartments had been long neglected and needed completely overhauling and redecorating, as well as filling with furniture. A substantial proportion of this furniture, and the account came to just over £ 2,613 , still survives in the Queen's collection at Holyrood and has been identified by Margaret Swain with the help of the household there. Her articles in the *Connoisseur* and particularly *Furniture History* XXVIII, which transcribes the relevant sections of

¹⁰To a design for a table for the Great room or Lord Registers room with the working drawings & Ornaments at large'. The account is dated 1791, but the design could easily have been submitted before. SRO 4/73.

¹¹Thomas Trotter's son William would later make more furniture for the building when it was completed by Robert Reid in the 1820's.

¹²There is an account for £ 244 dated 1793, which includes a large bed, '8 Drapery back Elbow chairs Rush bottoms neatly painted @ 20/' (see fig. 52), and '8 Bamboo Elbow Rush Bottom'd Chairs neatly painted @ 20/6' (fig. 65). GD25/9/10/5.

¹³For Sir Alexander Kinloch in 1801. To '2 Square Pier Glass frames finished with glass Borders, the frames in Burnished gold for your mirrors £ 3 15/'. These are still at the house. NRA(S)2595/129.

¹⁴For more on this topic see S Pryke 'Fancy Finishes - Painted Chairs in Scotland' *Country Life* 15 August 1991 pp46-47. The hall chairs in particular are in what might be termed a house style.

the account, relate the story and many of the pieces are illustrated¹⁵. Readers are referred to these for detailed information.

This was an enormous commission, and time was at a premium. That Young, Trotter and Hamilton were able to complete the work to everyone's satisfaction is testimony to the scale of their business.

Old tapestries were taken down in five rooms, to be cleaned and repaired, and were re-hung in three rooms, the others laid aside. Chimneys were swept, walls repaired, cleaned and hung with canvas before being papered. Carpets were made up and laid, curtains and pelmets made for windows and bedhangings. Bed and table linen, china, glass, brushes and besoms, door mats, powdering cloths and servants' aprons were all delivered. High quality mahogany furniture was supplied for the Comte ... and his staff, while good but suitable furnishings were provided for his [retinue] ... a private chapel was set up at the end of the picture gallery, and a billiard room completely fitted out¹⁶.

The whole works took only four months, and as Mrs Swain points out

to Scottish eyes at least, the rooms must have looked elegant and up to date, with fresh new wallpaper, good mahogany furniture, chintz bedhangings and matching curtains and chair covers. To the Comte d'Artois and his suite, recalling the splendour left behind, it must have appeared stark and spartan ... Once described as the 'most gay, gaudy, fluttering, accomplished, luxurious, and expensive prince in Europe', he could scarcely have been expected to appreciate the understated qualities of Edinburgh mahogany furniture¹⁷.

This furniture was provided at short notice, and must therefore have come from stock, so is an excellent guide to the finest furniture which Young, Trotter & Hamilton, and no doubt their peers, made at the time. It is essentially made of mahogany, with lightly carved enrichments, and occasional sprinklings of inlay. The dining room, with its crimson moreen curtains, was equipped with a

¹⁵*Connoisseur* January 1978 pp29-35; 'Furniture for the Comte D'Artois at Holyrood, 1796' *Furniture History* XXVIII 1992 pp98-128. The accounts are quoted at some length. These accounts can be found in Edinburgh University Library. Laing MSS La.II.488/29ff23-46.

¹⁶Swain *Furniture History* *ibid* p98.

¹⁷*ibid.* p33.

large sideboard with a cellaret drawer lined with lead and drawer containing lead cistern to lift out and in, & 3 other drawers the legs neatly moulded and voluted ornament with carving ... in the centre 7ft 6ins long £12 12/.

The elaborate brass rail with 'neatly turned pillars and vases double branches for candles &c' cost a further three pounds and fifteen shillings (fig. 55)¹⁸. There were eighteen carved 'drapery back' chairs (fig. 53) which make an interesting comparison with painted 'drapery back' chairs made for Culzean two years earlier¹⁹. Of the inlaid furniture, a typical example is the

large mahogany wardrobe in two parts, the under part containing 1 long and 4 short drawers on thirned feet, the upper enclosed with doors neatly wrought with oval pannels and brass astragals with six sliding trays good locks and mounting £20 15/ (fig. 57).

made for the Comte's bedroom²⁰.

This wardrobe can be compared with the 'mahogany wardrobe containing 3 long drawers and 4 sliding Trays 3ft 10Inches long'²¹(fig. 58) which Young and Trotters (now without Hamilton but with Thomas Trotter's son William as a full partner) also made for the aforementioned Gilmerton House in 1801²². The account for Gilmerton came to over four hundred pounds and included furniture and upholstery for the Hall, Drawing Room, Dining Room, Library and bedrooms. As well as the pier glasses²³

¹⁸This sideboard bears comparison with a very fine version with a stage, now in a house in the north of Scotland, but belonging to an ancient Scottish family with very close ties with Edinburgh (fig. 56). They are not known to have patronised Young, Trotter & Hamilton.

¹⁹There are two chairs at Culzean which fit this description (fig. 52), and have identical painted versions of the drapes at Holyrood, but inconveniently they were bought recently in Edinburgh by the National Trust for Scotland's Curator. This, however, need not mean that they were not made by Young, Trotter & Hamilton. See note 12.

²⁰An identical wardrobe recently surfaced at Love's in Perth and was acquired for an Edinburgh collector. I am grateful to Lawrence Black for this information.

²¹NRA(S)2595/129&142.

²²Attention could also be drawn to a slightly later, but comparable, clothes press stamped by Bruce and Burns. David Jones ed. *An Anthology of Regional Furniture op. cit.* plate14.

²³These were obviously soon deemed to be too plain, and were later embellished by Young and Trotter with the '2 carved Top ornaments for Glass Frames in Burnished Gold @ 13/9' which are still evident. NRA(S)2595/129.

and wardrobe some of the other pieces mentioned in the account can still be identified in the house, and all together provide a valuable comparison and foil to the furniture at Holyrood. Among these items are the '6 Mahogany Hall chairs with oval backs and seats @35/6' for each of which Kinloch was charged an extra eight shillings and sixpence for having his 'Crest and motto' painted (fig. 59); the 'mahogany Octagon Pembroke table ornamented with crossbanding and stringing 3 Cannisters in drawer' at three guineas (fig. 60); a 'Mahogany Bureau with a prospect door good locks and mounting 4ft long' which cost £9 18/ (fig. 61); a 'claw footed linen airer @9/6'; a 'large square dressing Glass with Boxes' also three guineas, the price presumably reflecting the cost of the glass; and two chests of drawers. Two pieces which could not be traced but have tantalising descriptions were the

Mahogany Secretary with a press under the Secretary Drawer containing 2 shelves and 2 Drawers, inclosed with 2 bound doors, a Bookcase above inclosed with 2 Gothic doors
Glazed Pediment cornice &ca

which cost seventeen pounds, and the 'Handsome large square Pier Glass the frame richly carved and finished in Burnished Gold' at sixty five pounds, a very considerable sum, again no doubt in part attributable the price of the glass.

This latter at least must have been part of the suite of furniture made for the Drawing Room which included six bamboo chairs, a pair of bamboo sofas 'painted white and finished in Burnished Gold', and even bamboo window seats. This furniture must have been on the one hand exotic, while on the other, handsome and dependable, as the surviving pieces show. The furniture at Gilmerton provides illustrations to complement those pieces from Holyrood²⁴, with which it is directly comparable; that it was made for a country house, but was clearly indistinguishable from that furniture made for the houses of the New Town, hopefully justifies the

²⁴For further examples of the work of Young and Trotters see S Pryke 'At the Sign of the Pelican' *Regional Furniture* VI 1992 pp10-21.

emphasis placed in this chapter on the New Town as an emblem of the country as a whole.

EXPANSION OF THE TRADE AND ITS RELOCATION

In 1785 the South Bridge Act was passed and Commissioners appointed to oversee the building of this bridge and the New College beyond it. It would connect the Old Town with the southern districts of Edinburgh by oversailing the Cowgate, and was to be on a line with the New (now to be North) Bridge¹. The bridge was completed by 1788 and the new thoroughfare created was always intended to incorporate shops and warerooms, unlike the New Town. In the ensuing years it was to become a major focus for many trades², including the expanding cabinet making and upholstery trades.

Of the cabinet makers and upholsterers in Edinburgh for whom there are records of positive activity during the eighteenth century over a third began their career after 1773³. This expansion on the back of the rising confidence, prosperity and development of the city⁴ was reflected by movement of warerooms to the New Town, as already mentioned, but more specifically the South Bridge. The New Town, and especially Princes Street, which was the first street to be hit by commercialization, saw in the wake of Young and Trotter the arrival of, for example, James and William Anderson, Cabinet Chair Makers and Upholsterers, who moved to Rose Street in 1789⁵; Henry Farqharson, Carver and Gilder, who moved to No 2 Princes Street in 1791⁶; Alexander Beverly, Cabinet Maker, who moved from his wareroom in the Old

¹*Youngson op. cit.* pp111-2.

²This is commented on by S Lythe and J Butt *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939* Glasgow 1975 p139.

³See APPENDIX I and II.

⁴Which stuttered only briefly in 1793 with the onset of the Napoleonic Wars. Gifford, McWilliam and Walker *Edinburgh Buildings of Scotland Series* 1988 p188.

⁵For this, and all the ensuing references, see APPENDIX II.

⁶Princes Street seems to have had a particular attraction for carvers and gilders. Leonard Dupasquier had established himself there in 1775, and John Marnoch in 1801; Daniel McIntosh moved to the adjoining South St Andrews Street in 1799.

Town, by the North Bridge, to Princes Street⁷ in 1792; and the partnership of John Brough and James Jameson, Cabinet Makers, who opened a shop at No 12 Princes Street in 1794, at which time Brough was living in Rose Street, which provided housing in the New Town for 'a better class of artisan'⁸.

Brough had been involved in extensive developments on South Bridge Street, anticipating the enormous rents which it was ultimately to generate, having moved there himself in 1788. This had unfortunately driven him to the brink of bankruptcy by 1790⁹, and it is interesting that he chose to establish his new partnership in the New Town. Migration to the vicinity of the South Bridge development was indeed rapid, and the area clearly acquired instant fashionability, William Lamb moving to a 'large convenient Ware room, corner of SOUTH BRIDGE STREET' in 1787, before the bridge was even finished. Brough was there by 1788 and in May of the same year Francis Braidwood and his partner Alexander Bruce announced, with a total of seventeen notices in both of Edinburgh's newspapers, that they 'on the 19th inst. will OPEN an elegant WAREHOUSE in South Bridge Street, upon a plan entirely new'. In 1797 Braidwood, who was at that time Deacon of the Wrights, split with Bruce and opened his own wareroom at 'No 4 West Side South Bridge', almost adjoining the Tron Kirk. He used an engraving of the street, showing the position of his shop, on his billheads from these years (fig. 68)¹⁰. The following year Baillie and McKinnon's Cabinet and Upholstery Warehouse was moved, significantly 'by the desire of their Friends', from the High Street to Adam's Square, South Bridge.

⁷The first corner shop west of St Andrews Street'.

⁸Quoted in *Edinburgh op. cit.* p321.

⁹CS231/SEQNS/B/1/7.

¹⁰GD152/216/2/2/26. Braidwood moved again, to No 106, in 1804.

The foundation stone of the new university, designed by Robert Adam, was laid in 1789¹¹ and the 1790's saw the confirmation of the status of South Bridge Street. In this decade warerooms were established by Robert Wilson¹², Francis Allan¹³, Alexander Watt¹⁴, Alexander Bruce¹⁵, Andrew Lawrie¹⁶, and Alexander Giles¹⁷, all cabinet makers and upholsterers, and J Watson, a carver and gilder¹⁸. In 1802 John Biggar found it necessary to open an additional wareroom at his 'ELEGANT CABINET WAREHOUSE' opposite the new university building on the South Bridge¹⁹, and his label inside a very elegant secretaire bookcase belonging to the National Museums of Scotland testifies to this (fig. 69). The area not surprisingly attracted other shops in the house furnishing line, the New Porcelain Manufactory, for instance, opening at No 44 in 1790²⁰.

¹¹A Fraser *The Building of Old College* Edinburgh University Press 1989 p1.

¹²Who moved to No 11 in 1791.

¹³At No 35 in 1793, and moving to No 23 in 1797.

¹⁴Who was at No 31 in 1795.

¹⁵At No 16, John Brough's former shop, in 1797.

¹⁶Who moved to No 69 in 1798, built further workshops there in 1801, and moved again to No 39 in 1804, where he was to take subscriptions for Thomas Sheraton's *Encyclopaedia* .

¹⁷Apparently 'Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer to His Royal Highness THE PRINCE OF WALES', who opened a 'NEW WAREHOUSE' at No 35 in 1803.

¹⁸Who moved to No 12 in 1796.

¹⁹EEC 6th March 1802.

²⁰EEC 27th February 1790.

CASE STUDY I: THE ACCOUNT BOOKS OF JOHN FISHER

For the period before the advent of catalogues documented furniture of the professional classes has always been elusive, unless it could be firmly equated with that provided to the gentry and aristocracy. The latter's household accounts tend to survive infinitely more frequently, and country houses survive in the same hands containing their furniture, or at least furniture provided to the family, in a way that the houses and furniture of the middle classes do not. Therefore, apart from the odd clues in legal records, whether relating to sequestration, non-payment of accounts, or wills, in the broad absence of tradesmen's account books there is little documentary evidence to shed light from the manufacturers point of view on the furniture which they were making for these classes, and the way in which they were making it. A great deal of what one must presume *is* the furniture survives, much of it in the houses of today's middle classes, but very rarely with any provenance, let alone any documentation. The account books of the cabinet maker John Fisher are therefore of enormous interest, even though essentially they only cover the years 1784 to 1787, as they describe exactly this type of furniture¹. We know nothing else about Fisher, and there are no other account books with which to compare, so the information contained in them is exceptional in documentary terms, but none the less interesting, or necessarily representative, for all that.

It is hard to create a tally of the exact number of accounts, but Fisher supplied a wide range of goods to ninety six separate people over the three years covered by the books², there being several accounts for many of them. He does not always note the status of these clients, but of these ninety six, there were five wrights and one smith

¹They survive because Fisher's estate was sequestered in 1789 and the books were deposited as part of the evidence when his case came to court. By chance they were kept by the Court of Session, and are now in West Register House, references CS96/3183, 3184 and 3185. See APPENDIX IV for transcriptions. The records of the case itself are referenced CS21/1789 July 7 Fisher vs. Creditors.

²See the List of Accounts in APPENDIX IV.

buying materials (although a total of twenty six separate people bought wood from Fisher, so presumably many of these were wrights too); two Ladies and one Gentleman buying furniture and having chairs upholstered; twenty one tradesmen or professional people using his services and buying his goods, including a hair dresser, a Minister, a tailor, a shoemaker, an upholsterer, a coachmaker, a stocking weaver, a toolmaker, three bakers (a 'board for carrying short bread' cost a shilling) and finally an advocate; typically enough, the latter was having alterations made to his bookcase, including adding a pediment³. Of the remainder there were fourteen women, and one Samuel McKnight, whose profession can at least be guessed at, as he had a press fitted up with shelves and bought '4 Boxes with a Frame for holding Pappers'; clearly an early example of the generally open shelves for holding deed boxes which Edinburgh lawyers call 'boles'.

The descriptions of the furniture are characteristically brief, but Fisher was making a wide range of furniture from kitchen chairs at a few shillings to 'fine Dinning tables' which cost up to ten pounds. The prices for his better chairs were fairly standardized, 'elm chairs covered with best Hair cloth' generally costing fourteen shillings, and similar mahogany ones costing twenty one shillings (with extra for brass nails)⁴. He of course made other things, from 'a turning loom', to picture frames and chimneypieces, and supplied (and sometimes made) such items as a backgammon table⁵ and clockcases.

Fisher and his men would also carry out a variety of services. They would move furniture, take down and set up beds⁶, mend or alter furniture⁷, make up curtains and

³Fisher also added a 'dentill Cornish' and pediment to an old bookcase for William Robertson.

⁴The chairs which William Lamb made for the Physicians cost twenty four shillings each (fig. 49). J A Strong 'The College Office-Bearers' Chairs' *RCPE Chronicle* 1983 IV pp23-5.

⁵This cost fourteen shillings. The 'large size Ivory & Ebony back gammon Table with Ivory Men, Boxes & Dice' which Thomas Chippendale supplied to Paxton House in 1774 cost £4 16/ Original account at Paxton House. See C G Gilbert *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1978 p274 for transcription and illustration.

⁶He charged sixpence for 'setting up a bed'.

carpets and carpets, stuff chairs (although that seems to have been pretty much the extent of his upholstery), paper rooms and closets, make coffins, and in one account there is even an entry for 'cutting down a tree for fire wood' for which he charged a shilling. In short he would do anything that a cabinet maker or wright might be presumed upon to do, if he thought it would turn a profit⁸. His judgement in these matters was not always faultless, which was ultimately his undoing, as is illustrated by his note that he 'took an old chest of Drawers [in part payment for goods] at 10/ but only got 4/ for them'. He often accepted old furniture in this way, as was common, and actually bought seven chairs at one time. Another of his activities was managing a house of rented rooms, for which he was paid a guinea a year (as well as being paid for any maintenance which needed doing).

The books also contain a limited, but fascinating, amount of information about Fisher's staff which relates how long they took to make individual pieces and what they were paid⁹. A total of nine names are listed over the three years, and although he does not note what he charged for the items listed the accounts give some idea. Thus when J Cairnton spent four days and nine hours making a breakfast table, this can be compared with the guinea which Fisher charged for 'a small mahogany breakfast table'. His men seemed to have made individual items by themselves, with little break down of labour. They do not even appear to have specialized between chairs and cabinet work.

Fisher was lenient with his staff, sometimes giving them goods in advance, against their wages, as in the pair of buckles which he acquired for William Muckle, or the one pound and ten shillings he paid on John Lauder's behalf 'for Drink'. He also has listed in his account book sums given out on behalf of a Thomas Boyd. It is

⁷He even stained twelve chairs with 'Acqua fortis' in 1786.

⁸In this he seems to be a perfect model. See Chapter VI for a detailed discussion of the variety of services cabinet makers and upholsterers were involved in.

⁹For a general discussion of this see Chapter 2; Journeymen. For full transcriptions, see APPENDIX IV; Wages.

not clear who this is, but Fisher paid his rent, lent him money, bought him a hat (eight shillings - a huge amount), shoes (four shillings), even paid for his washing, and the final entry is five shillings 'Expences in fetching him out of Jail'. His good nature also led him to sell a watch at three pounds and 'let it run up at 3/ per week'. Letting debts run up was a dangerous business, although unavoidable when a cabinet maker was expected to provide a year's credit as a matter of course (although discounts were always available for 'ready money'). Fisher was constantly cutting his risks by accepting cash down payments, but did end up persuing James Ferguson through the courts for payment of an account for two pounds and five shillings. His expences came to almost three pounds, but fortunately were awarded against Ferguson.

That all this information survives is due to Fisher's misfortune. He had started business in 1784, having been a journeymen for several years in Edinburgh. However, having begun from scratch, and clearly undercapitalised, he never overcame his lack of stock, and in 1786 largely closed his workshop and contracted to finish the internal fitting up of Ratho House, West Lothian. To do this he acquired over five hundred pounds worth of materials, on credit, and before he could complete the work and collect final payment his creditors had him imprisoned in the Tolbooth, on the 10th October 1788, as they suspected him of fraud. He had received about £750 over the preceeding four years for goods and work carried out (not including the £230 which he would receive when he completed Ratho), and they wondered where it had gone. Nevertheless, Fisher was able to convince the Judges that his predicament was due to misfortune rather than deviousness, and particularly that he had only taken twenty six pounds a year out of the business to support his wife and 'numerous young family'¹⁰. He was therefore allowed his freedom, and gained the ability to work

¹⁰By comparison, John Brough, another cabinet maker who overstretched his finances in 1788, was allowed 'a guinea a week for him and his large family' by the Court of Session; he had ten children. CS231/SEQNS/B/1/7.

again, on the 6th July 1789, on condition that he grant a Disposition Omnium Bonorum, handing over his whole estate to his creditors¹¹.

¹¹The proceeding of this case are transcribed in full in APPENDIX IV.

CASE STUDY II: YOUNG AND TROTTER

'We then called on Aunt John and went with her to choose Drawing Room chairs and Sophas at Young and Trotter'¹

Young and Trotter have already figured extensively in this chapter but a full account of their business operations has not been provided. This is given here.

Thomas Trotter and Robert Young first appear in 1747 providing upholstery for William Hall of Dunglass², and there is a billhead from this time which they used on their earliest accounts³ (fig. 62). This depicts a pelican feeding its young surrounded by a crude border of acanthus leaves, and their warehouse is declared as being 'at the Pelican within the Head of the Luckenbooths opposite to the Tolbooth'. This was at the heart of the High Street of Edinburgh and was to remain as their warehouse for the next thirty six years⁴. In the following year, 1748, they first advertised in the Edinburgh newspapers offering a large assortment of upholstery goods⁵. These adverts often carried the pelican engraving as an eye catcher (fig. 63). Little is known of the training of either member of the partnership, and little of their family background, other than that Trotter's father was a merchant; research is further complicated by other members of the Trotter clan with similar names and professions. Thus Thomas Trotter the upholsterer, whose son William ultimately succeeded him, had a cousin Thomas who was a merchant, who also had a son William with whom he worked. To confuse matters even further the cousins often seemed to have worked for the same

¹From the 1802 journal of Jessy Allan, whose family stayed at 28 Queen Street. Quoted by Ian Gow *The Scottish Interior* EUP 1992 p24.

²GD206/3/2/5/27.

³For instance to the Countess of Cassillis dated 1747. GD25/9/18/23.

⁴In 1783 it was taken over by Francis Braidwood, another cabinet maker. *EA* 24th June 1783.

⁵*CM* 29th February 1748.

patrons, and frequently undertook funerals together⁶. A portrait of a Thomas Trotter is known (fig. 64), and is inscribed both 'Merchant & Burgess' of Edinburgh and, in a much later hand, 'a maker of fine furniture'. It could be either man (Thomas the upholsterer being a member of the Merchant Company like his cousin), but it is possible that this Thomas may be sitting proudly on a chair made by his own firm.

One of the most curious aspects of the careers of Robert Young and Thomas Trotter is that neither man appears to have been a member of the Incorporation of Wrights. They must have come to an agreement with the Incorporation in order to practice their trade, and take on apprentices, but it is extraordinary that such a successful firm never appears in its minutes or accounts. Perhaps this lack of political involvement was the secret of their success; it certainly never harmed their ability to win municipal commissions, to which the furniture for Register House and the Assembly Rooms bears testament.

Young & Trotter were continually expanding into new areas and in 1752 they entered into a partnership with James Caddell with the intention of carrying on

the BUSINESS of UNDERTAKING for FUNERALS ... as practised at London⁷.

This partnership only lasted two years, but Young & Trotter continued to offer undertaking as one of their services. Lavish sums were spent on funerals⁸, and wealthy patrons generally found their funeral supervised by one of the partners. In 1764 Young & Trotter once again went into partnership with a third party, this time a William Cheap, with the purpose of making carpets 'on the same principle as the Persian carpets' and of the 'kind usually called Scotch carpets'⁹. They designed all

⁶For instance, at the funeral of the Earl of Breadalbane in 1782 Young and Trotter's account included £3 4/ 8d for food provided by William Trotter & Co. GD112/15/444/78&81.

⁷EEC 8th June 1752.

⁸See Chapter VI.

⁹EEC 27th February 1764. See Chapter VI.

the patterns themselves, and also died the yarns, soon putting this practical ability to further good use by going into the manufacture of blankets¹⁰.

Young & Trotter are first known to have provided furniture, as opposed to upholstery, in 1754¹¹ but it was not until 1773 that they actually called themselves Upholsterers and Cabinet Makers¹². This semantic development had however been preceded by the opening of their new wareroom¹³ on Princes Street in 1772 (fig. 51), which has already been discussed, and was run by Robert Young. The upholstery warehouse, which was Thomas Trotter's prime concern, remained at the High Street¹⁴. A letter of 1781 has a note saying that Trotter was available either at his 'shop in the Luckenbooths' from ten till eight, or after that at his house in Gosford's Close¹⁵. Nevertheless, both partners wrote and signed letters relating to all aspects of their business¹⁶.

The success of the partnership is beyond dispute. It existed in one form or another for over fifty years, a remarkable length of time and testimony to the partners' health. In 1797 Young, Trotter, Hamilton & Trotter were able to claim that they

¹⁰EEC 9th March.1765.

¹¹'10 Fine Mohogany Chairs wt fluted Backs'. GD 135/2238/83. They continued to actively supply and make furniture from this time on, not, as Bamford states, only from 1774. *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* p29.

¹²EA 2nd March 1773.

¹³EA 15th September1772.

¹⁴In 1988 Laurence Black acquired an easy chair (fig. 66) whose legs have the form of the traditional Scottish cockpen chair. On its being reupholstered it was discovered that the canvas backing had Young & Trotter stamped on it, suggesting that the firm had either made or reupholstered the chair. Another entirely different chair, but with similar stamped canvas, came up for sale at Sotheby's on the 12th July 1991. This is probably reused sacking from bales of material, and whether it can be used as evidence of manufacture is open to debate. Sotheby's described the chair as a 'painted tub chair ... the arm supports and legs painted in dark green on white' (fig. 67). It should be said that Young & Trotter made '6 Barrell chairs painted white with green ornaments' for Sir Alexander Kinloch. NRA(S)2595/129 & 142.

¹⁵Trotter's seal survives on this letter: it is a full profile of a standing horse with opposite legs raised and a pronounced tail. The motto is FESTINA LENTE (make haste slowly); NRA(S) 888/75/4.

¹⁶For instance, Robert Young wrote to the Earl of Lauderdale's factor concerning the printed papers on the 25th Novr 1762. He sent eleven patterns of mosaic paper for Lord Lauderdale to choose from. NRA(S) 832/1/15&16.

HAVE uniformly had their LARGE WAREHOUSES stocked with a most EXTENSIVE and ELEGANT Assortment of CABINET and CHAIR WORK of all kinds.

THEIR STOCK of CHINTZES, CALICOES, BORDERS and DIMITTIES for Furnitures, SELECTED from the First Manufacturing Houses in the Kingdom, will be found AT LEAST EQUAL to any in this Country, and will be afforded on AS LOW TERMS as by any PERSON WHATEVER; as also their BLANKETS, COUNTERPANES, and other articles of Furniture.

The EXTENSIVE STOCK they employ in the Trade enables them to prevent being either outdone in VARIETY or PRICE¹⁷.

At the risk of overstating the point accounts survive to some fifty patrons, including the Marquesses of Graham and Tweeddale, the Earls of Cassillis, Dumfries, Hopetoun, Lauderdale and Panmure, the Lords Arniston, Hailes and Milton, the Baronets James Clerk, John Hall and Alexander Kinloch, and the Lairds of Ardwall, Balbirnie, Boqhan, Cairnfield, Drummelzior, Freswick, Kemnay, Kilbagie, Langton, Largo, Menziesfield, Moncraig, Newliston, Prestonhall, Saughton and Stair, as well as those for the Assembly Rooms, Holyroodhouse, and Register House. As early as 1768, despite a cash flow crisis, they had been able to state that 'we have a Sum standing in our Books shamefully great for a Tradesman in this Country'¹⁸.

¹⁷EEC 2nd December 1797.

¹⁸In a letter to Lady Lauderdale - 'We have very large sums to pay & are very much strained to collect sufficient for our indispensable calls'. NRA(S)832/59/50.

CASE STUDY III: WILLIAM AND JAMES HAMILTON

The first record of William Hamilton is an account to the Duke of Argyll dated 1758 for 'joining 2 Mahogany pattern Chairs that came from London' and carrying out sundry mending of furniture¹. It is not clear where this furniture was but the account was receipted in Edinburgh, and Hamilton was based there² until his retirement in 1790. He is a slightly shady figure, perhaps in part because he never advertised, but surviving accounts show him to have been making the finest furniture for some of the greatest patrons in Scotland.

Surprisingly Hamilton is not listed in the *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices* or the *Roll of Burgesses*, but he had become a burgher of Glasgow on the 20th May 1743. He worked extensively for the Dukes of Hamilton, who patronised their clansmen to a remarkable degree, and his second wife was the daughter of a tenant on the Hamilton estates³. His Glaswegian background was unique in Edinburgh during this period, but it seems to have done him no harm, although it is of note that he never registered any apprentices, and he may have been prevented from doing this. He did, however, join in partnership with James Caddell in 1766 (twelve years after Caddell's partnership with Young and Trotter had been dissolved) for the specific purpose of undertaking funerals 'in the most decent and ... most elegant manner'⁴. It is not clear how long this lasted, but William's son James was soon to start working with his father, and may have displaced Caddell⁵. In 1769 he signed a receipt 'for my father'⁶ and by 1773 was a full partner⁷.

¹NLS MS17630/216. For a discussion of pattern furniture see Chapter IV.

²In the Tolbooth Wynd, Canongate.

³G Hamilton *The House of Hamilton* p34.

⁴EA 26th December 1766.

⁵Caddell's other partnerships tended not to be very long lived. See APPENDIX II. In 1784 Hamilton and his son buried Lady Susana Keith on their own account. AU MS3064/276.

It was in the following year that James was consulted by Thomas Mowat of Shetland for advice about the furnishing of his new house at Belmont, Unst. His reply gives some interesting advice about 'furniture made use of in the most fashionable houses', and as Belmont was a classical two storey three bay house which probably had a similar amount of accommodation to a New Town house, this presumably can be taken as representative of taste in Edinburgh. The letter is quoted virtually in full in the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights*⁸ but certain sections repay attention, viz.

No lustres nor Chimney Glasses are fashionable for any room;

in the Dining Room

Mahogany Sideboard the length of wch is usually made equal to one third of that side of the room where it is placed;

on [the chimneypiece] and the sideboard are placed Candlesticks of silver or mahogany;

if cupboards are found necessary they are usually shut up with Doors as secretly as possible;

in the Drawing Room

1 Large or 2 small Sofas ... Stuff'd Back and Seat or Chinese Chairs ... Curtains for the windows and covers for the chairs and sofa of Damask Calicoe or moreen;

1 or 2 Oval Glasses with handsome frames, as the Room will admit between the windows;

1 pr Girandoles with double branches opposite do for candles;

in the Bedroom

stuffd back and seat Chairs are used with covers the same as the bed hangings.

⁶To Mr Balfour Ramsay. GD288/262.

⁷When Hamilton and Son made a 'Gout chair' for Lord Hopetoun for the grand sum of thirteen guineas. NRA(S)888/525.

⁸pp29-31. I have not seen the original but it is in the Gardie House MSS, Orkney; NRA(S)450. Belmont still stands, but is derelict. It is the northernmost classical house in Scotland.

It is not recorded whether the Hamiltons supplied any furniture to Thomas Mowat, and he may have been simply wanting advice with which to guide a local cabinet maker, but they did make furniture according to their guidelines for a wide range of clients, and were involved in several major furnishing schemes. Among the lesser of these was the dining room furniture for Sir James Clerk's newly built Penicuik House, Midlothian, (fig. 70)⁹, the chairs of which are identical to a vast set made for Trinity House, Leith (fig. 71)¹⁰.

Of greater documentary interest are estimates and accounts submitted to William Nesbitt for the complete furnishing of Archerfield House, East Lothian, in 1777¹¹. The final account came to over five hundred pounds, and the principal rooms reflect James's letter very closely¹². In the same year the Hamiltons compiled an inventory of the furniture at Hamilton Palace¹³, one of the largest houses in Scotland, and then submitted an estimate for providing furniture and refurbishing the Palace for the sum of £ 1237 5/ 7d¹⁴. Samples from the furniture suggested include

A handsome Bedstead with Mahogany foot posts in the Gothick taste ... mounted with Copperplate Calicoe - Pattern the Seasons Colours Purple and white, lined with white Cotton cloth, trimmed with white fringe and finished with an open Cornice japanned of suitable colours £ 27 18/ [with a] Bed Cover of the same Calicoe lined and bound £ 3 8/

⁹Including £ 33 14/ 9d 'in full of Chairs for Dining Room' in 1772. GD18/1758a Journal of Expenses.

¹⁰Hamilton was paid £ 38 12/ 9d for '48 Chairs and Two Armed Do', most of which still survive in the 19th century incarnation of Trinity House. They are made of elm, in contrast to the mahogany ones at Penicuik. GD226/4/6 Volume of Minutes 3rd August 1774. Young and Trotter made the curtains; 28th April 1775. The large armchairs (fig. 72) have similar details to a set at Penicuik (fig. 73), and it seems likely that these too were made by Hamilton. See S Pryke 'Cockpen Quest' *Country Life* 29th April 1993 pp80-81.

¹¹There is also an account to the Earl of Kintore for Keith Hall in 1779, which came to just over five hundred pounds. AU MS3064/276.

¹²The furniture has long since been dispersed. GD205/48/18/1/19, 20 & 24.

¹³Thirty eight pages long. NRA(S)2177/100/10.

¹⁴*ibid*. I am indebted to Margaret Swain for photocopies of these documents, and the corresponding reference.

and curtains and 'back and seat' chairs covered to suit¹⁵. For the High Dining Room '12 handsome Mahogany relieved split back'd Chairs in hair Cloth and brass Nails' were recommended at twenty two shillings and sixpence each, and a

Waterpot Cupboard in form of a handsome Pedestal - Water Urn at Top and lead in Drawer below £ 6 10/.

And finally, for the New Drawing Room, 'Two Elegant Card Tables inlaid of different woods and one Tea table to suit' at twenty five pounds for the set, a very considerable sum¹⁶. The Hamiltons concluded by stating that

The Expence of the foregoing articles will not exceed the price Extended to Each in the foregoing estimate and in the progress of the work the utmost attention will be paid to save everything unnecessary and reduce the Charge in the most reasonable manner. The old Tapestry of the Walls to be fitted as Carpets to the Stewards Room and different Bedrooms so far as can be made extend. The Calculations are made from the Papers Chintz, & Silk Tabberay made choice of and the Patterns approved of by the Duke of Hamilton.

¹⁵A similar bed for the Duke, 'mounted with silk Tabberay' was estimated at £ 56 10/ , the extra cost essentially being in the fabric.

¹⁶There are some tables now in the Drawing Room at Lennoxlove, East Lothian (the present seat of the Dukes of Hamilton) which correspond to this description, but it takes a considerable leap of faith to believe that they could have survived the vicissitudes of two enormous sales, a demolition and a move. All the furniture at Lennoxlove did, however, come from Hamilton Palace, so it is possible.

YOUNG, TROTTER & HAMILTON AND THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM TROTTER

On William Hamilton's retirement in 1790¹ Young and Trotter and James Hamilton decided to combine forces, Hamilton selling that stock of his which was surplus to requirements and disposing of his warehouse². The new company Young, Trotter & Hamilton commenced on the 26th April 1790³, and was responsible for the furnishing of Holyroodhouse, discussed above. Young, Trotter & Hamilton must have been the only firm in Edinburgh with such a comprehensive selection of high quality furniture available in their warehouses. Indeed in 1797 they berated their competitors with the claim that their large warehouses were stocked with the most elegant furniture, and that

the EXTENSIVE STOCK they employ in the Trade inables them to prevent being either outdone in VARIETY or PRICE⁴.

In 1797 a further partner was added in the person of Thomas Trotter's son William, the firm now becoming Young, Trotter, Hamilton & Trotter⁵. However, in September of 1801 James Hamilton died⁶ and accounts are made out in the name of Young & Trotters for the ensuing four years. Then on the 11th May 1805 it was announced in the *Caledonian Mercury* that William Trotter had 'succeeded to the Old Establishment' of Young & Trotters, of which he 'had been for nine years the Junior Partner'⁷. He goes on to say that having

¹Announced in the *EEC* on the 11th March.

²*EEC* 19th March 1791.

³*EEC* 8th August 1790.

⁴*EEC* 2nd December 1797.

⁵*EEC* 15th April 1797.

⁶He left a widow, Beatrix Wood, and a son and two daughters, the younger of which was still a minor. Each was left the third part of a bond for five hundred pounds. SRO CC8/8/133/97.

⁷A letter of the 19th March 1805 requests payment of an account 'due to the late Company of Young & Trotters which was dissolved at the term of Martinmass last', on behalf of William Trotter and Robert Young (who signed

from his infancy devoted his whole attention to the CABINET and UPHOLSTERY BUSINESS ... he humbly presumes to hope the Customers of the House will experience no alteration in the execution of their orders.

Thus was born the firm of William Trotter, which dominated Scottish cabinet making and upholstery for the next thirty years, in much the same way as the partnership which his father had founded had for the previous thirty.

it). This suggests that Thomas Trotter may have died, thus prompting Young's final retirement. NRA(S)2940/219.

VI

ASPECTS OF THE FURNITURE TRADE

The expression 'furniture trade' covers a broad range of activities, the common denominator being the people involved. This chapter explores these activities, starting from the human perspective, then progresses to look at materials and how they were acquired, used and sold, and finally examines the broader commercial interests of some furniture makers. The emphasis is on the situation in Edinburgh and little comparative material has been included, it being readily available elsewhere, notably in Pat Kirkham's invaluable study of the London Furniture Trade¹. Kirkham's study nevertheless has a very different agenda to this one, illuminating the vast knowledge of individual makers that already existed by providing a commercial and economic background, as well as tracing the nineteenth century descent into mass manufacturing. Whilst the latter course is outwith the declared scope of this thesis (and, besides, inappropriate for Edinburgh), the daunting luxury of the former approach was not an option. There seemed little point, for instance, in pursuing names in bank ledgers if nothing was known about those names². This chapter defines the range of activities of these names. Primary sources have been used throughout, and quoted from at length where appropriate, local newspapers being a particularly rich source³. Examples quoted are intended to be representative, and should be taken as such, unless they are stated to be exceptions.

¹Pat Kirkham 'The London Furniture Trade from 1700 to 1870' *Furniture History* XXIV 1988. See also particularly *Furniture History* XII 1976 which concentrates on regional English cabinet making and the Knight of Glin *Irish Furniture* Irish Heritage Series Dublin 1978.

²Insurance records were investigated, unsuccessfully, as were banking records, a huge amount of which were destroyed during World War II; my priorities lay elsewhere.

³If references appear to be missing for information sourced from newspapers it is because they can easily be found in APPENDIX II.

In 1762 Robert Young of the firm of Young and Trotter added this note at the end of a letter to the Earl of Lauderdale's factor.

I return you hearty thanks in Mr Trotters name as well as my own for being so kind as introduce us to Lord Lauderdale's Business. Mr Robertson Minister of Ratho your brother was so good at my request as to promise to ask your good offices in our behalf⁴.

It is very rare to know exactly why one certain firm was chosen rather than another, but this is a concrete example of personal recommendation tipping the balance in the favour of Young and Trotter, at least as far as the factor's influence went⁵. However, once a foot in the door had been established more work could be hoped for. Thus in 1752 when Joseph Forbes sent his account for a 'Nett Mohoganie Server' to Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk he made it clear that the price was a good one, and that there was little profit in it for him. His hope was for a larger commission, or 'to be wished to some Customers' by Grant⁶.

Family links, both between patrons and between tradesman and client were also presumably important but are hard to quantify. Francis Brodie was descended from the Brodies of Brodie, but is not known to have made furniture for them (although they did owe him large amounts of money, which his father had lent them). Conversely, both his wife and mother were closely related to Archibald Grant, for whom Brodie did work, and from whom he leased his workshop and house. He was also on very good terms with the Ross's of Pitcalnie, working for them throughout his life, and signing off one letter 'I'm not certain if anything is done since but if there is must be but a trifle', adding finally 'my wife has her complementt to you '⁷.

⁴NRA(S)832/1/15. There is a great deal of correspondence in this archive relating to the furnishing of Lord Lauderdale's houses in Scotland, which has been used extensively below.

⁵Christopher Gilbert has emphasised the importance of personal recommendations to the provincial cabinet maker. C Gilbert 'Wright and Elwick of Wakefield, 1748-1824; a Study of Provincial Patronage' *Furniture History* XII 1976 p38.

⁶GD345/732. Note that he is also after the personal recommendation.

⁷GD199/64.

Relationships between furniture makers and their clients were obviously varied, ranging from this familiarity through the more formal but equally cordial relations of William Lamb and William Forbes -

I had your friendly letter today Inclosing an order on my good friend Mr Wm Simpson of the Royal Bank ... it is pleast to do business with you and believe me I should be happy to have it in my power to oblige you ... please Accept of my best Thanks and I am very Sensible of your Friendship, it gives me pleasure that all the articles arived Safe and pleases, I think they will give Satisfaction as Every care was taken to make Everything good by Sir Your Much obliged & Most Obedt Servt ⁸

- to those involving legal action. Accounts were often queried by clients, and this seems generally, within reason, to have been taken in good grace by the tradesmen (though not always). When James Russell presented an account to Lord Tweeddale amounting to £6 2/ 7d, Tweeddale complained that 'the checks [were] too high stated' and ordered his factor to pay only six pounds, which Russell accepted⁹. This was probably fair enough, but one can only feel sympathy for John Sanderson, an upholsterer who had done some work for the Marchioness of Annandale in 1708 and who asked nothing 'ffor [his] time in Looking over ye goods' except 'what your Ladyship pleasis'. Lady Annandale actually deducted fourpence from the bill as it stood, which Sanderson had little choice but to accept¹⁰.

Demands for payment came in many guises. The desperate, as when George Riddell pleaded with Sir John Clerk to pay a bond that he owed him as Riddell's creditors were going to serve a warrant on him the next day¹¹, or when Young and Trotter appealed to David Gavin of Langton in 1765;

⁸GD171/2689/5.

⁹In 1774. NLS MS14679 f268.

¹⁰NRA(S)2171/150/1.

¹¹In 1727. Riddell made the lady's closet in fig. 43; GD18/5696.

On the other side is a Copy of your Accott amounting to £89:14:10 which necessity obliges us to present.

We have really never been so much put to it to raise money as at present even the sums indispensibly necessary for supporting our Circulation we cannot Command - & would really be the greatest favor imaginable to us¹².

They concluded this appeal by adding, mischievously, that 'we know it can be a matter of no difficulty to you'. Then there are the threatening demands -

Those indebted to the late Copartnery of Baillie and McKinnon ... were requested formally, by public advertisements in the newspapers and afterwards by circular letters, to make payment of the sums due by them ... unless payment is made within ten days from this date, we will be under the necessity of ordering prosecutions against them¹³.

And finally, the litigious. This could be politely done, as when the Sherriff Court ordered David McCulloch of Ardwall to pay a bill of £34 plus 5 years interest plus £2 expenses to Young & Trotter in 1782. McCulloch, who had obviously been in straitened circumstances himself, let them know, via their lawyer, that

However disagreeable the measures adopted may be ... I [cannot] presume to Blame either these Gentlemen (whose patience have been too much tryed) much less you, whose Business it is to Atend to the interest of your Clients¹⁴.

Alternatively, a considerable amount of animosity could be generated as when in 1753 Robert Ewing of Craigtoun complained vigorously on being pursued by Francis Brodie for payment of a bill.

The table which was your own work Cost me 3 guineas ... and is the only peice of work I received from You that was worth betwixt Man and Man half the price I paid. Your walnut tree Chairs were made of Rotten worm eaten wood the holes filld up with Saw dust & Glue & now open & ready to drop down Your clockcase the same & the Bit Glass for the sconce so ill fastened on the frame that it dropt down and broke in Twenty pieces the day it

¹²GD282/13/122. Similarly William Lamb appealed to Lord Tweeddale in 1796 claiming that 'there are many depending on me for money, which obliges me to appeal much against my inclination'. NLS MS14692f34-36.

¹³EEC 14th July 1791.

¹⁴SC39/17/363/Bundle 7 1782 Young & Trotter vs McCulloch.

was put up. Upon the whole I reckon myself nothing in your debt, ... if you will come here any day and see the work as it stands and if on the word and honour of a Master Joiner you can say after seeing it that your demand is just & right I will pay it without a process, and Altho you may think it a Trifle not worth nine miles riding for upon recollection you will be of a different opinion, for it is not in the Interest of any Tradesman or Manufacturer to have it said that he sold Dirt to his Customers at a high price, without abatement even after it was discovered to be but Dirt ...

Brodie replied to these accusations with great dignity, stating that the 'sufficiency of the work will be determined when inspected by proper judges'. He was clearly unconcerned about Ewing's threats to his good name, having the confidence to proclaim that 'as for dirty words thrown out upon my work they are below my notice'. Brodie did eventually instigate 'a process', and Ewing was finally forced to pay the full amount owing¹⁵.

Cash flow was the perennial problem of the cabinet maker and upholsterer, as they always had to acquire their materials (if not pay for them), before starting the manufacturing process, and ultimately passing the cost on to the customer. Therefore unless they they were paid in cash their bonds would invariably become due before the ones with which the customers had paid for their products. This meant that discounts were always offered for 'ready money', generally of five per cent, if the money was forthcoming within a week or two¹⁶. The situation was succinctly summed up by Robert Young in a letter to the Countess of Lauderdale in 1768.

Madam Some time since we wrote a line to put your Ladyship in mind of an Accot of Upholstery furnished for Hatton House in March, April & May 1766 - In the small furnishings which we have made preceeding the forementioned Accot for the Family we have always met with very high blame for letting them ly over - Your Ladyship will observe that the Articles in the present Accot have laid over for two years - The usual practice with us as well as among the whole Trade is to give 5 pr Cent discount for prompt

¹⁵CS229/B/2/68. See below Packing and Transport.

¹⁶For instance, when William Forbes was furnishing Callendar House in the 1780's and 90's he invariably got a discount of between 5 and 10% from both James Liddle and William Lamb, 'for Ready Money'. Forbes was after all a banker. GD171/2324/31 & 2336/37; GD171/2403/34 & 35.

payment or 12 months Credit which is the longest we ever get on any goods & when not paid about that time are allowed Interest for the time over due and unless we have some allowance on Accounts of two years standing we really drive a worse trade than lending money at 5 per cent - The Case besides with us at present is - We have very large sums to pay & are very much strained to collect sufficient for our indispensable calls - Thus we have a Sum standing in our Books shamefully great for a Tradesman in this Country - If your Ladyship will be so kind as favour us with an order by the Bearer it will be a very singular obligation ¹⁷.

Discounts were also available to trade where applicable, but perhaps only 'on taking a quantity'¹⁸. Of more interest was the practice of bartering goods, although it is hard to tell whether this was welcomed or tolerated by tradesmen. Cabinet makers sometimes accepted old furniture in part payment of accounts¹⁹, a particularly fine example of this being illustrated in 1760 when Alexander Peter buried a Mrs Edmonson, his account coming to £7 18/ 5d of which over half he accepted as furniture acquired at the sale of her effects²⁰. Peter also accepted furniture, or at least 'an old press, an used bed and 4 old kitchine stools' valued at just over a pound, in part payment of an account for work spanning ten years, and amounting to over a hundred pounds, which was due from George Dundas of Dundas. Of the remainder due, Peter received twenty pounds in cash and the rest was written off against the 163 bolls of meal which he had received from Dundas's estate over the intervening years²¹. In a similar way Alexander Scott received three and a half pounds of feathers

¹⁷NRA(S)832/59/50. In 1792 Young & Trotter charged Lord Tweeddale interest at about 5% after allowing a years credit. NLS MS14692 f23-25.

¹⁸It is extremely hard to document these situations but goods were often offered to 'the Public and Trade', and, for instance in 1787 James Aitken, a Carver and Gilder from London advertised lots of looking glasses 'in the most elegant manner and present taste' for sale in Edinburgh, adding that 'A large discount will be given to the trade, on taking a quantity'. *EEC* 15th February 1787.

¹⁹William Lamb, for instance, accepting 32 old chairs valued, by him, at £20 (a substantial amount) in part payment for an account in 1795. GD171/2669/4. See below, Second Hand Furniture.

²⁰CS237/P/1/66.

²¹GD75/533. Similarly in 1734 Wm Crystall of Aberdeen received 3 loads of meal in part payment of an account, and in 1756 Alexander Sanderson of Elgin received an 'order for three Bolls Bear' which settled the amount outstanding on an account for Sir Harry Innes. This was probably more common in more rural areas. NRA(S)1368/136; NRA(S)1100/1443.

from James Forbes in 1791²², Thomas Johnston received an ox from Sir John Clerk in part payment for wright work at Mavisbank, Midlothian²³, and in 1747 Francis Brodie allowed '2 hires' of horses and '17 Nights Grass for a Mare' in part payment of an account²⁴. Less surprisingly, wrights and cabinet makers also frequently accepted timber *in lieu* of payment²⁵, which was yet another, and rather more useful, way of helping the cash flow.

Cabinet makers and upholsterers would sometimes raise money by holding sales, or even auctions of their stock, particularly when they had just acquired goods for a new season²⁶, but other techniques were available. Among the most adventurous of these was that employed by Robert Hay who, in 1792, was selling mahogany furniture and musical instruments by lottery, as he was moving to a new address. There were 111 prizes and tickets cost ten shillings each; 'intended adventurers' were advised to 'apply immediately' as most of the tickets had been sold and the first prize was 'a set of New and Fashionable Mahogany Drawing Room Furniture - value Twenty pounds'²⁷. Alternatively, when money was disastrously tight one could sequester one's estate, which effectively protected oneself, one's goods and one's creditors by placing one's effects in the care of the courts. In this way it was possible to avoid being thrown into the debtor's prison, and many tradesmen took great advantage of this. Some took too great an advantage, like Angus McKinnon, who

²²AU MS2414/54.

²³GD18/1837/3.

²⁴SC39/17/204 26th October 1758.

²⁵For instance, Alexander Peter allowed for mahogany planking which he had received in an account of 1760 submitted to Lord Dumfries, and George Sandeman's brother was given a stock of beech by James Campbell of Barcaldine in 1761 (although Sandeman later disputed this). NRA(S)631/A720/27; GD170/284/5.

²⁶See below.

²⁷EEC 28th April & 23rd June 1792.

having been awarded a sequestration of his effects by the Court of Session promptly 'absconded'²⁸.

It is extremely hard to know what appearance warerooms took, and how they changed with the passing of the century. There are plentiful records of where they were, occasional plans (fig. 74)²⁹, and several lists of contents, but few pictures or descriptions, and these generally only relate to the end of the century. William Bruce had 'an ELEGANT WAREROOM of easy access, first stair below the entry to the Markets, North Bridge Street' in 1791³⁰, which would certainly have been as 'central and commodious' as that of Henry Tod³¹. In 1793 the cabinet maker Robert Wilson's 'Wright's Shop' was for sale. It held eight or ten work benches, had a 'garret above the shop fitted up for different purposes connected with that business', and was situated above a wareroom twenty seven feet deep by twenty two feet wide. There was a wood yard, a shaded saw pit and a large covered area for storing wood over which another workshop could be built. The premises were described as being 'substantially fitted up, and well adapted for carrying on the wright business to a considerable extent'³². When the contents of John Brough's wareroom were sold in 1788 it contained a 'handsome' commode, a chest of drawers, four card tables 'beautifully inlaid with rich sattin wood', 'elegant' clothes presses, several dozen chairs of different woods, various different tables and looking glasses, as well as a selection of the appropriate materials, papers, carpets and items 'for finishing' such as

²⁸*EEC* 4th July 1795. See below, Manufacturing.

²⁹In the Dean of Guild Records held at the Edinburgh City Archives. See, for instance, petitions of William Reoch in December 1764, or Charles Dickson on 19th July 1775. I am grateful to Dorothy Bell for these references. See Appendix V.

³⁰*EEC* 18th July 1791.

³¹As Tod described his wareroom near the North Bridge. *EEC* 23rd July 1795.

³²*EEC* 18th April 1793.

tassells and blinds, all naturally in the 'newest taste'³³. This does at least give us some idea of the amount that would have been packed into these shops, but when Braidwood and Bruce opened a new 'elegant WAREHOUSE in South Bridge Street, upon a plan entirely new'³⁴ we cannot know entirely what they meant. We can be certain however that at about his time these wareooms started masquerading as facsimile rooms, which could be mixed and matched by the client to achieve their desired effect. It was in just this way that William Lamb and his son had an 'ELEGANT ROOM immediately above their present wareroom, where they have set up BEDS, of various kinds, and DRAPERY for Window Curtains; shewing the Fashionable and most Elegant Manner of finishing them now in London'³⁵.

The only clear illustration of a wareroom is that of Young, Trotter and Hamilton which appears on a reasonably well known engraving showing the view down Princes Street from Register House (fig. 51). This was the first cabinet wareroom to cross to the New Town, and remained one of the only ones, the South Bridge soon becoming the more popular site (fig. 68)³⁶. In 1776 the Edinburgh Upholstery Company's wareroom in Milne's Square had been twenty foot wide by forty foot long, and they had two extra rooms available as well³⁷, but there is no visual record of the interiors of any Edinburgh warerooms. Presumably, however, they were not dissimilar to that of Cleland, Jack, Patterson & Co, depicted in 1812 (fig. 75)³⁸. This illustrates perfectly the array of different curtain hangings, upholstery, and furniture styles

³³EEC 1st November 1788.

³⁴EEC 15th May 1788.

³⁵ This was immediately next door to Bruce and Braidwood's shop. EEC 16th July 1801.

³⁶The optimism which tradesmen and shopkeepers felt about the South Bridge was reflected in the highest prices for property which Edinburgh had ever known, often with disastrous effects.

³⁷EEC 6th March 1776.

³⁸For a history of Cleland, Jack, Patterson & Co see Celine Blair and David Jones 'Furnishing the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow Style, 1809' *Regional Furniture* V 1991 pp86-92.

which the discerning customer was presented with in a fashionable Scottish wareroom at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

To conclude this introduction to the various aspects of the trade which a cabinet maker or upholsterer was likely to be involved with, a word about literally the most all consuming one - fire. This was obviously a perennial problem, and fires were frequently reported in the minutes of Mary's Chapel and the press³⁹. These were often disastrous, as when William Prentice was forced to appeal to 'THE CHARITABLE AND HUMANE ... [having] had the misfortune of losing his whole stock in trade by the fire in Bristo Street on Saturday the 27th of May last'. He was asking for donations from 'well disposed Christians to enable him to commence business again for the support of himself and family', and offered a 'certificate of his good character, and the loss he has sustained, signed by the Rev Dr MacNight and the Rev Mr Touch, ministers of Edinburgh' as a guarantee of good faith for those who may have been 'disposed to afford him some small relief'⁴⁰. The disaster of fire was as keenly felt, if not more so, by the journeymen and apprentices whose workbenches and tools were often caught up in it. These belonged to them personally, constituting their sole capacity for earning a living, and charity was generally asked on their behalf, rather than the master's⁴¹. Those employed by Francis Braidwood in 1802 would surely have joined him when he offered

his warmest gratitude to the LORD PROVOST and MAGISTRATES, to Colonel Cameron, his officers and Privates, to the Constables and all the generous Public, who came so

³⁹See APPENDIX II.

⁴⁰*EEC* 7th June 1780.

⁴¹For instance when Andrew Lawrie's workshop was consumed by fire in 1801 he placed the following notice in the *EEC*. 'The CHEST and TOOLS of the WORKMEN being totally consumed, they are under the necessity of applying for the PUBLIC AID to procure such a sum as will enable them to purchase Tools, by which to earn a subsistence for themselves and numerous families'. He clearly felt little responsibility for them. 19th December 1801.

cheerfully upon the night of 14th curt. and so forcefully secured a valuable part of his property from fire⁴².

⁴²*EEC* 19th June 1802. Braidwood's workshop burnt down again six years later, with all its benches. He had however insured these, and the money for the journeymen's tools was divided equally amongst them. CS235/SEQNS/B/2/8.

RELATIONSHIPS AND DYNASTIES WITHIN THE TRADE

The eighteenth century furniture trade in Edinburgh was comprised of many cabinet makers and upholsterers, who interacted to a sometimes alarming degree. Apprentices became masters, partnerships were made, broken and re-formed with someone else, new warerooms and workshops built, and vacated ones moved into, late masters supplanted, estates sequestrated and sons, daughters and even widows married. Everyone must have known everyone in this largely closed, almost incestuous, but constantly evolving echelon of Edinburgh society.

This can be illustrated by briefly describing the related careers of most of the major upholsterers and cabinet makers working in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most remarkable thing is that they can all be linked in a perfectly natural, if sometimes tortuous, progression. This will take the form of tracing several chronologically parallel strands, which will nevertheless touch and overlap, through to either their conclusion, or to the end of this period.

The simplest place to start is with the firm of Robert Young and Thomas Trotter whose auspicious history, which eventually stretched well into the nineteenth century, and their various partnerships have already been dealt with¹. In 1783 Young and Trotter moved their upholstery wareroom in the Luckenbooths to their New Town site, and Francis Braidwood, cabinet maker and upholsterer, acquired it, begging

leave to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has fitted up in an elegant manner the large warehouse lately possessed by Messrs. Young and Trotter, Luckenbooths, Edinburgh.

Five years later Braidwood 'entered into copartnership' with Alexander Bruce, whose father had been an upholsterer (they subscribed to Sheraton's *Drawing Book* as Braidwood & Bruce). This partnership was dissolved in 1797, Braidwood setting up on the South Bridge, where he remained until his estate was sequestrated in 1808.

¹See Chapter V.

Bruce had in 1798 become a partner of Walter Burns, and they remained together until well into the nineteenth century, also moving to the South Bridge².

Ironically, Young and Trotter and Francis Braidwood had become involved in slightly bitter, and not entirely explained, exchange of words in the newspapers in 1797. On the 27th November Young and Trotter felt it necessary to 'TAKE NOTICE of some Advertisements, replete with such high pretensions of Ascendancy in the Trade, as are equally UNFOUNDED and RIDICULOUS', only to be rebuked by Braidwood on the 2nd December, who pledged 'himself to the truth of every iota of the above [advertisement], whatever may be asserted by an interested House in the Trade, and only wishes a Comparative Trial of his Prices &c by a candid Public'. Braidwood's advertisement contained no more than the usual superlative claims which were commonplace during the eighteenth century, so one assumes that there must have been subtler undercurrents, unfolding themselves in the pages of the *Evening Courant* ³.

James Caddell, who had been in partnership with Young and Trotter from 1752-4 with the explicit intention of undertaking for funerals, before establishing himself as 'Upholsterer and Undertaker at the Crown and Cushion' (fig. 38), entered into another similar partnership in 1766. This was with William Hamilton and James Russell⁴, and seems to have been very short lived. Certainly, in 1767 Caddell had

assumed William Lamb as partner, which finding upon trial this copartnery to be inconvenient, [it] was by mutual consent dissolved in June last; And a certain allowance given Mr. Lamb for his trouble.

²Some of their furniture can still be identified today, as they stamped it Bruce and Burns. For instance, see the pieces illustrated in D Jones 'Scottish Cabinet Makers' Price Books, 1805-1825' *Regional Furniture* III 1989 pp29-31, and D Jones ed. 'An Anthology of Regional Furniture with Maker's Identification' *Regional Furniture* VII 1993 fig 14.

³A few months later Alexander Bruce was expounding on the quality of his goods 'without endeavouring to attract the attention of the Public by pretending to undersell his neighbours ... '. This was surely a comment on the above squabble. *EEC* 2nd April 1798.

⁴Russell had been apprenticed to John Schaw, and had gone into business with his fellow apprentice Andrew Gillespie in 1762, this partnership lasting until 1766.

William Lamb ‘Upholsterer and Undertaker from London’, although it is likely that he originated from Edinburgh, continued on his own ‘at the Gilded SOPHA, opposite Blackfriar’s wynd’ (fig. 36a). James Caddell died on the 1st November 1769 and his wife, who was sole executrix,

developed her business ... in favour of Robert Scyth⁵, her nephew (who has presided over Mr. Caddell’s business these seven years past) and is now join’d copartner with Willm. Lamb Upholsterer.

Lamb’s relationships with the Caddell family were clearly complicated, as by 1774 Lamb and Scyth ‘have mutually agreed to DISSOLVE their COPARTNERSHIP’ with Lamb continuing opposite Blackfriar’s wynd, ‘where he has lately fitted up a large room, immediately behind his Upholstery shop, for ready made cabinet work’. Robert Scyth, who was briefly without accommodation, took that

commodious warehouse lately possessed by the deceased Mr. Lewis Gordon⁶, Upholsterer and Undertaker, first fore stair below the entry to the New Bridge,

but Mrs Gordon rapidly refuted this, claiming that Scyth published this information ‘prematurely and without proper authority’. Instead she ‘proposes to keep Patrick Reid, her husband’s late foreman’ and continue the business herself.

Scyth explained that

he having entered into terms with Mrs. Gordon ... an advertisement was thereupon drawn up, and shown to Mrs. Gordon (who approved of it before it was published) ... but soon after, a difference arose between Mrs. Gordon and Mr. Scyth, which put an end to the transaction. [He] has therefore taken that spacious and commodious Shop lately possessed by Mr. Thomas Finch Confectioner.

By February of the next year Mrs Gordon was selling her husband’s complete stock, and letting the warehouse again, while in contrast by May Scyth had added to

⁵Scyth had also been apprenticed to Caddell.

⁶Who had been apprenticed to Young and Trotter, and previously in partnerships with Alexander Beverly and Charles Grant.

his business a Cabinet Work Manufactory in Cant's Close. Scyth continued his businesses until his death in 1784 when there was a sale of his whole stock of goods, his son Ralph (who was never acknowledged as a partner⁷) presumably either having died, or not being inclined to continue the business.

In April of the same year we hear that William Young,

late Overseer to the deceased Mr. ROBERT SCYTHE Upholsterer in Edinburgh Having been nominated by his deceased master as his SUCCESSOR in TRADE, has lately entered into Copartnership with JOHN RICHARDSON Upholsterer ... As W. Young has had the entire management of Mr. Scythe's Upholstery business ever since its commencement, the public may depend that the same due attention as formerly will be paid to the orders of their employers.

This partnership moved into William Launie's old upholstery warehouse, Launie⁸ having moved, but was dissolved in 1787, and in 1789 Young's shop was for sale.

William Lamb, Scyth's old partner, had continued in business, moving to a new wareroom in 1787, and in 1799 taking his son Walter as partner. Walter had presumably been with the business since 1789, when John Baillie 'who for twenty years past has superintended Mr. Lamb's upholstery business' left to set up in partnership with 'A. McKinnon, late cabinet foreman in the most fashionable and extensive manufactories in London and Edinburgh'. This partnership lasted only two years.

A different thread can be traced through James Cullen, an upholsterer who led a very active life in London⁹, and has always to some extent always puzzled furniture historians. It turns out that he had an equally eventful few years in Edinburgh, having trained in London, and before returning there. In 1752 Cullen formed a partnership

⁷He receipted one of his father's accounts in 1776, but otherwise is a shady figure. GD152/216/1/5/46.

⁸Who had been James Cullen's foreman - see below. CM 18th December 1765.

⁹See the *DEFM*.

with John Schaw¹⁰ and his son Alexander, merchants and upholsterers, and David Smith, a cabinet maker, 'for their several and respectful interests'. The contract of partnership survives¹¹ and merits quoting from at length, as an example of what these partnerships entailed legally.

They hereby agree to, and Bind & oblige themselves to abide by and fulfil the several articles and Conditions following Viz That for the ffurnishing and Carrying on of the said Joint Trade they the said Parties ... have agreed to advance and bring in to their Common stock on or before the first day of August next the sum of twelve Hundred pounds ster four Hundred pound ster part thereof to be paid by the said John Schaw three Hundred pound ster each by the said Alex Schaw and James Cullen and Two Hundred pounds being the Remainder of the said twelve Hundred pounds by the said David Smith And that the profit & loss arising from the Joint Employment of the said Stock shall be divided or sustained by the Respective Partners in equal proportions ... That this Copartnery is hereby declared to Commence upon the first day of August next & from thence furth to subsist and Continue for the space of ten years But if any two parties of the said Partners shall think proper and be desirous to have this Contracted sooner determined and made Void It is hereby declar'd that is shall be in their option to withdraw their Cash Books Goods & Effects from the Common Stock at the expiry of the first five years after the Commencement of this present Copartnery [giving three months notice] ... That a proper set of books be purchased and Person be engaged as Bookkeeper to the Copartnery who shall make an Inventory of the Goods, Bills, Bonds or Cash delivered in to the Common Stock and regularly enter & carry on the several Transactions of the Copartnery in the ordinary Course of their Business and that the said Books shall be Ballanced on the twenty fifth day of December yearly ... That seeing the said John & Alexr Schaw have been for a Considerable time by past engaged in Trade Especially in the Upholder Business and that they at present have a large stock of Goods fit for that Business on hand It is hereby agreed by and between the whole Partners that Each part of those Goods shall be taken and deemed as part of stock to be paid in by the said John & Alexr Schaw to this Copartnery as Shall be fixed upon by the opinion and Determination of any person or persons to whom the said Partners shall refer the same That no private Trade ... shall be carried on ... That in regard the said James Cullen has left off business and come on purpose to Edinburgh to enter into this Copartnery It is therefore agreed that in case he shall think proper and be desirous to have this Contract determined

¹⁰With whom Russell and Beverly were apprenticed.

¹¹SC39/80/200. Dated 7th July 1752.

and made void at any time within twelve months ... it shall be in his option to make void the same ... being always obliged to give due premonition to the other parties ...

There was a great deal more regarding debts, executors and potential disagreements, which were to be settled by agreed independent arbitrators. An advertisement placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* on the 31st August, explained all this and also gave more information about Cullen, viz.

The above J. Cullen having been for these last sixteen Years with Mr. Bradshaw Upholsterer and Cabinet maker in Soho, London; and for several Years past has been the principle Manager of his whole trade; Ladies and Noblemen, Gentlemen and others who will please to favour us with their commands, may be sure of having them executed in the very best Manner and in a Taste never before practised in Scotland, being the most modern now in Vogue in London and Paris.

Cullen does seem to have exercised his right to withdraw, as in 1754 it was announced that

several of the principal Wrights in Edinburgh have entered into a Copartnery with Mr. James Cullen Upholsterer from London, for carrying on CABINET, JOINER and MIRROR GLASS WORK, and also to provide all Necessaries for FUNERALS, both in Town and Country; For these purposes they have taken a large Warehouse in Carruber's Close .

This company survived under various slightly different names until 1759, when 'JAMES CULLEN, one of the Edinburgh Upholstery Company, and Manager thereof, going from hence to settle in London, occasioned the Dissolution of that Company'. A further advertisement states that

The Goods were divided into as many Lots as there were shares in the Company; the Proprietors of each share drew a lot, and the one drawn by James Cullen was purchased by Alexander Peter, George Stevenson and James Brown, all members of the Foresaid Company,

and was duly sold. Peter then announced in the *Edinburgh Chronicle* that his

goods and cabinet work is removed from the Edinburgh Upholstery Warehouse ... to the above wareroom [his own, in the Writer's Court] he having no more to do with the new Company.

The Company up to this time seems to have been no more than a commercial outlet for goods, under Cullen's auspices (although it was carrying out undertaking), and so would merely have been a complementary feature to Peter's personal warerooms. However in its new form under the management of John Peat, the company clerk, it continued, moving in 1773 to Miln's Square where the warehouse and stock were finally sold in 1776.

Cullen had meantime returned to London, where he had

taken the warehouse and workshops, belonging to Mr. William Bradshaw, and lately possessed by him, in Greek Street, Soho Square, London, where the business is to be carried on as formerly ... and as Mr. Cullen was so happy while here, as to meet with encouragement from many of the nobility and gentry of this part of the Kingdom, he takes this public method (being the only one in his power) to acknowledge their generosity and kindness, and to assure them that he shall always think gratefully of it, and make it his study to serve everyone well and expeditiously, who shall please to honour him with their commands, for any goods wanted from London, in his way.

Cullen was a master of the servile tone generally adopted by eighteenth century craftsmen. A final link with him comes in 1765 when William Launie¹², at the French Bed and Sofa, declares that he 'has for several years acted as foreman to Mr. Cullen of London, whose abilities are well known in this place'.

The one constant in all the above is the ease with which people moved around, between both partnerships and workshops. A shining exception is Francis Brodie who, once he had moved to the second close above the Old Bank, Lawnmarket, (later to be know as Brodie's Close) in 1740 remained living and working there until he died in 1782. Francis had taken his son William as partner by 1764, the firm

¹²Later, in 1784, Scyth and Richardson took Launie's old warehouse.

graduating from 'Brodie and Son' to 'Francis and William Brodie's ' by 1767. William continued the business after his father's death until his own in 1788. The shop, house, and stock in trade were all advertised for sale, and presumably sold, but the 'large and elegant wareroom in BRODIE'S CLOSE' was being occupied by Henry Oates and Matthew Sherriff, Cabinet Makers, Upholsterers and Undertakers in 1790. It can have been no coincidence that Sherriff was William Brodie's brother-in-law, having married his sister Jacobina in 1788.

THE VARIETY AND SUPPLY OF TIMBER

There was a large range of timber available to cabinet makers in Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century, both home grown and imported. Alder, ash, beech, birch, chesnut, elm (generally the distinctive Scotch, or Wych, elm), geen¹, oak, plane², walnut and willow all grew locally and were used by cabinet makers, as well as the particularly Scottish broom, laburnum (often called pease code tree) and, of course, firs and pines. These were all freely available from merchants in Leith³, and often advertised for sale as standing lots⁴. Of course, much timber was imported. The finest firs and pines from Scandinavia⁵, walnut from France⁶, and, once the century had got under way, mahogany from America and the West Indies⁷.

Some of the earliest mahogany used in Scotland would perhaps have been the 600 feet of 'machuggney plank' acquired by Charles Douglas in 1732 in London, on behalf of Lord Tweeddale, and used to make furniture for Yester House, East Lothian⁸. It was in common use by the end of the decade, and for the rest of the

¹Wild cherry.

²Sycamore. Maple trees were apparently sometimes also referred to a plane trees, but this was a misunderstanding, as a contemporary commentator wrote; 'the great Maple, commonly, but falsely, called Plane'. M Plant *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* 1953 p63.

³Among them John Rutherford & Co, Robert and Alexander Sheriff, James Scott & Co, William Sibbald & Co and Wilson & Son. *EEC* 6th June 1754; CS231/SEQNS/B/1/7; *EEC* 28th January 1790; *EEC* 18th November 1790; GD18/1758a.

⁴For instance, in the *EEC* 12th December 1749, or the *CM* 25th September 1752.

⁵Lord Panmure was buying Stockholm deal in 1698, and almost a hundred years later there were 800 Gottenburgh fir planks for sale on the north east coast of Lewis, surely the result of a shipwreck. GD45/18/996; *EEC* 18th June 1791.

⁶The French government banned exports in 1720, due to a shortage, and the supply was also badly affected during the Seven Years War. R Edwards *Dictionary of English Furniture* 1983 ed. Vol III p365. Sarah Medlam has published some accounts from the 1820's of a sawmill in Barnard Castle, which although not directly relevant here contains interesting information about the timber bought by regional cabinet makers. S Medlam 'Parts and Materials: A Sawmill in the 1820's' *Regional Furniture* V 1991 pp31-41.

⁷Virginia walnut was also much prized, and John Rutherford claimed that his Carolina fir was 'of a Quality greatly preferable to any ever brought into this Country ... and better than what is commonly imported from Gottenburg ... or Norway'. *EEC* 6th June 1754.

⁸NLS MS14665 f25. See also Chapter IV: Estate Wrights.

century, Hispaniola and Honduras mahogany 'of good sizes, excellent quality and beautifully variegated'⁹ being particularly prized. Although obviously fashion played its part the hierarchy of woods was essentially based on value, running, very simplistically, from beech at the bottom, through elm, to walnut or mahogany, depending on the date¹⁰. Elm grew plentifully in Scotland, and the indigenous variety could have a fine figure. It was often used for middle ranking chairs and cabinet work, or in conjunction with a veneer¹¹. Plane tree, like beech, took a stain easily¹², and laburnum was something of a Scottish mahogany, the Gilt Leather Dining Room at Panmure House, for instance, having 18 laburnum dining chairs in 1762¹³. The laburnum tree grew plentifully in Scotland, and the local species was more substantial than its southern cousin. In looks it is not dissimilar to mahogany, but the sapwood is prone to leaving bright yellow streaks. William Boutcher, a nurseryman in Edinburgh, referred to the use of laburnum for furniture making in 1775.

It is very valuable for sundry purposes, and by some preferred even to mahogany for its solidity and beautiful colour, ... I myself have seen a large table and a dozen chairs of it, in the possession of a noble Lord, which good judges of elegant furniture thought the finest of those kinds they ever seen¹⁴.

⁹As Francis Allan, a cabinet maker, had for sale in 1799. *EEC* 4th March 1799.

¹⁰In 1735, for instance, Alexander Peter made 3 sets of similar chairs for Lord Doune - the cheapest for the Dining Room were of beech, slightly dearer elm ones were for the Drawing Room, and the most expensive were of 'Virginia walnutree', for the Dressing Room. *NRA(S)*217.IV.9.762.

¹¹In 1734 Floors Castle had elm chairs with veneered backs. *NRA(S)*1100/203. William Moyes at his massive Manufactory in Leith states 'And as the finest of his Elm (not so proper for Wheels), is wrought up in Chairs, &c, he wants a few more good Chair Wrights.' *CM* 1st March 1748

¹²In 1764 Alexander Peter wrote to a client that his tables of 'such sorts of plain tree both stained & natural colour are sold from 6/-9/'. He had similar mahogany ones for about 14/. *NRA(S)*832/1/11.

¹³*GD*45/18/2411. Similarly between 1750 and 1751 John Ogile made drawing room furniture of laburnum for the Duke of Argyll. *NLS MS*17621/69-70. The Duke was particularly partial to laburnum, and obviously grew it on his estates. He supplied Ogile with it, and had had some planked and sent to London ten years earlier, perhaps sensing a commercial opportunity. *NLS MS*17646/280.

¹⁴William Boutcher *Forrest Trees* Edinburgh 1775. Quoted by David Jones 'The Laburnum Furniture Tradition in Scotland' *Regional Furniture* VI 1992 pp1-9.

However, as well as these commonly available timbers cabinet makers used any number of different woods, both from local sources and imported, and increasingly so as the century progressed. Nutmeg was used at the beginning of the century by both William Scott¹⁵ and Robert Moubray¹⁶ when the variety of woods was more limited. Pear tree was used, often for looking glasses¹⁷ and generally in conjunction with a stain as an imitation of ebony¹⁸, box, cedar, cocoa, cyprus, pigeon wood, rosewood and yew all had their place¹⁹, as did lignum vitae, used mostly for best quality casters²⁰. Finally veneers of satinwood (which was also available in planks) and, among others, amboyna²¹, kingwood and tulipwood were available²². To this end, in 1775 Francis Braidwood gave notice that he had ‘lately come from London, and brought with him a large assortment of WOODS of different kinds and colours, for the purpose of making variegated and inlaid work’²³. For the lazier, or less adept, by 1799 it was possible to buy ‘from London, a variety of INLAYED ORNAMENTS’²⁴. A quarter of a century earlier George Sandeman of Perth had also famously, and probably uniquely, used broomwood as a veneer for the Duke of Atholl, when making several fine pieces of furniture for Blair Castle²⁵.

¹⁵In 1708. ‘Item ane chist of drawers of nutmeg’; GD45/18/1007.

¹⁶In 1702, for a table, stands and glass. GD220/6/970/11.

¹⁷For instance for Lord Clerk in 1738 and Lord Hopetoun in 1757. GD18/1839/1/132; NRA(S)888/147/388.

¹⁸Francis Brodie made a chest of drawers of pear tree ‘stained black’ for the Countess of Traquair in 1748. Traquair MSS.

¹⁹EEC 21st May and 11th June 1754; CM 11th August 1762; NRA(S)888/147/622; GD220/6/600/35.

²⁰As opposed to ‘common castors’. The Edinburgh Upholstery Company, 1756. GD170/284/1.

²¹Used for a tea caddy by Francis Brodie in 1749. National Museum of Antiquities Neg No.M/3752.

²²EA 14th August 1787.

²³CM 16th August 1775.

²⁴EEC 4th March 1799.

²⁵See Anthony Coleridge ‘George Sandeman of Perth, Cabinet Maker’ *Connoisseur* March 1960 pp96-101, and David Jones *Looking at Scottish Furniture* 1987 Cat nos 9 & 10.

Cabinet makers themselves generally would have had yards to store and season their own wood, and saw-pits to plank it out²⁶. As a result many actually acted as timber merchants in their own right, specialising in ‘well seasoned’²⁷ and more exotic woods. For instance, Francis Braidwood as already mentioned, dealt considerably in timber, as did Young and Trotter. In 1774 the latter had mahogany for sale, fully seasoned and cut to different sizes ‘to be sold as cheap as by the importers’²⁸, and in 1781 there was a Wright’s shop, saw pit and woodyard for sale at Toll Cross which apparently

would be convenient for any person who, besides the wright business, inclined to deal in the sale of timber, Mr Weir having had for many years a very considerable trade in that way²⁹.

The timber trade was not a simple one, however, especially given the time it took to season wood properly, and the frequent fluctuations in its market value caused by restrictions of supply. John Brough, a rather disaster prone cabinet maker who was rarely out of the bankruptcy courts, was driven to the courts in one instance by speculating on mahogany during the American Wars of Independence. He had acquired almost a thousand pounds’ worth (on credit, it seems) when the price was at its highest, only for the war to end, and the value of mahogany to halve³⁰. Indeed, the cost of wood was so high in 1777, that the Spinning Wheel Makers felt it necessary to place a notice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, justifying the prices which they were obliged to charge³¹.

²⁶The cabinet maker Robert Wilson’s workshop near George Square, which had only ten benches, contained ‘a large wood yard, with a saw-pit and tiled shade over it, and a shade for holding wood’. *EEC* 8th April 1793

²⁷The Edinburgh cabinet maker Thomas Grieve offered to supply ‘cabinet makers in the country’ with a variety of seasoned hard woods. *EEC* 17th December 1796. Country cabinet makers were frequently courted in this way.

²⁸*CM* 13th April 1774.

²⁹*EEC* 5th February 1781.

³⁰CS231/SEQNS/B/1/7 and CS29/24th June.1794 Brough vs. Cranston.

³¹14th May 1777.

The importance of the availability and quality of timber on the furniture trade should not be underestimated. In 1762 Lord Lauderdale required 3 dining tables 'made to answer one another', and John Peat, of the Edinburgh Upholstery Company, wrote in response to his factor, explaining that 'Mohy in generall is very dear at present'. He could make 'Round Tables from 26/ to 36/ & their prices are as much regulated by the goodness of the wood & workspan as by the sizes'. When the tables were ready, Peat despatched them with the following note.

They are such as I hope will give content being without spot or stain and all of one plank we is very rare to be had considering the great breadth each leaf required, of a truth it was not to be had in all this place except with one of our partners we made me happy that I had it in my power to serve his Lop³².

³²The partner was almost certainly Alexander Peter. NRA(S)832/1/16.

WRIGHT WORK

Although it was rarely essential to their business, there were few furniture makers who would not do, or did not get involved with wright work. In this context wright work might be taken to mean anything that involved working with wood that was not cabinet making. Thus at one extreme it could consist of Robert Denhollme, wright, 'taking downe of [Lord Annandale's] best bed when sent to the opollstowrer and helping of the tester with two new timber springs to it' and later setting it up again 'when returned from the opollsteror'¹. At another it could be William Hamilton and Son making partitions, putting up shelves and generally making good in the servants quarters at Archerfield².

Generally furniture makers seem to have carried out wright work for no better reason than that they were there at the time. It cannot have been particularly lucrative, other than in the sense of providing employment for their journeymen, but was no doubt good for relations with their customers. Alexander Peter can hardly have relished 'putting a hesp for a padlock on the cellar door' for George Dundas of Dundas³, but he was already in the house building a press in a former window. This was in itself barely cabinet work, but Dundas was a good client of Peter's. Francis Brodie's account for George's namesake, Thomas Dundas of Querrel, gives fine examples of the type of wright work that furniture makers might have been asked to do.

To 3 Sash Windows of 2 Inch Wainscot glazed with the best Newcastle Crown Glass,
including lead weights and pullys ...

¹NRA(S)2171/139/2. The dismantling and erecting of furniture was a constant task of wrights, cabinet makers and upholsterers. It was perhaps demanded on the largest scale in Edinburgh at the Assembly Rooms, where for instance in 1754 George Stevenson put up and took down chairs, tables, &c for Robert Dundas, and in 1799 Young & Trotter did the same for the Lord Advocate's Election Dinner (which cost £263 in totality). NRA(S)3246/236 & vol48/30.

²In 1777; this was an adjunct to providing furnishings. GD205/48/18/1/20.

³In 1736. GD75/533.

To 17 yds of lath and plaister ...
 To 5 yds Wainscoating ...
 To altering partitions, doors, & shelves, 6 days of two men ...
 To 4 loads plaister lime for mending, including work and carriage ...
 To two window soles of Mahogany ...
 To painting the outside of 3 windows ...
 To white washing the Ceilings of 2 Rooms ...
 To washing the sides of a Room with soap ...
 To painting a press bed Mahogany Coulor ... &c, &c⁴

This account, which came to nearly twenty pounds, was all for wright work, a rare occurrence for a furniture maker. Brodie, however, was a tradesman with his feet firmly in the camps of both the wrights, in the sense of joiners, carpenters and even builders, and the cabinet makers. Alexander Peter always called himself a wright, and similarly Brodie unfailingly referred to himself as 'Wright and Glass Grinder', his billheads always offering 'house Carpenter and Joiner Work, done by the best Work men'⁵. Nevertheless, these two produced some of the finest cabinet work in Edinburgh in the mid-eighteenth century, but in naming themselves wrights were not doing anything particularly extraordinary.

There seems to have been little consistency in the application of names. Young and Trotter never described themselves as wrights, but along with other 'Upholsterers and Cabinet Makers' were frequently involved with wright work. For instance, as well as supplying furniture to Charles Watson between 1780 and 1781, they carried out almost two hundred pounds worth of internal alterations to his house at New Saughton, including fitting out panelling, architraves, doors and shuttering⁶. Even Alexander Giles, 'Cabinet Maker & Upholsterer to His Royal Highness the Prince of

⁴In 1753. CS229/B/2/68.

⁵See figs. 29-31. Francis Braidwood and Alexander Giles, both of whom described themselves as Upholsterer and Cabinet Maker, also offered these services.

⁶GD150/3314/1/30-32 and GD150/3309/186.

Wales'⁷, and one of the more pompous and pretentious of the tradesmen working in Edinburgh at the end of the eighteenth century, always ended his many advertisements 'HOUSE CARPENTER WORK done as usual'⁸.

When the houses of Penicuik and Arniston, both in Midlothian, were being built the major wrights involved both made respectable pieces of furniture, but most of the furniture was acquired from specialist cabinet makers (who were also no doubt capable of wright work)⁹. Similarly, all the joinery in the new State Apartment at Hopetoun House, West Lothian, was made and installed by John Paterson, wright, who also made all the corresponding picture frames, as many of them were actually built into the walls¹⁰. This was the limit of his involvement though, and probably his abilities too, and the furniture was either sent from cabinet makers and upholsterers in Edinburgh or London, or made by the estate wright Thomas Welsh. Welsh was in fact an extremely accomplished cabinet maker and carver, yet a few years later he can be found supervising all the wright work at the newly built Moffat House, Dumfriesshire, as well as making all the furniture that was required¹¹. In a similar way John Fisher, who traded as a Joiner and Cabinet maker, closed down his unprofitable cabinet workshop to concentrate on the finishing of Ratho House, to the west of Edinburgh. This proved even less successful, and he ended up in court¹².

⁷A claim, incidentally, which is *not* substantiated by the *DEFM*.

⁸See APPENDIX II.

⁹At Penicuik, James Blaikie was effectively the Clerk of Works, but also provided furniture; GD18/1758a. Blaikie had worked extensively in a similar capacity at Dalkeith Palace; GD224/208/1. At Arniston between 1744 and 1763 George Stevenson did a lot of the internal joinery, including building the sumptuous mahogany staircase, but also made a considerable quantity of mahogany and plainer furniture (as well as a 'Chinese bridge' for the gardens); NRA(S)3246/105,236 & Vol36.

¹⁰If his work was expensive, but this was justified by John Adam, the architect, 'as it is the best of the kinds that I ever saw, there is no doing a thing in an extraordinary manner, without a price adequate to the pains'. NRA(S)888/147/373.

¹¹He received a twenty five pound gratuity 'after the Work was finished over and above his wages for Overseeing and Directing the work'. NRA(S)888/147/642. See fig. 25.

¹²This case was described in Chapter V. See also APPENDIX IV.

The one situation where wright work, and the ability to carry it out, was going to be profitable was where the Town Council was concerned. Brodie, among many others, capitalized on this, and it is tempting to think that respectability in the eyes of Mary's Chapel, and therefore the Town Council, depended on being seen to be a wright. A study of the Deacons of the Incorporation throughout the eighteenth century does not seem to bear this prejudice out, there being a healthy representation of men who were known by the trades of upholsterer or cabinet maker (and others too)¹³.

It appears to be a matter of scale which defines one's perception of a tradesman as a wright or a furniture maker, whatever they called themselves. Moyes's Manufactory in Leith employed thirty wrights and seven smiths, making anything which involved wood and iron. As a sideline he had a few 'chair wrights' working for him, but could be in no way be thought of as a cabinet maker, although if asked, and paid, to make a desk he certainly would have tried¹⁴. In the same way Alexander Peter and friends should not primarily be thought of as anything other than as cabinet makers (and upholsterers) whose duty it was to do wright work when it was required of them.

¹³See APPENDIX III.

¹⁴CM 1st March 1748.

CABINET MAKING

This section will be used primarily to emphasise the range and quality of goods that were available 'in the cabinet line' in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century.

William Scott was perhaps the first person in Edinburgh to call himself a cabinet maker, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it was common parlance by the second half of the century, as advertisements placed in the newspapers testify¹. Scott was known for his chairs, but made the full range of cabinet goods, and Edinburgh cabinet makers generally worked on the assumption that the broader their stock the greater their chances of success. Indeed, there do not seem to have been any manufacturers specialising in specific items or types of furniture until the very end of the century, when Richard Clark opened his 'RUSH BOTTOMED CHAIR MANUFACTORY' where he had 'just now on hand, a Handsome and Elegant Assortment of STAIN'D and FANCY PAINTED CHAIRS, fit for Drawing Rooms &c'².

Clark also advertised for a turner, who he claimed would 'meet with good encouragement', and it is likely that the larger cabinet workshops had specialist craftsmen and particularly chair makers. In 1748 William Moyes had put a notice in the *Caledonian Mercury* wanting 'a few more good chair wrights'³ for his Manufactory, but according to John Fisher's account books his journeymen made both chairs and cabinet work⁴. Not only this but they also clearly made entire pieces from start to finish individually, there being no division of labour amongst themselves. These are, however, the only known account books of an Edinburgh

¹See APPENDIX II.

²EEC 29th June 1793. Clark in particular made bamboo chairs. GD18/1839/1/118.

³1st March 1748.

⁴They cover the period 1784 to 1787. CS96/3183 &3184.

cabinet maker, and therefore it is impossible to know how representative they are of the trade as a whole, beyond saying that Fisher certainly ran a respectable but not very big workshop⁵.

By the middle of the century it was common practice to have a wareroom in which to display ready made wares, either for immediate sale 'for Ready Money' or as examples of what was available. Francis Brodie had established a 'Looking Glass and Cabinet Warehouse' in the High Street by 1738⁶, taking advantage of, or reflecting, the growing confidence of the economy. The 'lady's closet' which he made for Lord Dumfries (fig. 42) is a fine example of the standard of craftsmanship which could be expected at that time. This warehouse is the first easily identifiable furniture wareroom in Edinburgh, as distinct from a workshop where goods could be seen, but other makers soon followed suit.

The range of goods which was available from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards is perfectly illustrated by the stock of the Edinburgh Upholstery Company. This company had been formed in 1754 by the upholsterer James Cullen, who had just arrived from London, and several prominent Edinburgh furniture makers and upholsterers. It called itself initially the Edinburgh Upholstery, Joiner and Mirror Glass Company, but this was soon abbreviated. Despite the implications of their name, they immediately 'fitted up a large and commodious Warehouse in Carrubber's Close, and furnished it completely with great Variety of all Kinds of Houshold Furniture, after the newest Fashions'⁷. The Edinburgh Upholstery Company had for sale, among other things

... Desks, ditto with Book-Cases, Chests of Drawers of various Sizes, Bureaus, square, oval and round Dining Tables, Writing, Dressing and Card Tables, Breakfast, Camp and

⁵See APPENDIX IV.

⁶Billhead on an account in the Arniston MSS. NRA(S)3246/107.

⁷EEC 21st May 1754 and subsequently.

Commode Tables, Bed Tables and Night Tables, great Choice of Chairs of all Sorts, Couches, Sofas, &c. Stools for dressing, Library, Closet, Camp, &c. Bedsteads of all Sorts, neat Book Shelves, China Shelves, Brackets, and several other Kinds of useful and ornamental Furniture ... A large Assortment of remarkable fine Mirror Glasses ... Upholstery and other Furniture is general well executed after the English, French, Chinese or Gothic Tastes.

They conclude rather enigmatically with the assurance that 'Great Care will be taken to preserve Order and good Decorum, and to prevent the Employer having unnecessary Trouble and Expence', perhaps expecting something of a rush at their warehouse. There seems no reason to doubt their claims, as they supplied a good quantity of the best quality furniture to Hopetoun House, West Lothian, in the 1750's⁸, as well as to other customers⁹. Likewise there are many accounts for furniture originating in Edinburgh in the French - 'a handsome large French Bedstead with a Dome Roof'¹⁰-, Chinese - '2 Fine Carv'd Sconce frames after the Chineze Taste'¹¹ -, and Gothick¹² tastes.

When Young and Trotter opened their new 'Cabinet Warehouse' on Princes Street in 1772, it was specifically for furniture, as they sold their upholstery goods from a separate warehouse at the Luckenbooths. They advertised an equally 'Large Assortment of all the Articles of Furniture' which included, to quote discriminately,

Book-cases, Ladies and Gentleman's Secretary-wardrobes, commodes, bureaux, and chest of drawers of various sizes and constructions, library, hall and writing-tables; Windsor and proper hall-chairs ... Tambour French quilting frames, knife-cases, butler's traes, &c. ... [for] DRAWING ROOMS ... A Variety of Chairs, as, Cabriole, Bamboo, French, Parma, Chinese, and plain buff-back and seat chairs; Sofas and Conversation pieces; Tea, Card and

⁸Including the very substantial and expensive 'China Case of mohy for the waiting room to the grand apartment' which cost nineteen pounds. It has not been possible to trace this item. NRA(S)888/147/388.

⁹Among others, the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Lauderdale and Robert Dundas of Arniston. NLS MS 17626/65; NRA(S)832/1/16; NRA(S)3246/vol63.

¹⁰This made by Young, Trotter and Hamilton in 1795. NLS14692 f31-33

¹¹Made by Young and Trotter in 1754. GD135/2238/68. Also, for instance, James Stark made 'Chineas Chairs of Mahogine' in 1758 for Lord Milton. NLS16887 f.59-60.

¹²For instance, William Hamilton made a 4-poster bed 'in the Gothick Taste' in 1785. GD171/2293/55.

China Tables; Tea Chests, Treas and fire Screens of sundry kinds ... [for] DINING ROOMS, PARLOURS, &c ... Lath and Rush Chairs of several patterns; Dining, Breakfast, and Sideboard Tables; Wine Coolers, Cisterns, Pails, and ornamental Vases on pedestals ... [for] BED CHAMBERS, DRESSING ROOMS, &c ... A variety of Chairs ... Beds of all the different kinds now in use; as four-posted, carved, fluted and plain; Downs, Chinese and Tent-beds; Also Bureau, Book-case and Press-beds; ... proper Bed-chamber Tables; Fly, Dressing and Toilet ditto; Night stands, shaving and basin stands; Bedees; Bed and Window Cornishes ... Also Childrens Chairs, Garden Chairs, and a number of other Articles¹³.

Not surprisingly, it was hard to match this, and although cabinet warehouses sprang up with considerable frequency towards the end of the century, none had a more extensive stock than Young and Trotter. What they did have increasingly, as did Young and Trotter, was 'inlaid cabinet work'¹⁴. Some of the finest examples of this were made by William Lamb for Callendar House, Stirlingshire, including a 'Large Rich inlaid Pier Table with fluted feet & Rich Carved & Gilt' which cost thirteen pounds and had a pair of matching card tables¹⁵.

To travel from the sublime to the ridiculous, perhaps the strangest thing made by an Edinburgh cabinet maker during the eighteenth century, among the 'cheese wagons'¹⁶ and 'gouty chairs'¹⁷, was the 'box for holding Ginea Piges' made for a Writer to the Signet in 1761¹⁸.

¹³EEC 20th February 1773.

¹⁴In 1786 Wm Hamilton made a 'mahogany Sideboard Table inlaid' which was curiously described as 'more proper' than one which he had delivered and was returned. GD152/216/1/10/30; similarly Henry Tod made a 'side Board Table inlaid' in 1785 for Charles Broun of Colstoun. NRA(S)2383/186. See also the advertisements of Francis Braidwood, Francis Allan and Alexander Giles. *ibid*.

¹⁵In 1794. GD171/2689.

¹⁶For Lady Milton. NLS MS16887/58.

¹⁷Ironically for Lord Milton, although Lord Hopetoun also had one. NLS MS16889/7 and NRA(S)888/525.

¹⁸By Thomas Hill. SC39/17/276/April 1770.

Clock cases would be expected to fall into the category of cabinet work, but rarely appear in either the accounts or advertisements of Edinburgh cabinet makers¹⁹. The lack of information about them is surprising, even if they were produced completely independently, as they clearly fall into the category of wright work at least. A simple trawl of family papers might not be expected to produce any concrete information as cases would generally have been sold to the clock maker rather than the buyer of the clock. However it was disappointing that work on the Sheriff Court and Court of Session papers produced nothing²⁰. It was common throughout England for clock case makers to specifically call themselves that, often in conjunction with the term cabinet maker²¹, but there are no instances of this in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century.

Francis Brodie made a 'Mahogany Clock Case carved and guilt for the Hall att Arnistoun' for £7 7/22, which is miraculously still in place (fig. 41). It nevertheless is far from a typical long case clock. Brodie did, however, also make a 'walnuttree clock case' for Robert Ewing in 1740²³. There are only two other examples I have come across. The 'solid Mohogannie Clock Case ... with London Crown Glass' made by Thomas Ritchie for Duncan Campbell of Glenure in 1757, apparently for a clock

¹⁹John Smith's *Old Scottish Clockmakers* 1921, is one of the few published sources of information on Scottish clocks.

²⁰Francis Bamford attributed two clocks cases belonging to the National Museum of Scotland to Robert Moubray on the absolute flimsiest of evidence - namely that he was the neighbour of the manufacturer of the movement. Bamford's instincts were good, but this does seem rather wishful thinking. *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* pp8-9.

²¹See, for instance, the examples in the *Anthology of Regional Furniture op. cit.* pp96-112.

²²NRA(S)3246/107.

²³Which cost £2 15/. CS229/B/2/68.

which he already possessed²⁴, and three accounts for clock cases listed in the accounts books of John Fisher²⁵.

²⁴GD170/397/15. Henry Antonious also had a 'fine clock case', valued at two guineas, in his workshop when he died, but it's possible that this just belonged to him. CS39/17/172/Jan 1750.

²⁵See APPENDIX IV. Fisher employed a William Muckles who seems to have only made case furniture and clock cases.

CARVING, GILDING AND SILVERING

In the eighteenth century the nature of carved work meant that it was often fully or partly gilded, and so these skills invariably went hand in hand. Similarly carved work was frequently a frame for another material, be it looking glass which meant silvering was invariably involved, or a marble table, or a picture. The result of this was that carvers often had to work in conjunction with other tradesmen, or master these services themselves, or at least within their workshops.

Two Edinburgh carvers appear to have been pre-eminent. William Strachan, whose work can be found in many of William Adam's houses¹, and who worked in a suitably architectural, Palladian, style, and William Mathie who worked in the second half of the century, generally in the Rococo style. Other specialist carvers working in their own right included John Thomson, who made Rococo pier glasses and picture frames at Penicuik House, Midlothian²; James Liddle, who seems to have specialised in chimneypieces but also provided a full range of furniture³; James Adamson, who worked extensively at Donibristle, Fife⁴; and Leonard Dupasquier from Paris, who had been 'employed by his Grace the Duke of Argyll in finishing Inverary House, which work has been universally admired'⁵.

Many cabinet makers could also provide carved work of a very high standard. Of these perhaps the most notable were Francis Brodie, who featured a Palladian eagle pier table and glass on his engraved billhead (figs. 29-31) and is known to have made

¹Such as the House of Dun, Angus, Arniston House, Midlothian, and Hopetoun House, West Lothian.

²See below and figs. 76&7.

³Working particularly at Callander House and New Saughton. GD171/2324/31; GD150/3311/92 and 3321/51-53.

⁴NRA(S)217.X.25.11.

⁵EEC 30th November 1776.

at least three such tables 'gilt in Burnisht gold'⁶ (fig. 40), and the Edinburgh Upholstery Company, who advertised their 'remarkable fine Mirror Glasses'⁷.

It is interesting that Brodie always supplied the marble slab with his eagle tables, whereas generally carvers simply supplied the frames for marble acquired elsewhere⁸. Thus James Liddle's 'frame for a marble Table painted white'⁹, or the Edinburgh Upholstery Company's 'very neat carved marble slab frames' or 'rich carv'd Table Frame' made for Hopetoun, each of which cost nine pounds¹⁰. These latter were made for the marble slabs sent from Rome by Robert Adam in 1755¹¹ (fig. 16).

Robert's father William often supplied marble tables to his customers complete with frames which he had already commissioned, such as William Strachan's frame 'of Wainscott Carv'd & Gilt in Burnishd Gold' for the marble table which Adam sent to Lord Hopetoun in 1743¹². However, Lord Milton, for instance, seems to have independently bought a 'white & veined side board marble table' from John Adam in 1763¹³, for William Mathie's 'Frame for a Large Sideboard in the Dining Room'

⁶For the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Gordon and the Earl of Dumfries. CS238/B/1/79; GD44/51/465/1/34; NRA(S)631/A666.

⁷*EEC* 21st May 1754 *et. al.* . They did much work at Hopetoun (see Chapter IV) and also supplied a carved chimneypiece and frames to Penicuik House in 1756. GD18/1839/2/53.

⁸Although the Edinburgh Upholstery Company gave notice that they had 'a curious collection of marbles for ... tables' in 1760. *EEC* 19th July.

⁹For Charles Watson in 1781. GD150/3311/92.

¹⁰In 1757/8. The pair of these are still in the position for which they were made. NRA(S)888/147/388.

¹¹The four marble tables in the Red Drawing Room were also sent from Rome, and the frames, which have never been satisfactorily attributed, may well also be by the Edinburgh Upholstery Company. NRA(S)888/147/621. James Clerk also bought marble tables from Rome for Penicuik House. He too got the son of his executant architect, John Baxter, to acquire them, and the carver James Anderson made frames for them. GD18/1758a.

¹²Although the cost was of course passed on. NRA(S)888/147/388. Similarly Adam commissioned Alexander Peter to make the 'mahogany frame' for the 'purple marble table' he supplied to Arthur Gordon of Carnoustie in 1736. RH15/1/18/6.

¹³NLS MS17726/71.

which was decorated with 'An Ornament Rail all Scoloped to the Shape of the Top wt Two Legs & Lyons Paws all painted White'¹⁴.

As with marble slabs so to a lesser extent with looking glasses. Mirror plate had a substantial latent value of its own, which rose exponentially with its size, and so as well as using new looking glass carvers were often required to update old looking glasses by making new frames for them. In 1751 at William Reoch's Looking Glass Manufactory Warehouse it was possible to buy 'LOOKING GLASSES of all Sorts ... done to the most fashionable Taste', as well as having one's 'Old Glasses silvered or framed in fashionable Frames'¹⁵. Similarly, the Edinburgh Upholstery Company stocked 'a large Assortment of remarkable fine MIRROR GLASSES, several of them in very elegant, carved and gilt Frames'. As well as this 'old Mirror Glasses' could be 'remounted and silver'd'¹⁶.

Francis Brodie, who was in direct competition with Reoch in 1751¹⁷, always referred to himself as a 'Glass Grinder' and offered an extensive 'smoothing', 'polishing' and silvering¹⁸ service, as well as supplying looking glass. In 1750, when John Schaw had made '2 large carved glass frames painted in oyl cream colour' for Lord Tweeddale, Schaw had paid Brodie for 'mounting & silvering the 2 big glasses'¹⁹, clearly having no facility for doing so himself, unlike most carvers. It is implied here that the glasses were not new, and very often when new frames were being made for old glasses a compromise was affected, whereby pieces of new glass

¹⁴Mathie also charged for 'Carving an Ornament of Limetree painted white to stand over the Chimney in My Lords own Room'. NLS MS16886/40.

¹⁵CM 19th November 1751.

¹⁶CM 27th May 1754.

¹⁷The two placed virtually identical advertisements for their Looking Glass Manufactories immediately next to each other in the CM on the 19th November 1751.

¹⁸'To silvering the underplate ... and polishing one side of it' CS238/B/1/79; 'To Smoothing Polishing and Silvering a Glass' National Museum of Antiquities, Country Life Collection OM.20.

¹⁹The frames cost ten guineas each and Brodie charged £4 1/3d for his services. Schaw later paid a Mrs Craigie for 'polishing & silvering' more glasses. NLS MS14662 f46-55.

were also incorporated. This would allow the carver more freedom with his design, such as when Mathie made 'A Rich Frame wt Glass Borders finished in White & Gold The Main Plate & Borders all Lady Miltons' in 1761, with him supplying just the top glass which was necessary to make his new frame complete²⁰. When John Thomson made a pier glass for Sir James Clerk in 1769, he re-silvered the principal plate and some pieces of border, supplied by Clerk, adding as many of his own as were necessary²¹.

Transporting looking glasses in elaborately carved frames was obviously a business fraught with difficulty, and will be discussed in a later section²². A small improvement in the situation was claimed in 1801 by the carver and gilder John Marnoch, who informed 'the Public that the hazard of having large Mirrors brought from London is now over, as he hath invented the method of Silvering Plates of every dimension, up to £550 each, and sells all sizes at the London Plate Glass Warehouse prices, with the addition only of freight and hazard'. This hardly seems a great breakthrough, as the glass still needed shipping from London, but at least the evidently considerable expense of silvering would not have been wasted if it did break. Relative peace of mind would only come when Scotland could produce its own glass of such size²³.

Picture frames are logical companions of looking glass frames, and carvers often made the more exotic ones. All the above mentioned carvers submitted accounts for picture frames. John Thomson, for instance, was paid over one hundred and forty four pounds for 'Carving picture frames and Gilding' in the Dining Room at

²⁰*op. cit.* The frame cost £9 and the top glass £1 10/.

²¹fig. 76; GD18/1837/5. Thomson also fitted a new looking glass in the 'lady's closet' which had been made for the family in 1722 (fig. 43). GD18/1837/5.

²²See below, Packing and Transport.

²³See below, Manufacturing.

Penicuik House²⁴ (fig. 77). However, two of the most interesting, which will suffice as examples, were made once again by Mathie and can still be traced. The finest, which ranks alongside some of the best quality carving of its day, is the 'Frame with rich Ornaments in Burnisht Gold for a Large Picture in the East End of the Dining Room' at Dumfries House²⁵ (fig. 11). This frame, for which Mathie charged the very substantial sum of twelve pounds, is actually applied to the wall and it happily holds its own alongside the girandoles supplied by Thomas Chippendale²⁶, whose design it clearly echoes. The cost of this is put in perspective by the three guineas which Mathie charged James Clerk for 'Carving & Gilding in Burnisht Gold a Frame for a Madona'²⁷ (fig. 12). In contrast to these, at Hopetoun House all the picture frames in the new State Apartment were made by the wright John Paterson, although many of them were also set into the walls. However, it is interesting to note that the pictures were installed, and the frames gilded at huge expense, by Chabor from London²⁸. In this way Lord Hopetoun presumably got the best of all possible worlds, as far as he was concerned.

Chimneypieces were the final feather in the carver's cap. In 1756 James Clerk had bought a 'large carved chimneypiece' for his dining room from the Edinburgh Upholstery Company²⁹, and of the fifty pounds worth of work which James Liddle did for Charles Watson between 1781 and 1785, almost half was for four chimneypieces³⁰. That for the Drawing Room was described as 'richly carved' and

²⁴In 1773. GD18/1758a.

²⁵NRA(S)631/A720.

²⁶These cost £12 5/ each. See C G Gilbert *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1978 p133 and figs319&320.

²⁷In 1757. GD18/1839/2/59. Clerk's Account Books talk of a frame for a 'Madonna and Bambino by Januppa Chiari' which helped to find the frame, and confirm the identity of the painter. GD18/1730.

²⁸NRA(S)888/525.

²⁹For £7. GD18/1839/2/53.

³⁰For New Saughton. These included those for the Parlour and the Drawing Room. He also made 72 feet of mahogany hand rail. *idem* note 3.

cost six pounds, which is directly comparable to Clerk's. The more lavishly described 'Handsome Inriched Chimney piece' made by Young and Trotter for the 'Dutchess' Dressing Room' at Holyrood cost only half this in 1790³¹.

To briefly return to the theme of carver as subcontractor, John Adam, when he was completing Arniston House, engaged Mathie to make carved frames to surround the marble chimneypieces which Adam was supplying for the new Dining and Drawing Rooms³². Judging by the cost of these they were probably quite substantial, but they can be compared with the fillets used for finishing rooms hung with paper or cloth. Although these were sometimes made of lead or *papier maché*, they could also be carved, as were James Adamson's 'gilt mouldings for going round the paper in the Drawing Room' at Donibristle³³.

Finally, although it was not common, wood carvers did occasionally carve in stone, Mathie for instance finishing two marble chimney pieces for Inveraray Castle between 1757 and 1758³⁴. This is also testified to by the inventory of the contents of the workshop of Robert Cummins, a Carver and Gilder who died in 1802. As well as various old and unfinished frames, drawings and paintings (both framed and unframed), and a parcel of composition moulds and pattern tablets, his workshop contained forty three moulding planes and thirty stone carving tools³⁵.

³¹SRO E342/10.

³²Adam paid £4 14/ 6d for these in 1761. NRA(S)3246/104.

³³*idem* note 4.

³⁴I Lindsay and M Cosh *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* Edinburgh 1973 pp93&426.

³⁵CC8/8133/229.

UPHOLSTERY

Upholstery and cabinet making were the two sides of the coin which was the eighteenth century furniture trade. The upholsterer, as well as being responsible for covering seat furniture and hanging beds, supplied and fitted wall hangings, of whatever material, and carpets, and often ensured the cleanliness of a house¹. Generally the upholsterer was the co-ordinator of the overall household furnishing service. As Robert Campbell wrote in his *London Tradesman* of 1747, the upholsterer should have 'not only judgement in the materials, but taste in the fashions ... skill in the workmanship ... and set up as a connoisseur in every article that belongs to the house'².

Upholder, upholsterer, cabinet maker or wright, no tradesmen could afford to indulge in one trade without being at least reasonably well versed in the other, as what good is a chair without a seat, or a bed without its hangings? Nevertheless, there were upholsterers who offered these services alone (just as there were specialist cabinet makers), but they were rare, and could certainly acquire seat and bed frames if required³. Conversely, wrights who could not do their own upholstery would sometimes have chairs finished for them, such as when John Baillie, a wright in Dalkeith paid Lewis Gordon to stuff various chairs for him⁴.

William Murray 'At the Sign of the ROYAL TENT' (fig. 37) was one such, as was James Caddell, 'At the Crown and Cushion' (fig. 38). Caddell's billhead

¹Thomas Ovenstone submitted an account in 1790 which included 5/6d for 'women for cleaning the house', and Francis Brodie charged for 'washing the sides of a room with soap' in 1753. NRA(S)771/163; CS229/B/2/68.

²Quoted by C G Gilbert *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1978 p47.

³See note 5. In the same way Francis Braidwood offered 'wrights in the country ... materials for stuffing chairs, or hanging beds, on the easiest terms'. *EEC* 21st June 1781.

⁴He also acquired castors, tacks, studs, paper, handles, escutcheons hinges, and locks from Gordon. SC39/17/291/March 1772. Similarly John Symington upholstered some furniture which William McVey had made for Lady Saltoun in 1731. NLS16859/19.

proclaimed that he could make 'all sorts of Upholsterer Work As Beds, Chairs, Hair or Wool Mattresses', and accounts to him bear this out, the only item of furniture he is known to have supplied being an elaborately upholstered and very expensive day bed⁵. The most interesting thing about Caddell is that he bothered to have a memorial printed specifically to send to the Duke of Argyll soliciting work. This is an intriguing document which gives a splendid idea of what an upholsterer might have been expected to do, and how much it would have cost⁶.

To His Grace the Duke of Argyll

The humble memorial and proposals of James Caddell Upholster in Edinburgh

It is presumptive in the Memorialist to give your Grace the Trouble of this Application, But being informed that your Grace Intends soon to finish the House of Inverary, And as the Memorialist has had the honour to Serve the principal Nobility of this Country⁷, your Graces Acquaintances, to whom his Character and Capacity in his Business is well known, he among others, humbly begs leave to make this Application to your grace and at the same time offers his Service for such things as may be wanted in the Upholstery way And as proposals may be given in to your Grace for executing the same work, The Memorialist humbly offers the following proposals for your Graces perusal and Consideration

1. For hanging Rooms with paper on a plain wall, workmanship & Paste at one penny pr yard, And if on Canvas, for workmanship, Paste and Tacks at Two pence per yard⁸
2. For finishing a Bed either of Printed Cloth, Check, or worsted stuff for workmanship Ten shillings sterling
3. For finishing every window Curtains either in the Festoon or Drapery way, Workmanship 2s 6d ster and every other piece of work at the lowest prices. And if either Paper or any thing else in executing the Business may be wanted, the Memorialist undertakes to furnish them at the lowest prices such Commodities are sold at in this Country

⁵For the Earl of Cassillis in 1762. The bed itself (or 'couch') cost five guineas, but the upholstery, including the fabric, came to over eleven pounds. GD25/9/7.

⁶NLS MS17630/108.

⁷He could number among his clients the Earls of Dumfries, Cassillis, Caithness and Morton, Lords Glenorchy, Milton and Arniston, and Sir James Dalrymple. See APPENDIX I.

⁸In 1766 James Russell charged 1d 'per piece' to put up wallpaper at Glamis. NRA(S)885/252/1

The Above proposals are most humbly offered to your Graces Consideration by
 Your Graces most Obediant & most humble Servant
 James Caddell
 Edinbr 26th Sepr 1766

Ironically Caddell does not seem to have been given any work for the Duke after this date, although he had done a small job for him in 1759⁹. One wonders whether this type of soliciting was common, or indeed, well received.

PAPER AND PAPER HANGING

In 1742 Lord Glenorchy wrote to his agent in Edinburgh about preparations for decorating his apartments at Holyrood, and his seat at Taymouth Castle.

My Lady wants to know if there to know if there is any body at Edr that understands to put up Paper Hangings well, for she has a great mind to bring down with us a large quantity of paper, which is much in fashion as being very pretty and cheap, and when 'tis good it looks like damask ... or like chints ... There is some art, tho not much, in putting it up and pasting it well together.¹⁰

There were upholsterers who could put up the paper, but it was fortunate that Glenorchy was sending it from London, as there was probably at that time little choice of paper to purchase in Edinburgh. However by 1754 Caddell had 'painted and stucco papers &c of the newest and best Patterns, all in the present Taste'¹¹, and the Edinburgh Upholstery Company could offer a 'great Variety of Paper for hanging Rooms of entire new Patterns', as well as a 'large Assortment of curious India Paper, and a new Sort of English gilt India [paper]'¹².

⁹NLS MS17629/34.

¹⁰RI19/18/10/41.

¹¹EEC 2nd May 1754.

¹²EEC 21st May 1754.

A great variety of paper was certainly sold by Edinburgh upholsterers - 'mock flock', 'chints', 'red ground paper with a green flower'¹³ - but very little of it was made locally. Generally, along with a lot of fabrics, it was acquired from 'London and other manufacturing towns in England and Scotland'¹⁴. However, in the last quarter of the century Robert MacMillan, a paper stainer, did manufacture

the greatest variety of the newest and most beautiful patterns of Paper Hangings for Rooms, Cielings, Halls, and Passages, which he continues to ... sell in wholesale, retail, and for exportation, at the very lowest prices¹⁵.

as did his contemporary and rival Charles Esplin¹⁶. Their papers, nevertheless, undoubtedly never had the cachet of the readily available London ones.

Lord Milton had acquired wallpaper from Caddell in 1761¹⁷, but the year before had had 'mock flock', 'sprigg'd India' and 'new gothick stucco' papers sent by James Cullen¹⁸ direct from London¹⁹. 'Stucco papers' were chosen by the Earl of Lauderdale from the Edinburgh Upholstery Company for decorating his Scottish houses between 1761 and 1762²⁰. A significant collection of letters to Lord Lauderdale's factor details this commission, and the lengths an upholsterer was expected to go to in ensuring, and carrying out, a commission.

¹³All used by James Russell at Glamis in 1766. *idem* note 8.

¹⁴Francis Braidwood in the *EEC* 21st June 1783. In 1801 Andrew Lawrie wrote to Sir Alexander Kinloch 'upon looking through my papers found I had only 12 ps of one of the Patns you pitched upon but I have ordered from London 6ps more which I expect tomorrow by the Coach' NRA(S)2595/130.

¹⁵*EEC* 7th June 1783.

¹⁶On 12th July 1783 Charles Esplin's Paper Hanging Manufactory placed an almost word for word advertisement in the *EEC*, even spelling 'cieling' wrongly as McMillan did. He had obviously been spurred into competition and over the following years their advertisements invariably appear within a few days of each other. See APPENDIX II.

¹⁷NLS MS16887/54.

¹⁸Who had just returned to London, having left the Edinburgh Upholstery Company.

¹⁹NLS MS16885/53-8.

²⁰Hatton, Midlothian (demolished), and Thirlestane, Lauderdale.

In August 1761 the company's clerk John Peat sent '16 Peices of the stucco patterns of paper' proposing to 'wait on my Lord to morrows morning to show the same'²¹. He later sent '11 Peices of stucco paper & a piece of ditto 'border for the room my Lady wants paper'd just now', pointing out that 'there is more sent than what will be used' and that he would like the remainder returned²². The following year Peat sent eleven different papers for the Lauderdale's to chose from, excusing himself because as 'Saturday was so wet it was not proper to send [them] out [earlier]'. He writes that 'the Price is marked on each' and that there are two pieces which 'when joined together makes a large pattern fit for a big room'. Peat had earlier sent 'patterns of the lowest priced papers in ye Country', commenting that there was 'no choice to be had of these cheap kinds', and that regardless of the quality a duty of 9d a piece was now charged by the Excise office²³. There was clearly little satisfaction, or presumably, profit to be had in selling lower quality paper. That upholsterers had to be aware of competition at all times and renew their stock accordingly is emphasised by the subservient letter sent to Lord Lauderdale's factor dated the 25th November 1762 from Young and Trotter, rather than the Edinburgh Upholstery Company.

Please receive 2 peices blue & white paper at 20d pr piece - if you think it too light in the colour you may have the pattern on a blue ground. Please also to receive eleven patterns of mosaick papy out of which we doubt not you will be able to find some to your taste. They are all nearly new patterns - the prices are marked on each - whatever you need for your own use we will endeavour to give you a Cost of - we could have sent you many more patterns but they are not so new as those sent²⁴.

²¹NRA(S)832/2/9.

²²NRA(S)832/1/16. Only the smallest scraps would have been thrown away. Large accounts from upholsterers were sometimes bound with wallpaper covers, and no doubt there were many other uses for small pieces.

²³*ibid*.

²⁴*ibid*. It is not clear, but may be that they are offering the factor a sweetener in exchange for the commission - 'whatever you need for your own use we will endeavour to give you a Cost of'.

An extract from Francis Braidwood's advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 1781 will serve to emphasise this competitiveness, and the keenness with which fashion was pursued. 'Several of the new ... papers not to be had in any other shop in town'²⁵.

BED HANGINGS, CURTAINS AND MATERIALS

At the end of the seventeenth century Edinburgh could claim to contain some of the finest beds in Britain²⁶, and although these were not made in the city they would surely have been known by its upholsterers. There are ample accounts for making beds and curtains throughout the century in the styles then popular. Some extravagant in the particular, such as the seventy nine pounds which John Schaw charged the Duke of Gordon for making up a bed, curtains and chair slips of yellow silk damask in 1739²⁷, some extravagant in the scale, such as the account for over seven hundred pounds which Schaw submitted to the Duke of Montrose in 1754, for upholstery work at Buchanan House, Stirlingshire²⁸.

John Schaw could also number the Dukes of Argyll and Hamilton among his customers, and indeed had been recommended to the Duke of Hamilton by William Adam in 1740, having promised him 'a sketch of the newest fashion in beds, agreeable to one lately come from London for the Duchess of Gordon'²⁹. When Adam received the sketch he wrote again to the Duke inclosing it, and relaying more of his discussions with Schaw.

²⁵1st June 1781.

²⁶See Chapter III.

²⁷GD44/51/465/1. See also Francis Bamford 'The Schaws of Edinburgh and a Bed at Blair Castle' *Furniture History* X 1974 pp15-16. This details a bed which the Schaws supplied and upholstered for the Duke of Atholl in 1753, using the 'sewn work hangings' which the Duke had bought separately in Edinburgh from Helen Dallas.

²⁸This included a small but significant amount of furniture; GD220/6/1426/7. Or James Russell's account for over eleven hundred pounds worth of work at Glamis in 1766; Russell had been apprenticed to Schaw; NRA(S)885/150/7. Or the five hundred pounds worth of upholstery which Young and Trotter did at Dumfries house. NRA(S)631/A640. Alexander Peter provided the beds; NRA(S)631/A720/22.

²⁹John Fleming *Robert Adam and His Circle* London 1962 pp59-60.

The Upholsterer told me that if the window curtains hang down wou'd take more stuff, so that your Grace may choose, only I think it necessary to observe that the piers betwixt the windows being more narrow and which should be cover'd with pier glasses, the curtains if hanging down may cover more of the glasses than would be wished³⁰.

Upholstery, as with all things, was a creature of fashion, however inconvenient it was. In 1753 Young and Trotter proclaimed that they 'likewise work in all the Branches of Upholstery; mount Beds, &c in the newest and best Taste; make Bedsteads, Chairs &c', and they went on to list the range of cloths which they had available, viz.

Superfine silk and Worsted Mixed Damasks, Worsted Bed Damasks, Moreens of Various Sorts, Harrateen and Cheny [or Cherry] Camblets, Linseys and Pavovers. Fine Furniture Chints and printed Cotton Cloths. Cotton and Linen Furniture Checks³¹.

The Edinburgh Upholstery Company could match all of this, but added 'cotton tufted' checks³², as could Francis Braidwood in 1783, although by then he could also offer 'cotton copperplates, newest patterns'³³.

BEDDING AND BLANKETS

Lord Glenorchy, who was nothing if not meticulous, when preparing his houses also wished to know whether he should buy bedding at London 'or if those things can be had as good and as cheap at Edr'. The answer is not recorded, but bedding was freely available, in the form of 'Counterpanes, Quilts, English blankets of all Sorts and Sizes'³⁴. English blankets had to be made do with until Young and Trotter opened a

³⁰NRA(S)332/C3/1794/1.

³¹EEC 15th May.

³²EEC 27th May 1754. In 1762 they sent Lady Lauderdale 'a patn. of the very best quality or colr. of morreen England can afford at 2/8 pr. yd. ready money', and go on to say that since the last delivery prices have risen, but they will charge the old price 'to you'. The swatch still survives in the letter, and is a vivid cerise colour. NRA(S)832/1/16.

³³EEC 21st June 1783.

³⁴From, among others, the Edinburgh Upholstery Company. *supra*. note 32.

'BLANKET MANUFACTORY' in 1765³⁵. The Edinburgh Upholstery Company also sold 'Feathers and sweet-seasoned Downs'. This obviously did not tempt the Earl of Strathmore, who in 1766 had his upholsterer James Russell pay 'the Feather woman's Account for Cleaning Old feathers & fitting Beds £4 2/ 6d'³⁶.

CARPETS

Carpets from Wilton³⁷, Axminster³⁸, Kidderminster³⁹ Brussels⁴⁰(or at least in the manner of these manufactories), Kilmarnock⁴¹ and Edinburgh, were as available in Edinburgh as development allowed. Also Turkey carpets⁴² and Scots or Ingrain carpets⁴³ were very popular, in 'the newest patterns, from different manufactories'⁴⁴. In 1761 the Edinburgh Upholstery Company sent Lady Lauderdale 'a peice of Ingrain Carpeting of a very handsome pattn @5/3 pr. yd: ... it is ingrain & fully stronger & thicker cloth at 5/3 than any others & indeed better penny worth'⁴⁵. Upholsterers would acquire and even help design carpets specifically, Matthew Sherriff for instance, charged for sending 'drawing of Carpet to Kidderminster' for Lord Tweeddale⁴⁶. The Edinburgh Upholstery Company charged at least a ten per cent

³⁵*EA* 2nd April 1765. See below, Manufactures.

³⁶*NRA(S)*885/150/7.

³⁷William Hamilton supplied a 'fine Wilton carpet' in 1777. *GD*205/48/18/1/20.

³⁸Young and Totter supplied an 'Exminster Carpet' to Register House in 1790. *SRO*4/71.

³⁹See note 46.

⁴⁰William Lamb sold Brussels carpet made in Lanark. *EEC* 10th August 1768.

⁴¹John Schaw supplied a 'Kilmarnock carpet' in 1753. *NLS MS*17623/60.

⁴²Lady Milton bought a 'large Turkey carpett' for twenty eight pounds in 1760. *NLS MS*16885/58.

⁴³A reversible flat woven carpet.

⁴⁴*EEC* 15th February 1779.

⁴⁵*NRA(S)*832/1/16.

⁴⁶In 1800. *NLS MS*14692 f37.

mark up on the carpets it sold⁴⁷, and Young and Trotter eventually decided to cut out the middle man and opened their own 'Carpet Manufactory' in 1764⁴⁸.

There was a considerable skill to laying carpets, and fashion to take into account once again. Young and Trotter, who as manufacturers must also have been fairly expert in the laying, wrote to Miss Jean Home with some nervousness describing the process, and difficulties.

Madam ... It will give us pleasure to hear that you approve of the Manner of making the Carpets ... 5 breadths were too few for the size of the Largest room and 6 nearly fills its breadth - we made the Length of Carpet nearly to fill the room to its Length in like manner ... being the usual mode of fitting rooms at Present ... for the small room we have joined Two Breadths ... which leaves a Margin at Each Side ... we have left a margin at Each End also ... those Carpets which fill the room are frequently not Cut out at the Hearth that they may Turn every way - when this is the Case the Fender has a Tin bottom and the hearth rug lays close to it - if you consider it proper to have the hearth cut out can Easily be done afterwards ... if the arrangement be not so perfect as you wish, we shall make it in the shape that you may consider more proper - but thought right to submit it to your revisal⁴⁹.

The carpet cost 3/8d per yard, and sixty three yards were required, as well as sixteen yards of lace for binding. Fourteen shillings was charged for fitting and laying, which would roughly equate to an upholsterer and assistant working for a week.

SEAT UPHOLSTERY

A large proportion of chair upholstery was carried out *en suite* with the bed hangings, as with the Duke of Gordon's bed made by John Schaw. The chairs were upholstered with 'buffed Back & bottom' and camblet slips provided in the same colour as the

⁴⁷John Peat assured Lady Lauderdale, who suspected him of selling carpet cheaper to someone else, that he 'never offered it below 5/ as it stands us upwards of 4/6 prime cost'; NRA(S)832/2/9. The company could write to England for carpet and receive it within a week; NRA(S)832/1/16.

⁴⁸See below, Manufacturing.

⁴⁹GD267/3/4/6.

bed⁵⁰. Morocco and Spanish leather was available for dining or other chairs, as was horsehair. At Hopetoun House, however, the dining chairs were surprisingly supplied with buff upholstery and slip covers of crimson cotton check which matched the curtains⁵¹. This is explained by one of the letters to Lord Lauderdale's factor, concerning the finish of his Lordship's dining chairs which also contains some interesting information about upholstering chairs of this type. Although it has already been mentioned this letter repays further quotation.

Sir ... Please acquaint My Lord in regard I do not know the size of the chairs to be stuffd⁵² I cannot say what may be charged But for the most part they commonly take about 21/2 or 21/4 lib: Hair, & about 130 or 140 brass nails & as to leather it has been so scarce & so bad & high priced of late, that as well as the fashion has introduced the bla: [black/blank] figuard hair Cloth we comes full as cheap and lasts as well & is not subjected to throwing the colour nor greasing the cloaths we is the fault of leather & it takes about 5/8 of a yd: Haircloth to cover the chairs of the broad kind & it is @4/ pr.yd: there is a swatch of it here inclosed ⁵³ ... brass nails from 10/ to 18/ pr. thousand but such as I would recommend will be at 14/ or 15/ pr. m⁵⁴.

The factor was unimpressed with this suggestion, commenting that 'Hair cloth is ye worst of all things and it [is] most unfashionable in a gentleman's house'. He then enquires what it would cost 'to do them over wt green lining and Baked hair ... to be tacked under wt common tacks only & so have covers'⁵⁵, which, of course, is exactly what had been done at Hopetoun⁵⁶.

⁵⁰*idem* note 27.

⁵¹By the Edinburgh Upholstery Company in 1755. NRA(S)888/147/388.

⁵²They were being made by another cabinet maker. See Chapter IV.

⁵³This miraculously still survives in the letter.

⁵⁴NRA(S)832/1/16.

⁵⁵*ibid*.

⁵⁶And at Dumfries House by Alexander Peter; see Chapter IV.

The most extravagant piece of upholstery in Edinburgh must surely have been Lord Tweeddale's seat in the Tron Kirk which Young and Trotter upholstered in 1790. It was covered in 'green velvet, fringed with broad Gold Fringe' and they also supplied a 'Green Serge cover for ditto' and a 'Down Cushion in Tycken covered with velvet and bound with Firetting for ditto'⁵⁷. The total cost came to a staggering £19 4/.

⁵⁷NLS 14692 f23-25 [p 18].

PACKING AND TRANSPORT

The transport of goods in the eighteenth century must have been stressful, to say the least. When goods were travelling beyond Edinburgh they were shipped, if at all possible, but it was nevertheless impossible in all but extreme cases to avoid a certain amount of overland travel.

Besides the obvious problem of things breaking, there were other dangers. In 1742 Lord Glenorchy was concerned 'that my Goods will arrive safe, and especially my plate' as the ship which had recently brought his friend the Marquis of Tweeddale's plate from London had seen a 'Spanish Privateer which soon took a ship, so that the plate had a narrow escape'¹. Shipwreck was also a danger, yet it was not customary to insure goods travelling between London and Leith², apart from plate, which could be insured at a price³. And of course wartime action had to be countenanced. In 1796 a Capt Milne had promised to deliver a large quantity of furniture to Banff 'in like good order and condition danger of sea and Enemy excepted'⁴.

If goods escaped these, admittedly unlikely, traumas water damage was an inescapable problem. In 1698, Lord Polwarth, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, had that ultimate status symbol a London coach shipped to Leith. Unfortunately 'the painting was spoilt in the ship' and it was 'done up again, tho not so well'⁵. The

¹Writing to his factor in Edinburgh on the 13th July. In a letter of a week later he mentions the pirate again. RH9/18/10/41.

²In 1808 John Scott, a cabinet maker and upholsterer, lost goods valued at £270 in two separate shipwrecks. He had started his business eighteen months earlier, and increased his capital tenfold in that time, but his goods were not insured and his estate was forced into sequestration as a result of these disasters. CS96/779.

³In 1797 Robert Hay shipped a massive looking glass, for which he had paid £320, from London and the insurance was thirty two pounds. NRA(S)2720/728.

⁴Sadly 'the Hatchway of Captn Milne's ship was by far too small to receive ... a package containing a large mirror & some pictures' which had to follow later. The goods seem to have arrived safely. AU MS3175/1397.

⁵Helen and Keith Kelsall *Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago* Edinburgh 1986 p171.

benefit, to some, of this sort of damage was that goods could sometimes be acquired at greatly reduced prices, once they had reached Edinburgh. For instance, in 1760 Young and Trotter had for sale 'a Parcel of UPHOLSTERY GOODS, damaged by salt water'⁶.

Cabinet makers and upholsterers would often receive goods in Leith on behalf of customers, and arrange transport to their final destination⁷. Thus when David Ross had furniture sent from London in 1767 William Hamilton arranged for the crates to be collected at Leith, brought to town and unpacked. He also paid all the necessary dues⁸. Similarly, in 1797 Young and Trotter charged fifteen pounds for

expences in erecting a Machine [and] workmens time for Connveying a large Mirror and frames in 2 Packing Boxes from the ship at Leith to Drumelzier including Mens expences⁹.

Breakage was a far greater problem¹⁰, which Lord Glenorchy did have the misfortune to suffer from. On the 15th June 1742 he complained

Whilst I was in a bad humour ... we began to unpack, and on opening the box of China and glass which a Rascal whose name I believed is Sims sent his man to pack up every thing in it is broke to pieces, the six fine plate China things for putting meat which are as thick as a Board, are every one broke to pieces. Tom my groom who was never taught to pack put up all our other China plates and glasses and not one of them is broke, so that tis plain Sims man did it on purpose that we might buy more¹¹.

⁶CM 24th November 1760.

⁷They were not alone in offering this service. In the EEC on 16th May 1789 'Walter Miller, Wharfinger, London and John Walker, Leith, Respectfully [inform] the Nobility, Gentry, and others, who may have Furniture, &c going to or coming from London, that they will pay the necessary expences, receive, and forward the same, upon a very moderate charge for their trouble. They have commodious warehouses both in London and Leith, for the reception of all goods sent to their care, so that every attention, accomodation, and dispatch may be depended on'. Cabinet makers clearly had the facilities to deliver goods around Edinburgh, and would often simply move furniture around, for the sake of customer relations. Thus Francis Brodie was happy to arrange for 'carrying a Mahogany Carter Chist from Cannongate to Mr ffrazers', for the Duke of Gordon. GD44/51/297.

⁸RH15/44/136.

⁹This was for Robert Hay's mirror (see note 3). The 'very Elegant Glass frame carved and gilt in burnished gold' had been made by Gillows for £15 4/ 6d. Both still survive *in situ* at Duns Castle. NRA(S)2720/728.

¹⁰See below, Repairs.

¹¹ RH 9/18/10/41.

Lord Glenorchy was a very particular man, and this ineptitude obviously pained him. While this was happening, he was arranging for looking glasses from his apartments at Holyrood to be carted to Taymouth Castle, Perthshire, warning that 'they must be very carefully pack'd up for so much land Carriage'. He was sending glasses from London for Holyrood, and had very specific instructions for his factor.

I likewise desire you to observe that the five Cases mark'd 6,7,12,13,17 are Looking glasses and should be carried by Chairmen from Leith for fear of breaking them, and when they are in the Lodging they should lye down on their back with the top where the Number is mark'd upermost in order to preserve the Quicksilver. If they are set up on their bottoms it will do as well, but if they are set upon their heads it will damage them, and therefore the safest way is to lay them down on their backs¹².

William Mathie when sending his looking glasses to Dumfries House, charged Lord Dumfries five pounds for 'packing cases for transporting'¹³. This was just over two per cent of value of the shipment, quite a low figure given the precious nature of the goods, but which can be explained by the scale of the undertaking. The case and packing which Francis Brodie provided for the Duke of Gordon's eagle table in 1739 cost over fifteen shillings, almost exactly five per cent of the cost of the table¹⁴. This seems about average for smaller quantities of delicate items. More robust objects were obviously far easier to transport, such as the 'Mattressed Elbow Chair' which Brodie packed for only a shilling¹⁵. The importance of good packing to the provincial customer is emphasised by Edward Elwick of Wakefield in 1775, when writing a letter canvassing for new custom. He claimed that 'in about £3000 of Furniture I sent

¹²*ibid.* 1st July 1742.

¹³NRA(S)631/A720.

¹⁴He also supplied a 'red Leather cover Lined' at eighteen shillings, to protect the table. GD44/51/465/1/34.

¹⁵For Sir James Clerk. The chair cost £ 3 14/ in 1758. GD18/1839/2/63. Similarly Alexander Peter charged a shilling for furnishing a 'Bass [mat] and packing a Chest of Drawers in Mr Laurence Dundas's Lodging'. One of the rare references to Laurence Dundas that I have come across throughout my research; the work was being charged to his father. GD75/533.

into ye East Rideing, there was not a Single farthing Damage altho there was some Very Expensive Furniture'¹⁶, but does not mention his packing charges.

A good idea of just what packing up furniture entailed can be gleaned from Alexander Peter's description of packing furniture ready to send to Dumfries House.

To 3 packing boxes for [furniture] ... including screw nails &c for fixing on ye tops ... To 42 dou: basses with ropes & pack threed for packing ye above furniture ... To straw for bedding ye furniture on 5 Cairts wt ye use of oyl cloaths & ropes for covering ye same & straw furnt. on ye road for covering ye furniture from rain¹⁷.

Evidently water was also a problem when transporting furnishings overland, as well as by sea. Chairs, depending on their nature, could either be packed in matts (as above) or with skeleton frames, which was safer but more expensive. Francis Brodie sold 'new matts for packing goods'¹⁸ from his warehouse, and when Lord Glenorchy bought twenty two chairs from him it took 'a days work of two men' to pack them up¹⁹. Young and Trotter used '584 feet skeleton framing in Cases' when packing up chairs which they had made for Cairnfield House, Banffshire; they charged a pound for carting the furniture to Leith and for 'Workmen attending' the shipping²⁰. In 1787 when they had made furniture for James Stein of Kilbegie, Fife, only the finest pieces were provided with skelton frames; those for the best 'Mahogany Vaze back Chairs' cost just over a shilling each (the chairs cost twenty three shillings), and they charged

¹⁶Christopher Gilbert 'Wright and Elwick of Wakefield, 1748-1824; a Study of Privincial Patronage' *Furniture History* XII 1976 p38.

¹⁷The total cost of this was £3 16/ - for about half a dozen beds, 5 dozen chairs, a dozen bason stands and half a dozen dressing tables, value roughly £120 - again about 2% ; NRA(S)631/A720/22.

¹⁸These were a by product of his flax factory (see below, Manufactures). *EEC* 6th March 1762.

¹⁹Again, the packing charge came to about 2% of the total. GD112/21/279.

²⁰Charging two and a half pence per foot, in 1803; It is not clear how many chairs were provided with skeleton frames, but this works out at approximately two to three shillings a chair. NRA(S)2940/219.

one pound and ten shillings for 'Packing Mahoy Sideboard & winelockers in skeleton frames'. This was almost ten per cent of the cost of this very fine inlaid piece²¹.

Despite all this, and as Lord Glenorchy's letter testified, the safe transport of furnishings could never be guaranteed, no matter how carefully they were packed. This makes the defence of Robert Ewing of Craigtoun, when he was being pursued by Brodie for non-payment of a bill, all the more extraordinary. He claimed that

As to the two small articles about Packing chairs & Tables [14d] it is the first time that ever I heard any person charge the buyer for Packing & delivering their own work further²².

He did concede that he would 'scarce contest this article', if Brodie insisted upon it, but added rather petulantly that 'the table which was your own work & Cost me 3 guineas was so ill Packed that it was all spoilld before it came'. Brodie replied that the principle 'that a Tradesman must pack up his work for nought is a strange doctrine'. The court, not surprisingly, would have none of Ewing's case and he was obliged to pay the full amount owing, plus interest.

²¹The sideboard itself cost £ 17 13/ 6d. They also sent a foreman to accompany this load, charging twelve shillings for his ferry ticket and expences. CS230/SEQN/S/1/9.

²²CS229/B/2/68.

REPAIRS

Naturally there was always plenty of furniture which needed repairing, and cabinet makers were generally called upon to do it, normally as an adjunct to supplying new furniture.

Thus, for instance, Alexander Peter could be found in 1744 'mending & cleaning up 6 Dutch chairs' for which he had made '6 new rungs'¹, or, in 1782, William Lamb had made '2 New ends to a Couch' for Mrs Martin². Similarly when William Hamilton refurnished Keith Hall for the Earl of Kintore in 1779, it is interesting that rather than making new chairs for the Dining Room he simply charged for 'Repairing Oiling & polishing 12 Mahogany Chairs that was much Damag'd and broken'³. Lord Kintore obviously had an eye on his budget.

Of rather more interest to cabinet makers and carvers, even though it must have been slightly galling, would have been work repairing furniture from London which had been damaged in transit⁴. The Duke of Hamilton, who shipped a great deal of furniture from London, had a whole consignment of chairs badly damaged in 1678⁵, but it is not recorded who repaired them or whether they were even salvagable.

Carved work such as looking glasses and their frames was inevitably the most vulnerable, and there are many instances of such work being repaired. Two examples will suffice. In 1760 James Cullen sent Lady Milton a 'very large Peir Glass in a rich carvd frame gilt with burnishd gold' installed in a 'large strong packing case' for

¹NLS MS17607/38. He was similarly 'mending & cleaning furniture' in 1756 for Lady Hall as well as taking down and re-erecting beds, and doing other menial jobs about her town house. GD206/3/2/5/31.

²CS238/L/2/54.

³AU MS3064/276.

⁴See above, Packing and Transport.

⁵Rosalind Marshall *The Days of Duchess Anne* London 1973 p157.

which he charged over a pound⁶. Despite this it was still evidently considerably damaged in transit as William Mathie had to furnish a 'large Plate of Finishd Looking Glass', and re-silver another plate, 'for the London Frame'. He also charged for 'mending and new Gilding several parts of the above Frame and new varnishing ye Whole Frame', and 'taking down the Above frame in the Case to ye Abbey⁷ and moving it several times & putting up Do'⁸.

Mathie was not unfamiliar with the highest quality London work, having repaired the gilding of the 'Two Grand Girandoles from London' which Lord Dumfries had acquired from Thomas Chippendale in 1759⁹. It would be satisfying to think that work on these spectacular pieces inspired the form and quality of the picture frame installed in the same room at Dumfries House, which is probably his finest work (fig.11).

⁶NLS MS16885/58.

⁷i.e. Holyrood.

⁸The large plate cost twelve pounds, and he charged twenty five shillings for the rest of the work. This account is dated 1762, but that just seems to be the date when it was presented. The badly damaged glass may alternatively have remained in its case for a year. NLS MS16887/65.

⁹He also furnished 'an Oval Plate of Looking Glass for a London Frame @ £7'. NRA(S)631/A720.

SUB-CONTRACTING

Upholsterers and cabinet makers working for each other have already been discussed (above) and need not be gone into here. There were instances of cabinet makers and upholsterers getting other work done for them¹, outwith their workshops, but it was not a frequent occurrence, being restricted mostly to the arts of painting, japanning and dyeing.

In the cabinet line, carvers were sometimes employed², notably by Alexander Peter who seems to have had an eye for them. Peter paid William Strachan one pound and five shillings for executing 'a new Top & Bottom to a Guilded Sconce Glass' on his behalf for George Dundas in 1740³. He also took on William Mathie as an apprentice, but their relationship is slightly unclear. Mathie did not become a Burgess until 1760, twenty seven years after joining Peter, but submitted accounts in his own name before that date, notably at Dumfries House, where the two worked together. It may be that he was working under Peter's patronage, for want of a better word, or the situation was perhaps was just a quirk. He is never mentioned directly in Peter's accounts, which is not to say that he was not doing work for him.

William Hamilton is also recorded as paying a 'Carver for whitening frames'⁴, and his son James, when a partner with Young and Trotter, arranged to have a Harpsicord repaired by a Mr Horsbuge for Lord Adam Gordon⁵. However these are small instances and perhaps the attitude towards most sub-contracting is best expressed, if obliquely, by Francis and William Brodie who, in 1766, proudly

¹For instance, Mrs Schaw noted 'Cash given out for quilting ye covering' in an account for a bed furniture made for the Earl of Stair in 1705. NLS Acc7228/493.

²And, as has been discussed, were frequently employed by architects. See above, Carving.

³GD75/533.

⁴In 1768. RH15/44/136.

⁵This cost five guineas. SRO E342/10.

declared that as all the items of furniture for sale in their wareroom were 'manufactured in their own shop, by the best workmen, the goodness of them are the more to be depended on'⁶.

PAINTING AND JAPANNING

These arts were carried out reasonably independently by qualified tradesmen, who sold their services to cabinet makers, yet rarely appear on accounts. Sarah Dalrymple, whose case has been discussed at length⁷, was the exception of the japanner who employed cabinet makers to make case furniture for her to japan. The more common situation was expressed in an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 23rd April 1792.

Chairs JAPANNED, GILDED, and ORNAMENTED by William Peat, Japanner, Netherbow ... This branch of business being so very correspondent with the Ornamental Parts of Japanned Work, that in London it is practised by Japanners only, whereby the chairs produced from that Capital are found to be superior, both in appearance and durability, to any that have been hitherto done here ... W. P. when in London, having had an opportunity of looking into the most approved methods of japanning Chairs, Bed and Window Cornices &c begs leave to solicit a share of the public favours, and from the approbation which his work in that line has been met with he doubts not but manufacturers will find it in their interest to employ him - W Peat continues to carry on the JAPANNING business in all its branches upon a plan much improved; and must be allowed to say, that his TORTOISE-SHELL, PONTIPOOL, and other Grounds in Japanned work, far excell any hitherto produced in Scotland.

Similarly in the next year, William Dallaway and his son declared that

they have greatly enlarged their workshop for the carrying on the CHAIR JAPANNING, and they have procured some of the finest Varnishes for Wood⁸.

⁶EEC 3rd March 1766.

⁷See Chapters II and III.

⁸EEC 2nd February 1793.

When Peat died in 1803 virtually all his debtors were other tradesmen, indicating that most of his work was certainly of a sub-contracted nature⁹.

Some cabinet makers and upholsterers must have retained their own painters for executing painted and ornamented furniture. However, there were undoubtedly thriving individuals such as Peat and the Dallaways also offering these services. Work that has been 'given out' is particularly difficult to trace, but some account books of the painter William Deas¹⁰ are a priceless resource for historians.

Between the years of 1776 and 1781 Deas painted furniture (and coffins) for John Thomson, carver, John Brough, James Ranken, and Alexander Palmer, all wrights, and William Hamilton and Son, Cabinet makers and Upholsterers. He also worked directly for individuals, like Laurence Dundas for whom he painted '8 Crests on hall Chairs'¹¹ as well as decorating his house¹². Deas appears to have done all the Hamiltons' painting during these years, which were extremely busy ones for them, including large commissions for the Earl of Kintore and William Nisbett Esq. Both of these commissions can be traced through Deas's entries and the Hamiltons' accounts, although it is virtually impossible to actually relate individual items.

To give some examples of the work which Deas did for the Hamiltons, in March of 1778 alone he painted '8 Elbow Chairs with fine green & white ornaments' at 10/6d each, 'a small Chest Chaccollet & writing "Wm Johnston 70 Regt" [on it]' at 2/, 'a sofa with fine green & white ornaments' at 10/6d and '10 French Elbow chairs with fine white & running the mouldings with Crimson colour' at 5/ each with two matching sofas at 7/6d each. He also frequently painted windsor chairs for them in 'fine green', as well as to quote at random, 'four Vases for Bed post painted like

⁹SRO CC8/8/134/324.

¹⁰GD1/548/1. See Sebastian Pryke 'Fancy Finishes' *Country Life* August 15th 1991 pp46-7.

¹¹3rd October 1776.

¹²In June 1776. He charged Dundas a total of £256 12/ 2d for this.

Callico', '3 Bed Cornices wt fine white & stript with green', 'a Vase for a bed Roof', and even 'a hoby horse gray and the frame green'.

DYEING

The other skilled trade which always seems to have been done by specialists was that of dyeing. It was not uncommon to have bed hangings and curtains re-dyed in order to give them a new lease of life. In 1754 John Schaw had completely re-made a bed for the Duke of Montrose, using the old frame but adding new casters and carved vases, and providing all new trimmings, blankets, mattresses, &c, but 'dying & watering your Green mohair Bed furniture & Sattin Linning & window Curtains'¹³. The dyeing alone, for which Schaw had 'paid cash', came to five pounds and two shillings, which was a minimal sum compared to buying the two hundred yards of fabric needed anew.

Schaw does not specify who did this dyeing, but in 1773 the Duke of Montrose again had some fabric re-dyed, using a dyer in Glasgow by the name of John Brown. Despite the fact that this work was done in Glasgow it is of interest as it sheds much light on this aspect of the trade in general in Scotland¹⁴. To paraphrase, the dyer had been given 365 yards of morine hangings in 1775, by the Duke's upholsterer Archibald Bogle (also of Glasgow). Despite the fact that they were twenty two years old and clearly considerably worn, Brown had told Bogle that he could re-dye them blue. In fact only about 200 yards turned out to be usable, and that only in secondary rooms, Bogle offloading the remaining much damaged fabric for about nine pounds. Brown was not paid, it being argued that he had bungled the dying and ruined the fabric.

¹³GD220/6/1426/7.

¹⁴GD220/6/1577/72-76.

Nine years later Brown petitioned both the Duke and later his son for payment of his account for this work (£9 2/ 6d), suggesting that he had neither been paid by Bogle, nor by the Duke, due to a misunderstanding on the latter's part. Bogle supported his claim, saying that 'considering that the cloth was old, and had been used in the family for upwards of 22 years before, they were as well dyed, as any Tradesman could do them'. The Duke's factor pointed out that the problem, which had been acknowledged by Bogle nine years earlier, was that whatever the condition of the fabric Brown had engaged to dye it all, assuring them that it could be done and producing swatches accordingly.

The upshot of it all was that Lord Graham (the Duke's heir) almost unilaterally arranged for Brown to be paid, as he did not wish his family to be seen to be refusing payment of an account which a tradesman obviously very genuinely felt was due him, whatever the rights and wrongs of the case. There is a very clear sense that the factor felt Brown did not deserve anything, as he had not delivered what he had promised, while the family could see that he had at least done a lot of work, and they did have 200 yards of usable fabric, as opposed to 365 yards of unusable fabric. And one presumes that they could afford to be magnanimous.

UNDERTAKING

Th' Upholder rueful Harbinger of Death.
 Waits, with Impatience for the dying Breath;
 As Vulture O'er a camp, with hov'ring flight,
 Snuff up the future Carnage of the Fight.¹

It was a rare upholsterer in eighteenth century Edinburgh who would not arrange a funeral, or cabinet maker who would refuse to make a coffin. It has been suggested that 'the most eminent firms [in London] seldom performed funerals, the provision of this service being generally confined to the lower end of the trade'². This was certainly not true for Edinburgh, the evidence suggesting that, if anything, the situation was the exact opposite. But then if, as for the Earl of Panmure's funeral in 1786³, four thousand pounds was being spent it would be a foolish tradesman who would pass up the opportunity to be involved in some way.

The upholsterer James Caddell seems to have been the champion undertaker of Edinburgh⁴. In 1752 he had engaged in a partnership with Young and Trotter specifically to perform funerals

as practised at London ... N. B. As this Business, tho' quite new here, is properly a branch of the Upholsterer Trade, and can be performed by them in the completest Manner, and on the most reasonable Terms, the greatest Part of the Articles, necessary for such an Undertaking, being proper to their Business; it is hoped for these Reasons, a Design of this kind will meet with Encouragement, especially as the many Inconveniences that attend

¹John Gay writing in 1716. From P Kirkham 'Samuel Norman' *Burlington* CXI 1969 p503.

²C G Gilbert 'Chippendale as Undertaker' *Furniture History* IX 1973 p114-118. Kirkham and Hayward take a more liberal view when analysing the work of the Linnells. They assert that 'many eighteenth century cabinet makers undertook the arrangement of funerals ... [and] it is reasonable to assume that the Linnells ... performed the functions of undertakers'. However, they can produce very little documentary evidence for this. H Hayward and P Kirkham *William and John Linnell* London 1980 p24.

³GD45/18/856.

⁴Although ironically, despite the fact that there are copious accounts for undertaking, I have not found any for Caddell.

giving Orders to different Persons will hereby be prevented, the whole being under one Direction⁵.

It was of course patently untrue that the business was 'quite new here', unless they were referring to the 'London' manner, or their combined ability to provide a complete service. Certainly before this date several different people would be involved in making the coffin, painting and gilding the coffin and escutcheons, hanging rooms in mourning⁶, arranging the pall bearers, and so on and so forth⁷. Not to mention organising the burial ground, obtaining the mort cloth for shrouding the coffin⁸, writing and delivering letters informing potential mourners of the funeral arrangements⁹, or, as in the case of the Countess of Wemyss, arranging for 'Her Majesties Trumpets' to play¹⁰. Also of course the wake often had to be organised, although this was rarely the province of the upholsterer.

James Cullen, not being one to miss an opportunity and clearly with Caddell firmly in his sights, having established the Edinburgh Upholstery Company, soon created a separate division, the Edinburgh Company of Undertakers for Funerals¹¹. They, along with many others in the second half of the century, offered funerals in the

⁵EEC 8th June 1752.

⁶It was particularly important to cover clocks and looking glasses. M Plant *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* 1952 p259.

⁷For instance see the funerals of Lady Dalrymple in 1726, where Robert Moubray made the coffin and Sarah Dalrymple provided the sconces NLS MS7228/497; or of the Marchioness of Douglas in 1736, a very interesting one, with a £23 coffin, lead casket, herald painter &c, largely supervised by Francis Stewart Wright and John Symington Upholsterer, and costing over £500 NRA(S)859/55/1; or those of the Earl of Hopetoun and his wife in 1742 and 1750, where Alexander Peter made the coffins, Roderick Chalmers and James Norie carried out the necessary painting and gilding, and in the Countess's case Young and Trotter hung the rooms in black; NRA(S)888/147/354 and NRA(S)888/73/1.

⁸This was hired from the relevant kirk.

⁹The funeral of Countess of Balcarres in 1744 is very interesting on procedure; there were charges for '11/2 Quire Mourning papers for the burial letters & wax', writing letters, delivering them, transporting the body, coffin, hangings, &c. NLS Crawford MSS 21/3/131.

¹⁰In 1706. GD305/1/153/212.

¹¹EEC 7th November 1754 *et. al.* See APPENDIX II.

‘Scotch and English manner’¹². It is unclear what the distinction between the two was but a further advertisement of James Caddell, now ‘Upholsterer and Undertaker’ in his own right, gives a clue, as well as elaborating on the services an undertaker could offer.

Coffins of all kinds and prices, Flannels or Shrouds, either done in the English or Scots way, Black cloth for hanging Rooms and Seats in Churches, Silver Sconces and Candlesticks etc., Horses and Coaches for Town and Country, and all other things in that way ...¹³

This first line ‘Coffins of all kinds and prices, Flannels or Shrouds, either done in the English or Scots way’ suggests that the distinction may lie in the draping of the coffin. The mort cloth would always be draped over the coffin, though, which slightly confuses the matter.

In 1767 Caddell formed another partnership with the sole intent of performing funerals. This time it was with James Russell and William Hamilton, although the three continued their separate upholstery and cabinet making businesses. The announcement in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* describes the services which they were now offering.

Mess. CADDEL, HAMILTON and RUSSEL, joiners, upholsterers, and Undertakers in Edinburgh, beg leave to inform the public, that they, at the desire, and with the approbation of many of their good customers, the principal nobility and gentry of this country, have just now entered into copartnery with respect to that branch of their business as Undertakers for Funerals, which they propose to execute in the most decent, and at the same time, most elegant manner hitherto performed in this kingdom, and, what is more, at a much lower rate than what has formerly been charged on such occasions.

They can assure the public, that they have been at great pains, trouble and expense in procuring the best and most fashionable assortment of every appurtenance suitable to funerals of every rank and degree: and in particular have engaged a set of the most decent and orderly persons necessary in processions or otherwise, all of whom are clothed and

¹²EEC 9th June 1759.

¹³EEC 2nd May 1754.

equipped in the most uniform, substantial, and genteel manner, which of course must give the highest satisfaction to the employer, and must far exceed anything of the kind hitherto offered to the public.

To render the whole complete the Undertakers have further engaged the best hearses, coaches, and horses, with covers for the hearses, and furniture for the horses far superior to any in this country; and that the employer may be freed of any trouble whatever, have likewise provided a proper master-household, with cooks, servants, and others for conducting entertainments when such are necessary in town or country, and all at the most reasonable rates¹⁴.

Obviously coffins were the most tangible element of undertaking, and they were made by wrights and cabinet makers in all shapes and sizes, ranging from the £1 6/ 6d paid by Sir John Clerk in 1737 'for little willie the cook's coffin'¹⁵, or the two pounds paid by George Burnett for a 'coffin for [his] Aunt, being enamled green within'¹⁶, through the five guineas which Francis Brodie charged for Henerita Duff's 'Coffin covered with black, laced with silverized Tacks¹⁷, waxed, with mourning Handles, & Ropes with silk Tasels'¹⁸, to far more expensive affairs such as the coffin Young and Trotter made for the Earl of Breadalbane. This cost over twenty five pounds in 1782, and was described as a

Coffin of strong Wainscot, covered with Rich black Genoa Velvet, mounted with Gilt Emboss'd handles and nails, & finished in most superb manner ¹⁹.

As well as this coffin there was a further 'Coffin of Lead within ditto, wt lead covers solderd down' at six guineas, and a 'Fine large silverd Breast plate, neatly engraven with The Family Arms & all The Earl's Titles' which cost £3 3/ 6d. Young and Trotter organised the whole funeral, charging for such diverse things as the hearse and

¹⁴EEC 3rd January 1767.

¹⁵To William Butter. GD18/1729/2 (9th Feb 1737).

¹⁶Made by William Crystall, wright in Aberdeen, in 1732. NRA(S)1368/134.

¹⁷Brodie also used 'japanned' tacks as an alternative. GD35/35.

¹⁸In 1748. Edinburgh City Archives Letters vol I p149.

¹⁹GD112/15/444/78.

mourning coaches, with attendant horses (£40), '51 pairs black Gloves for the Gentlemen attending the funeral, for bearers, ushers & for Servants' (1/6d a pair), use of a 'fine Mortcloth' for ten days (five guineas), and cash paid as 'drink money' for the coachmen and postilions, and given to the begging poor²⁰.

Young and Trotter also arranged everything for the funeral of the Earl of Cassillis in 1775²¹. This was on a greater scale than that of Lord Breadalbane, there being three mourning coaches, 65 pairs of gloves, and twenty six servants (no doubt similar to the 'decent and orderly persons necessary in processions' boasted of by Caddell, Russell and Hamilton) sent to Culzean. The whole affair was actually supervised by Robert Young, who charged six guineas for his 'Chaise hyre from Edr. to Cullean ... [and] expences goeing & returning' and seven guineas for his 'attendance' - presumably a guinea a day.

²⁰The whole account came to over £207 . GD1/2/15/444/78.

²¹Except for some reason they did not actually make the coffin, but did supply all the fabric and mounting for it. GD25/9/9 item A.

THE SECOND HAND TRADE AND AUCTIONEERING

There was a thriving trade in second hand furniture in Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century, and nearly all cabinet makers and upholsterers carried second hand stock to a greater or lesser degree¹.

Contrary to what might be expected there was little or no stigma attached to second hand furniture, and it was bought with alacrity by all levels of society from the aristocracy down. In 1741 the Duke of Hamilton's upholsterer had recommended that he buy some pier glasses from the Duke of Atholl's house commenting that 'some people may think them out of fashion yet I think them handsome things'², and the Earl of Hopetoun's State Bed at Hopetoun House had actually been made for someone else³. Sometimes there would be a sentimental bent to these purchases, such as when Lord Hailes paid £30 for a 'Black Cabinet bought at my grandmothers sale' in 1771⁴, or when Lady Wemyss, Lord Carmichael and Sir William Purves all bought items of Lady Wigtoun's plenishings, perhaps as a way of helping her financially⁵.

The only potential problem with second hand furniture from the buyers point of view, as long as it was in reasonably good condition⁶, was bugs and mites. In 1749 the

¹In the *EEC* on 6th December 1757 Alexander Peter gave notice that he had a considerable amount of 2nd hand furniture for sale 'most part where of being almost new'.

²In 1741. He also recommended a set of chairs 'if you want a bargain ... as fresh as ever it was'; NRA(S)2177/2772.

³See Chapter IV.

⁴This was a very considerable sum. NLS MS7228/540. The laws of entail often resulted in the furnishings of a house being sold, as they could be left to a different member of the family from the building. Thus Lady Brodie was forced to buy back almost half of the contents of Brodie Castle for herself and her son in 1755. The whole contents had been estimated at £294, but fetched £329, as she would probably have been paying over the market value. NRA(S)770 Small Tin Box Book of Sale of Furniture Sold By Roup at Brodie House July 1755.

⁵GD45/18/892. In the same way friends and relatives bought furniture from New Tarbat House in the 1770's, the estates of the Earl of Cromartie having been confiscated due to his proven Jacobitism. Monica Clough *Two Houses* Aberdeen University Press 1990 p90.

⁶Patrick ffife bought a 'curtain bed' at a roup, in 1739, which he later found to be full of holes. The auctioneer, Elizabeth Lyle, had recommended it to him and he later sued her. SC39/17/149.

wright George Keir, who was selling up his stock as he was leaving Edinburgh, described it as 'fashionable and quite new, and therefore entirely free from the Inconveniences that attend second-hand furniture'⁷, and indeed the newness (and therefore cleanliness) of furniture was often emphasised. 'All warranted to be clean and free of Bugs'⁸ or 'exceedingly clean and very little worse than new'⁹ were typical promises. In the same way Taylor and Davidson promised that

any persons who want Second Hand Furniture, may depend upon its being clean and quite free of vermin, as they are determined to buy none but what is so¹⁰.

This was an interesting partnership, who as well keeping 'a separate Ware-house for Second Hand Furniture', offered, when selling new Furniture, to 'buy or exchange the old, and give a higher price for them than any person in town'¹¹. This seems to have been a fairly popular tactic, as it is in today's economic climate, and is probably where most furniture makers' second hand stock came from¹². When John Peat wrote to Lord Lauderdale's factor in 1762, he was doubtless trying to sell on furniture which he had acquired in this way.

I think it would not be amiss to acquaint that there is a very good round Table on a pillar & claw belonging to a Lady here for sale having no use for it we she lets go at 29/6 being 35 ins diameter we I think is well worth the money as we nowadays cou'd not afford it for 34/¹³.

⁷*CM* 13th April 1749.

⁸*CM* 11th May 1749. If you did find bugs James Inglis boasted of his 'continued success these two years past in CLEANSING HOUSES and FURNITURE of BUGS, ... at the end of his operations, if one living bug can be found in any part of the house or furniture he will ask no payment'. *CM* 4th August.1762.

⁹*CM* 8th April 1782.

¹⁰*EEC* 12th July 1766. Many upholsterers offered bug cleansing services, the efficacy of which they, at least, guaranteed. For an in depth discussion of bed bugs see L Boynton 'The Bed Bug in the Age of Elegance' *Furniture History* I 1965 pp16-31.

¹¹*ibid*.

¹²Andrew Laurie for instance declaring 'OLD FURNITURE bought and the value allowed, either in Money or in Goods'. *EEC* 6th May 1797.

¹³As the price of wood had risen inbetweentime. Lauderdale bought it. *NRA(S)*832/1/16.

Another way in which cabinet makers came into possession of second hand furniture was through buying back pieces which they had made. There was a definite tendency to buy back furniture if it had been returned to the market rapidly, probably to safeguard their reputation, but also perhaps in the knowledge that at least they knew what they were getting. For example, when John Clerk was selling some furniture in 1702 Robert Moubray bought back various items which he had made for Clerk only a few months earlier¹⁴. These included, as Clerk himself recorded, 'My great glass table & stands to Mr Moubray for a frind of his, for £63 Scots, they cost myself £72 ... my dussan of dinning room chairs at the rate of 3 shill & 6 pence, tho at first buying they cost me 4 shill the peece'¹⁵. Interestingly the only things which had increased in value were Clerk's 'Arras hangings which cost £14 [and sold] for £14 10'¹⁶.

Second hand or nearly new goods clearly did depreciate, but to what extent was debatable. For instance in 1741 Francis Brodie offered to take back furniture to the value of £17 16/ 2d which he had sold to the deceased William Ross shortly before his death, 'upon getting payment from the Executors of Three pound for the deterioration'. The executors disputed this payment, had the goods sold independently, and paid Brodie's account in full¹⁷. A letter of 1761 from Alexander Peter to the Earl of Dumfries explains, from Peter's point of view, the depreciation and associated problems of some furniture that he had made to order for Lord Dumfries and which the Earl now wished to return.

¹⁴GD18/1839/1/49.

¹⁵Moubray's initial account for making the goods is in GD18/1839/1/47.

¹⁶In 1776 when the contents of Glamis were being sold James Russell, who had provided large quantities of furniture for the house ten years earlier, bought a significant amount back. In this instance the Drawing Room furniture was sold (to a Captain Brown) for more than Russell had charged for it. NRA(S)885/188/3 (Russell's original account is NRA(S)885/150/7).

¹⁷Unfortunately they did not record what figure the furniture was sold for. CS29/28th November 1741.

The above [chairs] was deliverd in May 1759, which is Two years 2 months ago. Therefor it cannot fail of being a considerable loss to have said ffurniture returnd otherway's than at My Lords risk of sales for ye ffollowing reasons . Viz:

The easy chairs is so much larger than our common demand

The fashion of ye other 15 chairs altering every year, besides that of ye covers being suddled & ye wood darken'd by being so long made, must occasion selling with discount.

And as to ye Bedstead, both in height & breadth being so much larger than our ordinary demand, might make it ly for years on hand before a Mercht is cast up.

Add to this the risk of breaking in ye carriage as well as ye expence, which perhaps might be got saved by selling them to some Gentleman in that Country to greater advantage, considering the outly of money from ye delivery to such time as a Mercht appears, And at last ye Number of chairs is more than probable what could be sold to one hand, or got matched with ye colour of ye wood of others to be made at such a distance of time.

Edinr Aug 12th 1761¹⁸.

This could just be seen as healthy bargaining, but does indicate some potential pitfalls for the unwary tradesman.

Peter mentions the possibility of selling this furniture 'at My Lord's risk', and this may have been a common practice, the seller simply taking a cut for displaying the goods, &c. In 1796 William Lamb informed William Forbes of Callander that 'it is not Easy to say what may be got for your Chairs, but if any Calls on me for Second hand Chairs I mean to ask 18/ Each for them', going on to say that he 'shall do [his] best to Sell them, in the Ware room'¹⁹. Lamb was probably on a commission, but it could be that he was just doing a favour for a very good, and influential, customer. In what was perhaps a similar way, it was not uncommon to see large suites of furniture advertised for sale. These may have been bought speculatively, but the vendors were more likely to be acting as agents. Thus in 1765 Young and Trotter were selling 'a Compleat DRAWING ROOM FURNITURE of superfine yellow worsted damask, a very fine colour, and quite new'²⁰, and fifteen years later they similarly had for sale

¹⁸NRA(S)631/A720/29.

¹⁹GD171/2669/2.

²⁰CM 8th July 1765.

the whole set of drawing room furniture, fabrics, grate, &c, of a house in George Square²¹. Drawing room furniture, especially when one could effectively buy the whole room ready made, had the greatest cachet in this context, William Lamb also offering for sale at one time a complete set, 'the Property of a Gentleman, now gone abroad, purchased lately in London, and not yet used'²².

Sets of furniture like this were also ideal for hiring out, and the market for second-hand furniture in Edinburgh must have been closely related to the practice of hiring furniture to families taking houses for the season. This would not only have created second-hand furniture ('ex-hire' so to speak), but would also have provided a market for it, as cabinet makers and upholsterers could buy second hand furniture for hiring out. George Hay had 'lent' the Duke of Queensberry 20 Russia leather chairs 'at the time of ye Duks aboad in ye Canongate' in 1723 at sixpence a chair²³, and when, in 1792, William Lamb advertised three houses to let in the New Town²⁴ he stated that 'many upholsterers are ready to supply the use of furniture on moderate terms'²⁵. A different aspect of hiring furniture was that of specialist items, such as the 'child's bed' Young and Trotter 'loaned' to Lord Tweeddale in 1790, for eight shillings²⁶.

²¹*CM* 3rd May 1780.

²²*EEC* 27th February 1802.

²³*NRA(S)*1275/1553.

²⁴See below, Property.

²⁵*EEC* 26th November 1792.

²⁶*NLS MS*14692 f23-25.

AUCTIONEERING²⁷

The alternative to offering a cabinet maker or upholsterer a commission on goods sold was to auction them. As will have been made clear by now auctions, or rousps, were extremely common throughout the century. They were generally administered by specialist auctioneers, or upholsterers and cabinet makers themselves, many of whom, like Francis Braidwood, offered 'to sell by auction the lands, houses, or household furniture, of whoever may be pleased to employ him'²⁸. Valuing furniture, and compiling inventories²⁹, went hand in hand with auctioneering and was a service that was frequently required. In 1781 A Smith Upholsterer and Cabinet Maker declared that he 'values and auctions household furniture'³⁰. Independent valuations were often needed, not only in adjudicating in disputes³¹ or valuing bankrupt's stock³², but also for private sales. Thus when the Duke of Douglas bought Lord Newhall's Edinburgh house, complete with its furniture, for his sister to live in the contents were valued by James Balfour and William Morrison (looking glasses), William McVey and William Stewart (furniture), and John Symington (upholsterer), before a price was agreed³³.

Smith, mentioned above, boasted that 'his method of sale, by printed catalogues, which is the best and most convenient ... he humbly hopes, will recommend him to a

²⁷According to Henry Cockburn, auctioneers, who he grouped in the same breath as pawnbrokers, 'had their quarters in the Horse Wynd'. This was one of Edinburgh's widest lanes, and was considered quite smart. Henry Cockburn *Memorials of his Time* 1909 edition p99 (first published 1840).

²⁸CM 16th August 1775.

²⁹Although drawing up inventories was generally done by members of the household, upholsterers were often also asked to. Thus William Hamilton compiled the inventory of Hamilton Palace in 1777, a task which perhaps the Duke's servants were understandably reluctant to undertake. NRA(S)2177/100/10. James Caddell also compiled an inventory of Brechin Castle in 1766. GD45/18/2440.

³⁰EEC 7th April 1781.

³¹For instance the dispute between Francis Brodie and Robert Ewing. CS229/B/2/68.

³²As Francis Allan and Andrew Laurie valued the stock of Matthew Sherriff in 1808. CS230/SEQNS/S/2/21.

³³The contents were valued at £186, sold for £165. NRA(S)859/176/11.

share of the public favour'³⁴. Auctioneers covered their costs, and earned their living, from their fees. These must have varied a little but Mrs Bowie Auctioneer charged five per cent in 1790, which may be taken as representative³⁵. There was also a duty to be paid on goods bought at auction, all of which reduced the price for the vendor. As William Lamb explained to William Forbes, if he could not sell his chairs through his wareroom (at 18 shillings each) he would 'put them into a Sale of some Genteel Furniture and get what I can, but in that way I am of opinion they will not bring more than 15 or 16/ Each besides the rousing fees & Duty' ³⁶.

Mrs Gall was a very active auctioneer at the end of the century, and it is of interest that she also kept a wareroom with 'a very considerable quantity of ELEGANT FASHIONABLE CABINET FURNITURE'³⁷. This was all second hand, and no doubt periodically cleared out by her sales³⁸, but constantly being added to. In March of 1797 she was 'just now returned ... from the roup at Eglinton Castle where she made considerable purchases ...'³⁹. However, trading in second hand furniture alone, as she did, was obviously a risky business which involved a great outlay of capital, and despite her auctioneering income her estate was sequestrated the following year⁴⁰.

³⁴*supra* note 26.

³⁵1790 Hog of Newliston 'paid Mrs Bowie Auctioneer pr Acct of Things bought at the Roup of Mr Balmains Furniture wt 5% to herself'. NRA(S)1141/vol 83.

³⁶*supra* note 19.

³⁷EEC 7th January 1797.

³⁸Cabinet makers and upholsterers often cleared out their stock, particularly in expectation of the new season's goods coming in. Also, for instance, on the dissolution of the Edinburgh Upholstery Company Alexander Peter auctioned his share of the goods rather than taking them into his stock. *ECH* 26th April 1759.

³⁹EEC 6th March 1797. The 'whole household furniture of Eglintoune Castle' had been 'sold by public roup' in February. *EEC* 2nd February 1797.

Lord Glenorchy had wondered whether his factor could acquire furnishings in Edinburgh for him 'at Auctions cheap'⁴¹, and to conclude, the letter column of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* provided a very personal insight into the state of the second-hand market in 1788, and its effect on the demand for new furniture. A letter from a man who signs himself 'SQUIB' begins:

Tradesmen and shopkeepers complain much at this time of dullness in business, and want of employment ... [this is the result of] an evil tradesmen have too just a title to complain of; and that is their customers going to sales and rousps with the ready money they ought to pay their debts with. It is notorious that at some late sales of furniture, higher prices were given than the articles cost a dozen years ago.

This statement is then illustrated by the following anecdote.

At a sale, not many days since, a lady wished to have something in remembrance of the worthy good character that was gone; accordingly an expensive memorandum was pitched upon, "Did you ever see anything so beautiful? - there is no such thing to be had now in the shops - no, nothing like it" says my lady, and bids another crown - 'Smack' goes the hammer, the lot is sent home, and my lady is wonderfully pleased.

My neighbour, Mr Smirk, who stood at my elbow, whispered me, "I offered that very lot the other day forty shillings cheaper in my own warehouse (whence it only came this morning) to a lady, who thought it too dear; but no matter, if this lady is pleased, I am so too"

This glut of sales is certainly borne out by the statistics, although there are mitigating circumstances, such as the excessive price of timber at that time. For instance, in May alone of 1788 the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* carried twenty five advertisements for sales of second-hand furniture.

SQUIB concludes by recommending his brethren

⁴⁰EEC 19th November 1798. She was nevertheless back in business by 1800, with a sleeping partner. EEC 21st June 1800.

⁴¹Letter dated 20th February 1742. RH9/18/10/41.

to make auctions, and shut their shops - they can better afford, at this rate, to pay the Excise on the sales than the shop tax ⁴².

⁴²29th March 1788. The practise of cabinet makers and upholsterers acting as auctioneers was certainly not unique to Edinburgh. See John Stabler 'English Newspaper Advertisements as a Source of Furniture History' *Regional Furniture* V 1992 pp93-102.

MERCANTILE, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

"the Tradesmen ... here style themselves Merchants, as in France"¹

Indeed the cabinet makers and upholsterers did seem prepared to sell just about anything if there was a market for it, and they could make a profit on it. Naturally upholstery, by its very nature, involved stocking a huge range of manufactured items², which have been discussed above, and this section is intended simply to explore some of the more unexpected goods available through the shops of cabinet makers and upholsterers in Edinburgh.

Firstly, however, a single example should emphasise just how great was the amount of trade relating directly to their business which was carried on among the cabinet makers and upholsterers of Edinburgh and their suppliers. When William Launie, upholsterer and undertaker, applied for sequestration of his estate in 1783 his principal creditors were the Edinburgh upholsterers and cabinet makers William Lamb, William Brodie and Young and Trotter, the Edinburgh paper stainer Robert MacMillan, and numerous manufacturers from Wilton, Birmingham, Manchester and London³.

William Brodie, when in partnership with his father, Francis, presided over a wareroom selling, besides cabinet and upholstery goods and all the articles related to them,

japanned work, viz. Treas, Waiters, Plate Warmers, Coffee-pots, Tea-kettles, Kitchens, enambl'd candlesticks, &c.

¹Edward Topham *Letters from Edinburgh 1774-1775* Edinburgh 1971 p27.

²Young and Trotter called themselves 'Merchant Upholsterers' for a while after forming their partnership. *CM* 4th January 1748. Also in the merchant line, Francis Braidwood gave notice to haberdashers that he could supply them with 'Blankets, Chintzes, &c at the Wholesale Prices'. *EEC* 2nd December 1797.

³CS231/SEQNS/L/1/3.

Also Brass-work, viz. Branches, Chamber-door Locks, Candlesticks, &c. and mounting for Cabinet work [and coffins], Locks, Hinges, Brass-nails, &c.

The advertisement goes on, suggesting that it was not always beneficial to stock as many goods as possible,

The following articles to be sold cheap, as they intend giving over dealing in them.

A small assortment of Toys, such as Snuff-boxes, Tweezers, Broaches, Seals, Rings, Watch-chains, Buckles, and Sleeve-buttons; likewise Paintings on Glass, glazed Prints and Indian Pictures, and also Wrights Tools⁴.

All cabinet makers would have had to have a certain stock of 'toys' for completing such items as 'a Card and Backgammon Table with fluted feet, & Chessmen, Dice and Boxes Compleat'⁵, 'a Mahogany Billiard Table £21 ... [with] Clubs, kews & balls £ 4 13/ 6d'⁶, or even the 'Handsome Sattinwood writing Boxes with best cutt Ink and sand Glasses Complete' which Young and Trotter sold for a guinea each⁷, but the Brodies seem to have gone overboard

Other items at least advertised for sale included 'a quantity of fine old Kensington candles'⁸, and 'a most excellent NEW GRAND and a SMALL PIANO FORTE ... made by the best makers in London'⁹. Chimney tiles were also sold by Alexander Peter¹⁰ and the Brodies. Sir James Clerk bought sixty seven dozen for his

⁴EEC 3rd March 1766.

⁵Made by William Hamilton in 1777, for £4 12/ 6d. GD205/48/18/1/20.

⁶Made by Wm Lamb in 1795. NLS MS14692 f34-36.

⁷In 1776. SRO E342/10.

⁸From Robert Hay, cabinet maker. EEC 9th May 1789.

⁹By E Liston, upholsterer and cabinet maker. EEC 28th March 1795.

¹⁰In 1738 Peter furnished 15 Dutch pigs and 6 English chimney pigs 'to compleat the marble chimneys' for George Dundas of Dundas. GD75/533.

new house at Penicuik, Midlothian,¹¹ and the first advertisement that Brodie ever placed in the newspapers mentioned at the end that he had

a great variety of Chimney-Tyles (brought from the maker and just now imported from Holland) among which are several different Figures, composed of six Tyles, and very prettily designed; all sold at the lowest Prices¹².

Gilbert suggests that 'dabbling in luxurious exotica may well have been a regular commercial side-line amongst fashionable provincial cabinet-makers'¹³, and the evidence in Edinburgh certainly seems to bear this out.

IMPORTS

Along with the above tiles, there are a few instances of cabinet makers and upholsterers selling imported goods, but they can be briefly cited, and it is slightly unclear whether these items were actually imported by the sellers themselves. In 1760 the Edinburgh Upholstery Company had 'a curious collection of MARBLES for CHIMNEYS, HEARTHES and TABLES ... they are the first of their kind that has been introduced into this country'¹⁴, which would have been an adventurous thing to be importing in competition with architects and masons, but would certainly have been advantageous for their trade in pier and side tables¹⁵. At the other end of the decorative spectrum in 1775 Robert Scyth, as well as having a great quantity of goods

¹¹In 1768 and 1769. GD18/1837/5.

¹²EEC 23rd April 1754. He charged the white ones at 15d per dozen 'the rest in proportion'. EEC 20th May 1754. They were 20d a dozen by 1768 (see above). Brodie had sold tiles as early as 1742 when he supplied Thomas Short with 54. SC39/17/204/26 October 1758.

¹³C Gilbert 'Wright and Elwick of Wakefield, 1748-1824; a Study of Privincial Patronage' *Furniture History* XII 1976 p40.

¹⁴EEC 19th July 1760.

¹⁵See above, Carving.

from London, had 'two fine INDIAN LANDSCAPES, in Bass Relief, and some INDIAN PAPER, lately imported'¹⁶.

EXPORTS

Hugo Arnot, in his *History of Edinburgh*, written in 1788, states that mahogany and household furniture was exported from Edinburgh to Prussia, Poland, Germany, Gibraltar, North America and the West Indies¹⁷. Yet there is tantalisingly little evidence of who was making it, if, indeed, there was anyone who specialised in this field.

The only found document detailing an Edinburgh cabinet maker's involvement with exporting furniture that they had made is a typically unexplained account in the Sheriff Court records. This gives details of a consignment of furniture made by William Reoch, which was

Shipt on board the Vessell Called the James of Dundee Capt. Robert Crauford Master then lying in the Port of Leith Bound for Virginia - which Goods were to be by the said Capt. Robert Crauford Disposed of in Virginia for the behoof of the Deponent [Reoch] & Mr Thomas Gray Mercht. in Edinburgh the Deponents CoPartner in the Goods¹⁸.

It was apparently actually shipped on the 27th April 1748, and the contents are listed below;

Six Solid Sandars ¹⁹ Chayrs	£12 : - : -
two Mohoganee Desks	12 : - : -
two hand Broads	- : 18 : -
a Sandars Ditto	- : 10 : -
three pillar'd tea treas	3 : 3 : -
one small Ditto	- : 17 : -
a 3/4 Chest Mohoganie Draurs	2 : 15 : -
two round Dining Tables	3 : 18 : -
two round folding Tables	4 : 16 : -
two Bason stands	1 : 16 : -

¹⁶EEC 20th May 1775.

¹⁷Hugo Arnot *History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* 1788 p583.

¹⁸This is dated the 23rd February 1749. SC39/17/168.

¹⁹A type of wood, normally called Red Sanders.

a large Chest of Mohoganie Draurs	3 : 15 :-
a half Chest Ditto	2 : 10 :-
a Walnuttree tea Chest	- : 15 :-
twelve solid Mohoganie Chayrs	14 : - :-
ten large packing Boxes	4 : - :-
Cartage to Leith	- : 5 :-

The total came to sixty seven pounds and eighteen shillings. This furniture is all very expensive, which suggests that only the finest quality pieces were being exported. Ironically, however, as this account survives as the result of a [missing] legal process, it is highly likely that the furniture never reached Virginia. The only other crumb of information in this line is an advertisement placed by Finlay Law & Co, Carvers in Perth, in 1799, who announced that they made everything in their line 'for HOME SALE and EXPORTATION'²⁰.

One can only speculate about the reasons for this lack of information, but the furniture that was exported may have been bought by merchants beforehand, and their accounts have rarely survived²¹. Alternatively, if cabinet makers exported it themselves, there would have been no need for accounts, other than with the ship owners. One can only hope that legal records may shed more light on the subject in time, as Custom's records are rarely specific enough for these purposes²².

²⁰EEC 1st August 1799.

²¹There are for instance some merchants' account books in the Court of Session records, but these have been of little help. CS96.

²²Gillows, in Lancaster, exported furniture to the West Indies throughout the eighteenth century, and it is likely that cabinet makers in Glasgow may have been similarly engaged. To date, however, the evidence is scant. See K E Ingram 'Furniture and the Plantation: Further Light on the West Indian Trade of an English Furniture Firm in the Eighteenth Century' *Furniture History* XXVIII 1992 pp42-97 and E T Joy 'The Overseas Trade in Furniture in the Eighteenth Century' *Furniture History* I 1965 pp1-10.

PROPERTY

Cabinet makers and upholsterers often acted as agents for both letting and selling buildings, and some even built them. Speculative building was very risky, especially towards the end of the century, but the potential rewards were frequently too great to resist¹.

Given the upholsterer's natural role of hiring furniture, it was logical that they should engage in renting the houses which required furnishing. It is generally impossible to discern whether these houses belonged to the upholsterers in question, or whether they were acting as agents for someone else's property; a combination of the two is most likely. William Lamb certainly did not own No 8 Queen Street, which he was advertising for sale in 1792. This house, in Lamb's words 'the most superb on this side of the Tweed', was not offered with any furniture, although 'parts of the furniture fitted to the various rooms [could] be had at an appraisement'². Lamb also had available to let several houses in Hill Street, which he seemed to own, and offered to accommodate families 'with houses for the season ... from £20 to £55'. Then, as he pointed out, not only he but many other upholsterers were 'ready to supply the use of furniture on moderate terms'³.

Other upholsterers and cabinet makers who advertised houses to let and buy included Young, Trotter and Hamilton⁴, Francis Braidwood⁵, Alexander Peter⁶ and

¹Dorothy Bell has recently (1994) submitted a thesis to Heriot-Watt University about residential development in the Old Town of Edinburgh during the eighteenth century. This expands considerably on the role of tradesmen as builders. My thanks are due to her for discussions we have had, but the thesis was unavailable at time of writing.

²*EEC* 26th November 1792.

³*ibid.*

⁴In 1796 they had two houses in Charlotte Square for sale. *EEC* 27th June.

⁵In 1784 Francis Braidwood had a house to sell at the west end of Princes Street, and in the following year two houses in Hanover Street. *EEC* 10th April 1784; 9th February 1785.

⁶In 1764 Peter had two villas with gardens and paddocks to let outside Edinburgh. *EA* 20th March.

Francis Brodie. Of these four, Braidwood declared himself 'the builder' of his 'elegant' houses⁷, Peter appears to have been, and Brodie certainly was. Peter never advertised his services as a builder but Braidwood, when in partnership with William Bruce four year later, offered to undertake 'Joiner work, and Building in general as formerly'⁸. His speculative building on the South Bridge eventually drove him to bankruptcy, as it did the cabinet maker John Brough⁹. Francis Brodie typically, and uniquely for a cabinet maker in Edinburgh, as well as carrying on a considerable building programme on his own behalf, actually offered to give 'plans and designs for buildings'¹⁰. Given his allegiance to Palladio this may not seem surprising, but the scale of his building was very considerable¹¹.

Brodie owned, and possible built or refurbished, the major part of the close which bore his name in the Lawnmarket¹², and the adjoining close to the east, the Old Bank Close. He frequently advertised lodgings to let in these properties¹³. He also at one time or another acquired or built properties in Baxter's Close¹⁴, the Horse Wynd in the Canongate¹⁵, World's End Close¹⁶, Tweeddale Court¹⁷ and on the south side of

⁷*CM* 24th April 1784.

⁸*EEC* 15th May 1788.

⁹For Braidwood see CS235/SEQNS/B/2/8; for Brough see CS231/SEQNS/B/1/7.

¹⁰*EEC* 15th October 1757. He also offered 'designs of buildings drawn when required' *EEC* 3rd March 1766.

¹¹For Brodie, see the Case Study in Chapter IV.

¹²Or at least the lease on it.

¹³In 1766 he let a lodging in the Old Bank Close - ground floor and storey above - for 7 years to John Balfour Surgeon; RII9/18/44/216. See also *CM* 7th May 1745; 14th November 1751; 27th January 1755; or *EEC* 23rd April 1754.

¹⁴In 1765 he bought a 2-storey lodging and yard from the wright James Fisher. RH9/18/44/215.

¹⁵Where he had built a considerable 4-storey tenement, described ten years after his death (at which time it produced rents of eighty pounds a year) as 'remarkably well finished, and the lodgings exceedingly commodious'. He was constantly arguing with the Marquis of Lothian, who owned the neighbouring land, about this property, and there is copious documentation relating to it. It was ingeniously planned, and had a small central pediment. *EEC* 21st February 1778 and 20th December 1788; *CM* 22nd March 1783; Dean of Guild Court Petitions 1765, 1768 and 1772; CS238/B/4/13.

the High Street at the Netherbow¹⁸. This was certainly exceptional but gives an idea of the potential scope of interests for a successful cabinet maker with money to invest. It is also of note that Brodie chose to restrict his business interests, and, it appears, his residences, to the city, rather than aspiring to the life of a country gentleman.

¹⁶Several houses bought in 1758. CS29 2nd August 1771.

¹⁷Dean of Guild Court Petition 15th October 1781.

¹⁸Dean of Guild Court Petition September 1776; *EEC* 20th December 1788. I am grateful to Dorothy Bell for these Dean of Guild references.

MANUFACTURING

Furniture making was one of the last manufacturing processes to be industrialised, surviving totally as a craft or trade until well into the nineteenth century. This section then, is intended to briefly explore some of the other items the manufacture of which cabinet makers and upholsterers in Edinburgh engaged in, or encouraged, during the eighteenth century. Their involvement is the key element within the scope of this study, rather than the relationship of the objects to their trade, although there is invariably some connection. Thus although both glass and wallpaper¹ were manufactured in Edinburgh, and crown glass was being made in Dunbarton by the 1780's², as no furniture makers were involved in the process, they have not been discussed here³.

CARPETS

The Dalkeith Carpet Manufactory had been established for a few years when it advertised its wares in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 1763⁴. It had been set up by John Clerk, perhaps of Penicuik, and William Hume, a cabinet maker and upholsterer from Edinburgh, and made a 'large assortment of the very best SCOTCH CARPETS, both ingrained and common colours'. Hume kept a large quantity of stock at his wareroom in the High Street, and they supplied 'both Merchants and others, upon as reasonable terms as any in this country can'.

The greatest undertaking of this kind, however, and certainly the largest manufactory that any furniture maker became involved with, was the carpet

¹Bernard Messink announced in 1711 that he made 'the only true Italian sort of Flock Work for Hangings for Rooms ... [and] also makes all other Sorts of painted Paper'. *Edinburgh Courant* 26th September 1711.

²CM 25th August 1781.

³However more on paper stainers can be found above. See Upholstery.

⁴4th April 1763.

manufactory established by Young and Trotter, in partnership with William Cheap, in the early 1760's. Despite the weaving of carpets being 'already a considerable Branch of Trade in Scotland' the partners felt that it 'was still capable of increase by Improvements in their Quality', and so 'entered into a Co-Partnery for carrying on the Manufacture of that kind called Scotch Carpets, and also the Axminster kind made on the same principle with the Turkey Carpets'.

In prosecution of both these 'Fabricks, they were determind to spare neither pains nor Expencc to do the same with Effect, and in consequence they fitted up all the proper accommodations for a Manufactory in the Upper part of the old Tennis Court, where they have Erected Seven Looms for Scotch Carpets and Three Looms for the Axminster kind

as well as 'Two large Throw Mills with sundry other Expensive utensills'. They go on to complain of the 'imperfect state of the art of Dyeing in Scotland', in response to which

they have entered into a Lease of a very commodious Dye house at the Canon Mills for 21 years, engaged a Dyer from England and purchased and fitted up all the necessary Utensills and accommodations for Dyeing at their own proper Charge, by which they are now enabled to Dye their Colours in a superior manner, and will very soon, [be able to] at considerable less Expencc, than usual.

All this is quoted from a petition presented to the Trustees of the Board of Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland⁵, set up to promote not only manufacturing in Scotland, but also good design. The partners were hoping for 'such assistance ... as the Extent and Utility of their undertaking shall appear to Merit', claiming that 'the whole materialls, excepting a Triffle of Dye stuffs, is home produce and the entire process performed' in Edinburgh. They had already spent over fourteen hundred pounds establishing this manufactory, but 'flatter themselves to be able to show some improvements in Scotch Carpets' as well as possessing 'a Manufacture of the Axminster kind, equal to any produced in England at the like prices'. The final card

⁵It is not dated but was probably presented in 1765. NLS MS17565 f289.

to their petition was the trump that the partners, being 'aware of the importance of Taste and propriety of design' had resolved 'to avail themselves of their situation in the Capital, by calling in the aid of Pattern drawers, &c'. This was aimed squarely at the Board.

The Company also let the public know of their undertaking, boasting that they could weave the finest carpets 'on the same principle as the Persia carpets, after designs by the best masters'⁶. At the same time they gave notice that they required 'two apprentices for making the fine carpets [who] must have some taste for designing: Likewise two apprentices for weaving Scotch carpets; they must be stout lads and not under 16 years of age; and one apprentice for the dying business'. The manufactory must have been a success as two years later the partners needed 'SIX GIRLS from ten to fourteen years of age, to be taught to work Axminster or fine Persia carpets'⁷.

Unfortunately, although Young and Trotter supplied a great deal of carpet after this date⁸, their accounts never specify whether it is their own. There were other carpet manufactories, such as William Inglis and Company's Woollen Manufactory in Lanark, which made a 'large Assortment of Brussels, Wilton and Scotch carpets ... at the lowest prices'. William Lamb, the upholsterer, was Inglis' agent in Edinburgh, offering 'upholsterers and dealers [the] same terms as the manufacturers'⁹.

A measure of the success of the Scotch carpet industry, and presumably therefore Young and Trotter's manufactory as well, is given by one of Edward Topham's letters, entitled *The different Manufactures of Scotland*, dated February 18th 1775.

⁶EEC 27th February 1764.

⁷CM 19th April 1769.

⁸For instance 'Black & yellow 1/2 diamond Carpeting' in 1769, or the 'Exminster Carpet 16'10" by 11'6" ' supplied to Register House in 1790. NLS17607/174; SRO 4/71.

⁹EEC 10th August 1768. In 1782 one Henry Scott, carpet manufacturer, died at the Pleasance. CC8/8/126/1.

But their chief manufactory, and that on which, in my opinion, the Scotch ought to rely, is their Carpets: many other countries will rival, if not exceed them, in their other branches; but in this they are without a competitor. In many articles their success hitherto has been owing to the cheapness of their labour: in this its excellence alone has been its best recommendation. The sale which these Carpets meet with in England is astonishing: you find them in every house, from the highest to the lowest, as they are calculated to suit that class of people who wish for the conveniences of life, but who cannot afford the extravagant prices of Wilton, Axminster, and other more expensive manufactories. They have been, in a great measure, the means of rendering the houses here so comfortable, and are the best securities against stone buildings, stone stair cases and a cold climate. As yet their artists have not arrived at much elegance in the design or brilliancy of colour: but these improvements follow of course; the embellishments of art and luxury always succeed to convenience. In some pieces that I have seen, which have been made by particular orders, great taste has been shewn: a proof that an idea, as yet, probably, in its infancy, has been started of improvements in this article. When those improvements take place, and the period will not be far distant, this manufactory may be as much distinguished for its elegance, as it is now for its goodness¹⁰.

BLANKETS

In 1765 Young and Trotter needed 'several BOYS and GIRLS to serve as wool-spinners, wool-pickers, and pinn winders' and they also gave out wool from their factory for people to spin at home¹¹. Doubtless some of this wool was intended for their carpet manufactory, but a few months earlier they had also established a 'BLANKET MANUFACTORY' where blankets were made using 'exactly the same fabricks as the English blankets, and of all the different sizes [and weights] in use'¹². These blankets were 'of their own manufacture [were] equally warm and light as the English Blankets, but much more durable' and also of 'as fine colours and good quality as any manufactured in England and afforded at lower prices'¹³.

¹⁰Edward Topham *Letters from Edinburgh 1774-1775* Edinburgh 1971pp175-6. For more on Scotch carpets see Margaret Swain 'A Note on Scotch Carpets' *Furniture History* XIV 1978 pp61-2.

¹¹EA 12th July 1765.

¹²EEC 9th March 1765.

¹³CM 20th August 1766.

They propose to sell [all] kinds on the lowest terms, either for home use or exportation. And they expect the encouragement of the Public towards promoting a manufacture of such evident utility to the country¹⁴.

Despite these claims in 1782 Young and Trotter sold three 'superfine English Blankets' to Lord Hailes, at twenty one shillings each¹⁵. This must have reflected either prejudice on his part, or the fact that 'superfine' was beyond their manufacturing capabilities - certainly their advertisements only mention 'coarse', 'middling' and 'fine' blankets.

FLAX

Flax production, from whence linen was manufactured, was strongly encouraged by the Board of Manufactures. This may have persuaded Francis Brodie to establish a lint mill at the Cowgate end of his close in 1762, where he had for sale 'all sorts of Lint Beards, Tow and Flax undressed'¹⁶. Although this may not seem to be obviously related to his profession one of the by-products of flax production, tow, was a coarse fibre left over once fine steel combs had removed the flax from its stalk. Tow could be used by itself for padding or incorporated with plaited rushes or straw for making the soft bulky matts used for packing furniture¹⁷. As well as using these himself Brodie sold them to other cabinet makers too¹⁸, but the undertaking cannot have been a great success as in 1769 he was 'giving over dealing in flax [and] his stock in trade ... is to be sold, by roup, at his own house in the Lawnmarket'¹⁹.

¹⁴*idem* note 7.

¹⁵NLS Acc7228/539.

¹⁶EEC 6th March 1762.

¹⁷Gilbert *Chippendale op. cit.* p29. See above, Packing and Transport.

¹⁸'New Matts for packing goods'. *supra* note 16.

¹⁹EEC 22nd April 1769.

It is interesting to note that Alexander Peter, although not apparently involved himself, made a small mill for dressing flax for Duncan Campbell of Glenure in 1767. With all the 'necessary utensills' this cost £ 5 7/ 1d²⁰. Given the evident small scale of this production, it could have been feasible for cabinet makers to all produce their own tow, but it was probably cheaper to buy it from a large factory where it was essentially a waste product.

MISCELLANEOUS

The attempt by James Turner, wright, to get permission to manufacture 'Rapseed, Lintseed, Birdseed' and other oils in about 1700 has already been discussed²¹, but is a clear case of a cabinet maker manufacturing a product which is necessary for his trade, and which he can sell to his colleagues, as Brodie attempted with flax. Turner's success or otherwise was not recorded, but Andrew Laurie, a cabinet maker and upholsterer who was clearly of an inventive frame of mind, embarked on a not dissimilar course when he announced in 1797 that he had 'discovered a particular method of SEASONING FEATHERS AND DOWNS'²². These he recommended to the public and trade as 'they may be depended upon to give perfect satisfaction to every purchaser'.

Laurie also made 'PENTAGRAPHERS for reducing profile likenesses into miniature'²³, and this inventive aptitude puts him squarely in the same bracket as Angus McKinnon, an upholsterer and cabinet maker who had invented a Patent Portable Washing Mill. In 1791 he explained that

the savings the mill affords to families in the articles of coals and soap, together with their safety and expedition, has occasioned so rapid a demand for them, as to have unavoidably

²⁰GD170/397/8.

²¹GD406/119/259/16. See Chapter II.

²²EEC 6th May 1797.

²³EEC 18th May 1793

occasionally some small delay in their delivery; but having now employed a number of additional workmen, he flatters himself he will be able to overtake every order within a few days after he's favoured with it²⁴.

Two years later McKinnon had added to his range and now

respectfully recommends his PATENT PORTABLE MANGLES, which, though contained in the space of little more than an easy chair, will operate as speedily and effectually as the largest of the common construction²⁵.

As well as these items of his own invention and manufacture he was obviously unable to resist any new-fangled idea, as he was also the agent for

Mr Faners Composition so universally esteemed for beautifying new, and restoring decayed, Mahogany furniture, with printed directions for its use, sold ... by appointment of the Patentee, and nowhere else in Scotland²⁶.

²⁴EEC 28th February 1791.

²⁵EEC 26th January 1793.

²⁶*ibid*.

VII

CONCLUSION

Pat Kirkham has remarked with reference to London that

throughout the eighteenth century the tendency towards capitalist organization was speeded up and the solitary master craftsman was gradually replaced by figures like Samuel Norman and Thomas Chippendale who placed themselves at the head of relatively large and comprehensive firms¹.

Edinburgh witnessed a similar revolution, specialist master craftsmen with small workshops, such as William Scott, giving way to larger firms run by the likes of Francis Brodie and Alexander Peter, which in their turn were superseded by the more comprehensive, adaptable and fashionable firms of the later years of the century. The all encompassing Young and Trotter towered over Edinburgh's furniture trade during this last quarter of the century, and when the firm was taken over by William Trotter in 1805 it marked the symbolic end of one era, as surely as the publication of the *Edinburgh Book of Prices* heralded the beginning of the nineteenth century trade, and the road to mass manufacturing. Trotter dominated his peers, eventually rising to the post of Lord Provost, and still overshadows the firms of his father, and those of his father's competitors and their forebears. In a different way William Brodie has upstaged his father Francis, who, although admittedly a less romantic figure, is nevertheless far more interesting from the perspective of furniture history. Francis Bamford, when he wrote of the time before 'Deacon Brodie dropped all too literally, from the Edinburgh scene'², was attempting to set that record straight³. This thesis

¹P Kirkham 'Samuel Norman: a Study of an Eighteenth Century Craftsman' *Burlington* August 1969 p502.

²F Bamford 'Some Edinburgh Furniture Makers' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XXXII 1966 p50.

³In case the reader is not aware, William Brodie was hanged for theft in 1788, having led a so-called 'double life' for several years, combining the respectable role of Deacon with the less respectable life of mistresses, gambling (with loaded dice), and theft. It is reputed that as Deacon he had improved the design of the gallows, from a swing to a drop, soon before his exposure. He was also widely believed to have been resuscitated after his hanging, and to have provided the inspiration for Jekyll and Hyde.

continues that attempt, not only on behalf of Trotter and Brodie senior, but also their fellow tradesmen.

But what of the furniture they made? Ian Finlay, writing as early as 1948, considered that

from the eighteenth century there is little to distinguish Scottish from English furniture in style ... Many fine pieces of this period survive in country houses, their origins betrayed, if at all, only by a certain comparative sobriety, a taste for good proportions rather than ornament⁴.

Few would deny the essence of this but perhaps, in Edinburgh at least, the phrase 'proportion' should be replaced by 'fine quality timber'. After all, a certain miscalculation of proportion, or a misunderstanding of the fundamentals of a new design - in other words a naivety or ingenuousness of design, sometimes combined with local or lesser quality materials, is often precisely what distinguishes provincial from the finest furniture.

The quality of furniture can of course vary wherever it is made, and it is a combination of quality and the manner in which fashion was interpreted which generally marks out a piece of furniture as provincial. It is a provincialism of mind, and pocket, rather than matter, and as such provincial furniture, using the word in the perjorative sense, can originate from anywhere. Cabinet makers in Edinburgh were of course aware of what Robert Campbell called the 'Taste of Fashion'⁵ and, as Edward Topham insisted in 1774, 'no place under the sun is more absolutely under the dominion of the word fashion' than Edinburgh⁶. At best its furniture, whilst perhaps not being as ambitious as the most expensive London pieces, undoubtedly reflected this, and often, when made of the finest indigenous materials, had a quality all of its

⁴Ian Finlay *Scottish Crafts* London 1948 p59.

⁵Robert Campbell *London Tradesman* 1747. Quoted by C Gilbert *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1978 p47.

⁶Edward Topham *Letters from Edinburgh 1774-1775* facsimile edition Edinburgh 1971 p135.

own. Indeed, John Reid, writing at the end of the nineteenth century, acknowledged this when he stated that ‘specimens of [Deacon] Brodie’s beautiful workmanship, recognisable by the trade, are still to be found in mansions throughout the city’⁷. This suggests that they were valued more for their quality than for Brodie’s notoriety.

In the introductory paper of the first volume of *Regional Furniture* Dr Bill Cotton wrote that

the presuppositions inherent in ... conventional furniture history studies reflect above all else, an appreciation of the decorative qualities of objects, and the pre-eminence of specialist designers or ‘architects’ of style. These approaches largely disregard the makers of furniture, and condemn craftsmen to a profound anonymity, which is similarly reflected in a disregard for structure and manufacturing technique. Disinterest in issues of production is not, however, typically extended to purchasers of such furniture, since the notion of patronage of the arts holds a respectable position within the propagation of ‘accredited’ crafts ...⁸

Documented pieces alone can clear the present muddied waters and help establish a convincing structural and aesthetic canon in the future; my determined priority, however unsuccessful, has been to seek them out, as structural analysis can only be worthwhile when one has convincing provenanced pieces for comparison. If this is a failing I must likewise confess to an interest in patronage, as any manufactured product is a response to demand, whatever strata of society that demand originates from. Indeed to consider furniture in any other context, or rather lack of context, is to raise it to an isolated artistic pitch for which it was rarely intended. Yet I hope that by acknowledging the importance of economics, social and political circumstances, and fashion on producer and consumer, and examining these through the lens of

⁷J Reid *New Lights on Old Edinburgh* Edinburgh 1894 pp180-1.

⁸B Cotton ‘Regional Furniture Studies in the late 18th and 19th Century Traditions: an Introduction to Research Methods’ *Regional Furniture* I 1987 p1.

documentary sources, this thesis has rescued many craftsmen, both employers and employees, from 'profound anonymity'.

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APPENDIX I

CABINET MAKERS' AND UPHOLSTERERS' ACCOUNTS

This is a brief summary of the accounts which I have traced and consulted in the course of my research, giving the patron, dates over which the accounts extend, and references; the locations of the different collections are listed in the Note on References. In virtually all cases the men and women listed are working from Edinburgh, but there are exceptions; it is not always possible to tell from the accounts themselves. I have left out accounts which I know to have come from England. Spelling is generally as used on the accounts. The patrons are listed in very rough social precedence.

Abbreviations:

f	furniture of any sort
uph	upholstery of any sort, including carpets and wallpaper
und	undertaking
ww	wright work

Bamford noted in the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights and Furniture Makers* but not identified

AU MS	Aberdeen University Manuscripts
EU MS	Edinburgh University Manuscripts
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives
SRO	Scottish Record Office

ADAMSON, JAMES Carver Lord Moray	1770-72	carving	NRA(S)217/X/25/11
AITKEN, JAMES Wright William Lauder coachmaker	1731-52	ww/und	SC39/17/184/Aug1752
ALEXANDER, GEORGE George Burnet of Kemnay	1772	f	NRA(S)1368/202
ALISON, ANNA Lord Annandale	1705	uph	NRA(S)2171/141/2
ALISON, COLIN Innes of Stow Miss Jackie Clerk	1743 1746	f f	GD113/393 GD18/1839/2/20
ALLAN Robert Dundas	1788 1799	f f	<i>Bamford</i> NRA(S)3246/vol74
ALLAN, JOHN Lady Glasgow	1774-5		NRA(S)94/box5
ALLEN, BENJAMIN Alexander Burnett of Kemnay	1777	f	NRA(S)1368/15

ANDERSON & FORREST Upholsterers &c Mrs Hepburn of Monkrig	1765	uph	NLS MS17607
ANDERSON, ANDREW Robert Dundas	1759-69	f	<i>Bamford</i>
ANDERSON, GEORGE Carver Sir James Clerk	1763-9	carving	GD18/1758a
ANDERSON, JAMES Cabinet maker & Upholsterer Duke of Argyll Lord Milton	1760-1 1759-61	f f/uph	NLS MS17630/223 NLS MS16884, 16887 &MS17630/219
ANDERSON, ROBERT Wright Sir John Clerk	1722	und	GD18/2173
anon Lord Panmure	1696-1711	f/uph	GD48/18/992&1010
ANTONIUS, HENRY Wright Colonel Charteris Lord Ilay	1715-6 1734-5	ww f	NLS MS17710/13 NLS MS17644/193
ARCHIBALD, WILLIAM Lady Panmure	?	f	GD45/18/1030
BAILLIE, ROBERT Wheel wright William Lyon wright	1778-9	turning	SC39/17/343/M/1779
BAILLIE, WILLIAM Wright & House carpenter Lady Panmure Lord Dumfries	1729 1749-55	und f/und/ww	GD45/18/1344 NRA(S)631/A719, A651 A652, A666
BAIN, JAMES Lord Panmure	1786	und	GD45/18/856
BANNATYNE, ROBERT Lady Montrose	1706	f	GD220/6/1304/1
BARCKLAY, ANDREW Lord Annandale	1704	f	NRA(S)2171/538
BARTLETT, JOHN Lord Adam Gordon	1810	f/uph	NRA(S)2940/45
BELL, DANIEL Lord Milton	1722-34	f	NLS MS16885/94 & 16861/23
BEVERLY, ALEXANDER Thomas Hog	1775-85	uph	NRA(S)1141/27&30
BEVERLY & GORDON Upholsterers James Miller merchant John Smith wright Lady Caithness Mr Alexander Mrs Gordon Patrick Gilchrist	1770 1770 1769-70 1768-70 1770 1770		SC39/17/276/Apr1770 Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto
BLAIKIE, JAMES Wright Duke of Buccleuch Sir James Clerk	1764-7 1769	f/ww f	GD224/208/1 GD18/1839/2/83 &GD18/1758a

BOGLE, ARCHIBALD & CO Duke of Montrose	1764-5	f	GD220/6/1454/27
BOGLE, EDMISTON & SCOTT Lord Glasgow	1773	uph	NRA(S)94/box5
BRADSHAW, WILLIAM Duke of Hamilton	1740-41	f	NRA(S)2177/ex2772
BRAIDWOOD, FRANCIS Cabinet Maker & Upholsterer			
Robert Dundas	1800	uph	NRA(S)3246/vol174
Miss Bruce	1800-1801	uph	GD152/216/2/2/26
James Watson	1804	uph	GD150/3346
BRAIDWOOD & BRUCE			
Charles Brown of Colstoun	1798		NRA(S)2383/168
Mrs Bruce	1796-7	f	GD152/216/2/2/11-12x
BRANDERPLANK, JANE Lady Panmure	1700	f	GD45/18/997
BRODIE, FRANCIS Wright & Glass grinder			
Duchess of Montrose	1742-4	f	GD220/6/900/35
Duke of Argyll	1748-9	f	NLS MS1761/59
Duke of Gordon	1739-42	f	GD44/51/295-7 &GD44/51/465/1/34
Duke of Hamilton	1737-43	f/glasses/und	NRA(S)2177/625&873 & CS238/B/1/79
Lord Aberdeen	1745	und	GD112/35/24/17
Lord Dumfries	1746-60	f/glasses	NRA(S)631/A666&729
Lord Glenorchy	1743-4	f	GD112/21/78&279
Lord & Lady Traquair	1739-49	f	Traquair MSS
Lady Duff	1753	f	AU MS3175/1690
Lord Braco	1748	und	ECA Letters vol I p149
Lord Milton	173749	f	NLS MS16864/40 &16874
John Schaw(for Lord Tweeddale)	1747-52	glasses	
Sir John Clerk	1737-9	f	GD18/1839/1/121
Sir James Clerk	1758-69	f/tiles	GD18/1839/2/63 & GD18/1758a & GD18/1837/5
Sir John Kennedy	1738	glasses	GD25/9/13/A
Sir Archibald Grant	1746-6	f	GD345/732
Sir Charles Gilmour	1748	f	BM Banks 28.19
Dundas's of Arniston	1738-49	f	NRA(S)3246/107 & vols49&51
James Ramsay of Auchtertire	1748	und	GD35/35
Mrs Ross of Pitcalnie	1759-60	f	GD199/64
Mrs Ross of Priesthill	1761	f	RH9/1/158
Miss Betty Gordon	1749	f	NMA neg no.M3752
John Dalrymple	1748	f	GD135/2228/33
Innes of Stow	1744	f	GD113/393
James Geddes	1737	und	RH15705
John Donaldson	1759	und	CS214/29/Aug1763
George Campbell of Aires	1758	f	CS229/B/2/68
Walter Kerr of Nenthorn	1757	f	Ditto
Robert Ewing	1739-42	f	Ditto
Capt Ferguson	1763	f	Ditto
Alexander Thomson gardner	1756	f	Ditto
Charles Todd merchant	1750	f	Ditto
David Black	1740	packing	Ditto
Mrs Couston	1761-3	flax/rent	Ditto
Mrs Montgomery Cunninghame	1761	f	Ditto
Thomas Dundas	1753	ww	Ditto
William Ross merchant	1741	f	CS29/Nov1741Brodie
Charles Banks stabler	1746-58	ww	SC39/17/204/Oct1758
Frederick Symonds vintner	1756-8	f	Ditto
Lauchlan Mansfield	1754-8	f	Ditto

Thomas Short	1742-58	f	Ditto
George Watson painter	1753-7	glasses	SC39/17/201/Jan1757
Hans Cleiland	1754-7	ww	Ditto
Alexander Turnbull wright	1743-6	sconce hire	SC39/17/160/Jun1746
BRODIE, FRANCIS & WILLIAM Cabinet makers & Upholsterers			
William Little of Liberton	1767	ww	BM Banks 28.18
Ross's of Pitcalnie	1764-80	f/packing	GD199/64, BOEC ¹ , &NMA neg nos. M17&20
Roger Hog	1775-6	f	NRA(S)1141/27
BRODIE, JOHN			
Andrew Alves WS	1735-7	chaise	SC39/17/139/Jan1737
BRODIE, JOHN			
James Denholm of Cranshaws	1735-7	f	Ditto
BROUGH, JOHN			
Capt Bertram of Nisbet	1777	f	GD5/452/K
Mr Bruce	1776	f	GD152/216/1/5/19&48
Professor Bruce	1777-8	f	GD152/216/1/6/48
BROWN, ALEXANDER Upholsterer			
Lord Glasgow	1773	uph	NRA(S)94/Deed box 5
BROWN, CHARLES			
John Trotter	1736-7	f	SC39/17/140/Jun1737
BROWN, GEORGE Wright			
Sir John Clerk	1740	f	GD18/1839/1/115
BROWNE, ANDREW			
Duke of Roxburgh	1734	f	NRA(S)1100/279
BROWNHILL, JAMES Wright			
Sir John Clerk	1722	f	GD18/1839/1/100
BRUCE, ALEXANDER Upholsterer			
Duke of Argyll	1750-59	uph	NLS MS17620&17629
Lord Milton	1750-60	uph	NLS MS16878,16882 16884 &17629/35
BRUCE, WILLIAM (and Sons) Upholsterer			
Robert Hay of Duns	1787-1796	f/uph	NRA(S)2720/481,483 &731
William Lyon wright	1777-9	uph	SC39/17/343/M/1779
BUCHANAN, THOMAS			
Lord Montrose	1765	und	GD220/6/1454/41
BURN			
Robert Dundas	1796	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74
BUTTER, CHARLES & WILLIAM Wrights			
Lord Milton	1749-51	f	NLS MS16876/49
Innes of Stow	1743	f	GD113/393
John Campbell of Barcaldine	1756-9	f	GD170/284/1-3
Campbell of Glenuer	1771	f	GD170/463
Duncan Campbell	1758-70	f	GD170/397/5-6
CADDELL, JAMES Upholsterer			
Duke of Argyll	1759	uph	NLS MS17629/34

¹Book of the Old Edinburgh Club XXXIII 1966.

Lord Milton	1761-2	uph	NLS MS16887/54
Lady Caithness	1760-69		SC39/17/223/Apr 1762
Lord Cassillis	1762-3	f/uph	GD25/9/7
Lord Dumfries	1762-4	uph	NRA(S)631/A719/12
Lord Glenorchy	1744-65	uph	GD112/21/78-80
Lord Morton	1748-49	uph	GD150/2453/3/45
Robert Dundas	1755	uph	NRA(S)3246/vol51
Sir James (?) Dalrymple	1768	uph	NLS Acc7228/539
CAIRNS, ALEXANDER Wright			
Lord Milton	1751	f	NLS MS16876/33
CAITCHEON, JOHN Carver & Gilder			
Lord Glenorchy	1770	picture frames	GD112/21/80
Hay of Drummellier	1770	carving	NRA(S)2720/192
CAMPBELL, JOHN			
Lady Moray	1723	f	NRA(S)217/VI/16/1466
CAMPBELL, ROBERT Merchant			
Lady Makerstoun	1724	f	NRA(S)2838/260
CAMPBELL			
Lord Ilay (later Duke of Argyll)	1741	f	NLS MS17646/280
CHAMBERS, JOHN Wright			
Burnett of Kemnay	1741	f	NRA(S)1368/113
CHAPMAN, WILLIAM			
Lady Mary Hogg	1774-5	glasses	NRA(S)1141/27
CHISHOLM, WILLIAM			
Lord Strathmore	1767-8	f/ww	NRA(S)885/150/7
CLARK, RICHARD			
Lord Hopetoun	1805-6	f	NRA(S)888/73/1
Sir George Clerk	1811-12	f	GD18/1839/2/118
Hay of Duns	1796-1817	f	NRA(S)2720/727 & 732
Robert Dundas	1795	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74
John Gordon	1792	f	NRA(S)2940/163
CLARK, SAMUEL			
Lord Hopetoun	1784-5	f	NRA(S)888/147/622
CLEPHAM(E)			
Robert Dundas	1793-1800	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74
CLEPHAM, ROBERT			
Harry Maule	1721-2	f	GD45/18/1337
CROOKSHANK, BENJAMIN			
George Burnett	1772-9	f	NRA(S)1368/202,205 &210
CRYSTAL, WILLIAM Wright			
George Burnett	1732-42	f/ww/und	NRA(S)1368/134,136, 138&149
CULLEN, JAMES			
Lord Hopetoun	1753-71	f/uph &c	NRA(S)888/147/525, 621-2 ²
Lady Milton	1760	f/uph	NLS MS16885
David Gavin	1762		GD282/13/122

²See also documents on display at Hopetoun.

CUNNINGHAM, EDWARD Wright George Dundas of Dundas	1754	und	GD75/327
CURRIE, WILLIAM Lord Cassillis	1768-9	f	GD25/9/8 financial MSS
CUTHBERTSON, GEORGE Cabinet Maker James Dalrymple	1718	misc.	NLS Acc7228/495
DALRYMPLE, SARAH Lady Saltoun	1726-8	glasses	NLS MS16877/45
Lady Makestoun	1724	glasses	NRA(S)2838/260
Lord & Lady Panmure	1711-29	f/glasses	GD45/18/1008,1010, 1020,1344
Lord Maule	1729	f	GD45/18/1343
Sir James & Lady Dalrymple	1710-27	f/und	NLS Acc7228/494,497
DAUNEY, WILLIAM Lord Kintore	1802	billiard table	AU MS 3064/276/B66
DAWSON, WILLIAM Upholsterer Lord Marchmont	1750-4	uph	GD1/648/4
DEAN, ROBERT Wright Lord Milton	1749	f	NLS MS16874/85
DENHOLLME, ROBERT Lord Annandale	1698	f	NRA(S)2171/139/2
DICK & RONALD Lord Hopetoun	1772-4	uph	NRA(S)888/147/525 &555
DICK, WILLIAM Robert Dundas	1737-45	uph	NRA(S)3246/vols49&54
DOUGLASS, CHARLES Lord Tweeddale	1732-56	f/ww	NLS MS14665/25-60
Lord George Hay	1744-50	f	NLS MS14679/260-1
DUNLOP, THOMAS Wright Lady Cullen	1727	f	GD345/572
EDINBURGH UPHOLSTERY COMPANY Duke of Argyll	1756-9	uph	NLS MS17626-17629
Lord Hopetoun	1755-9	f/uph	NRA(S)888/147/388
Lord Lauderdale	1760-62	f	NRA(S)832/1/16,2/9 &6/7
Lord Milton	1762	f	NLS MS16887/58
Sir James Clerk	1756	f	GD18/1839/2/53
Robert Dundas	1755-6	fuph	NRA(S)3246/vols51&63
John Campbell of Barcaldine	1756	misc	GD170/284/1
Alexander Hay of Drumelzier	1757-8	f	NRA(S)2720/136
Mrs Hepburn of Moncraig	1768	uph	NLS MS17607/141
Thomas Hog of Newliston	1774	f	NRA(S)1141/27
Incorporation of Mary's Chapel	1758	uph	NLS Acc7228/2/13
ESPLEN, JOHN & CHARLES Lady Aboyne	1734	f/uph	NRA(S)217/IV/10/5
ESPLINE, THOMAS Lord Moray	1705-6	uph	NRA(S)217/VI/16/368 &374
FARQUHARSON, HENRY Robert Dundas	1788	carving	<i>Bamford</i>
Mrs Hay of Duns	1796	picture frames	NRA(S)2720/731

FIFE, JOHN Lady Glasgow	1773-4	f	NRA(S)94/box5
FLEMING, WILLIAM Burnett of Kemnay	1790	f	NRA(S)1368/15&71
FORBES, JOSEPH Wright Sir Archibald Grant	1752	f	GD345/732
FORREST - see ANDERSON & FORREST			
FOULDER, JON Robert Dundas	1726	glasses	NRA(S)3246/106
FRASER, JOHN James Caddell James Whitsunday	1769-70 1769-70	f/uph f/misc	SC39/17/276/Apr 1770 Ditto
GILCHRIST, JOHN Wright Lord Montrose	1703	f	GD220/6/969/44
GILES, ARTHUR Wright Thomas Hog of Newliston	1773-84	f/ww	NRA(S)1141/27-30
GILLESPIE - see RUSSELL & GILLESPIE			
GILLIES, J Wright Robert Dundas	1788	f	<i>Bamford</i>
GOOD, ANDREW Wright Lady Makestoun Robert Dundas	1724-7 1734-8	f/uph f	NRA(S)2838/260,319 NRA(S)3246/vol49
GOODALL, JAMES Wright Sir William Dick	1728-31	f	RH15/36/25
GORDON, LEWIS Upholsterer Sir James Dalrymple John Baillie wright	1773 1771-2	uph	NLS Acc7228/540 SC39/17/291/Mar1772
GRANT, DAVID Lord Cullen	1700-01	f/und	GD345/727/4
GREY, ABRAHAM Wright & Cabinet maker Sir James Clerk Sir James Dalrymple	1769 1768-9	f f	GD18/1839/2/80 NLS Acc7228/539-40
GREENFIELD, ALEXANDER Mrs Hay of Hops	1795	f	NLS MS14692/27
HAIGS, JOHN Sir John Clerk	1727-8	f	GD18/1839/1/170,172 & GD18/1767/38
HALDEN, JOHN William Hall	1722	f	GD206/3/2/5/10
HAMILTON, WILLIAM Cabinet maker Duke of Argyll Lord Milton Sir James Clerk James Durham of Largo Balfour Ramsay David Ross	1758-61 1764-5 1770-2 1769-70 1768-9 1767-9	f f f f f/uph f	NLS MS17630/216 NLS MS16889/7 GD18/1837/5 (&1758a) NRA(S)3215/37 GD288/262 RH15/44/136

HAMILTON, WILLIAM <i>qv</i> & SON (JAMES - see also YOUNG & TROTTER)			
Duke of Hamilton	1777	f/uph/inventory	NRA(S)2177/100/10
Lord Hopetoun	1773	f	NRA(S)888/147/525
Lord Kintore	1779-84	f/uph/und	AU MSS3064/276
Sir James Dalrymple	1768	f	NLS Acc7228/539
Robert Dundas	1768-72	f	<i>Bamford</i>
Patrick Home	1777-8	f	Paxton MSS
William Forbes	1785-6	f	GD171/2293/55 & -/2311/55
William Nesbitt	1777	f/uph	GD205/48/18/1/18-21
General Campbell	1776-9	f	NLS MS16890/256
Professor & Mrs Bruce	1775-88	f/uph	GD152/216/1/10/30 & -/216/1/5/1,31 & -/216/1/4/59
Trinity House, Leith	1774-5	f	GD226/Minute books
HARRIS, JOHN			
Lady Annandale	1709	f	NRA(S)2171/150/1
HASTIE, JAMES Upholsterer			
Lord Dumfries	1746-7	uph	NRA(S)631/A719,649
HAY - see MENZIES & HAY			
HAY, GEORGE Wright			
Duke of Queensberry	1723	f	NRA(S)1275/1553
Lady Makestoun	1724	f	NRA(S)2838/319
Sir Archibald Campbell	1722	f	NRA(S)1400/589
Colonel Charteris	1714	f	NLS MS17708/122
HEART, JOHN Wright			
Duke of Queensberry	1723	ww	NRA(S)1275/1553
Lord Lauderdale	1744	und	NRA(S)832/61/6
Lord Montrose	1694	f	GD220/6/964/21
Lord Moray	1706	f	NRA(S)217/VI/16/373
Lord Panmure	1696-1722	f	GD45/18/992&1018
HIBBERT, JOHN			
Lady Annandale	1709	f	NRA(S)2171/150/2
HILL, THOMAS Wright			
Patrick Hutchison	1761-70	f/und	SC39/17/276/Apr1770
HOUISON, CHARLES			
George Dundas of Dundas	1762	und	GD75/329
HUE, HENRY Carver & Gilder			
Lady Moray	1706	glasses	NRA(S)217/VI/1/380
Lady Panmure	1713	gilding	GD45/18/1010
Sir David Dalrymple	1712	picture frames	NLS Acc7228/494
HUNTER, CHARLES Wright			
John Sime weaver	1761-2	f	SC39/17/223/Apr1762
HUNTER, JAMES Wright			
Lady Powhouse	1726-39	f	SC39/17/145/Feb1779
Mr Nisbet of Craigentiny	1737-9	und	Ditto
Mrs McGrigor	1735-9	ww	Ditto
James Haliburton	1736-46	und	SC39/17/159/1745
Mr Grant	1721-2	und	GD345/767
INGLIS (& CALLENDER/HORNER)			
Sir James Clerk	1765	uph	GD18/1842a
George Clerk	1772-7	uph	GD18/2607/2

INGLIS, THOMAS Wright Mr Cameron	1752	f	GD202/44/5/1
JAFFRAY, GEORGE George Burnett	1779	f	NRA(S)1368/210
JAMIESON, WILLIAM William Hay	1703	misc	NRA(S)2720/33
JOHNSTON, JOHN Wright Sir John Clerk	1733-41	f	GD18/1837/3
JONES, KATHERINE Colonel Charteris	1710	glasses	NLS MS17713/221
KAY, WILLIAM Sir John Ogilvie of Invercarity	1757-60	f	GD205/28/236
KEIR, PATRICK Wright Sir John Clerk Mr Stirling of Garden	1730 1737	f f	GD18/1839/1/157 NRA(S)2362/379
KELLIE, JOHN Sir John Clerk	1732-3	f	GD18/1839/1/145,151
KER, JOHN & ANDREW Wrights Lady Sophia Ker	1690	und	NRA(S)2838/361
KIRKWOOD, JOHN Sir Alexander Kinloch	1801	f	NRA(S)2595/130
KIRKWOOD, WILLIAM Sir James Hall	1739-40	f	GD206/3/2/5/26
LAING, DAVID Wright Duke of Hamilton Sir John Clerk	1737 1735-50	f f	NRA(S)2177/541 GD18/1839/1/119,129 &132 &-/1839/2/28 &-/1739/3
William Cunningham	1725	f	RH15/36/25
LAING, DAVID Lord Balcarres	1799	f	NLS Crawford MSS
LAMB & SCYTH (see also WILLIAM LAMB and ROBERT SCYTH) Sir James Clerk Robert Dundas	1773 1772-3	uph uph	GD18/1758a <i>Bamford</i>
LAMB, WILLIAM Upholsterer (see above) Lord Glenorchy Lord Kames Lord Panmure Lord Tweeddale Charles Brown of Colstoun General Fletcher of Saltoun Robert Dundas	1777 1783 1798 1795-7 1794 1780 1787-1801	f und f/uph billiard table und f/uph f	GD112/21/81 GD24/5/4/187 GD45/18/2409 NLS MS14692/34-6 NRA(S)2383/168 NLS MS16890/285 NRA(S)3246/vols70,74 & <i>Bamford</i>
Robert Hay of Duns William Menzies of Menziesfield Robert & William Forbes	1796 1793 1793-1805	f f/uph f/uph	NRA(S)2720/731 CS238/L/273 GD171/2689,2699 &-/2392/60 &-/2403/34,35 &-/2507/2
Thomas Hog Mr Ogilvie of Chesters Charles Watson Alexander Callander	1776-80 1790 1792 1789-91	f/uph/und f/uph f f	NRA(S)1141/28,29 NRA(S)162 GD150/3334 NRA(S)2953/79,82

Donald Maclean	1780	und	GD174/586
Professor Bruce	1776-7	uph	GD152/216/1
Mr Balfour	1768-9	uph	GD288/262
Hugh Maxwell	1774-85	uph	CS234/L/2/54
Mrs Clark Dunbar	1785-6	uph	Ditto
Mrs Martin	1781	f/uph	Ditto
LAMB, WILLIAM & SON (WALTER) Upholsterers			
Duke of Hamilton	1804	f	NRA(S)2177/693
Sir Michael Shaw Stewart	1818-21		NRA(S)2631/3,68
John Clerk of Eldin	1808-11	f	GD18/2180/96
Miss Clerk	1809	und	GD18/2180/140
Charles Watson	1803-4	uph/f	GD150/3346
James Watson	1813-14	f	GD150/3351
Capt William Hope	1805-8	uph/und	NRA(S)2171/886
General Campbell	1801	f	NLS MS16892/231
Judges of Commissary Court	1811-17	f	CS229/L/5/16
LAVARICK, SAMUEL			
Lord Annandale	1702	f	NRA(S)2171/155/2
LAWRIE, ANDREW Upholsterer			
Sir Alexander Kinloch	1801	uph	NRA(S)2595/130
LAWSON, GEORGE Upholsterer			
Lord Dumfries	1750	uph	NRA(S)631/A729
Cameron of Fasfair	1750		GD202/44
LEBLANC, JAMES (possibly Merchant)			
Lord Cullen	1712	f	GD345/727/112
Lord Panmure	1711-2	glasses	GD45/18/1008,1010
Sir James Clerk	1709-10	f	GD18/1839/1/73
LEITCH, PATRICK Wright			
Robert Hunter	1767-76	f/ww	SC39/17/322/L/1776
LIDDLE, JAMES Carver			
Robert Dundas	1788-99	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74 & Bamford
Robert Hay	1795-6	carving	NRA(S)2720/731
William Forbes	1787-8	f/carving	GD171/2324/30,31 & 2336/37, 2329/80
Charles Watson	1781-9	f/carving	GD150/3338 & -/3311/92 & -/3321/51,53
LIDGERWOOD, JOHN			
Robert Hay	1795-6	f	NRA(S)2720/731
LINDSAY			
Robert Dundas	1792	uph	NRA(S)3246/vol74
LITTLEJOHN, WILLIAM			
Alexander Leslie	1770	picture frames	NRA(S)1368/200
LYON, WILLIAM Wright			
David Letham barber	1772-9	f	SC39/17/343/M/1779
Edward Bowie	1774-9	f/und	Ditto
MACKFARLANE, JAMES Wright			
Lord Panmure	1696-1701	f	GD45/18/993,996
MALCOLM			
Robert Dundas	1799	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74
MANN, WILLIAM & CO			
Duke of Montrose	1785	f/uph	GD220/6/1585/25-6

MARNOCH, JOHN Carver Sir George Clerk	1810-18	picture frames	GD18/1839/2/108,120 &144
James Gordon	1796	ditto	NRA(S)2940/163
Robert Dundas	1795	ditto	NRA(S)3246/vol74
MARSH, WILLIAM Upholder Alexander Burnett	1777	f	NRA(S)1368/136
MASON, JOHN Wright Sir Archibald Grant	1742	und	GD345/860
MATHESON, ROBERT Lord Panmure	1730	f	GD45/18/1345
MATHIE, WILLIAM Carver Lord Milton	1760-2	carving	NLS MS16886/40 & 16887/65
Sir James Clerk	1757	picture frame	GD18/1839/2/59
Lord Dumfries	1759-62	carving	NRA(S)631/A720
Robert Dundas	1759-61	carving	NRA(S)3246/104
Capt Wedderburn	1764-5	f	GD247/172/2
MATHISON, GILBERT Lady Roxburgh	1695-6	f	NRA(S)1100/158
MCDOWALL, JAMES Lord Dumfries	1767	f	NRA(S)631/A720
MCCULLOCH, COLIN Wright Ross of Pitcalnie	1757	und	GD199/182
MCMURDO, WILLIAM Lord Balcarres	1793	f	NLS Crawford MSS
MCVEY, WILLIAM Wright Sir John Clerk	1723-4	f	GD18/1839/1/177
Lady Saltoun	1731-2	f	NLS MS16859/19,29
MENZIES & HAY Wrights Dr Tillidaff	1757-8	f	GD205/28/232
MIDDLETON, ALEXANDER Sir Alexander Grant	1756	f	GD345/772/33
MIDDLETON, JAMES Sir William Dick	1729	f	RH15/36/25
MILLAR, ANDREW Wright Lord Panmure	1704	picture frames	GD45/18/1000
MILLAR, BASIL Wright Duke of Hamilton	1730-1	f	NRA(S)2177/535
MILLAR, DANIEL Joiner Duke of Hamilton	1726-31	f	NRA(S)2177/535
Duke of Argyll	1744	f	NLS MS17617/79
Sir John Clerk	1733	f	GD18/1839/1/148
MOFFAT Robert Dundas	1738	glasses	NRA(S)3246/vol49
MOIR, ALEXANDER Lady Aboyne	1734	f	NRA(S)217/IV/10/32

MONTGOMRIE, JOHN Wright Sir David Dalrymple Sir John Clerk	1708 1739-42	f/ww f	NLS Acc7228/493 GD18/1839/1/105,122 &-/1837/3
MORE, ARCHIBALD John Clerk	1665-6	f	GD18/1839/1/12
MORRISON, FRANCIS Wright Burnett of Kemnay	1722	f	NRA(S)1368/125
MORTIMER, ALEXANDER George Burnett	1769	f	NRA(S)1368/199
MOUBRAY, JOHN Wright Duke of Roxburgh Alexander Menteith William Butcher	1734 1736-7 1736-7	f f ww	NRA(S)1100/279 SC39/17/140/Aug1737 Ditto
MOUBRAY, ROBERT (& ELIZABETH) Lady Annandale	1698-1711	f	NRA(S)2171/663 &-/152/1, -/141/2
Lady Dalrymple	1714-25	f	NLS Acc7228/495,497
Lady Makerstoun	1723	f	NRA(S)2838/319
Lord & Lady Montrose	1702-7	f	GD220/6/1304/7 & -/6/970/11
Lady Moray	1705-6	uph	NRA(S)217/VI/16/376
Lady Panmure	1710-13	f	GD45/18/1010
Lord Glenorchy	1708-11	f	GD112/42/3/23
Sir John Clerk	1702-24	f	GD18/1837/3 & -/1839/1/47,57,66, 178 & 189
Sir James Dalrymple	1726-7	und	NLS Acc7228/497
Sir James Hall	1708-10	f	GD206/3/2/5/4
Mrs Robertson	1706	f	NRA(S)2171/150/1
MUIR, DAVID Wright Lord Montrose	1706	f	GD220/6/1304/3,5,6
MURRAY, GEORGE William Hall	1754	f	GD206/3/2/5/30
MURRAY, JOHN Duke of Hamilton Lord Ilay (later Duke of Argyll) Lord Milton	1733-4 1733-54 1718-45	glasses glasses und/glasses	NRA(S)2177/624 NLS MS17615,17623 NLS MS16854/208 16855/27,89&180 16856/131, 16859 16860/37,16864 16867,16872/194 16874,16876,16879
Lady Charteris	1719	glasses	NLS MS17711/203
Lord Eglinton	1737-40	glasses	NLS MS16867/44
Sir John Clerk	1724-46	f	GD18/1839/1/169,188 & -/1839/2/19
MURRAY, WILLIAM Upholsterer Lord Balcarres Sir James Clerk George Drummond Hay of Drumelzier Innes of Stow	1753 1754-7 1752-3 1751-3 1744	f uph uph uph glasses	NLS Crawford MSS GD18/1839/2/49,51,56 GD24/5/4/141 NRA(S)2720/124 GD113/394
NEILSON, GEORGE Wright Lady Roxburgh	1737	f/ww	NRA(S)1100/183
NEILSON, WILLIAM Wright Mrs Gillies	1744-6	f/ww	SC39/17/159/Feb1746

NORRIE, JAMES Lord Makerstoun	1721	f	NRA(S)2838/270
OGILE, JOHN Wright & Cabinet maker Duke of Argyll	1750-1	f	NLS MS17621
Lord Glenorchy	1740-50	f	GD112/15/275/9,33 & 21/78&279
Mr Jonathan Burlie	1749-50	f	SC39/17/173/Mar1750
OVENSTON, THOMAS John Gordon of Cairnfield	1790-1	f/uph	NRA(S)2940/163
PALMER, ALEXANDER Wright Robert Dundas	1753-7	f	NRA(S)3246/vols51,54
PATERSON, JOHN Wright Lord Hopetoun	1752-8	ww/frames	NRA(S)888/147/373
PETER, ALEXANDER Wright Duke of Gordon	1738-9	f	GD44/51/465/1/9
Lord Illay/Duke of Argyll	1733-60	f/ww	NLS MS17629-30 & 17643-4,17615-9
Lord & Lady Cassillis	1753-4	f	GD25/9/7,19
Lord Lauderdale	1764-8	f	NRA(S)832/59/50 & -/1/11
Lord Dumfries	1744-64	f/ww/und	NRA(S)631/A655&720
Lord Glenorchy	1745-54	f	GD112/21/78-9,281
Lord Hopetoun	1742-63	f/und	NRA(S)888/147/354 & & -/401,451,594
Lady Hall	1756-9	f	GD206/3/2/5/31,34
Lord Carmichall	1736	f	NLS MS16863/36
Lord Doune	1734-7	f	NRA(S)217/IV/9/697 & -/9/762
Sir Archibald Grant	1751-3	f/ww	GD345/732 & -/772/89
Clerks of Penicuik	1740-71	f	GD18/1839/1/106-8,152 & -/1837/4
Robert Dundas	1734	f	NRA(S)3246/vols49,51
Arthur Gordon	1736	f	RH15/1/18/6
Innes of Stow	1743-4	f	GD113/393
Col Campbell	1767-8	f	NLS MS16889/160
William Dalrymple	1744-5	f	NRA(S)631/A700
Alexander Edmondston	1758-60	und	CS237/P/1/66
Duncan Campbell	1767	flax machine	GD170/397/8
Andrew Watson plasterer	1761-72	ww	SC39/17/291/Feb1772
James Rattray esq	1771-2	ww	Ditto
James McPherson mason	1768-72	tools	Ditto
Mrs McClaggan midwife	1760-72	und	Ditto
Mrs McFarquhar	1769-72	f	Ditto
Robert Walker tanner	1769-72	f	Ditto
John Grant writer	1772	ww	Ditto
John Scott surgeon	1771-2	ww	Ditto
Thomas Jack lint dresser	1772	ww	Ditto
William McIntosh vintner	1770-2	ww	Ditto
George Gall	1747-8		RD13/88/box336 Nov7
James Sutherland	1747-8		Ditto
Gilbert Smith	1749		RD13/89/box339 Aug8
The Orphans Hospital	1741	ww	GD417/214/1-2
PETTIGREW, GAVIN Wright Duke of Argyll	1744	f	NLS MS17617
PRINGLE Robert Dundas	1796	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74
PRINGLE, JAMES Lady Eccles	1737-8	f	NRA(S)2838/288

PROUDFOOT, JAMES Wright Lord Hopetoun	1779	f	NRA(S)888/147/555
PURPL, JOHN Wright Sir James Clerk	1768	turning	GD18/1758a
RAE, GEORGE Upholsterer Col Campbell Mrs Hepburn of Moncraig	1767 1769-70	uph uph	NLS MS16889/83 NLS MS17607/185
RAEBURN, ANDREW Wright Lord Milton	1754	f	NLS MS16879/22
RANKEN Robert Dundas	1800	uph	NRA(S)3246/vol74
RANKEN, JAMES Wright Lord Tweeddale Sir James Clerk	1763-5 1739	ww f	NLS MS14680/66 GD18/1839/1/124
REDPATH, ALEXANDER Upholsterer Thomas Pringle	1796		CC8/8/130/2
REID, FRANCIS 1788-9	f	f	GD170/463
REOCH, WILLIAM Wright and Cabinet maker Sir John Clerk Thomas Hog Mrs Cameron made for export	1712-47 1774 1752 1749	f picture frames glasses f	GD18/1839/1/79 &-/1839/2/22 NRA(S)1141/27 GD202/44/5/2 SC39/17/168/Feb1749
RHIND, WILLIAM Wright Laird of Spynie	1749	ww	NRA(S)770/1/2
RIDDELL, GEORGE Sir John Clerk	1722-37	f	GD18/1839/1/187
RITCHIE, THOMAS Wright Duncan Campbell	1757-8	clock case	GD170/397/15
ROBBINS Robert Dundas	1795-7	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74
ROBERTSON Robert Dundas	1799	f	NRA(S)3246/vol74
ROBERTSON, ROBERT Innes of Stow	1743	f	GD113/393
ROBERTSON, WILLIAM Wright George Burnett	1765	f	NRA(S)1368/195
ROSE, ALEXANDER Cabinet maker Duke of Gordon George Burnett	1741-2 1746-66	f f	GD44/51/297 NRA(S)1368/149,194 & 197
RUSSELL & GILLESPIE Alexander Hay Lord Milton Lord Tweeddale	1763-7 1762-3 1762-3	f/und uph uph	NRA(S)2720/160,315 NLS MS16888/17 NLS MS14679/264

RUSSELL, JAMES Upholsterer (see above)			
Lord Strathmore	1766-9	f/uph	NRA(S)885/150/7
Lord Tweeddale	1773-5	uph	NLS MS14679/268
Mrs Hepburn of Moncraig	1768	uph	NLS MS17607/142
Robert & Alexander Hay	1787-98	f/und	NRA(S)2720/24,371, 481,483,498&727
William Menzies of Menziesfield	1793	f/uph	CS238/L/2/73
Col Macpherson	1790-2	f	NRA(S)2614
James Mathieson	1770-2		SC39/17/291/Feb1772
Walter Cunningham	1770-2		Ditto
RUTHERFURD, SAMUEL			
Robert Dundas	1728-9	glasses	NRA(S)3246/106
SANDEMAN, GEORGE Wright			
Lord Glenorchy	1765-6	f	GD112/21/80
James Campbell	1761-75	f	GD170/284/4,5
SANDERSON, ALEXANDER Wright			
Sir Harry Innes	1755-6	f	NRA(S)1100/1443
SANDERSON, JOHN Upholsterer			
Lady Annandale	1708-9	uph	NRA(S)2171/150/1
SCHAW, JOHN & ALEXANDER Upholsterers			
Duke & Duchess of Montrose	1742-56	f/uph	GD220/6/900/29 &-/6/1426/7
Duke of Gordon	1739	uph	GD44/51/465/1/5
Duke of Hamilton	1732-47	f/uph/und	NRA(S)2177/336,624-5
Lord Illay/Duke of Argyll	1736-54	uph	NLS MS17615-17621 & 17622-3
Lord Tweeddale	1747-53	f/uph	NLS MS14662/46-55
Lord Milton	1725	uph	NLS MS16857,16862 & 16873
Lord Balcarres	1744	und	NLS Crawford MSS
Lord Glenorchy	1742	uph	GD112/21/78
Sir James Dalrymple	1773		NLS Acc7228/540
Sir John Clerk	1751	uph	GD18/1729/6
George Clerk of Dumcrieff	1751-5	uph	GD18/5751
William Hall	1729	uph	GD206/3/2/5/15
Robert Dundas	1735-49	uph	NRA(S)3246/vols49,54
George Burnett	1751-2	uph	NRA(S)1368/154
Hay of Drummelzier	1751-9	uph	NRA(S)2720/123-5
Innes of Stow	1743	uph	GD113/393
Mrs Ross of Pitcalnie	1755	f	BOEC ³ XXXIII p59
SCHAW, WILLIAM & JANET			
Lord Panmure	1726-9	f/uph/und	GD45/18/1341,1344
Lord Stair	1705	uph	NLS Acc7228/493
Sir John Clerk	1726-9	uph	GD18/1767/5/60
Mrs Charteris	1715-6	uph	NLS MS17710/12
SCOTT, WILLIAM Cabinet maker			
Lord Annandale	1699-1700	f	NRA(S)2171/140/1 & -/397
Lord Montrose	1700-2	f	GD220/6/970/20 &-/6/1096/4 &-/6/1304/20,22
Lord Panmure	1691-1713	f/glasses	GD45/18/986,997,1007 1008, 1010
Sir David Dalrymple	1708	glasses	NLS Acc7228/493
William Hay	1707	f	NRA(S)2720/16
SCOTT, ALEXANDER Upholsterer			
James Forbes	1787-91	f/uph	AU MS 2414/54

³idem note 1.

SCYTH, ROBERT Upholsterer (see also LAMB & SCYTH)				
Charles Brown of Colstoun	1783			NRA(S)2383/168
Professor Bruce	1776	uph		GD152/216/1/5/46
SHERRIFF, MATTHEW				
Lord Tweeddale	1800	f/uph		NLS MS14692/37
SHIELL, WILLIAM Wright				
Lord Lauderdale	1761-5	f		NRA(S)832/14/23
SIMSON				
Robert Dundas	1795	f		NRA(S)3246/vol74
SKIRVING, ALEXANDER Wright				
Lord Panmure	1691	f		GD45/18/986
SMITH, ALEXANDER Wright				
George Burnett	1765-79	f		NRA(S)1368/195,209
SMITH & CO				
Duncan Campbell of Glenure	1753	f		GD170/397/3
SMITH, MARY				
Alexander Burnett	1777	f/uph		NRA(S)1368/15
SMITH, NATHAN				
George Burnett	1773-6	uph		NRA(S)1368/203,206
SOMERVILLE, JOHN Wright				
William Selkirk carter	1762-4	f		SC39/17/231/Jan1764
STARK, JAMES				
Duke of Argyll	1750-2	f		NLS MS17620,17622
Lord Milton	1749-58	f		NLS MS16875-6,16884
STEPHEN, ROBERT				
Burnett of Kemnay	1735	f		NRA(S)1368/113
STEVENSON, GEORGE Wright				
Robert Dundas	1739-63	f/ww		NRA(S)3246/105,236
STEWART, FRANCIS Wright				
Duke of Douglas	1736	und		NRA(S)859/55/1
Lady Douglas	1726-35	f/ww		NRA(S)859/55/1
Lord Balcarres	1744	und		NLS Crawford MSS
STEWART, HARRY				
Lord Milton	1754-7	f		NLS MS16882/60
STRACHAN, WILLIAM Carver & Gilder				
Dowager Duchess of Montrose	1743	picture frames		GD220/6/900/8,15
Lord Hopetoun	1742-3	carving		NRA(S)888/147/388
Sir James Dalrymple	1734-41	carving		NLS Acc7228/490
Robert Dundas	1739-47	picture frames		NRA(S)3246/vol51
John Dalrymple of Stair	1747			GD135/2231/15
STRAHAN, PATRICK & CO				
Duke of Gordon	1738	f		GD44/51/465/1/36
Madam Lamont	1732	f		NRA(S)1368/106
SYMINGTON, JOHN (& CO) Upholsterer				
Duke of Douglas	1736	und		NRA(S)859/55/1
Lady Eccles	1737	uph		NRA(S)2838/282
Lord Glenorchy	1743-5	uph		GD112/21/78
Robert Dundas	1735-44	uph		NRA(S)3246/vol49

Innes of Stow	1743	uph	GD113/393
SYMSON, WILLIAM Jnr George Burnett	1741-2	f	NRA(S)1368/149
TENNANT, CHARLES Lady Panmure	1729	und	GD45/18/1343
THOMSON, JOHN Carver & Gilder Duke of Atholl	1760	carving	Atholl MSS ⁴
Lord Glenorchy	1773-6	carving	GD112/21/81
Sir James Clerk	1767-75	carving	GD18/1837/5
Mr Laing	1776-96	carving	NRA(S)1141/28
Robert Dundas	1765-72	carving	NRA(S)3246/vol63 & Bamford
THORBURN, ALEXANDER Upholsterer Lady Montrose	1702-3	uph	GD220/6/698
Lady Panmure	1708-10	f	GD45/18/1010
Lord Cromartie	1707		GD305/1/153/212
Sir John Clerk	1709	uph	GD18/1839/1/68
THORBURN, GEORGE Upholsterer Lady Annandale	1711	uph	NRA(S)2171/538
TOD, GEORGE Lord Hopetoun	1776	f	NRA(S)888/147/555
TOD(D), HENRY Charles Brown of Colstoun	1785-6	f	NRA(S)2383/186
Mrs Fletcher of Saltoun	1807	f	NLS MS16893/103
Robert Dundas	1788	uph	Bamford
TROTTER, THOMAS - see YOUNG & TROTTER			
TROTTER, WILLIAM ⁵ (see also YOUNG & TROTTER &c)			
Lord Hopetoun	1805-6	f	NRA(S)888/73/1
Sir George Clerk	1809-10	f	GD18/1839/2/121
Sir Alexander Kinloch	1808-10	f	NRA(S)2595/142
Sir Michael Shaw Stewart	1819-22	f	NRA(S)2631/97
Capt William Hope	1806-8	f	NRA(S)2171/886
Thomas Hog	1812-5	f	NRA(S)1141/31
William Hay	1813-18	f	NRA(S)2720/726
WALKER, ROBERT George Burnett	1734	f	NRA(S)1368/136
WALMSLEY, RICHARD Richard Brigandine	1733-4	f/uph	NRA(S)1368/107
WARDROP, JOHN George Mcliesh	1765	f	GD170/397/4
WATSON, WILLIAM General Campbell	1801	f/uph	NLS MS16892/220
WELSH, THOMAS Wright & Carver Lord Hopetoun	1764-66	f	NRA(S)888/147/642
Robert Dundas	1757		NRA(S)3246/104
WHITS & MITCHEL			

⁴See C G Gilbert *Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1978 pp129-30.

⁵These are included for interest, partly because I had the references, and partly as a spur to future researchers. In most cases these patrons employed his father's firm. There is a huge pool of Trotter accounts waiting to be discovered, many of which I have had to ignore.

Lord Panmure	1772	f	GD45/18/2409
WHIT, DAVID Wright Lord Annandale	1682	f	NRA(S)2171/143/2
WHIT, JAMES John Campbell	1730	f	GD170/322/1
Patrick Campbell	1739-40	f	GD170/247/1
WILSON, THOMAS Mr Hay	1751	f	NRA(S)2720/123-4
WOOD, ARCHIBALD Gilder Lord Milton	1760	carving	NLS MS16885/57
WRIGHT, GEORGE Lord Pamure	1709-12	f	GD45/18/1007,1009
WRIGHT, HENRY Lord Panmure	1690-3	f/und	GD45/18/987,994, 999,1240
WRIGHT, THOMAS Upholsterer Lord Cassillis	1772	uph	GD25/9/20
YOULL, JAMES Robert Dundas	1741	uph	NRA(S)3246/vol49
YOUNG & TROTTER Upholsterers & Cabinet makers (incorporating later partners James Hamilton <i>qv</i> and William Trotter <i>qv</i>) Lord & Lady Cassillis	1747-94	f/uph/und	GD25/9/18/23 &-/9/10/3/165,192 &-/9/8,9,19 &-/9/10/5
Lord & Lady Hopetoun	1750-89	f/uph/und	NRA(S)888/147/373, 388, 401,525,555 &-/75/4
Lord Glenorchy/Breadalbane	1765-87	f/uph/und	GD112/21/80,81 & -/15/444/64,78,71 &-/15/463/32
Lord Dumfries	1750-64	uph	NRA(S)631/A653,656
Lord Panmure	1798	f	GD45/18/2409
Lord Graham	1782	f	GD220/6/1577/36
Lord Hailes	1752-82	f/uph	NLS Acc7228/498,539
Lord Lauderdale	1762-8	f/uph	NRA(S)832/59/50 &-/1/15,16
Lord Mountstuart	1788	f	Bute MSS (<i>Bamford</i>)
Lord Tweeddale	1790-1801	f/uph	NLS MS14692/23-5 &-/31-3,38-9
Lord Milton	1757-60	uph	NLS MS16885/43
Lord Adam Gordon	1776-91	f/ww	SRO E 342/10
Sir Alexander Kinloch	1801-3	f	NRA(S)2595/129
Sir James Clerk	1758-70	f	GD18/1730,1758a
Sir John Hall	1759	f/uph	GD206/3/2/5/33
William Hall	1747-8	uph	GD206/3/2/5/27
General Fletcher-Campbell	1801-3	f	NLS MS16893/103-9
Robert Dundas	1769-1800	f/uph/ww	NRA(S)3246/vols48,54, 63&74 (<i>&Bamford</i>)
Patrick Home	1798-9	f/uph	GD267/3/4/6
Robert Hay	1788-1802	f	NRA(S)2720/493,727-8
Gordons of Cairnfield	1775-1806	f/uph	NRA(S)2940/191,219
William Menzies of Menziesfield	1793	f/uph	CS238/L/2/73
Miss Bruce	1800-01	f	GD152/216/2/2/21-2
Alexander Callander	1791		NRA(S)2953/79
Charles Watson	1779-92	f/uph/ww	GD150/3309/186 & -/3314/1/30-32 & -/3330/80-81
David Gavin of Langton	1761-5	f	GD282/13/122

J M McCulloch of Ardwall	1803-4	f/uph	NRA(S)231/1032
James Durham of Largo	1766	uph	NRA(S)3215/37
John Balfour	1766	f/uph	GD288/262,268
John Dalrymple	1748-59	f/uph	GD135/2228,2238
George Burnett	1760	uph	NRA(S)1368/162
Mrs Hepburn of Moncraig	1769	uph	NLS MS17607/174
Thomas Hog	1765-93	f/uph	NRA(S)1141/27-8
David McCulloch	1777-82	uph	SC39/17/363/7 1782
James Stewart	1771-2	und	SC39/17/291/Mar 1772
William Hepburn surgeon	1771-2		Ditto
Miss Jacobina Macqueer	1760-68	f	SC39/17/263/Oct 1768
James Stein of Kilbegie	1787-8	f	CS230/SEQNS/S/19
Richard Ridley	1789-90	und	CS29/10th Mar 1790
Robert Sinclair of Freswick	1798		CS29/26th Jun 1798
Catherine Innes	1784	f	CS21/24th Dec 1784
Thomas Fairholme	1780-85		CS29/30th Nov 1785
William Gifford	1780-84		CS21/6th Feb 1784
The New Assembly Rooms	1785-97	f/uph	GD1/377/40
Trinity House, Leith	1775	uph	GD226/4/6
Lord Register	1790-92	f	SRO 4/71
His Majesty's Exchequer (Holyroodhouse)	1796	f/uph/ww	EU MS LaII 488/29/23- 46

APPENDIX II

NEWSPAPER NOTICES

This appendix contains a complete list of advertisements placed by wrights or upholsterers between 1739 and 1790 in either *The Edinburgh Evening Courant (EEC)*, *The Caledonian Mercury (CM)*, *The Edinburgh Advertiser (EA)*, or *The Edinburgh Chronicle (ECh)*; and also in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* from 1791 to 1805. All the newspapers consulted were in the National Library of Scotland and this survey is as comprehensive as holdings allow. Where the same paper and year appear more than once under a single name the text of the advertisement has changed. All address's refer to Edinburgh unless otherwise stated.

SOS refers to a total Sale of Stock.

COA refers to a Change of Address.

- AITKEN, JAMES London
EEC 1787 Feb 15 Looking Glass sale
- ALISON, COLIN Wright Assembly Close
EEC 1746 May 5,6,8
- ALLEN, FRANCIS Cabinet maker Begbie's Land, West Bow
EEC 1789 May 23
EEC 1793 Jul 13,15 No.35 South Bridge Street and now also Causewayside
EEC 1794 Nov 22
EEC 1797 May 29 F. A. & Son - COA
No. 23 South Bridge Street
EEC 1798 Dec 22
EEC 1799 Mar 4 - sale of mahogany
EEC 1799 Jun 1
EEC 1800 Jan 18, Apr 24, Jun 19, Aug 21, Oct 30 - Ditto.
EEC 1801 Feb 14, May 14, Aug 27 - Ditto
EEC 1802 May 20, Nov 8
EEC 1803 May 9
- ANDERSON, DANIEL Carver (from London) 32 Nicholson's St
CM 1783 Oct 18
EEC 1779 Oct 2 now in partnership with Mylne
- ANDERSON AND FORREST Upholsterers Blackfriars wynd
CM 1766 Jan 27
- ANDERSONS, JAMES and WILLIAM Cabinet Chair makers Rose St
EEC 1789 Apr 11
- BAILLIE, JOHN Upholsterer and MCKINNON, A Cabinet maker Chalmer's Close
EEC 1789 Mar 28, Apr 2, Jun 6, 11, 13
EA 1789 Apr 3
CM 1789 Mar 18, 28, Apr 2, Jun 6, 11, 13
CM 1789 Sep 12, 19, 26, Oct 10 - COA
Adam's Sq. South Bridge
EEC 1789 Sep 19, 26
EEC 1791 Feb 19, Jul 14 below North Bridge High St
- without McKinnon qv
EC 1792 Jun 2 COA opposite City Guard
- BELL, ROBERT Bristo St
CM 1771 Apr 6, 8
EA 1771 Apr 5 -SOS deceased see also Miln and Bell
- BEVERLY, ALEXANDER Upholsterer below Blackfriars wynd
CM 1761 May 23
CM 1765 May 29, Jun 1 -with Lewis GORDON COA near the Tron Church
EEC 1765 Jun 1
EA 1765 May 31
CM 1768 Nov 30 - partnership dissolved
EEC 1768 Nov 30
EA 1769 Mar 31
CM 1769 May 20 - COA New Bridge St
EA 1769 May 23
CM 1779 Feb 20
EEC 1779 Feb 15
EEC 1792 Jun 2 COA Prince's Street
- BIGGAR, JOHN New Cabinet Warehouse opposite College Pillars
EEC 1802 Mar 6, 13
EEC 1805 Apr 27, May 4
- BOWIE, Wright and Undertaker Baxter's wynd Stirling
CM 1778 Jun 29, Jul 6, 13
- BRAIDWOOD, FRANCIS Cabinet maker Lady Stair's close, Lawnmarket
CM 1775 Aug 16
CM 1776 Feb 3
EA 1776 Feb 2, Apr 5
EA 1783 Jun 24, Jul 8, 15 - new wareroom in the Luckenbooths
EEC 1783 Jun 21, Jul 2, 16
CM 1783 Jul 5, 16
CM 1784 Apr 24
EEC 1784 Apr 10
EA 1784 Apr 23, May 11
EEC 1785 Feb 9, Mar 27
CM 1785 Feb 18
EA 1785 Feb 12
EEC 1786 Apr 1
CM 1786 Mar 29
CM 1788 May 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, Jun 28
- with Alexander Bruce qv
EEC 1788 May 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 31, Jul 5, 19, 21, 24, 26 COA South Bridge St
EEC 1789 Jan 15, Apr 30, May 2, 9, 18, 30
CM 1789 May 9
EA 1789 May 8, 19, 29, Oct 20
EEC 1790 May 24
EEC 1791 May 12, 16, 21
EEC 1792 May 19, 26
EEC 1793 May 18, June 8, Jul 6
EEC 1795 May 21, 28
EEC 1796 Apr 23, 30, Nov 12
EEC 1797 Jul 1, 8, 15 partnership dissolved - continuing separately
EEC 1797 Jul 13 No. 4 South Bridge
EEC 1797 Nov 25, Dec 2
EEC 1801 May 7, 16, Jul 4, 11, Nov 14, 21, 28
- additional wareroom
EEC 1802 May 6, 15
EEC 1802 Jun 19 fire in workshop
EEC 1803 Mar 12, May 14, Jun 6, 11

- EEC 1804 May 24 No. 106 South
Bridge St
EEC 1805 May 18
- BRODIE, FRANCIS** Wright and Glass
Grinder Lawnmarket
CM 1751 Nov 14,18,19
CM 1754 Apr 22,25,29
EEC 1754 Apr 23
EEC 1754 May 20
EEC 1754 May 23,27,28,30,Jun 3,6
CM 1754 May 23,27,28,30,Jun 3,6
EEC 1756 May 8,11,13,Jun 3
CM 1756 May 11,13,Jun 3
EEC 1757 Oct 15
EEC 1762 Mar 6,11,15
CM 1762 Mar 8,13,17
EEC 1766 Mar 3 - Brodie and
Son's
CM 1767 Mar 1
EEC 1767 Jan 19 - Fra. and Will.
Brodie's
CM 1767 Jan 17
EEC 1769 Apr 22
CM 1769 Apr 19
(Francis Brodie dies in 1782)
EEC 1788 Apr 19,21,26
CM 1788 Apr 19,26
EEC 1788 May 15,17
CM 1788 May 15,17 SOS
- EEC 1790 Jan 9 Workshops in
Brodie's close &c to let
EEC 1795 Feb 16 F. B.'s Canongate
tenement for sale
- BROUGH, JOHN SEN. and JUN.** Cabinet
maker and Upholsterer
No. 16 South Bridge
CM 1788 Nov 6 SOS - by William
Bruce
EEC 1788 Nov 1 (this probably
JUN.)
EEC 1794 Jan 4,9 - sale of Wright's
shop &c (of Brough & Son)
EEC 1794 Sep 8 - Brough Sen. in
partnership with James
JAMESON
No.12 Princes Street
EEC 1797 Jul 10,Oct 7 meeting of
creditors
- BROWN, JAMES** - see Palmer, A
- BROWN, JOHN** - see Martin, Ure & Co
- BRUCE, ALEXANDER**
- see Francis Braidwood
EEC 1797 July 1,8,15 - No. 16
South Bridge Street
EEC 1798 Apr 2
EEC 1798 Jul 14,16 - now in
partnership with Walter
Burns
EEC 1801 May 16,23
- BRUCE, WILLIAM** Upholsterer and
Undertaker City Guard
EEC 1769 Jun 19 - COA Clam Shell
Turnpike,Bell's wynd
CM 1769 Jun 17
EA 1769 Jun 20,23
CM 1771 May 11 - COA Dickson's
Close
EA 1771 May 17
EA 1772 Jun 24
- BRUCE, WILLIAM** Upholsterer and
Auctioneer Fleshmarket close
EEC 1784 Apr 26 - probably same
as above
CM 1784 Apr 26,May 1
EEC 1784 May 15,17 - selling
Brodie's stock
CM 1788 May 15,17
EEC 1788 Nov 1 -selling Brough's
stock
CM 1788 Nov 6
EEC 1791 Jul 18,25 W. B. & Son
- COA
No. 37 North Bridge Street
EEC 1791 Jul 23 - Bruce selling the
furniture from Balcarres
EEC 1792 Aug 4
EEC 1793 Jul 11
EEC 1800 May 1
- BRUNTON, JAMES** Glass Grinder
Chalmer's close Netherbow
EA 1789 Feb 27 - SOS(deceased)
- BRYDEN, DANIEL** Wright Grassmarket
EEC 1754 May 14 - SOS(deceased)
- BUCHAN, THOMAS** Cabinet maker
Libberton's wynd Lawnmarket
CM 1789 May 16
EEC 1789 May 16,18
- BURNS, WALTER**
- see Alexander Bruce
- BUTTER, CHARLES** Wright and
BARCLAY Royal Exchange
CM 1768 Jul 18,Nov 9,16,Dec 7
EEC 1768 Jul 16,Dec 7
- partnership dissolved
(for Butter also see Ed. Up.
Co.)
- CADDELL, JAMES** Upholsterer and
Undertaker Netherbow
see also Young and Trotter
CM 1754 May 6
EEC 1754 May 2
CM 1756 Apr 17,20,22
EEC 1756 Apr 24, 29 May 1
CM 1766 Dec 22,27
EA 1766 Dec 26 - in
partnership with William
Hamilton and James Russel
EEC 1767 Jan 3
EA 1768 Jul 22,Sep 2
- partnership with William

- Lamb dissolved
 EEC 1768 Aug 20
 CM 1768 Aug 13
 CM 1769 Jun 17
 CM 1769 Nov 4 deceased
 - business continued by
 Mrs. Caddell
 EA 1770 Jun 1,8 - who settles it
 on Robert SCYTH
- CAITCHEON, JOHN Carver and Gilder
 Carubber's close
 CM 1765 Jun 8
- CLARK, RICHARD The Rush Bottom'd
 Chair Manufactory Leith Walk
 EEC 1793 Jun 29,Jul 4,11,Nov 14,
 Dec 28
 EEC 1799 Sep 19,Dec 7
 EEC 1800 Dec 11,20
 EEC 1801 May 30,Jun 6,Jul 16,
 Dec 5
 EEC 1802 Jul 17,19,22
- COUPER, WILLIAM Upholsterer and
 Undertaker Blackfriar's wynd
 CM 1781 Mar 10
 EEC 1781 Mar 10,12
 EEC 1793 Oct 14,31,Nov 2 - Sale
- COUSTON, JOHN Wright Dunfermline
 CM 1762 Aug 11,14,16
 CM 1762 Dec 22,25 SOS(deceased)
 EEC 1762 Dec 24
- CULLEN, JAMES Upholsterer and Cabinet
 maker (from London)
 CM 1752 Aug 31 - with Schaw, A
 and Smith
 CM 1754 Feb 7, Apr 18, May 2, 16
 EEC 1754 Feb 7 founds the
 Edinburgh Upholstery
 Company with Charles Butter,
 Carubber's close
 CM 1754 May 20,27,Jun 13,27,
 Jul 11,Oct 29,Nov 4,5
 EEC 1754 May 21,27,
 Jun 4,11,18,25,
 Oct 28,29,31,Nov 7,11,12,14
 CM 1755 Apr 28
 EEC 1755 Apr 29,May 1,5,8,12,15,
 19,22
 CM 1759 Mar 15,20,22,24,27,29
 - Cullen returning to London
 EEC 1759 Mar 15,17,20,24,29
 - see Ed. Up. Co.
 EEC 1759 Jun 19,21,26 - taken the
 wareroom of William
 Bradshaw (his old master) in
 Greek St. Soho Sq. London
- CUMMINS, R. Carver and Gilder
 No. 5 South Frederick Street
 EEC 1801 Jul 11
- DALLAWAY, ROBERT Japanner Dunbar's
 Close (surely son of below)
 EEC 1802 Jul 10
- DALLAWAY, WILLIAM Japanner and
 Drawing Master Tolbooth Wynd Canongate
 EEC 1793 Feb 2 - in partnership
 with Son (Robert)
- DAVIDSON, WALTER Wright Nairn's
 Close Castlehill Edinburgh
 EEC 1793 May 18 SOS
- DAWSON, JOHN Carver Millbank
 Westminster London
 EEC 1748 Jul 21 - Looking Glass
 sale
- DRUMMOND, JOHN Upholstery and
 Cabinet Warehouse
 foot of Crichton Street Dundee
 EEC 1792 Jul 21
- DUN, JAMES Wright Westport
 EEC 1769 Oct 11
 EEC 1789 Feb 28,May 11,21 COA
 Laurieston St.
 EA 1789 Apr 10
 CM 1789 Jan 29, Feb 26, May 18,25
 EA 1790 Jan 1 SOS(deceased)
 EEC 1790 Jan 2
- DUPASQUIER, LEONARD Carver and
 Gilder Prince's St. (from Paris)
 CM 1775 Jun 5
 EEC 1775 Jun 3
 EA 1775 Jun 2
 CM 1779 Jul 24 COA Crosswell
 High St
 EA 1779 Jul 27
 EA 1781 Nov 16 COA Old Cess
 Office
- EDINBURGH UPHOLSTERY COMPANY
 - see James Cullen
 CM 1759 Mar 24,27,29,31, Apr 3
 ECh 1759 Mar 24,29
 EEC 1759 Mar 27,29,31, Apr 3,5,17
 ECh 1759 -see Alexander Peter
 CM 1759 Jun 9,11,13,16,18,20
 Edinburgh Upholstery, Joiner
 and Glass Manufactory
 Company, John Peat clerk
 ECh 1759 Jun 9,14,16,21,23,28
 EEC 1759 Jun 9,12,14,16,19,
 21,23,26
 CM 1760 Jun 7,11,Jul 19,21
 EEC 1760 Jun 9,11,Jul 19,23
 EEC 1763 Apr 23,27,30,May 4,7
 CM 1763 Apr 25,27,30,May 7
 CM 1764 Apr 2,4,7,9
 CM 1769 Feb 8,11,25,Mar 1,4
 - new warehouse in Carrubber's
 close
 EEC 1769 Mar 4
 EA 1769 Feb 14,21,24
 EEC 1772 May 6,9
 EA 1772 May 1,5,8
 EEC 1773 Jun 7,12,19
 - COA Miln's Sq.
 CM 1773 Jun 7,9,14
 EEC 1774 Apr 20,23,30,Jul 23,27,

- Nov 12,14
 CM 1774 Apr 20,23,30,Jul 23,
 Nov 14
 EEC 1776 Mar 6,13,May 22 SOS
 CM 1776 Mar 6,13,May 22
- EISTON AND MALCOLM** Upholsterers and
 Cabinet Makers
 EEC 1805 Aug 10,15,17,19 SOS
 - wareroom to let, apply
 Walter Lamb
- EWING, WALTER** - see Martin, Ure
 & Co
- FARQUHARSON, HENRY** Carver and
 Gilder New Bridge High St
 CM 1783 Aug 6
 EA 1783 Jul 1,5
 EA 1784 May 21
 CM 1785 May 23,Jun 1
 EEC 1785 May 21
 EA 1785 May 24,Jun 3
 EEC 1791 Jan 6,13 Scot's Arms
 No. 2 Princes St
 EEC 1793 May 18 - now " to His
 Royal Highness the Prince of
 Wales"
- FINLAY, LAW & CO** Carvers and Gilders
 opposite George Inn Perth
 EEC 1799 Aug 1 - see also James
 Law
- FISHER, Mrs.** Cabinet maker Lady Stair's
 close Lawnmarket
 CM 1756 May 18 SOS (closing)
- FRASER, JOHN** Wright and Cabinet maker
 The Windmill
 EEC 1759 Jun 23
- GALL, MARY** Auctioneer Horse Wynd
 EEC 1797 Jan 7,Mar 6
 EEC 1798 Nov 19 SOS
 EEC 1800 Jun 21 - with new
 partner
 EEC 1801 Jul 6
- GIBSON, ROBERT** Carver and Gilder No. 1
 High Terrace Leith Street
 EEC 1796 Apr 2 (from London)
 EEC 1804 May 17
- GILES, ALEXANDER** Cabinet Maker and
 Upholsterer to the Prince of Wales North
 College St
 EEC 1803 Feb 26,Mar 7,21
 EEC 1803 Apr 21,23,31,May 7,14
 - new warehouse 35 South
 Bridge St
 EEC 1803 Jun 6 - fire damage at
 the Royal Arms
 EEC 1804 Feb 9,13,Mar 24,26,
 Apr 21,23,26,28
 EEC 1804 May 5,12,26,Oct 27,
 Nov 5
 EEC 1805 Mar 2,9,Apr 6,29,
- May 6,11,13,20,25,27
 EEC 1805 Jun 20,22,24,27,29,
 Aug 3,17,Sep 28,Oct 7
- GORDON, LEWIS** Upholsterer Near the
 Tron Church High St
 1765/8 -see Alexander Beverly
 CM 1769 Apr 12
 EA 1769 Apr 14
 EEC 1774 Mar 26 deceased
 - Mrs. Gordon continues
 CM 1774 Mar 26
 EEC 1774 Apr 4,6 - partnership
 with Charles Grant had been
 dissolved in February
 CM 1774 Apr 4,6
 EEC 1774 May 14,16,Jun 22,
 CM 1774 May 14,16,Jun 22,Aug 10
 - Mrs. Gordon continues with
 Patrick Reid staying as
 foreman
 EEC 1775 Feb 1
 EEC 1775 Feb 25,Apr 1,29 SOS
 - Charles Grant selling the
 timber
 CM 1775 Feb 25, Apr 1
 EA 1775 Feb 24
- GORRIE, WILLIAM** Wright and Cabinet
 maker Perth
 EEC 1790 Aug 5 SOS deceased
- GOWANS, J.** Carver, Gilder and Looking
 Glass Manufacturer
 No.3 North College St
 EEC 1803 Oct 15
 EEC 1804 May 12,19
- GRIEVE, THOMAS** Cabinet Maker,
 Undertaker &c College street
 EEC 1796 Dec 17
 EEC 1798 Feb 15
 EEC 1798 Nov 17 SOS
- HAMILTON, WILLIAM & SON**
 - see also James Caddell
 EEC 1790 Mar 11,13 - Wm retiring,
 James continues with Young
 & Trotter qv
 EEC 1791 Mar 19,26 Apr 2,11 SOS
- HAY, ROBERT** Cabinet maker Edinburgh
 Vendue Crosswell
 EEC 1789 May 9
 EEC 1792 Apr 28,May 26 COA
 No.2 North Bridge Street (also
 selling tickets for furniture
 lottery)
 EEC 1792 May 31
 EEC 1792 Jun 23,Jul 23
 EEC 1798 Jul 12 - Copartnery
 R. H. and Son dissolved
 - R. H. continues at Advocates
 Close, - Thomas Hay
 Upholsterer remains at North
 Bridge qv
 EEC 1803 May 14 sale (at No. 2
 North Bridge)

HAY, THOMAS Upholsterer No. 2 North
Bridge Street

EEC 1798 Jul 12 - see Robert Hay
EEC 1798 Dec 22

HUME, WILLIAM Cabinet maker City
Guard (member of the Dalkeith
Carpet Manufactory)

CM 1763 Apr 4,9,18
EEC 1789 Aug 24 SOS(deceased)

JAMESON, JAMES Cabinet Maker
- see John Brough

JAMESON, JOHN Wright and Turner Mary
King's close High St

EEC 1754 Jun 11,25

KAY, JAMES Cabinet maker Stephen Law's
close City Guard

CM 1754 Jun 11,13

KEIR, GEORGE Wright Colqhoun's Land
The Pleasants

CM 1749 Apr 13,20,24 SOS

KINNEAR, DAVID Wright Kirkgate South
Leith

EA 1787 Aug 7 SOS(deceased)

LAMB, WILLIAM Upholsterer Chalmer's
close High St (from London)

CM 1768 Jul 2,16 - late partner
with James Caddell

EA 1768 Jul 26

EEC 1768 Aug 10

CM 1768 Aug 6,27

EA 1768 Aug 9,23,Nov 15

EA 1768 Oct 25,Nov 18

CM 1768 Oct 31,Nov 26

EA 1769 Jan 31, Feb 14 COA
Blackfriar's wynd High St

EEC 1769 Feb 1,22

CM 1769 Jan 28, Feb 18

CM 1769 Jun 21, Nov 22, Dec 6

EA 1769 Nov 17,28

CM 1771 Apr 22,29 - partner with
Robert Scyth

EA 1771 Apr 26

EEC 1774 May 2 - dissolving
partnership

CM 1774 Apr 30, May 4

EEC 1774 Jun 22,27

CM 1774 Jun 22,25

EEC 1775 May 6

EA 1775 May 2

CM 1775 May 3

CM 1787 Dec 29 COA South Bridge

EEC 1787 Dec 29

EEC 1792 Nov 26 - selling a house
in Queen St (almost certainly
No. 8)

EEC 1799 Jan 17,19 - in
partnership with Son, Walter

EEC 1801 Jul 16

EEC 1802 Feb 27 - selling a set of
English Drawing Room
furniture

LAUNIE, WILLIAM Upholsterer and
Undertaker Libberton's wynd (from London)

CM 1765 Dec 18,21

CM 1778 Apr 18 partnership
with Lind dissolved

CM 1784 Aug 7 COA Milne's Sq

EEC 1784 Aug 7

EA 1784 Aug 6

LAW, JAMES Carver and Gilder &c Golden
Eagle George Street Perth

EEC 1799 Aug 1 - see Finlay, Law &
Co

EEC 1801 Oct 1

EEC 1802 Jan 4

EEC 1803 May 30, Jun 6

EEC 1804 Jan 2

LAWRIE (LAURIE), ANDREW Cabinet
Maker No. 2 Drummond Street

EEC 1793 May 18 - late foreman to
Wm Hamilton & Son

EEC 1794 Apr 26

EEC 1795 Apr 16

EEC 1796 Feb 20

EEC 1797 May 6

EEC 1798 Nov 26 COA Adam's Sq,
No. 69 South Bridge St

EEC 1799 May 25

EEC 1801 May 16

EEC 1801 Dec 19 - workshop
consumed by fire

EEC 1802 Mar 20

EEC 1804 Mar 24,31 COA No. 39
South Bridge

EEC 1805 Apr 15,18 COA Leith
Walk

CM 1805 May 18

LILBURN, JOHN see Martin, Ure & Co

LISTON, E. Upholsterer and Cabinet Maker
North Bridge Street

EEC 1795 Mar 28, May 2,18 SOS

LITTLE, DAVID Cabinet maker Dalkeith
(late partner of Hogg)

CM 1785 Aug 27

MCINTOSH, DANIEL Carver and Gilder
No. 15 South St. Andrews Street

EEC 1799 Jun 8 - just arrived from
London

EEC 1800 Jan 25

EEC 1801 Dec 17 now called
Repository of Arts

MCKIE AND GOWANS Plate Glass and
Frame Manufacturers No. 40 South Bridge St

EEC 1801 Dec 21

MACKAY, GEORGE Thistle Street (from
London)

EEC 1796 Aug 27 - carrying on
business of brother-in-law
Thos Pringle

MCKINNON, ANGUS Upholstery, Cabinet and Looking Glass Warehouse Adam's Sq

- EEC 1790 Nov 15 by himself
- see also John Baillie
EEC 1791 Jan 8,13
EEC 1791 Feb 7,14,21,26,28
EEC 1792 May 21,26
EEC 1793 Jan 26
EEC 1795 Jul 4,18 - meeting of Creditors (A. M. having absconded)
EEC 1795 Nov 14 SOS (by R. Hay & Son)

MALCOLM - see Eiston and Malcolm

MALLOCH AND MCGRIGOR Joiners and Cabinet makers Paul's Work

- EEC 1773 Feb 27

MARTIN, URE & CO Upholsterers Glasgow

- EEC 1790 Jun 5 - partnership dissolved, continued by James Brown, John Lilburn, Archd Smith (who replaces Walter Ewing)

MARTIN, PETER Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer Nicholson's Street

- EEC 1802 Oct 9 SOS
EEC 1803 Jan 29

MARNOCH, JOHN Carver and Gilder No.12 Princes Street

- EEC 1801 Apr 9,16 Sale

MATHIE, JOHN Cabinet Maker and Undertaker Horse Wynd

- EEC 1798 Oct 27 sale of timber (by Wm Bruce)

MILN AND BELL Cabinet makers Bristo St

- CM 1769 Jan 2 - partnership dissolved

MOFFAT, WILLIAM Wright Nether Bow-well

- CM 1771 Mar 11 -Looking Glass sale(closing)

MURRAY, JOHN Looking Glass Manufactory Fountainwell Netherbow

- CM 1754 May 7,13,14,21,23,28
EEC 1754 May 2,7,21,23,28

MURRAY, WILLIAM Upholsterer Luckenbooths

- CM 1750 Aug 28,Sept 4,11
CM 1751 Jul 18,30,Aug 1
CM 1752 Feb 18,25,Mar 3,10,17
CM 1753 Feb 27,Mar 6,20
CM 1754 Jun 13,18,20 - in partnership with John Murray - see above
EEC 1754 Jun 13
CM 1766 Feb 3 SOS(deceased)

OATES AND SHERRIFF Cabinet Makers, Upholsterers and Undertakers

- EEC 1790 Jul 8 moved to Brodie's close
EEC 1792 Nov 10 Copartnery dissolved

OATES, HENRY Upholsterer and Cabinet Maker Leith Walk

- EEC 1792 Nov 10

OVENSTONE, T. Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer Terrace

- EEC 1799 Mar 23 Sale
EEC 1800 Dec 13 COA No.16 bottom of Leith Terrace

PALMER, ALEXANDER Wright and Picture framer Potter-row

- CM 1763 Apr 25
EEC 1791 Mar 24,26 Chapel St SOS Brown, foreman

PEAT, WILLIAM Japanner Netherbow

- EEC 1791 Apr 23
EEC 1792 Jun 16
EEC 1793 Nov 21
EEC 1801 Jan 22

PETER, ALEXANDER Cabinet maker Advocate's close

- EEC 1757 Dec 6,17
CM 1758 Jun 6,10 COA Horse wynd, Cowgate
CM 1759 Apr 28 - Writer's court as well
ECh 1759 Apr 26,28 - sale of part of his stock of the Ed. Up. Co
ECh 1760 Jan 26
EA 1764 Mar 20
EEC 1772 Feb 17,May 6, Jul 20 - selling business

PRINGLE, THOMAS Upholsterer Thistle Street

- EEC 1794 Oct 2 - furnished house in George St for sale (apply also to John and Robert Pringle, Upholsterers to the Duke of Clarence)
EEC 1796 Jun 9 - Meeting of Creditors of deceased T. P.
EEC 1796 Aug 27 - Geo. MacKay continues business qv.
EEC 1797 Jan 19 - debts collected by Alexander Redpath qv

PUNSHON, JOHN Upholsterer The Side Newcastle

- CM 1742 Dec 20

REDPATH, ALEXANDER Upholstery and Cabinet Warehouse Luckenbooths

- EEC 1793 Sep 2
EEC 1797 Jan 19 - collecting debts of Thos Pringle qv

- REOCH, WILLIAM Looking Glass
Manufactory Carruber's close
EEC 1750 Nov 5,6,8,12,13,15,
Dec 25
CM 1750 Nov 5,6,8,12,13,15
CM 1751 Nov 18,19,21
EEC 1752 May 21,26,28
EEC 1755 May 12,13,15,27,29
EEC 1764 Feb 20,25
EA 1764 Feb 21
CM 1764 Feb 20,22,25
CM 1774 May 23,25,28
SOS(closing)
- ROE, GEORGE Upholsterer Cant's close
CM 1746 May 6
- RUSSELL, JAMES Upholsterer
Fountainwell
CM 1766 Feb 24 -partnership
with Gillespie dissolved
see also Caddell,J
EEC 1803 May 21 - giving up
business
- RUSSELL, JOHN Wright
EEC 1789 Feb 23 - shop for sale
West Port
EA 1789 Feb 20,27
EEC 1789 Aug 10 deceased
- SANDEMAN, GEORGE Cabinet Maker
Perth
EEC 1800 Jan 20 SOS quitting trade
- SCHAW, JOHN AND ANDERSON Cabinet
Factory Tolbooth wynd Canongate
CM 1759 May 12,17,22,26,28
partnership dissolving (see
below)
- SCHAW, JOHN Upholsterer Luckenbooths
CM 1761 Mar 30, Apr 4,8,13,
May 2,6 SOS (closing)
- SCOTT, JAMES & CO Timber yard near the
Links Leith
EEC 1790 Jan 28
- SCYTH, ROBERT Upholsterer
1770 see Caddell
1771 see Lamb
EEC 1774 May 21,23,28 Jun 6,22
COA New Bridge
CM 1774 May 21,23,Jun 8,25,27
EEC 1774 Aug 6,10
CM 1774 Aug 6,10
EEC 1775 May 20,31 -also Cant's
close Manufactory
CM 1775 May 20, Jun 3
CM 1776 Jun 3,8
EEC 1776 Jun 1
CM 1777 Aug 2
EEC 1777 Aug 2
EA 1778 May 12
CM 1778 May 9,20
EEC 1778 May 16
CM 1779 May 29,Jun 12
- EEC 1779 Jun 2,5
EA 1779 Jun 4,18
CM 1782 Jun 13
EEC 1782 Jun 13
EA 1782 Jun 16
CM 1783 May 17,19
EA 1783 May 20
EEC 1783 May 19,21
CM 1784 Feb 7,11,14,21,25,28,
Mar 3,6,10,May 10
SOS(deceased)
EEC 1784 Feb 9,11,14,18,21,23,
Mar 1,8,10,May 10
EA 1784 Feb 13,17,20,24,27,
Mar 2,12 - see Young, William
- SHAW, ALEXANDER Cabinet Maker Leith
Terrace
EEC 1795 Jul 4 SOS
- SHERRIFF, MATTHEW - see Oates &
Sherriff
EEC 1792 Nov 10 - Brodie's Close
- SINCLAIR, ALEXANDER Upholsterer
Greenock
EEC 1787 Aug 30
- SMITH, A Upholsterer and Cabinet maker
No. 8 Shakespear's Sq.
CM 1781 Apr 2 (from Kelso)
EEC 1781 Apr 7
- SMITH, ARCHIBALD - see Martin, Ure
& Co
- STRACHAN, JOHN Cabinet Maker and
Upholsterer Aberdeen
EEC 1805 Apr 6,15
- TAYLOR, WILLIAM Upholsterer
Libertoun's wynd Lawnmarket
CM 1742 May 27
- TAYLOR AND DAVIDSON Upholsterers
Golden Chair Foster's Wynd
EEC 1766 July 12 (*Bamford*)
- THOMPSON, JOHN Carver and Gilder
Cowgate
EEC 1774 Jul 11,13
CM 1774 Jul 16
CM 1785 May 28
- TOD, HENRY Cabinet Maker and
Upholsterer New Street Canongate
EEC 1795 Jul 23 COA below the
North Bridge
- TORBERT, ROBERT Upholsterer Crichton
Street Dundee
EEC 1796 May 5,16,23 COA foot of
the Overgate,fronting the
High Street
EEC 1805 Apr 22

- URQUHART, GEORGE Upholsterer East Street Inverness
 EEC 1793 Jun 20
 EEC 1797 Jun 15 COA also cabinet making
 EEC 1801 May 7
- WALLACE, N. Cabinet Maker Nicholson Street
 EEC 1799 Apr 27 sale COA Drummond Street
- WATSON, J. Carver and Gilder
 EEC 1796 Jul 18 COA No. 12 South Bridge
- WATSON, WILLIAM Upholsterer Canongate
 EEC 1804 May 10,17 SOS
- WATT, ALEXANDER Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer No. 31 South Bridge
 EEC 1795 May 28
 EEC 1802 May 15,20 SOS (by Andrew Lawrie)
- WILLIAMSON, Carver London
 EEC 1779 Jul 3 - Looking Glass sale
 CM 1779 Jul 3
- WILSON, ROBERT Turner Inglis's Land Playhouse close
 EEC 1774 Mar 23
- WILSON, ROBERT Cabinet maker and Upholsterer Leith wynd
 EEC 1785 Jun 1,8
 CM 1785 Jun 4,11
 EA 1785 May 31,Jun 3
 EEC 1786 Apr 26 COA Writer's court Luckenbooths
 CM 1786 Apr 22,May 13
 EEC 1791 Apr 16,23 No.11 East side
 South Bridge St
 EEC 1791 May 21,28,Jun 4,13, Jul 18 Sale - moving to Windmill Street
 EEC 1792 May 12
 EEC 1793 Apr 8 SOS
- WYLLIE, DAVID Cabinet Maker & Upholsterer No.4 Elder St, near York Pl
 EEC 1804 Mar 8
- YOUNG, ROBERT and TROTTER, THOMAS Upholsterers Luckenbooths
 CM 1748 Feb 29,Mar 7
 EEC 1748 May 17,19
 EEC 1750 Mar 22,Apr 3,9, May 1,8,15
 CM 1750 Apr 12,19,26, May 17,24,31
 EEC 1750 Nov 12,20,22,26
 CM 1750 Nov 29,Dec 6,13,20
 EEC 1752 Jun 8,25 - with James Caddell (undertaking)
- CM 1752 Jun 8,9,11,15,16,22,23
 EEC 1753 Feb 15,19
 CM 1753 Feb 15,19,20,27
 EEC 1753 May 15,28,29,31, Nov 15,Dec 24
 CM 1756 Mar 25
 CM 1760 Nov 24
 EEC 1764 Feb 27,Mar 10 - with Cheap (Carpet Manufactory)
 EA 1764 Feb 28
 EEC 1765 Mar 9
 CM 1765 Mar 9,30,Jul 8,13
 EA 1765 Mar 12,Apr 2,Jul 9,12
 CM 1766 Aug 20
 CM 1767 Feb 11
 CM 1769 Apr 19
 EA 1769 Apr 14
 EA 1772 Sep 15 plus new Prince's St Cabinet Warehouse
 EA 1773 Mar 2,Oct 8 (now Upholsterers and Cabinet Makers)
 EEC 1773 Feb 20,May 31,Jul 21, Aug 28, Oct 6
 CM 1773 Mar 31,Jul 19,Aug 28, Oct 6
 EEC 1774 May 28
 CM 1774 Apr 13,May 25
 CM 1775 Jul 15
 EEC 1775 May 10,Jul 12
 EA 1775 May 5
 CM 1780 May 3
 CM 1782 Apr 8
 EA 1789 May 1
 EEC 1790 Mar 11,13 - joined by James Hamilton
 EEC 1796 Jun 27 two houses in Charlotte Sq to let
 EEC 1797 Apr 15,20,May 18 - assuming William Trotter as partner
 EEC 1797 Nov 27,30,Dec 2,4
 EEC 1804 Apr 5 - house to let in Heriot Row- apply Young & Trotter (n.b.)
 EEC 1805 May 18 - William Trotter takes over
 CM 1805 May 11
- YOUNG, WILLIAM Wright Cowgate
 EEC 1750 Sep 11
 EEC 1753 Dec 18
- YOUNG, WILLIAM Upholsterer Cant's close
 EEC 1784 Apr 10 - succeeds Robert Scyth, and now in partnership with John Richardson
 EEC 1784 May 29 COA Bridge St
 EEC 1787 Sep 6 - partnership dissolved
 CM 1787 Sep 6
 CM 1789 Mar 28 shop for sale

APPENDIX III

Chronological list of Deacons of the Wrights, and Boxmasters¹ of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, from 1692 - 1804.²

Boxmasters are only listed where they were wrights. Where a date is given in bold after a Deacon's name he was Deacon Convener of the Trades in that year. Figures underneath the Deacons' names relate to the amount of wright work done for the Town Council during that man's tenure of office (where known). Figures underneath the Boxmasters' names relate to the amount of wright work done for the Incorporation. The Tradesmen's accounts for the Town Council are missing from 1728-42.

DATE	DEACON	BOXMASTER
1692-94	William Scott	
1694-96	William Clark	
1696-98	James Livingston	John Crichton 1697-98
1698-1700	Thomas Kyle	William Turnbull 1698-1701
1700-02	Patrick Anderson	John Henderson 1701-05
	£11 968 Scots 1701-10	
1702-03	Thomas Kyle	
1703-05	William Clark	
	£783 Scots	
1705-07	John Wardrop	Robert Moubray
	£1 761 Scots 1702-15	
	<i>Wardrop and Clark together 1705-07 £5 000 Scots</i>	
1707-09	Robert Moubray 1708	William Turnbull
	£3 490 Scots	£ 380 Scots
1709-11	Patrick Anderson	William Elphinstone
1711-13	William Turnbull	
	£1 278 Scots	
1713-15	James Brownhill	David Crockat
	£4 947 Scots	£206 Scots
1715-17	William Elphinstone	Henry Antonius
	£995 Sterling 1713-23	£281 Scots
1717-19	Henry Antonius	
	£844 Sterling	
1719-21	David Crockat	
	£3 958 Scots 1712-22	
1721-23	William Elphinstone	Thomas Herron
	£707 Scots	
1723	James Yorstan (died)	Robert Bennet 1723-25
	£209 Scots	
1723-24	William Elphinstone	
1724-26	David McClellan 1725	
	£430 Sterling	
1726-28	?	James Beatson 1727-29
1728-30	James Hunter (?)	James Burns 1729-31
	£12 Sterling	
1730-32	Thomas Dunlop	Joseph Wardrop 1731-33
	£72	

¹The Boxmaster became known as the Treasurer after 1763.

²This is largely compiled from the Mary's Chapel Account Books kept in the Archive Room at the City Chambers; Bay B Shelf 16. Also the Town Council Tradesmen's Accounts; Bay C Shelves 23 & 24.

DATE	DEACON	BOXMASTER
1732-34	James Hunter £20	William Reoch 1733-35
1734-36	James Syme Sen 1735 £105	William McVey 1735-37
1736-37 1737-39	William Reoch (died) William McVey £32	Andrew Good
1739-41	James Heriot £415 1741-46	Charles Butter £42
1741-43	Andrew Good £45	
1743-45 1745-47	James Norrie 1744 William McVey £101	
1747-49	Colin Alison £245	George Stevenson £12
1749-51	Charles Butter £618 1745-51	Francis Brodie £29
1751-53	John Moubray £116	William Baillie £9
1753-55	George Stevenson £105	Charles Howison £9
1755-57	Charles Howison £289	William Reoch £4
1757-59	William Reoch £1	Hugh Inglis
1759-61	Hugh Inglis £98	William Good 1760-61 £4
1761-63	William Good £363	John Young £4
1763-65 1765-67	Alexander Hay John Young £20	William Butter £8
1767-69	William Butter £307	Alexander Ponton £1
1769-71	Alexander Ponton £108	
1771-73	Thomas Heriot 1772 £300 1771-75	William Brodie 1772-75 £24
1773-75 1775-77	John Bonnar Francis Brodie 1776 £103 1775-81	Francis Braidwood 1776-77
1777-79 1779-81	John Bonnar 1778 Francis Brodie £67 ³	James Tait Jnr James Tait Jnr
1781-83	William Brodie £392	Arthur Giles £31
1783-85 1785-87 1787-89 1789-91 1791-93 1793-95 1795-97	Thomas Hill William Brodie? John Donaldson ? John Young ? 1792 ? Francis Braidwood 1796/7 £104 1797-1801	Francis Clerk 1785-87 Alexander Clerk
1797-99 1799-1801 1803-05	Thomas Dunlop Francis Braidwood? John Young ? 1804	Joseph Wardrop John Ross 1799-1803

³In 1781 Tait was investigated for embezzlement - see Chapter II.

APPENDIX IV

JOHN FISHER
Joiner & Cabinet Maker

The following information about John Fisher [JF] is entirely contained in the Court of Session records in WRH.

These are arranged in two separate categories:

1. Three account books submitted as evidence: *The Account Books*
CS 96/3183, 3184 & 3185
2. The bundles relating to the case: *The Process*
CS 21/1789 July 7 Fisher vs. Creditors

There is one John Fisher listed in the *Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights* as *cabinet maker, East Richmond Street 1795-6; the Pleasance 1814-15* .

Several are listed in the *DEFM* .

I have no record of him in any other context.

THE ACCOUNT BOOKS

CS 96/3183 is his working Account book, in a foolscap volume dated from 1784 to 1788. It contains 46 pages with notes of items supplied by JF to individual clients, and occasionally lists things purchased by him - the pages are crossed out as the accounts are settled, and essentially run chronologically as the items are purchased. In other words it is a mess, as was pointed out by his creditors lawyers, and as is surely to be expected with a working book. However, with a bit of care, and used in conjunction with the other books, it is possible to make sense of it.

It also contains two very rough sketches for a chest of drawers, and a cabinet with a swan necked broken pediment and glazed doors. Several pages have been torn out, perhaps having been used for sketching [see *Process* , below - his creditors suggested that this was evidence of the books having been doctored].

At the back are notes of Wages paid to journeymen, of times taken to make various pieces, also estimates for a bookcase and clothes press, and prices for other work.

These are of enormous interest and transcribed below [see *Wages &c*].

The inside cover is rather pathetically, or touchingly, inscribed thus:

*How oft do those We think our Friends
Prove such but for some private ends
How hard the task a friend to find
To Whom we may impart our mind
One Who can sympathise in Woe
And share the Grief Our Bosoms know
When fortune frowns or smiles the same
To serve his friends his Only Aim
Grant me; Ye Gods a friend like this
To share my Grief; And taste my Bliss*

CS 96/3184 is essentially a neat copy of the above accounts, again foolscap, with each client being given one page (more or less). There are 59 pages of this. These two account books do not tie up totally, but I have amalgamated them to produce the *Alphabetical List of Accounts* [see below], which lists all Fisher's customers, gives the category of item that they were purchasing, and the amount of the relevant account.

The rear pages contain a complete break down of work done at Ratho House [the cause of his problems - see below]; wood used, people employed, notes on changes made to the house over and above the agreed contract, &c, &c.

CS 96/3185 is a smaller volume which is largely empty.

It contains:

Accompt of Money paid for mens Wages at Ratho for work Done to Thos Macknight Esq.

22 men were paid between 6/ and 10/6 a week in 1787-8
the total for 457 weeks labour came to £ 196 13/

For Close work and attendance of myself for 70 weeks @ £1 £ 70

*Acompt of Wood Furnishd for Ratho House
whole amount of wood £ 214 16 2*

There are also other accounts relating to Ratho, as well as:

A State of Debts owing by me as near as I mind of [see Process]

<i>Ratho</i>	£ 236 19 9
<i>Jas Ferguson Mercht New Town</i>	5 4 91/2
<i>Mr Christy Aberdeen</i>	1 10
<i>Dick Hoog [Hogg] London</i>	6
<i>Mr Pirrie Wright Edr</i>	1 10
<i>Thos boyd Writer Edr</i>	1 10
<i>Mary Cromie Edr</i>	1 10
<i>Wm Collow</i>	14
<i>Alexr Hay Horse Hirer Edr</i>	10
<i>Lost by Peter Wilkie</i>	3
<i>Lost by a Clock & case</i>	2 8
<i>Lost on a Desk & Glass</i>	3 10
<i>By the loss of Rent of my shop inTown which I was obliged to lock up for upwards of a year when I was carrieing on the work at Ratho</i>	5 5
<i>By the loss of Busness During that Period</i>	50
<i>Household furniture and materials in shop</i>	20
	<hr/>
	£ 333 9 41/2

WAGES, &C

CS 96/3183/48

These speak for themselves; they are not dated. JF generally charged 1/8d for a day of a man working in someone's house.

Walkers wages 1/4

J. C. 1/3
J. F. 1/

		Days	Hours
J. Cairnton	- to making a Breakfast table	4	9
Ditto	- to making a Dinning table 4 ft by 4 10 square	6	5
W. Walker	- to a Wine Cooler	14	8
J. Cairnton	- to 2 Tea Trays	8	2
R. Chapman	- to a Easy chair	4	2
W. Walker	- to a chest solid Mahogany Drawers	16	
J. Cairnton	- to a Table with Musick Desks	18	
Ditto	- to a Miniter Desk	5	3
Ditto	- to a Tea Chest	3	6
Do	- to a Finneerd Chest Drawers	16	3
J. Cairnton	- to a tea tray inlaid	5	2
J. C.	- to a side board table with 2 Drawers and a pot stand	28	3
W. Walker	- to 23 Round topt chairs 8 Mahogany 2 of these Elbow & 15 Elm 2 of these Elbow in all 23 chairs	81	3
Do	- to set Joining Mahogany Dinning tables	12	
J. C.	- to a Chest Vinneerd Drawers	19	
J. C.	- to a Ovell table with Wings & Drawers	6	

Account of the Exact time Wm Bell has been making a Desk and Chest Drawers both solid

		Days	Hours
Octr 27th	to the Desk & Drawers	5	6
Novr 3d	at other things		
10th	Desk & Drawers	5	4
17th	to Do	4	3
24th	to Do	4	9
Decr 1st	to Do	6	
8th	to Do	5	
15th	to Do	6	
22d	to Do	6	
29th	to Do	2	

$$\begin{array}{r} 45 \quad 0 \\ \hline \end{array}$$
 a cursed time indeed

on the 15th he has got £ 1 16 6

J. Cairnton wrought 3 Days at them
his Wages 15d a Day $\underline{\text{£ } 3 \quad 9}$
all given out $\text{£ } 2 \quad 0 \quad 3$

CS 96/3183/49

*Mr Web Entred to the Back Room the 30th Decr 1785 being Friday
@ 3/ per week*

		Days	Hours
<i>Wm Muckles time at clock cases</i>		3	8
<i>to Do</i>			6
<i>to Do</i>		4	8
<i>to Do</i>		5	4
<i>to Do</i>		3	8
<i>to Do</i>		6	
<i>to Do</i>		5	
<i>May 6th</i>	<i>To a Mahogany Case</i>	2	5
	<i>To a Desk</i>	2	6

CS 96/3183/54

*Ballence betwixt Wm Muckle & myself at the 22d Aprill
Aprill 22d 1786 - I owe him 4/ wages
- and he owes me for a pair of shoes 5/ 6*

	<i>25th Pd Bruce for Muckle 8/</i>	
	<i>29th Pd Muckle of Wages 4/</i>	
<i>May 6th</i>	<i>Pd Muckle of Wages 3/</i>	} <i>May 5th he got a Pair Buckles @ 4/6</i>
<i>13th</i>	<i>Pd Muckle of Wages 3/ and that week</i>	
		<i>5d[ays]</i>
<i>20th</i>	<i>Pd Muckle of Wages 6/ & that Week</i>	<i>6 Days</i>
	<i>27th Pd Muckle of Wages 3/</i>	<i>5 Days</i>
<i>June 3d</i>	<i>Pd Muckle of Wages 5/</i>	<i>6 Days 6 H[ours]</i>
<i>10th</i>	<i>Do 7/</i>	<i>5 D 7H</i>

*June 10th - Wm Muckle has got of the above £ 2 10 10
which is the Exact sum Due him at this time*

CS 96/3183/53

*Ballence betwixt John Lawder & myself at the 22d Aprill
 Aprill 22d 1786 - I owe him 5/ 6 of Wages
 & he owes me 13/ for a fire screen & Packing Box*

*29th - 5D 8H Nothing
 May 6th - give Lawder 2/
 that week only 5 Days & 1/2
 13th - Lawder Nothing
 and that Week only 5 Days 3 Hours
 20th - John Lawder 6 Days - & give 4/
 27th - Lawder Nothing 5 Days
 for Drink pd 1/ 10
 June 3d - Lawder Nothing 6 Days
 10th - Lawder --- 5 Days 9 Hours
 and give him 4/*

It doesn't say whether this is settled or not, but Lawder owes 7/ 6d, has been given 11/ 10d - therefore total 19/ 4d, which perhaps balances with the amount of work which he has done - at about 8d a day.

CS 96/3183/52

Estimate of a Bookcase and Cloths Press for Major Boyd

<i>Yds feet In</i>		
34 10	<i>of Glaz'd sash Doors @ 2/</i>	3 9 8
2 3 4	<i>of Bound Doors in front @ 3/6</i>	8 4
4 3	<i>of Plain bound Back @ 2/6</i>	10 10
2 3 4	<i>of 1/2 Inch Dale Back below @ 2/</i>	4 10
19 6	<i>of Inch Dale in top Bottom & shelves @ 3/</i>	2 19
4 1	<i>of 1 1/4 Inch dale in Raglet gables @ 3/4</i>	13 8
24	<i>of Mouldings @ 10d</i>	1
12	<i>of base plinth lin. facings @ 2d</i>	2
	<i>frame for the Cornish & Pediment plate</i>	4
	<i>8 pairs brass Hinges @ 10d</i>	6 8
2 4 9	<i>of In Dale in a Middle shelf @ 3/</i>	7 6
	<i>8 Locks & sheilds @ 1/2</i>	9 4
		<hr/>
		£ 10 15 10

There is an account to Major Boyd for a *Bookcase and Cloths Press* dated 19th January 1785. It was charged at £10 4/ , with an extra 4/ for *putting in 2 shelves in the Press that was not in the Estimate nor Draught .*

Prices of Marble

*White & Vein'd - 4/6 per superficial ft
 Dove - 6/ do
 Black & Yellow - 6/6 do
 Seana - 12/ do
 Broackatilla - 16/ do*

THE PROCESS

CS 21/1789 July 7 Fisher vs. Creditors

JF made a drastic mistake in 1787 in closing his workshop and contracting to fit up a new house for Thomas MacKnight. This resulted in his bankruptcy and this ensuing process. The following transcriptions of the crucial documents give a pretty clear picture of the whole affair and its outcome. They are fairly representative of litigation relating to tradesmen in Edinburgh at the time, and are well worth quoting at such length.

Condescence of Debts due by John Fisher Joiner & Cabinet Maker

<i>To James Rannie Glasier & slater in Edinr</i>	£	7	18	
<i>John McLean Wood Merchant in Leith</i>		40	6	3
<i>Mess Tod & Stodart there</i>		36		
<i>Bailie Jams Mitchell there</i>		25	15	
<i>Messrs Scott & Co there</i>		20	13	
<i>Mesrs Sheriff & Co there</i>		28	11	
<i>Messrs Young & Co there</i>		11	6	9
<i>Messrs Forrester & Co there</i>		2	4	2
<i>Messrs Anderson & Douglas Carron warehouse</i>		10	7	
<i>Mr Alexander Nisbet Writer in Irvine and The Revd Mr Wm Grierson Minister at Glencairn</i>		37		
<i>Mr Cottrell Founder Leith Walk</i>		2	10	
<i>James Currie Ropemaker there</i>		8	2	6
<i>Mr John Russell Junr Clerk to the Signet and James Hope Wright in Crosscauseway</i>		30		
<i>William Braidwood Mercht Edinr</i>		10		
<i>Francis Braidwood Cabinet Maker there</i>		9		
<i>John Campbell Iron Monger and John Edgar Accomptant Pleasance</i>		4		
<i>Robert White Wright Edinr</i>		7	4	
<i>Mr Bruce Upholsterer there</i>		1	2	
<i>Messrs Hamilton & Son Canongate</i>		6	10	
<i>Mr Alexander Wright Bristo street</i>		1	10	
<i>Messrs Marshall & Son Merchts</i>		16		
<i>Messrs Oats & Sheriff Cabinet makers Edinr</i>				1 18
<i>John Mathie Wright Edinr</i>		1	5	
<i>Messrs Young & Co Upholsterers Edinr</i>		2		
<i>Mr Russell Upholsterer there</i>		2	7	
<i>John McQueen Smith in New Town</i>		1		
<i>Wm Young Upholsterer Edinr</i>		2		
<i>Mrs Margt Broughton Buccleugh street</i>		8		
<i>Mr Armstrong Grass Mercat</i>		10		
<i>Wm Knox Glasier Broughton</i>		1	6	
<i>Wm Graham Mason Chaple of Ease House & Shop Rent</i>		2		
		13	13	—
	£	329	2	8

Certificate of incarceration of JF

These are to Certify that Upon the tenth day of October Seventeen hundred and Eighty Eight John Fisher Joiner and Cabinet Maker was imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Canongate in Virtue of Letters of Caption dated and Signed the Sixteenth day of September Seventeen hundred and Eighty Eight raised at the instance of James Rannie Glasier in Edinr against him for non payment of Seventeen pounds Eighteen shillings One penny halfpenny Sterling as narrated in said letters of Caption and that the said JF still remains in prison and is kept and detaind prisoner within the said Tolbooth in Virtue of the said letters of Caption is hereby attested by George Rae Esqr One of the present Baillies of the Burgh of Canongate and James Hewitt Keeper of the Tolbooth of Canongate at Canongate the thirteenth day of December Seventeen hundred and Eighty Eight years

James Hewitt K

George Rae B

[note: all following dates with be transcribed as numbers]

Objections for Alexr Nisbet Writer in Irvine, the Revd Mr Grierson of Glencairn, Anderson & Douglas Merchants Leith, James Corrie Leith Walk and other Creditors of JF Cabinet Maker in Edinr, Pursuer of a Cessio Bonorum To the Books produced by the Pursr.

In the Process of Cessio Bonorum at the Instance of JF late Cabinet maker in Edinburgh, the defenders stated various Objections to the Condescendance given in by the Pursr.

- First, That the debts due by him amounting to £ 329 2 8 being mostly for the price of Materials necessary for the carrying on of his Business, such as Wood & ca created the strongest presumption of his inattention and extravagance. For either he must have made nothing at all of his Business (which cannot be supposed) Or he carried on a losing trade, which was in some respects equal to fraud.

- 2ndly, That the Condescendance of the debts due to him amounting to £ 269 6 4 was altogether unvouched. That as to the material Article which was £236 19 9 the alledged Balance of an Accompt due the Pursuer by Mr McKnight of Ratho for repairing his House, the defenders are authorized to say that no such Balance is due.

- 3rdly, That his Condescendance of losses amounting to £ 66 3 0 was altogether irrelevant, the greatest part of the Articles being mere trifles, and the chief Article of £ 52 being for the Maintenance of the Pursuers family.

- 4thly, That he has given no account whatever of the Money he had received during the time he was in Business.

- And lastly, That he has produced no Books.

20 Decr 1788

Of this date your Lops having advised the state of the Process and heard Parties Provs thereon sisted further procedure untill the Pursuer produce his Books

Thereafter the Pursuer produced Books (on 17 Jan 1789) which your Lordships allowed the defenders to see - And of this date (24 Jan) the Pursuers original Book from which the other Books in Process had been made up was produced, upon which your Lordships, "allowed the defenders to see all the Books produced and to give in Objections thereto if they should see cause on or before Thursday next".

The following Objections are now offered on the part of the defenders

- From the inspection of the Books it does not appear in what year the Pusuer commenced Business

The first Article bears date in May, but no mention made of the year, And further several of the Accompts and Articles there stated bear no date, And it appears clearly from those which are dated that the date is but recently annexed

- Further from the manner in which these Books are kept it is impossible that the defenders can obtain any satisfaction as to the real situation of the Pursuers Affairs. For there are only ten or twelve open Accompts for work done to different people in or about Edinburgh, all which appear to have been regularly paid some years ago, but no statement of a single Article of either profit or loss, nor any Account of what he has done with the money received, amounting as appears from these Books to about £ 430.

- Further upon inspection of the original Book produced it appears that there are a great many different leaves of it tore out, which the defenders must say creates a strong presumption of some fraudulent transaction. Nor is there in the whole Book a single Article relating to the repairs of Mr McKnights House, altho the Pursuer is pleased to say that he has expended on that House £ 560 16 4. Nor is there independent of the Books a single Voucher to authenticate the expenditure of this Money.

The defenders must observe that it should have been no difficult matter for the Pursuer to have kept regular Books, had he carried on his Business with that proper attention and care which can alone entitle him to the benefit of this Action. For it appears that he wrote a very good plain hand, and seems to have been in the use of Book keeping.

In the list of debts due to the Pursuer as has been mentioned he states £ 322 16 7 as due to him by Mr McKnight; And the reason that this Balance of Mr McKnights Accot was not paid up to him, was, owing to a Measurement not having been made. Your Lops however will not implicitly believe this Assertion as nothing could be more easy than to get the Measurement compleated, And the defenders are authorized to say, that not a single shilling is due to him by Mr McKnight. But says the Pursuer, "If Mr McKnight does not pay me that sum, then I lose to the amount of the sum which I alledge to be due". But what Evidence has the Pursuer produced to support this, - not a single Voucher unless a Book stating these outlays in general, which appears to have been wrote since he went to Jail, altho Mr McKnights House was repaired in Summer 1786.

Further, according to the Pursers own Acknowledgment, he has received about £750 during the four years that he was in Business. - He has not however shown by any Books or Accompts, what use he has made of this Sum. It does not appear that he has paid a single Creditor with any part of it, nor has he condescended upon loss which can be relevantly sustained as such.

The defenders therefore apprehend that the Books exhibited by the Pursuer are not such as ought to entitle him to the benefit of this Action, as they do not in the least satisfy his Creditors that his Bankruptcy was occasioned by innocent misfortunes. On the contrary that they show clearly a most irregular mode of conducting Business, which when joined to this circumstance, that he has produced no Accompt of the Expenditure of the Money he received, creates the strongest presumption of fraud

In respect whereof

Ad. Gillies

for Mr Jo. Burnett

inscribed at bottom

Edinr 31st January 1789

The Lords ordain the Pursuer to see & answer these Objections; the Answers to be in the Boxes, upon Thursday next, under Certification

Tho Miller J P D

*Answers for John Fisher Cabinet Maker in Edinr present Prisoner in the Tolbooth of Canongate Pursuer of a Cessio Bonorum
To the Objections for Alexr Nisbet and other Credtrs. to the Books produced by the Pursuer*

At Whitsunday 1784 the Pursuer Commenced business as a Master Cabinet Maker in this City without any stock whatever, being in hopes that the many friends he had served as a Journeyman in Town, and his other Connections here might have enabled him to support that business until his great Attention and Industry became more generally known.

After having overcome the many difficulties which he laboured under for want of stock, and after having obtained the fairest prospect of Decently providing for himself and ffamily in this line of business he entered into a transaction about two years ago from which his present unhappy situation has arisen.

Upon the 11th July 1786 He entered into a Contract with Thomas McKnight Esqr of Ratho to finish the whole timber work of the House of Ratho then Building by Mr McKnight at certain fixed prices conform to a Measurement as specified in the written Agreement produced. - The Pursuers outlay upon this work as appears by the Books produced amounted to £ 560 16 4, of which he has only Received from Mr McKnight the sum of £ 323 16 7. So that were the Pursuer only to be paid to the extent of his Debursments there still remains a Ballance of £ 236 19 9 due to him on that account. It will be observed however that the amount of this ballance depends upon the measurement which has not yet taken place, nor indeed cannot, untill the Pursuer is released from prison, as there are even some small jobs to be finished before the Contract is compleated.

From what has already been said your Lops will not give great weight to the first objection stated by the Creditors opposing this Cessio, that the debts due by the Pursuer amounting to £ 329 2 8 are mostly for the price of materials necessary for the carrying on of his business such as wood &c.

The reason of this is obvious, For as the Pursuer had no capital of his own, and as the expence of carrying on the work at Ratho was so much greater than the money received from Mr McKnight, many of the Accts for wood and other articles employed in Executing that work must necessarily have been left outstanding Debts, and the Pursuer has even been measured at the Instance of James Rannie Glasier and slater in Edinr for payt of the Ballance of an Account due to him for work performed at Ratho.

The second Objection is that the Condescendance of the Debts due to the Pursuer was altogether unvouched and that there was no such Ballance as £ 236 19 9 due by Mr McKnight. - To this it is Answered that the Condescendance of these Debts are as well vouched as can possibly be expected from the Pursuer. As all the Articles (which are but trifling except Mr McKnights Ballance) are due by open Accot as appears from his books produced. With regard to Mr McKnights ballance enough has been already stated on that subject, and whether it will be more or less, entirely depends upon the measurement which has not yet taken place. The Opposers of this Cessio have not pretended to say that Mr McKnight has paid more money than what he has received credit for in the books produced: - neither can they pretend that the sums stated to the Accot of that work have not been actually expended by the Pursuers, since the Different articles of that expenditure are all particularly condescended on.

Thirdly it is stated by the Defenders that the Pursuers Condescendance of losses amounting to £ 66 3 0 was altogether irrelevant the greatest part of the Articles being mere trifles And the chief Article of £ 52 being for the Maintenance of the Pursuers ffamily. Altho several particulars of these losses may be trifling still when added together they amount to the sum stated, Neither does the Objection agst the £ 52 appear to be better founded as notwithstanding any Deficiency that might arise from the work, at Ratho still his ffamily must have been supported, and your Lops will not

surely think that sum too great for the Maintenance of the Pursuer, his wife and Numerous Young ffamily for the space of two years.

Fourthly it is said by the Defenders that no Accot whatever was given of the money which the Pursuer had received during the time he was in business. The answer to this objection will better occur when notice is taken of the books produced by the Pursuer. It is here necessary to mention that there are three books produced. The first of these being the original jottings and Accotts kept by the Pursuer is in such a state that it could hardly be understood by your Lops, & therefore the Pursuer thought he could not employ his time better than in making out a new book from different articles in a more regular and intelligible form; and it will be observed that this second book does not contain a single article but what is Contained in the Original Book. - The Third Book contains the Accot of the Mens wages at Ratho, and of the other sums therein expended.

The Objections stated by the Defenders, and to which the following Answers are submitted seem to apply only to the first of these Books above mentd.

It is said that from Inspection of these Books it does not appear in what year the Pursuer commenced Business as the first article is dated in May without any mention of the year. In the same folio however the Defrs must observe that the year is mentd. and that it is 1784. As to the complaint of the different particulars wanting date the fact is that to some Accounts consisting of several articles there is but one date, which arose from this that the Pursuer being employed to make several pieces of furniture such as Tables Chairs Drawers &c was desired not to send them to his Employers till the whole were finished and consequently one date served for the whole, which was for the most part affixed at the time when these articles were delivered. As to the Charge of dates having been recently affixed the Pursuer cannot help thinking that it might as well have been spared as neither were ever any such annexed by him, nor does it even appear that there are any in that situation in the book produced by him.

It is further said that upon inspecting the original book produced it appears that there are many different leaves of it torn out, which created a strong presumption of some fraudulent transaction. - But as it was never expected that these Books should become public the Pusuer had been in use sometimes to make sketches and plans at his leisure of the different works to be Executed by him upon any of the clean leaves of this Book and afterwards to take them out. But there never was a single leaf taken out where any Accot was marked nor as appears from the Book are any of the leaves wanting where any of the Accots are kept. This must surely satisfy the Court that there has been no fraudulent concealment whatsoever in this case.

It is also stated by the Defenders, that altho the House of Ratho is stated at £ 560 16 4 yet there is not in the whole Book a single Article relating to the Repairs of that house or a single voucher to support that statement - The Pursuer however had no occasion to mark any thing in that book with respect to Ratho as the work was not done nor is yet altogether finished, so that he could not exactly state what was due to him on that Accot. He therefore kept the money expended at Ratho in a separate Accott, and there was a small book produced in which these different articles were mentioned amounting in all to £ 560 16 4. Neither is the Complaint of want of vouchers to authenticate that charge better founded, as the different wages paid to the workmen are all distinctly stated, and cannot be questioned as the Receipts are in the hands of Mr Thos McKnight; And if the other Accots are disputed they could instantly be proved, But of that there appears to be very little need, as most of the Deffrs claim [?] of these different Accots.

It is true indeed as already stated that the Book kept by the Pursuer is by no means regular Indeed from being perfectly unaquainted with Bookkeeping, and it was kept solely with the view of Inserting in it the Accots due to him. The Book Accordingly Consists of betwixt sixty and seventy Accots almost the whole of which are Drawn out as paid, for as the Pursuer has had little or no business during the two last years that he was employed at Ratho, his Accots previous to that period necessarily fell to be paid. The money received by the Pursuer for these Accots was employed in the payt of Mens wages Materials necessary for carrying on his business, such as wood of different kinds &c House and shop rent and for maintainance of his family, so that at

the time of his undertaking the work at Ratho, very few or no debts whatever were owing by the Pursr.

From what has been said it is hoped that all the objections stated by the Defrs have been removed and the Pursuer had no doubt that your Lops will be satisfied that altho his books have not been kept with all the regularity required of a Merchant or an extensive Dealer, still they must show that the Pursuer was acting fairly, and concealed nothing from the view of his Creditors since they contain whatever could be of consequence to them, or from which fraud could arise on his part, namely the whole money due to, or received by him.

It is also submitted that there is most compleat evidence that the Bankruptcy in the present case must have arisen from innocent misfortune, since it has been solely produced by the Pursuers having undertaken the Execution of a work, the Deficiency arising from which wholly overpowerd the Pursuer who had no capital of his own to withstand such a loss.

Upon the whole then the Pursuer most humbly hopes that your Lops will find him Intitled to that relief provided by Law to Persons innocently Reduced to his unfortunate situation, and that you will speedily enable him by his Industry to provide for the support of a wife and Numerous ffamily who having been for some time Deprived of their only subsistence by means of the Pursuers Imprisonment, have already too long suffered all the miserable consequences of Poverty and want.

*In respect whereof
David Cathcart*

The Summons of the Cessio Bonorum is dated 29th November 1788, and the final outcome of the Judges was as follows:

- whereas it is humbly meant and shown to us by our Lovite JF Joiner and Cabinet maker in Edinburgh Present prisoner in the Tolbooth of Canongate That he is daily and continually oppressed and distressed by his creditors after named for payment of several debts and sums of money due by him to them viz. - That the pursuers present inability to pay his debts is not occasioned by any fraud in him, but is owing to misfortunes in the way of his trade and business and altho he has made offer to convey his whole subjects and objects in favour of said Creditors yet they refuse to accept thereof or consent to his being at liberty -

he was however allowed his liberty on granting a Disposition Omnium Bonorum upon his Creditors.

*Disposition Omnium Bonorum
JF in favour of his Creditors
6th July 1789*

handing over to them -

All sundry Lands Heretages, Goods, Gear, Debts and sums of Money, Corns, Cattle, Insight and Outsight plenishing, Houshold Furniture, and others whatsoever pertaining to me or due and Addebted to me by any person or persons whatsoever, by Bond, Bills, Tickets Accounts, or any other manner of way - &c, &c

*JF
Canongate Tolbooth*

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ACCOUNTS

TO	CONTENTS	£ / d
Alexander, Mr (wright, Bristo Street)	wood	9 6
Anderson, John	furniture	5 8
Balfour, Mr	furniture	19 9
Banks, Alexr (wright)	furniture(second hand)	1 7
Bell, Mrs	furniture	6 8 3
Bell, Wm	wood	11 10
Black, Miss	furniture	3 10
Boswell, Mr Alexr	wood	1 19 4
Bowman, Miss	upholstery	6
Boyd, Major (Princes Street)	furniture	10 8
Boyd, Thos	miscellaneous	1 11
Brown, Mr (hair dresser)	furniture	4 13 4
Brown, Mr (Lady Lawson's Wynd)	wood	1 1 8
Bryden, Capt	furniture	38 9
Buchan, Mr	furniture/wood	3 16 3
Buchan, Mr	wright work	3 6
Burrell, Mr	wood	9
Christy, Alexr	furniture	1 10
Clark, Mr	misc.	2
Collow, Wm	wright work	14
Corbett, Mr Wm	furniture	4 15
Crawford, Miss	wright work	14
Douglas, Lady (Pleasents)	furniture	10
Dowie, Mr (baker)		9
Duffus, Mr	wood	4 11 7
Edgar, Mr	wright work	3 2
Elphinston Balfour, Mr	furniture	19 9
Farquharson, Mr	furniture	3 16 1
Ferguson, Jas (change keeper, Rose Street)	wood	5 4 10
Forbes, Mrs (Carrubber's Close)	wright work	1 6 3
Gay, Mr	misc.	5
Gilles, John	wood	3 8
Grahams, Miss	furniture	14 2 1
Grierson & Nisbet, Messrs	wright work	16 6 2
Halyburton, Mr	undertaking	3 6
Hay, Alexr	furniture	3 10
Hay, Miss	wright work	9 9
Hislop, John	wood	7 9
Hodge, Mr	upholstery/wood	10 10 3
Hogg, Dick	wood	6
Hope, Mr (wright, Nicholson Street)	wood	5 18 10
Hume, Mr	wright work/furniture	3 8 6
Hunter, Mr (shoemaker)	furniture	3 8 6
Jardine, Capt (Applegirth)	furniture	10 12
Kay, Baillie	furniture	7 7
Kery, Mr	furniture	7 7
Kinear, Jas	furniture	1 15
Lamb, Mr Andrew (smith)	wood	5 6
Lawrie, Mr (baker)	furniture/wright work	6 19 3
Lawrie, Mr (tool maker)	furniture	7 12 6
Lyon, Mr	furniture	5
Macknight, Dr	wright work	2 8
Martin, David	wood	5

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ACCOUNTS (CONTD.)

TO	CONTENTS	£ / d
McCormick, Mr	wright work	9
McGeorge	wright work	1 2
McKenzie, John	furniture/undertaking	3 16 1
McKenzie, Mr	wright work	2 6 3
McKnight, Mr Samuel	wright work/furniture	5 17 1
McLaglan, Miss	wright work	1 3
Melrose, Richd	watch	3
Miller, Capt	furniture	32 6 6
Miller, Thos	furniture/wood	1 7
Morton, Mr (smith)	furniture	1 7
Muats, Miss (Miln's Square)	furniture	10 8 4
Murray, Mr Adam	wood	13 13 11
Newlands, Mr John	wood/furniture	4 13 1
Norrie, Mr	furniture	10 11
Pennycuik, Mr	wood	1 9
Pirrie, Mr	wood	3 17 11
Pifour, Lady	upholstery	1 6
Reid, Alexr (stocking weaver)	furniture	1 17 8
Robb, Mr	wood	8 3
Robertson, Revd. Dr	wright work/furniture	9 14 10
Robertson, William Esq	furniture	32 12 10
Robison, Capt David	upholstery	3 19 11
Robison, Mr (advocate)	furniture	32 12 10
Robison, Mrs (colledge)	furniture/upholstery/w.w.	11 3 1
Russell, Mr	furniture	17 4 6
Starling, Mrs	wright work	6 7
Stewart, Mr (taylor)	wright work/furniture	1 5 8
Thorburn, Walter (upholsterer)	furniture	13 16 9
Thomson, Geo	wood	2
Wallace, Miss	upholstery/furniture	1 14
Watt, Mr John	furniture/upholstery	16 14 5
Welsh, Mr	wright work/upholstery	2 4 6
Wilkie, Mr (coachmaker)	wood	2 5
Wilkie, Peter	wood/furniture	5 18 11
Williamson, Mr	chairs bought by JF	2 5
Williamson, Mr	furniture/wood	6 14 6
Wilson, John	furniture/undertaking	7 8
Wood, Robt	wood	16 7
Wood, Robt (wright)	wood	1 2
Young, Mr Wm (Scot's Close)	furniture/wood	1 9 10

APPENDIX V

THE WORKSHOP AND WAREROOMS OF WILLIAM REOCH

The plan in the Edinburgh Dean of Guild drawings of Carrubber's Close which shows the ware rooms and workshops of William Reoch is the only one known for an eighteenth century Edinburgh cabinet maker and upholsterer. Very few such plans are known at all, and it is therefore of great interest, despite the lack of specific information or accompanying inventory. It is clearly not a particularly large establishment and so contrasts sharply with the well know workshops of Thomas Chippendale Jnr, drawn in 1803¹, but can be compared with the premises occupied by John Smith in Cambridge from 1797².

Reoch advertised his Cabinet and Looking Glass Manufactory between 1750 (see fig. 39b) and 1774³, when he sold his final remaining stock and closed his business. He made a full range of cabinet and chair work, and indeed had a golden chair as his shop sign, but also clearly specialised in looking glasses and picture frames of all patterns, which explains the identified glass grinding area.

The principal interest of the plan is the distinction between the upholstery and cabinet making areas, but it is unclear whether both areas were used as warerooms and were accessible to the public, or whether the upholstery wareroom, with its own entrance, solely fulfilled this function. It is also possible that the wright's shop occupied two stories⁴, perhaps in a similar manner to Robert Wilson's wareroom in Edinburgh, which was situated below his workshop and had a yard for storing wood with a saw pit⁵. The Smith premises in Cambridge were of a similar size, with clear distinctions between the workshop, warehouse, and saw pit, the shop being incorporated in the Smith's house at the front of the premises. Reoch has no obvious

¹C G Gilbert *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* London 1978 p23.

² Robert Williams 'A Cambridge Family of Furniture Makers 1795-1820' *Furniture History* XII 1976 Plate 25.

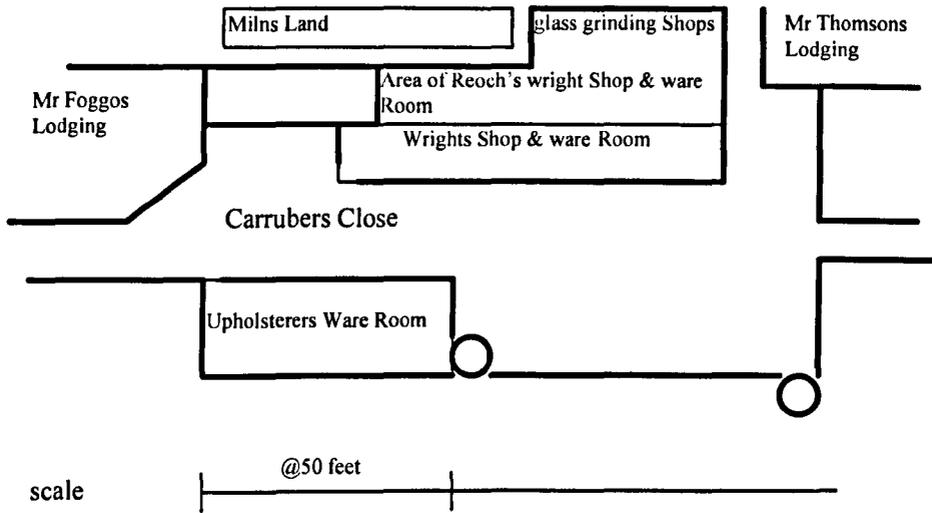
³See Appendix II.

⁴Reoch petitioned the Dean of Guild again in 1764 and the surviving plan shows a very plain square two storey building 'at the foot of Carrubers Close' with a gable end and single room at the ground floor with a central door and 4 windows; there are two fireplaces.

⁵EEC 18th April 1793.

sawpit, but may have had a separate timber store, as Alexander Peter did, or alternatively bought his timber ready cut, presumably a potential option in Edinburgh⁶.

Redrawn plan of Carrubbers Close from fig. 74. The original is dated 1758.



⁶For a further discussion of premises see Chapter VI: Introduction and Pat Kirkham 'The London Furniture Trade 1700-1870' *Furniture History* XXIV 1988 pp72-81.

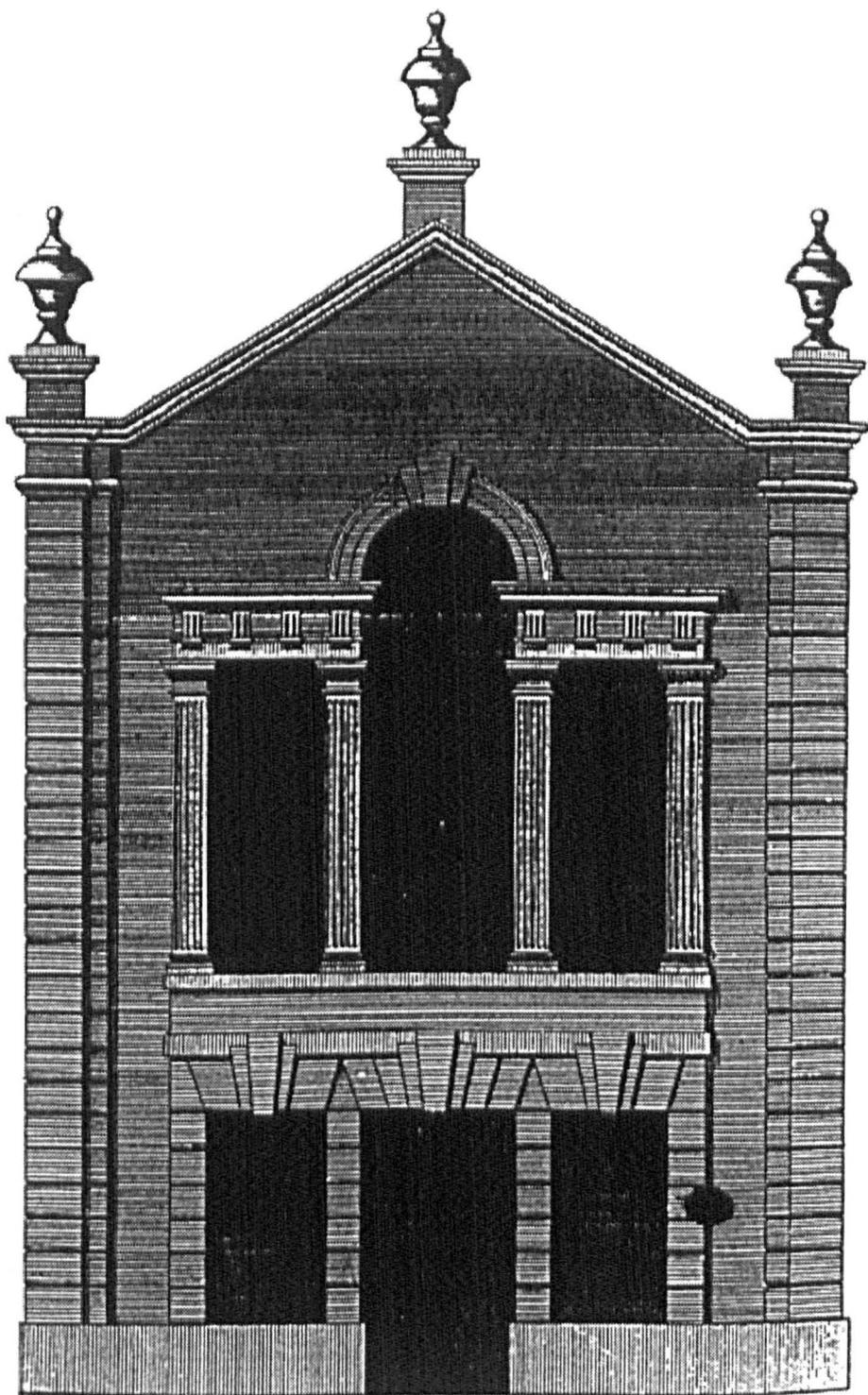


fig. 2. *Facade of Mary's Chapel, Cowgate.* Designed by the wright John Yates in 1737 (demolished 1896).

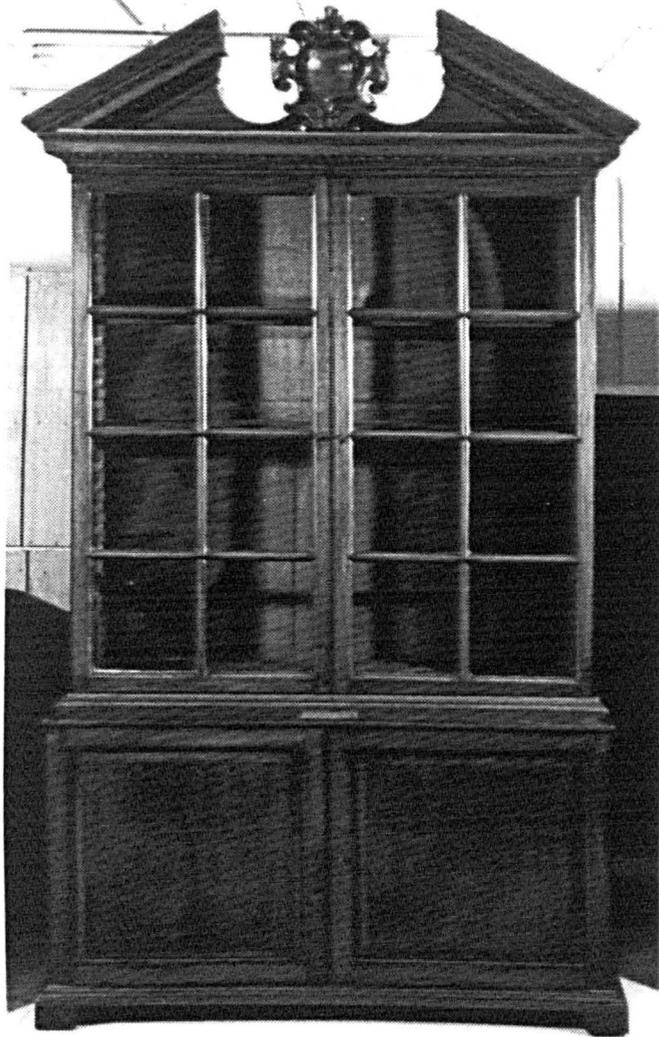


fig. 3a. *Bookcase*; apparently made by Charles Watson as his apprentice piece, later 18th century. National Museums of Scotland.

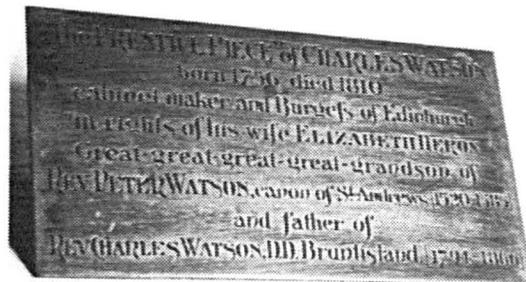


fig. 3b. *Plaque on ditto.*



fig. 4. *Mahogany writing cabinet*, formerly in the Holyrood apartments of the Duke of Hamilton. William Adam, 1740 (the glasses provided by Francis Brodie). '2 Screwtores of Mahogany £26'; NRA(S)2177/873; CS238/B/1/79. These were recorded by the National Art Survey in 1897; drawings held at the NMRS.



fig. 5. *Mahogany dining chair; one of a pair.* Attributed to Alexander Peter. National Trust for Scotland, Georgian House.

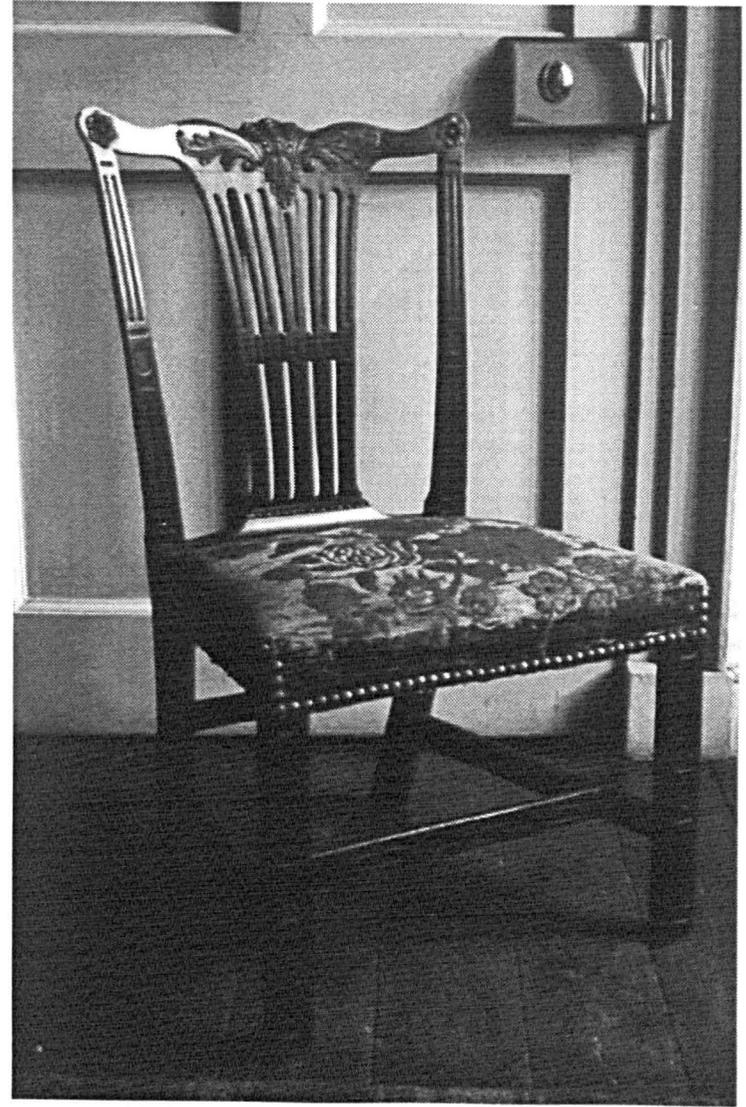


fig. 6. *Mahogany dining chair; one of a set of 24.* Alexander Peter for the Earl of Dumfries, 1759. 'Mahogany dining room chairs w^t carving on ye front & feet'; NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.

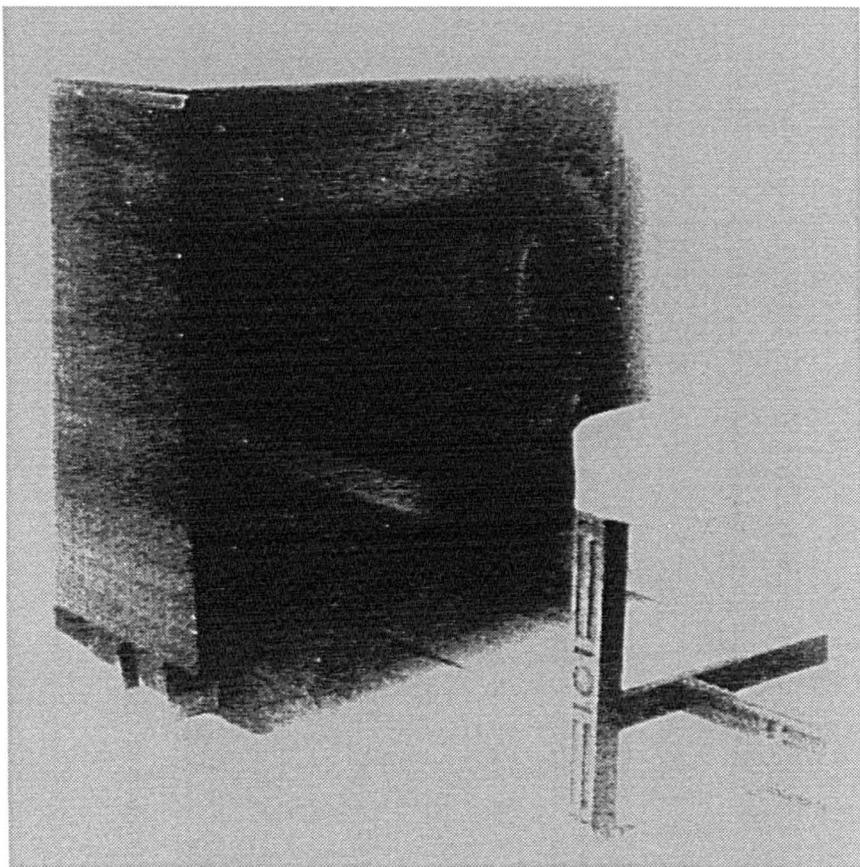


fig. 7. Detail of mahogany dining table; one of a pair. Alexander Peter for the Earl of Dumfries, 1759; NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.

figs 8 and 9 - see over

ALEXANDER PETER Wright,

At his cabinet warehouse, opposite to the Old Assembly clofe foot, in Cowgate, Edinburgh, hath a large assortment of household furniture ready made, in mahogany, walnut tree, wainscot, &c. and other woods.

Among which are the following goods, viz.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Desks and book-cases with mirrors or Chinese doors | elbow chairs, with or without leather covers |
| Desks and drawers, of various woods and sizes | Square and compass winged easy chairs |
| Oval and square dining-tables in pairs | A great choice of ready-made sets of chairs, the patterns quite new, with leather or hair-cloth covers, &c. |
| Corner cupboards, bulged and flat | Hall chairs with wooden bottoms |
| Tea, card, dressing, and night tables, of various sorts and sizes | Basin-stands of various sorts |
| Tea boards and treasuries, of which list great choice | Chimney-shelfs and brackets |
| Table china baskets | Bedheads four-posted, carved and plain, with or without cornices |
| Writing, and reading desks | Tent, chair, couch, and folding up beds |
| Closets chests, charter-chests, and tea-chests | MIRROR-GLASSES, |
| Choice of wooden candlesticks and candle-sets | Sconce glasses in pairs, with gilt frames |
| Candlesticks of French plate | Ditto in walnut-tree frames |
| Room-screens and fire-screens, with cloth, Indian paper, and check covers | Dressing-glasses of different sizes |
| Room papers, a large horse-cloth, and some upholstery goods | Also several second-hand mirror glasses |
| Indian pictures, some prints framed and gilded | Some sets of second-hand walnut-tree and beech chairs |
| CHAIR-WORK, viz. | Several pieces of old tapestry |
| Settee chairs, and French | A curious screw press for an office or factory |

And to be sold at his wood-yard in Allison's court, Potter-row, Carolina pine plank from 3½ inches thick and under, very proper for sash windows, steps of stairs, doors, &c.

Also Scots ash and beech, and foreign log beech in plank.

At which place there are two large light warehouses lately fitted up, wherein his stock of ready-made goods will be shown.

THIS palace near the Illyricum, the place after resigning of his office. It was considerable work for his love of a dear and elegant more entire than that now remain of their taste and that kind.

This work contains in folio, engraving perspective Spalatro, the plans, elevation this edifice; with particular mention of a short int of the general plan of the manner in the house of a final observance architecture.

C O N

The price to be one guinea a time of sale upon delivery. The names of fixed. Most of the and what delay. Subscriptions by Messieurs W Strand; Mr by Messieurs Edinburgh.

THE MAY ANS ONE GUIN bodied man themselves in Lord ANS James Lumf and the first di

Printed by GAVIN HAMMILL NEILL and J. REID; and sold in the College; at both

fig. 10. Notice in the Edinburgh Chronicle, 23rd January 1760.



fig. 8. *Mahogany sideboard table; one of a pair.* Alexander Peter for the Earl of Dumfries, 1759. 'a Mahogy side board table for ye dining room ... cut wt fret work on ye feet & rails'; NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.

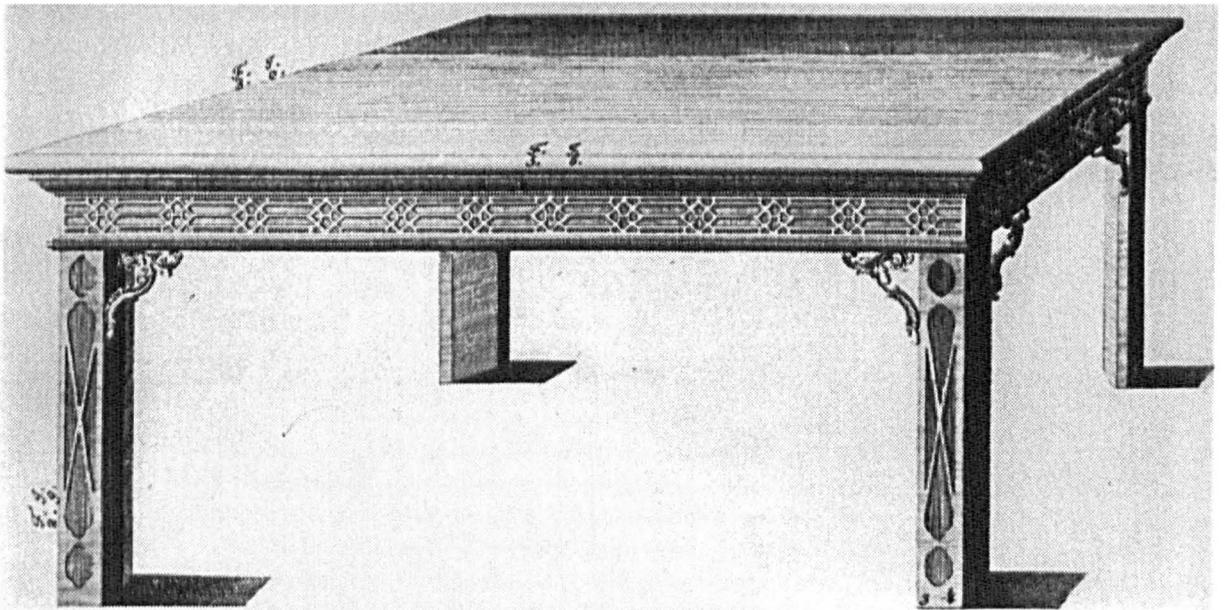


fig. 9. *Plate XXXVI.* Thomas Chippendale *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director* 1754.

fig. 10 - see previous page

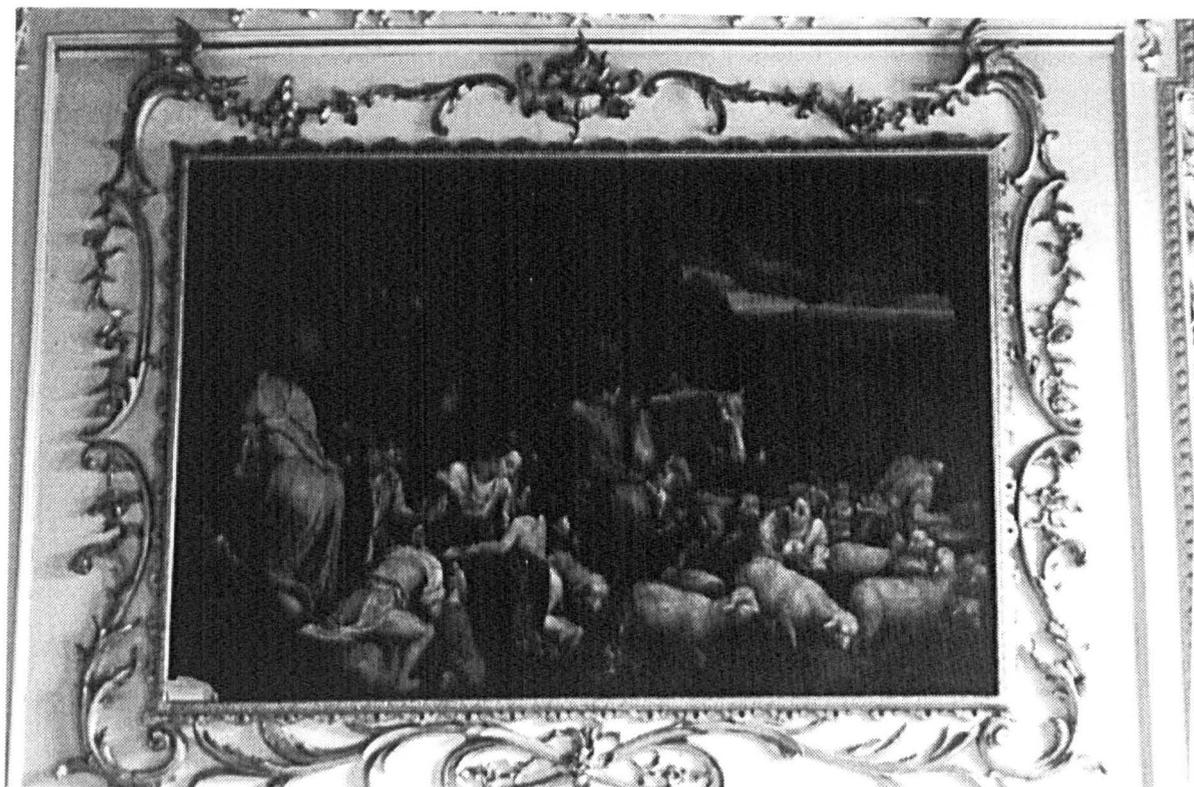


fig. 11. *Gilded picture frame; built into panelling.* William Mathie for the Earl of Dumfries, 1760. 'Frame wt rich ornaments in Burnished Gold for a Large Picture in the East End of the Dining Room'; NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.



fig. 12. Gilded picture frame. William Mathie for Sir James Clerk, 1757. 'Carving & Gilding in Burnisht Gold a Frame for a Madona'; GD18/1839/2/59. Penicuik House.

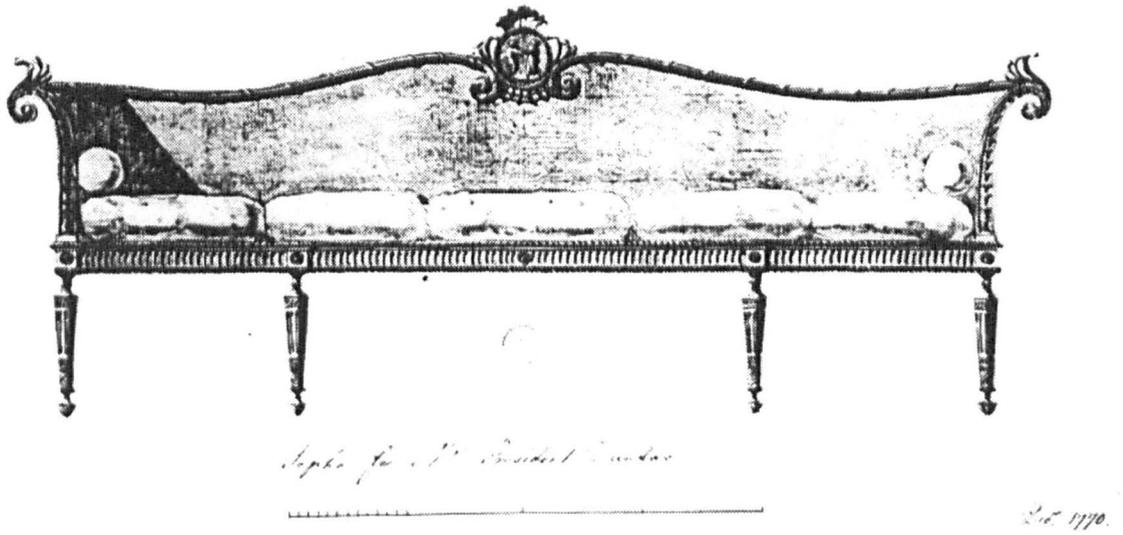


fig. 13. *Design for a sofa for Robert Dundas.* Robert Adam, 1770. Soane Collection Vol 17 No 77.

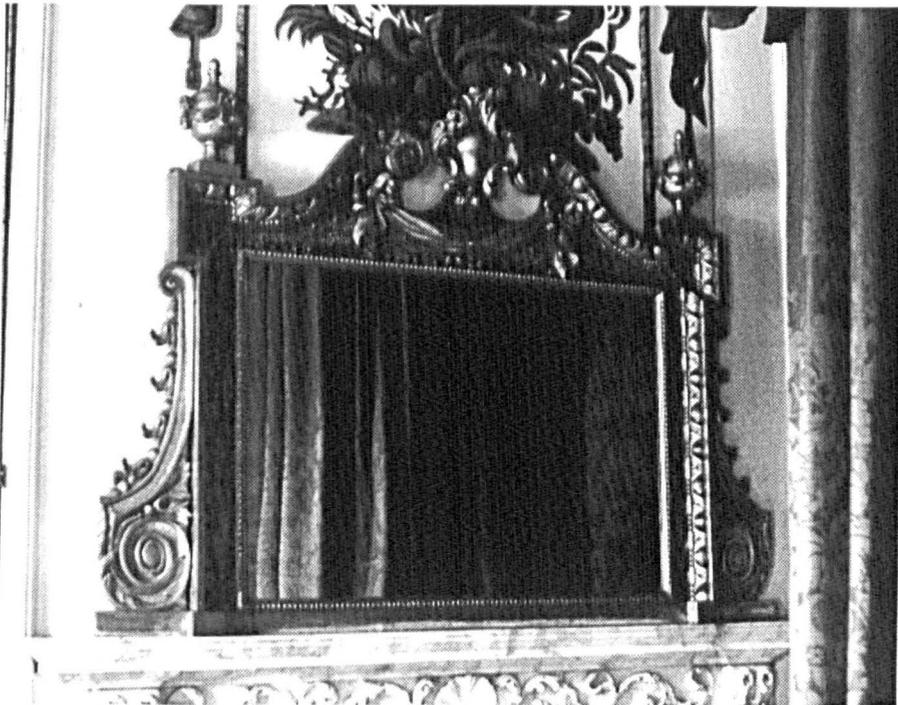


fig. 14. *Gilded overmantle.* William Strachan for the Earl of Hopetoun, 1742. 'Chimneypiece frame with a Compartment 2 Vauses and two Cartouches ditto £8'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Hopetoun House.



fig. 15a. *Gilded pier glass*. William Strachan, 1742. 'Sconce frame - with a Large Pediment and bottom with a rich frett work in the flatt and muildings all Carv'd and Guilt in Burnish'd Gold £9'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Hopetoun House.

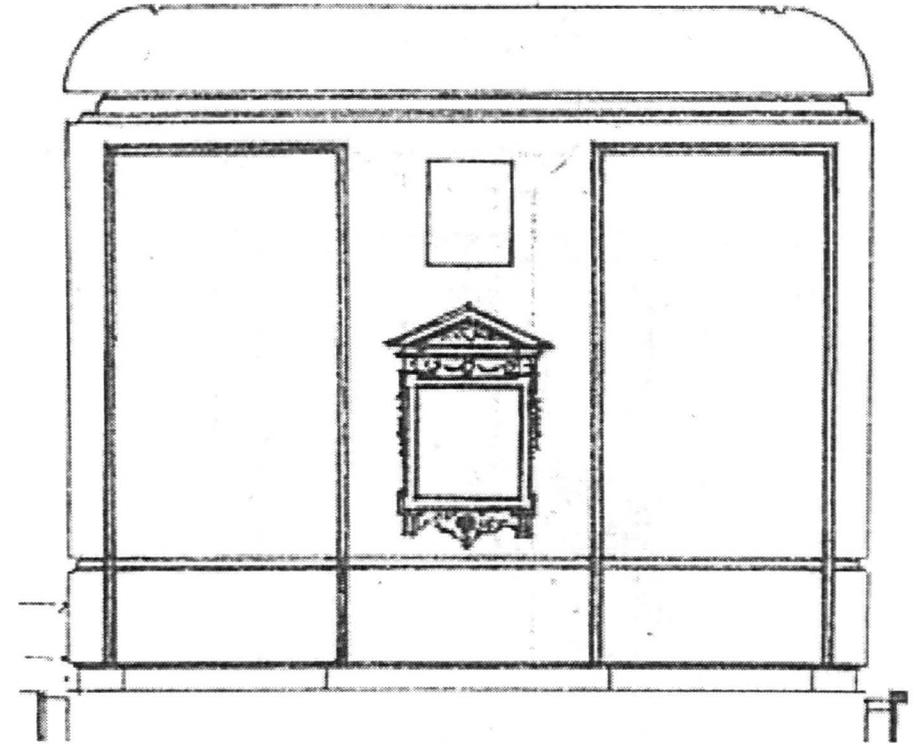


fig. 15b. *Design for the new Family Dining Room at Hopetoun House*. John Adam, 1752. NRA(S)888/147/639.



fig. 16. *Pier glass and table* (originally painted white). Edinburgh Upholstery Company for the Earl of Hopetoun, 1754. 'two very neat carved marble slab frames £18' and 'Carved and painted Sconce Frames'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Yellow Drawing Room (formerly State Dining Room), Hopetoun House.

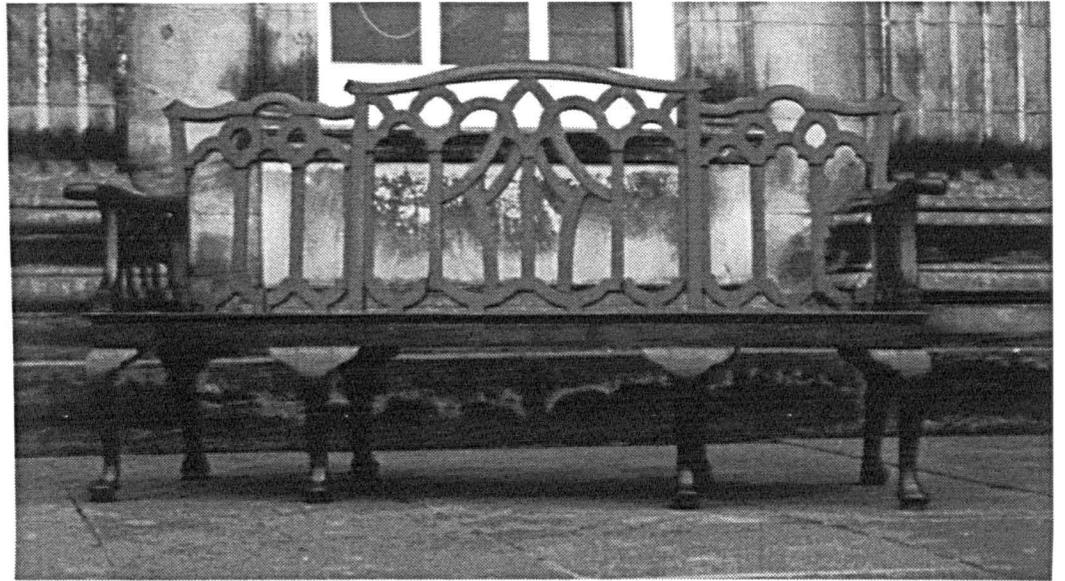


fig. 17. *Grained beech? hall sofa; one of a pair* (originally painted white). Circa 1760; perhaps made by the Edinburgh Upholstery Company. Hopetoun House.

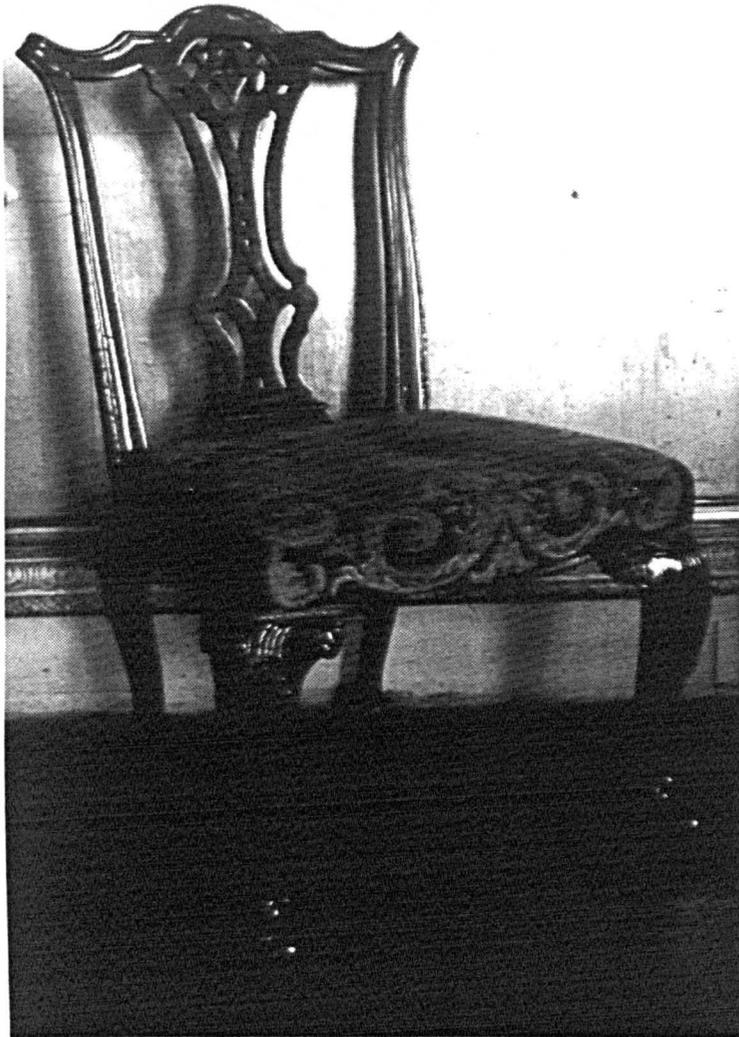


fig. 18a. *Mahogany dining chair; from a set of ten.* Edinburgh Upholstery Company for the Earl of Hopetoun, 1754. '10 Mohy fine Carved Eagle Claw foot Chairs @30/'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Hopetoun House.

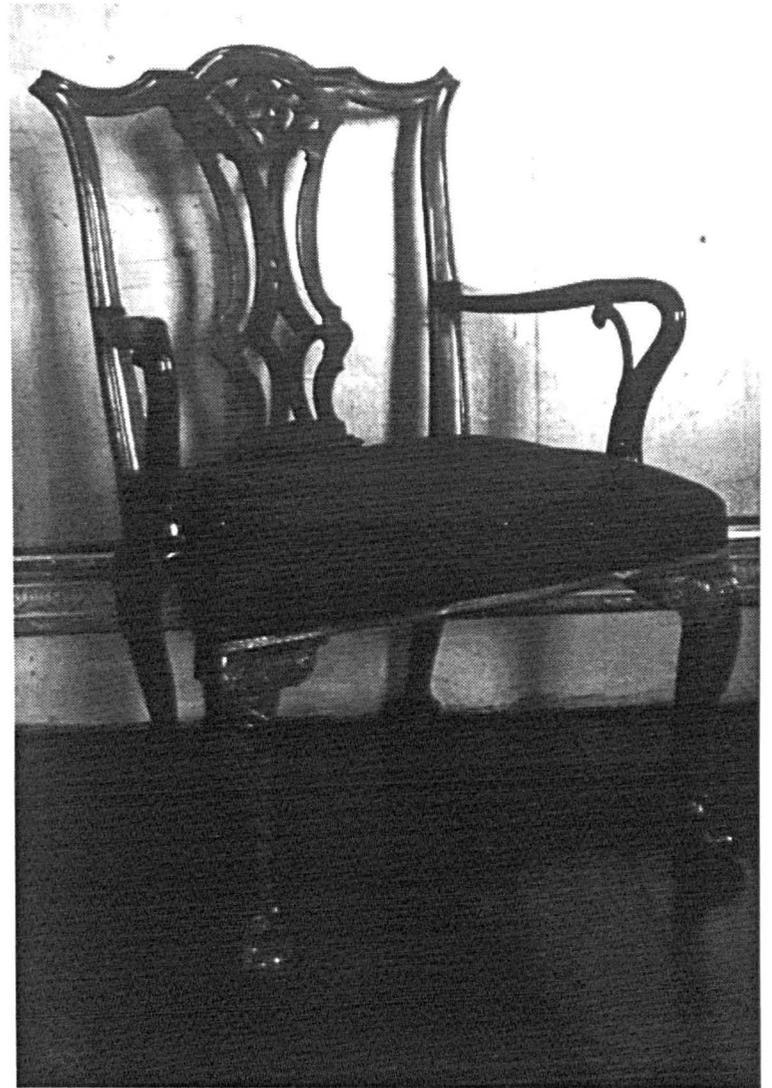


fig. 18b. *Mahogany carver; from a set of four en suite with fig 18a.* Edinburgh Upholstery Company for the Earl of Hopetoun, 1754. '4 Elbow ditto @35/'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Hopetoun House.



fig. 19. *Mahogany sofa, en suite* with the set of dining chairs. Edinburgh Upholstery Company for the Earl of Hopetoun, 1757. 'large Mohy sopha with Eagles Claw feet Carved and stufft in Canvas £6 10/'; NRA(S)888/147/388. Hopetoun House.

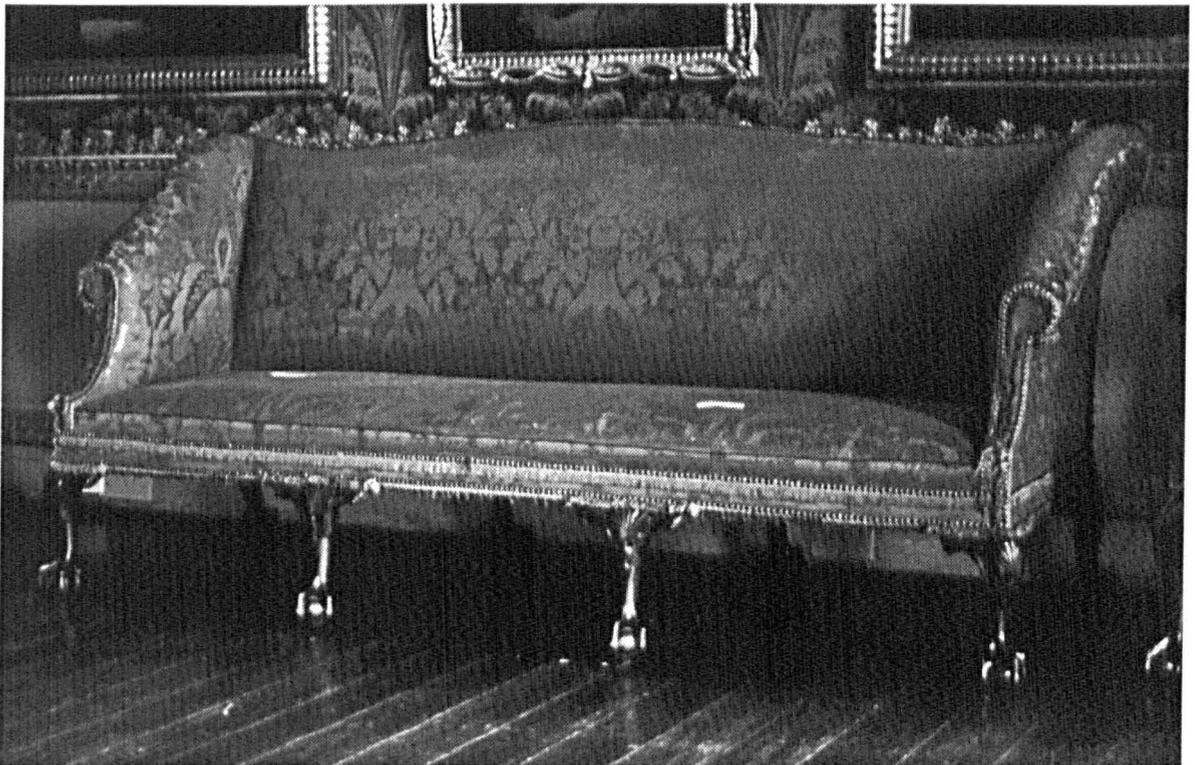


fig. 20. *Mahogany sofa; one of a pair*. Thomas Welsh, 1764-8; NRA(S)888/147/621. State Drawing Room, Hopetoun House.

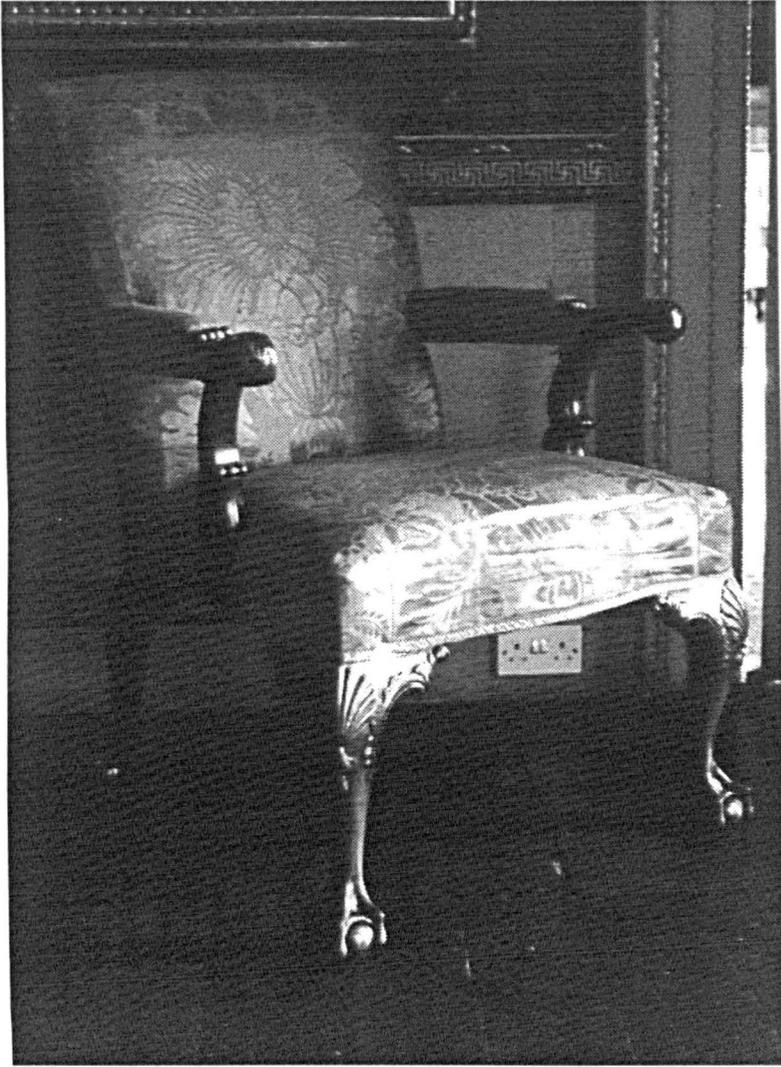


fig. 21. *Mahogany armchair; one of a set of six, with eight single chairs. Thomas Welsh, 1764-8; NRA(S)888/147/621. State Drawing Room, Hopetoun House.*



fig. 22a. *Mahogany pattern chair. Attributed to the Edinburgh Upholstery Company, 1758. Hopetoun House.*

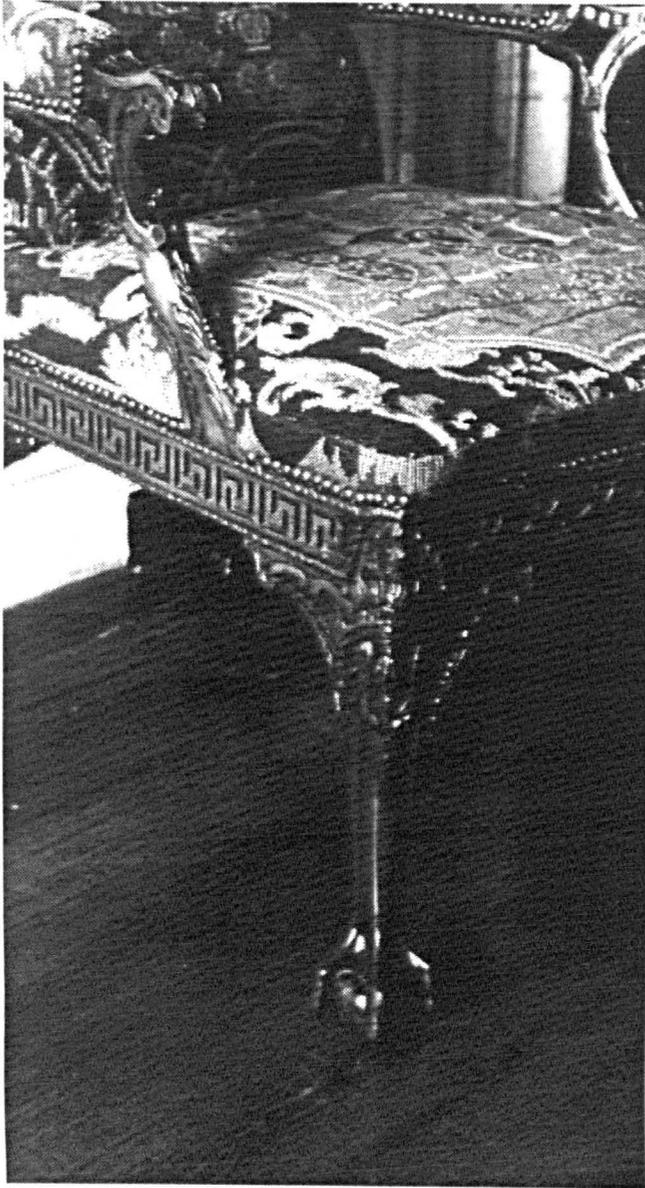


fig. 22b. *Detail of pattern chair (fig. 22a.)*

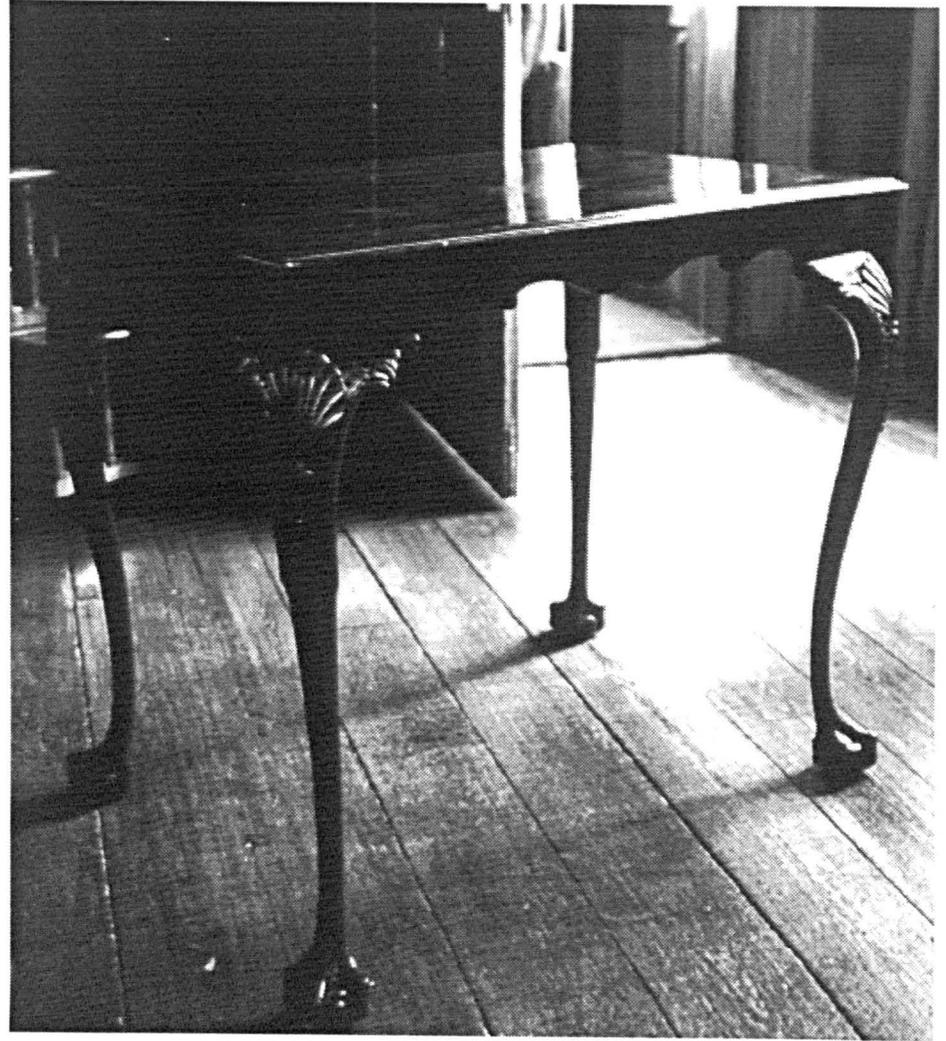


fig. 23. *Mahogany table.* Thomas Welsh, 1768. 'light mahogany table for the Great Apartment'; NRA(S)888/69/1. Hopetoun House.



fig. 24. *Mahogany wing chair*. Attributed to Thomas Welsh, circa 1765. Hopetoun House.

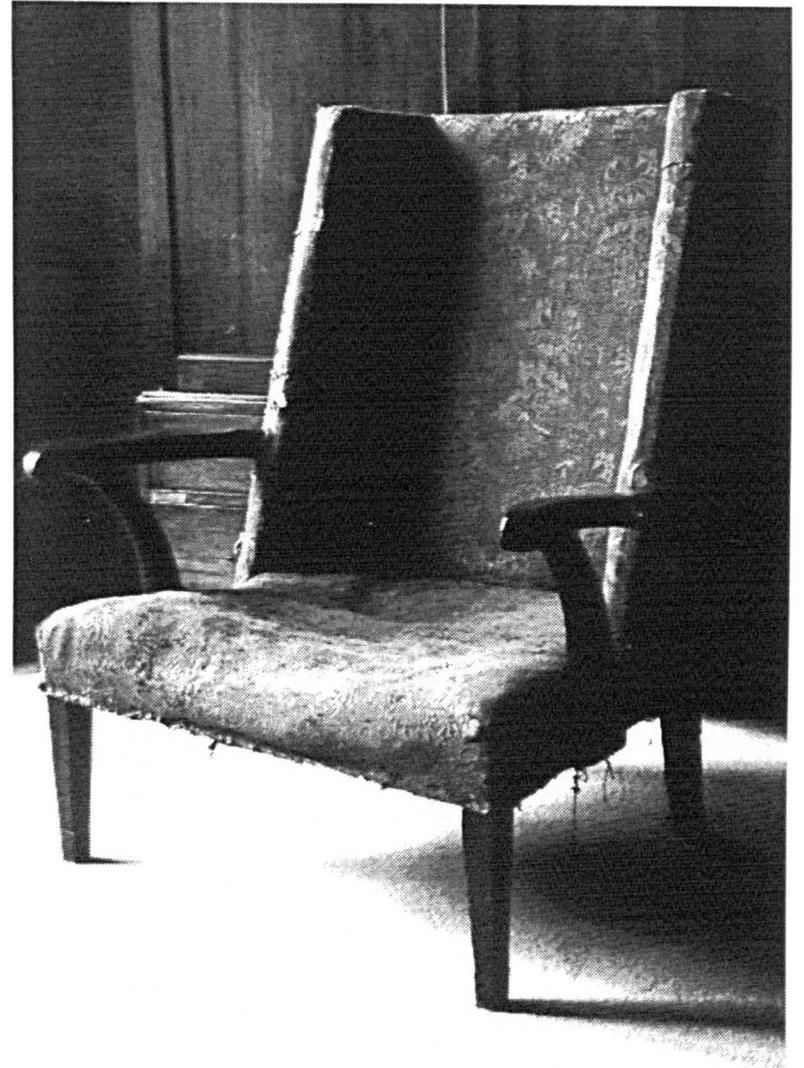


fig. 25. *Mahogany wing chair*. Attributed to Thomas Welsh, circa 1768. Raehills.

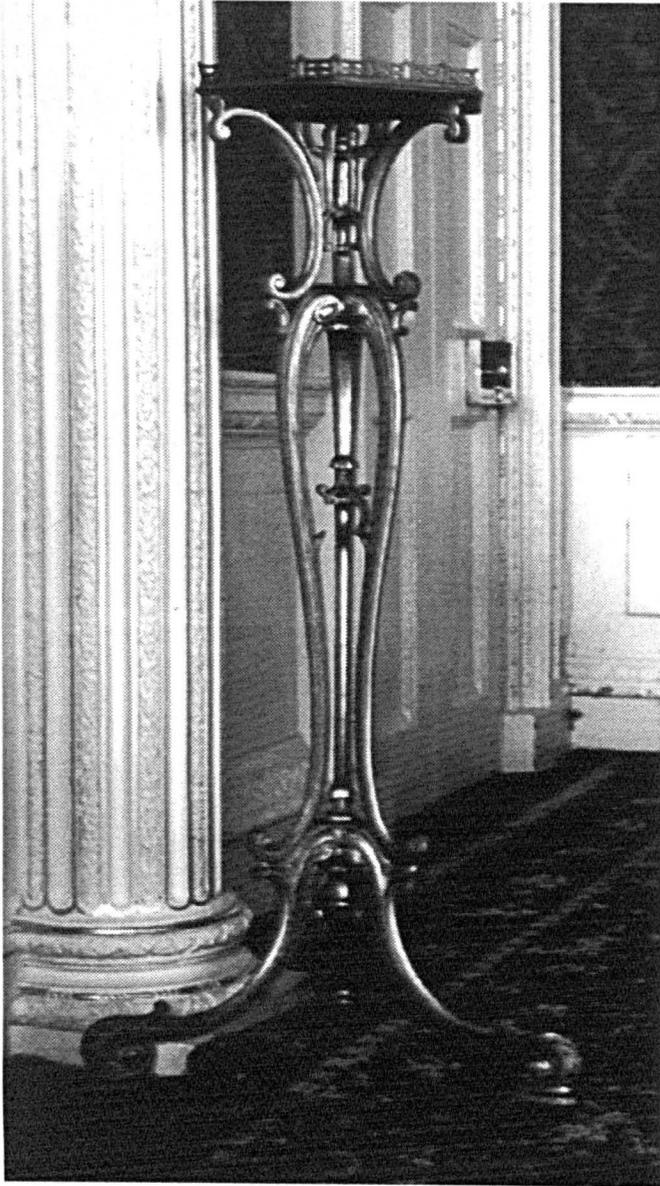


fig. 26a. *Gilded torchere;*
one of a pair. Thomas
Chippendale, 1758; 7 gns
the pair. Blair Castle.

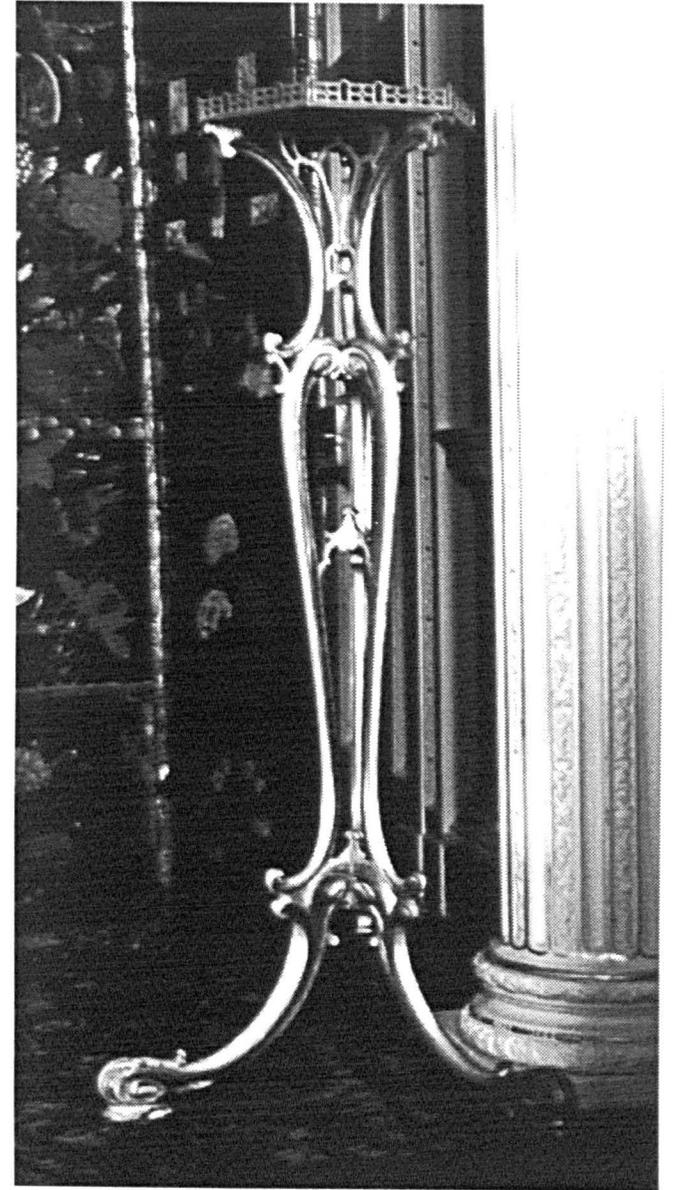


fig. 26a. *Gilded torchere;*
one of four (carved to match
fig. 26a.). John Thomson,
1760; £10 14/ the set.
Blair Castle.

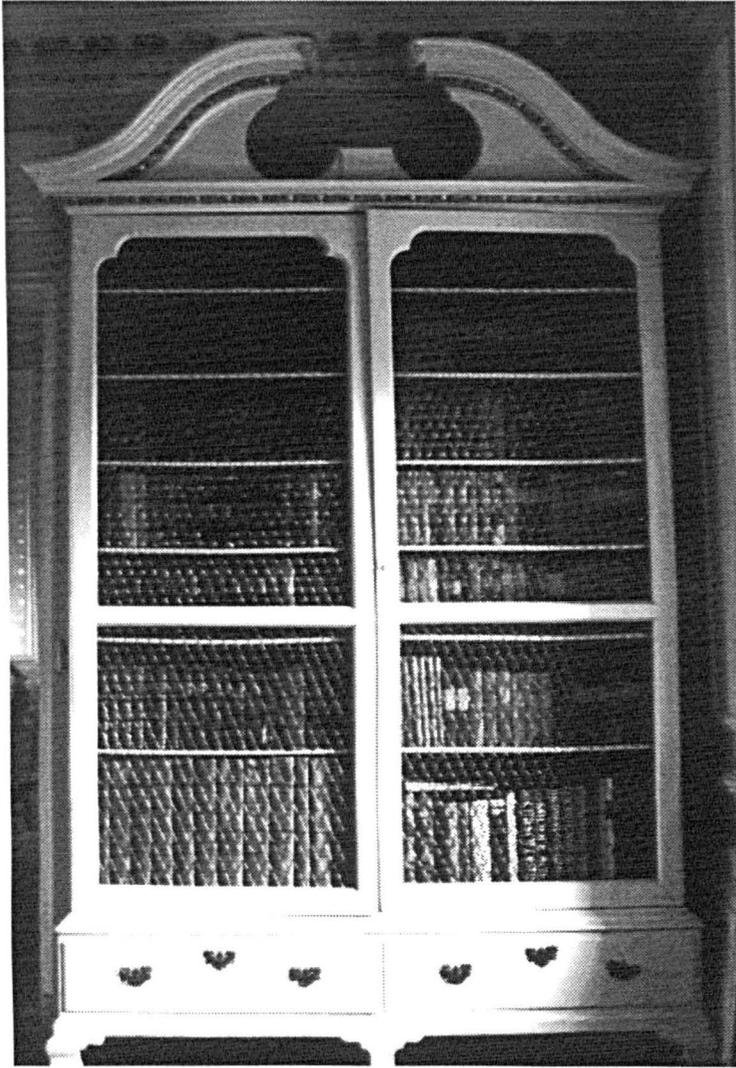


fig. 27. *Bookcase; from a set of four.* Attributed to John Fife, 1773. Kelburn Castle.



fig. 28. *Portrait of Francis Brodie.* Joseph Brodie, mid eighteenth century. Whereabouts unknown.



At Brodie's Looking Glass and Cabinet Warehouse over against the
 Guard North side of the Street, is ready made and to be sold variety of all sorts of
 Furniture in the neatest and most Fashionable manner, and Picture and Glass
 frames &c Carved and Gilt. As also house Carpenter and Joiner Work, done
 by the best Work-men.

N.B. Coach & Chair Glasses to be sold, & Sconces furnisht for funerals, at the lowest Prices

Account

His grace The Duke of Gordon,
 To Francis Brodie wright,

1739

Decr 20 To a marble table supported by an Eagle gilt in Burnisht gold	16. = =
To 2 packing cases for D. table measuring 7 2/3 yds at 2 shillings per yard packing included	= 15. 4.
To red leather cover lined paid	= 18. =
To a french walnut tree desk with a Drawing box & glass	77 =
To a mahogany tree	= 10. 6
To a solid mahogany cloath chest	3 3 =
To Cartage to Litch	= 1. 2.
	<hr/>
	£ 28 15. =

22 To 6 bottle Dishes	= 6. =
To lining the above chest with green base	= 11. 6.
	<hr/>
	£ 29 12. 6

£d 24th 1739 then received full
 pay of the above Acct of Litchings
 the same and all remaining
 from Francis Brodie

fig. 29. Billhead used by Francis Brodie from 1738 to 1741. GD44/51/465/1/34.

At **Brodie's** Looking-Glass and Cabinet Warehouse the *2* Closets above the Old Bank, Lawn Mercat south side of the Street, is ready made and to be sold, variety of Furniture in the neatest and most fashionable Manner, with Picture and Glass Frames carved and gilded, as also House, Carpenter and Joiner work done by the best work-men; and Funerals furnished at the lowest Rates. Coach & Chair Glasses to be sold, and Sconces for Funerals.

N.B. The above sold with a reasonable discount For Ready Money.

fig. 30. Billhead used by Francis Brodie from 1741 to 1742. GD44/51/297.

At **Brodie's** Looking-Glass and Cabinet Warehouse the *2* Closets above the Old Bank, Lawn Mercat south side of the Street, is ready made and to be sold, variety of Furniture in the neatest and most fashionable Manner, with Picture and Glass Frames carved and gilded, as also House, Carpenter and Joiner work done by the best work-men: Funerals, Black Cloth, & Sconces for hanging Rooms furnished at the lowest Rates. Coach, & Chair Glasses Sold. N.B. The Looking Glasses &c. being Manufactured by my Self will be sold with a reasonable discount for Ready Money.

fig. 31. Billhead used by Francis Brodie from 1742 to 1758. National Museums of Scotland, Country Life Collection.

At **Hodsons** Looking Glass and Cabinet Warehouse in Frith Street Soho, is ready made great variety of all sorts of Furniture in the neatest and most Fashionable manner, by choice and experienced Workmen employd in his own house. By which means Customers may the better depend on the goodness of y^e materials and duration of the Work: There are also many well contrivd Machines for weak and Sickly people, all performd at moderate prizes, and in the utmost perfection.

N.B. Coach, Chair, and Sash Glasses are sold, at the very lowest prizes.

fig. 32. Billhead used by John and Robert Hodson, between 1730 and 1786. GD44/51/202/2/33.



fig. 33. Frontispiece to Leoni's edition of the *Four Books of Palladio* 1715. Sebastiano Ricci.

At BRODIE'S LOOKING-GLASS and
CABINET WARE-ROOM, Lawn-mercat,



THIS DAY is a
Sale of FURNI-
TURE, viz. Looking-
Glasses, Cabinet and
Chair Work, &c. The
selling Price is on each
Particular, and as this
Sale is for ready Money,
a very considerable Dis-
count will be given, dur-
ing the Continuance
thereof.

Variety of Dutch CHIMNEY TYLES to be
sold at the very lowest Prices, the white at 15 d.
per Dozen, and the rest in Proportion.

N. B. Funerals and Joiner Work done as well,
and at as reasonable Rates, as can be by any o-
ther in or about this City.

**TO BE SET OR SOLD,
THE Third Storey of the GREAT TENE-**

fig. 34. Notice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 6th June 1754.

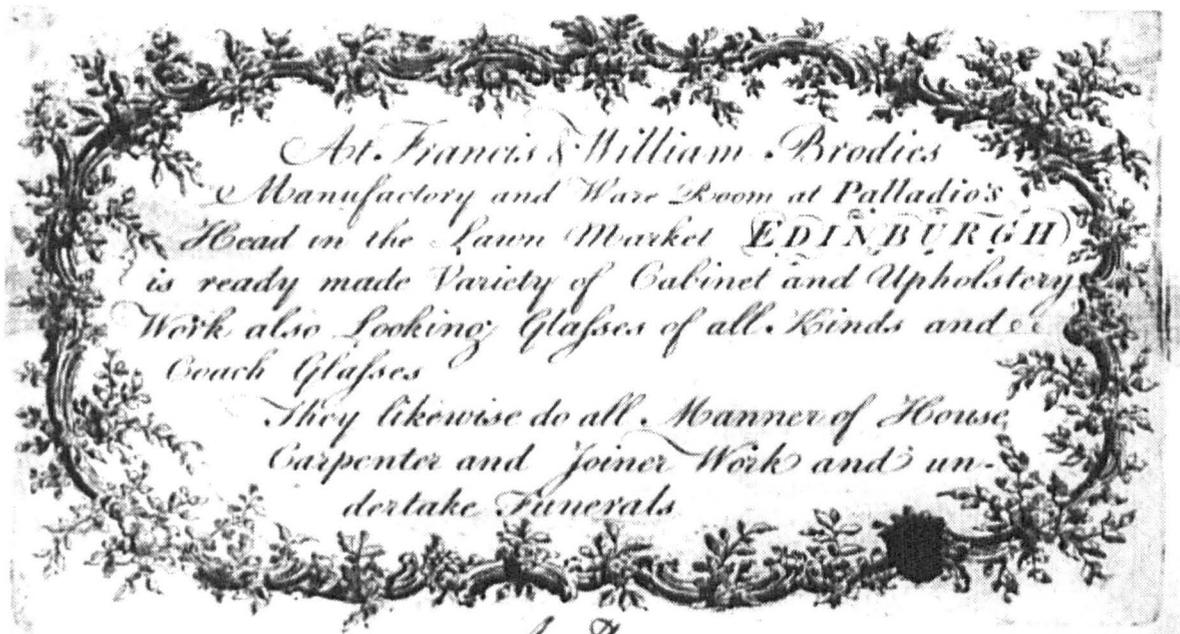


fig. 35. Billhead used by Francis and William Brodie from 1767. GD18/1837/5.

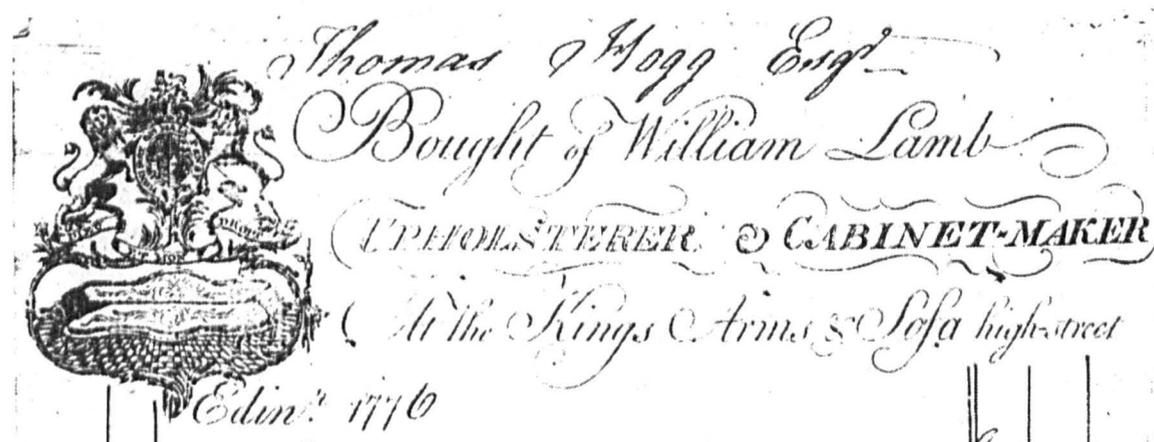


fig. 36a. Billhead used by William Lamb, 1776. NRA(S)1141/28.



fig. 36b. Billhead used by Anderson and Forrest, 1765. NLS MS17607.



*Bo. of William Murray at the
Royall Tent, opposite to the Luckenbooths*

fig. 37a. Billhead used by William Murray, 1752. GD24/5/4/141.

ADVERTISEMENT S.

WILL^M MURRAY

At the Sign of the ROYAL TENT,

Opposite to the Lucken.booths, Edinburgh,

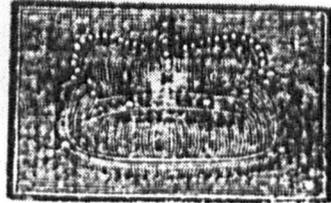
Sells the following GOODS at the lowest Prices, viz.

Silk and Worsted Bed Damasks, Worsted Damasks of the finest Colours and newest Patterns, Morines and Harrateen Camblets of all Sorts, double and single China dotts, printed Camblets and Linseys, Damask and Everlasting for Shoes, Temmies, Durans and Calimancoes, Bed Laces of all Kinds, great Choice of English Blankets, Scots, English and Flanders Ticks, Bed Quilts white and colour'd, Scots and English Carpets of fine Colours and newest Patterns, great Variety of printed Cottons, and Chints for Gowns and Furniture, Indian Paper, fine Paintings and gilt Leather for Screens; likewise all Sorts of Printed and Cloth Paper for Hangings, baked Hair, Buckrams and Girth Webs, Bras Nails, Curtain Rings, Window Hooks and Pulleys, &c.—Upholsterers Work performed after the new Fashion, and the cheapest Manner.

N. B. ALEXANDER BRUCE, Upholsterer in Panmure's Clofe, within the Netherbow, North side of the Street, having just fitted up blacks for FUNERALS, of the very best Kind, altogether new, and never yet used, proposes to serve the Publick at the lowest Rates, and puts them up in the newest and neatest Manner; he likewise furnishes Sconces proper for the Occasion. And as he thinks this all that properly belongs to an Upholsterer to undertake, he proposes to furnish nothing else. Whoever favours him with their Employment, will send to his Houfe, or to the above William Murray's Shop.

fig. 37b. Notice in the Caledonian Mercury, 7th February 1753.

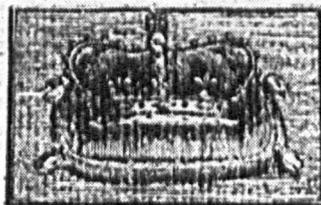
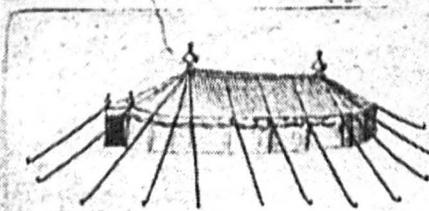
fig. 38b. Notice in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, 2nd May 1754.



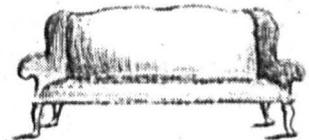
THAT JAMES CADDELL, UPHOLSTERER and UNDERTAKER, at the Crown and Cushion near the Nether-bow, has now given up his Concern with Messrs. Young and Trotter, and carries on Business for himself, and has just now been at London, and brought down a very large Assortment of Cloth, painted and Stucco Papers, &c. of the newest and best Patterns, all in the present Taste.

Also undertakes Funerals, after the same Manner as practised in London, viz. Coffins of all Kinds and Prices, Flannels or Shrowds either done in the English or Scots Way, Black Cloth for hanging Rooms and Seats in Churches, Silver Sconces and Candlesticks, &c. Horses and Coaches for Town and Country, and all other things in that way, done on the easiest Terms and in the genteelest Manner.

N. B. All Sorts of Upholstery Work done in the very best and genteelest Manner, and upon the most reasonable Terms.



GD150/2453/3/45



JAMES CADDELL Upholsterer.

At the Crown and Cushion near the Nether Bow on the North Side of the Street (EDINBURGH). Where is made all sorts of Upholsterers Works as Beds, Chairs, Hair or Wool Mattresses, and Mournings for Funerals.

fig. 38a. Billhead used by James Caddell, 1748. GD150/2453/3/45.

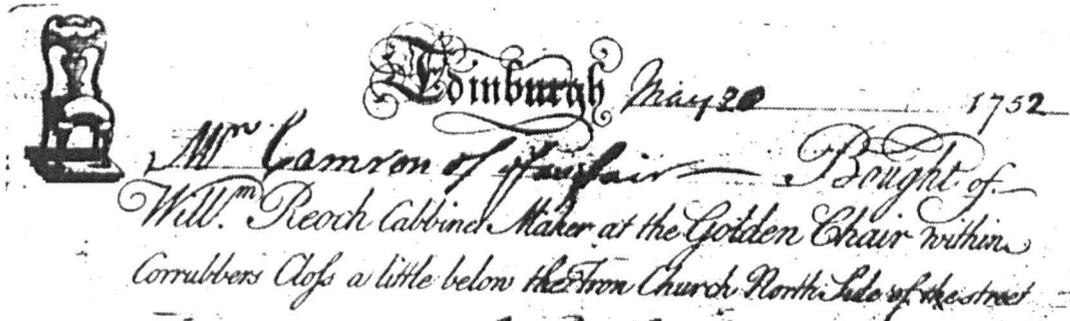


fig. 39a. Billhead used by William Reoch, 1752. GD202/44/5/2.



A T REOCH's Cabinet and Looking-Glass Manufactory, at the GOLDEN CHAIR, near the Foot of Carrubber's Close, Edinburgh, are ready made, and sold at the lowest Prices, Cabinets, Bureaus, Desks and Drawers, Dining, Tea and Dressing Tables, Dressing Boxes, Tea Chests, Tea Trays, Hand Boards, English and India Fire-screens, Easy, Smoking and Dressing Chairs, Dining and Drawing Room Chairs, with Variety of o-

ther Cabinet Work: Also, all Sorts of Looking Glasses, such as Pier Sconce, Chimney and Dressing Glasses, with gilded or plain Frames. Likeways, all sorts of Family Pictures, Prints, &c. framed in gilded or plain Frames, done in the newest Fashions; old Glasses remounted in fashionable Frames, by sending the Measures; Sconces furnished for Funerals. Commissions from the Country will be taken proper Care of, and duly answered, and may depend on being charged at as low Prices as if the Person were present.

fig. 39b. Notice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 5th November 1750.

figs. 40a&b on following page



fig. 41. *Gilded clock case*. Francis Brodie for Robert Dundas, 1739. 'Mahogany Clock Case carved and gilded for the Hall att Arniston £7 7/'; NRA(S)3246/107. Still *in situ*, Arniston.



fig. 40a. *Gilded eagle table*. Francis Brodie for the Duke of Gordon, 1739. 'To a marble table supported by ane Eagle guilt in Burnisht gold £16'; GD44/51/465/1/34 (see fig. 29). Holyroodhouse (formerly in the apartments of Lord Adam Gordon).



fig. 40b. *Gilded eagle table*. Francis Brodie for the Earl of Dumfries, circa 1753. 'To a Marble Slabe supported by an Eagle guilt in Burnisht gold'; NRA(S)631/A666. The marble top may have replaced in the 19th century. Dumfries House.

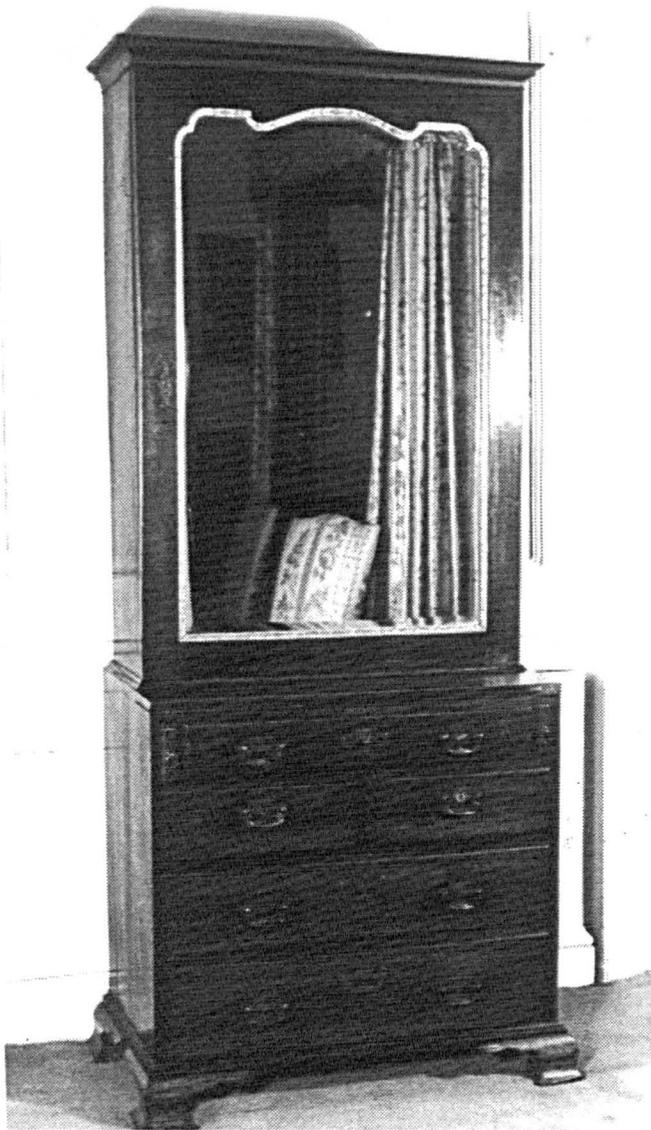


fig. 42a. *Mahogany lady's closet.* Francis Brodie for the Earl of Dumfries, 1753. NRA(S)631/A666.



fig. 42b. *Interior of ditto.*

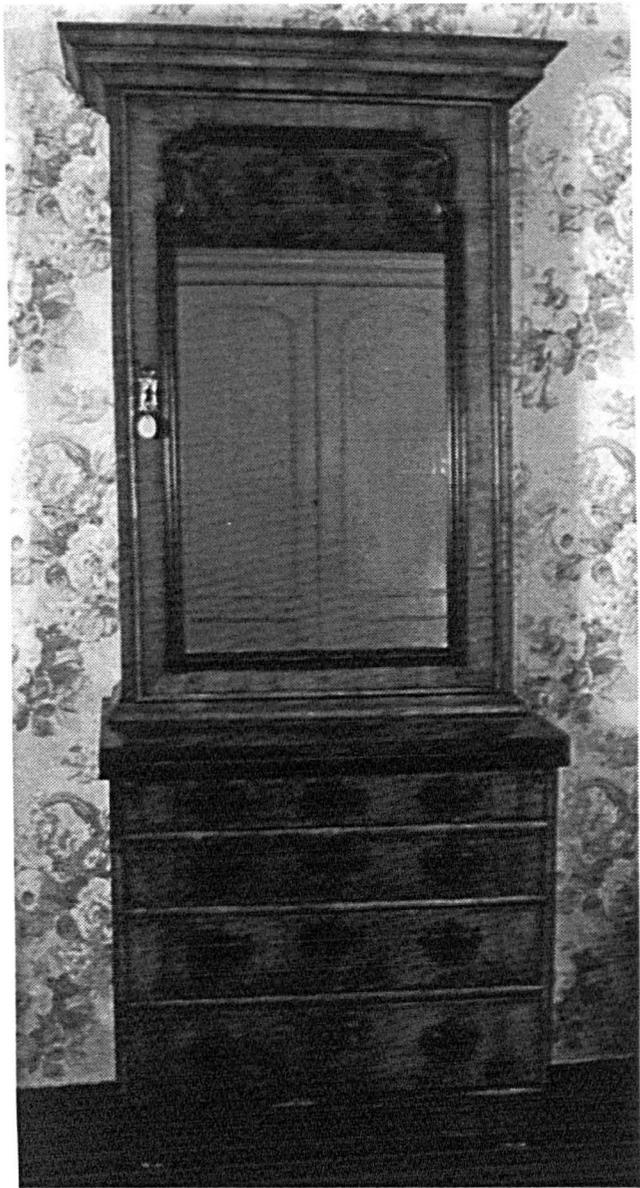


fig. 43a. *Walnut lady's closet*. George Riddell for Sir John Clerk, 1722. 'for an fine Lady's Closet with an Large Glase in the doore £9'; GD18/1839/1/187. Penicuik House.



fig. 43b. *Interior of ditto.*



fig. 44. *Mahogany sofa; one of a pair.* William Lamb for Robert Hay, 1796. '2 Mahogany Soffas french stufft with 3 french stufft Cushions to each back & end framed to take out the seat 6 Inches deep'; NRA(S)2720/731. Duns Castle.

Pl. 33

A Sofa.

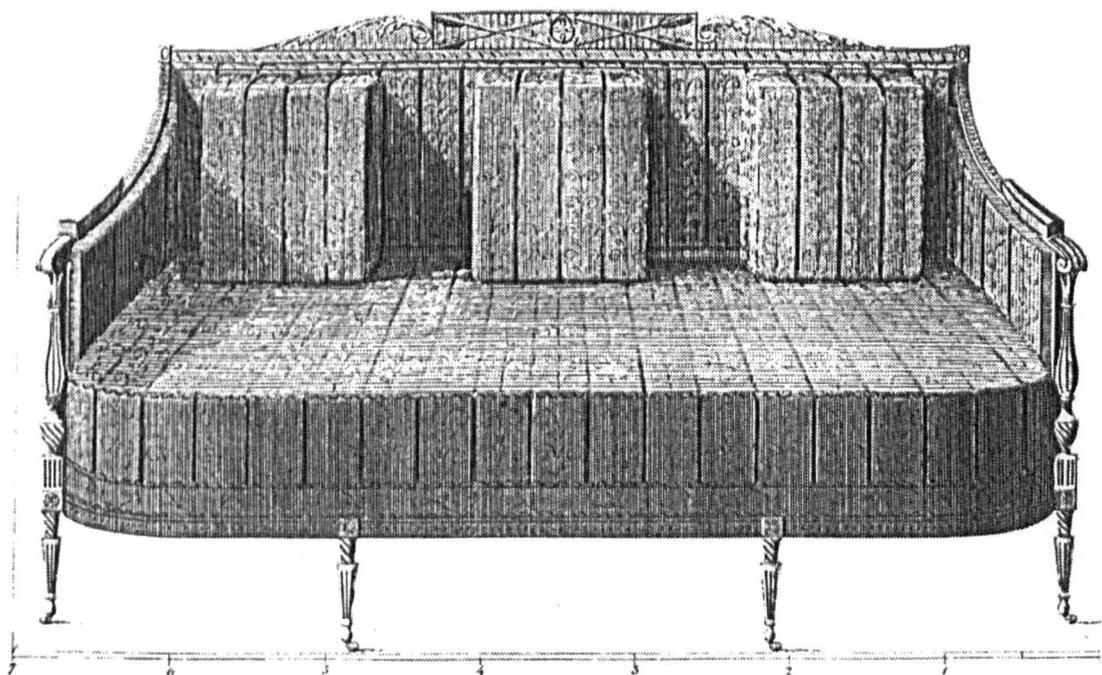


fig. 45. *Plate XXXV.* Thomas Sheraton *Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing Book* 1793.



fig. 46. *Mahogany sideboard*. James Russell for Robert Hay, 1789. 'A Mahogany Sideboard Table wt wine lockers £8'; NRA(S)2720/483. Duns Castle.

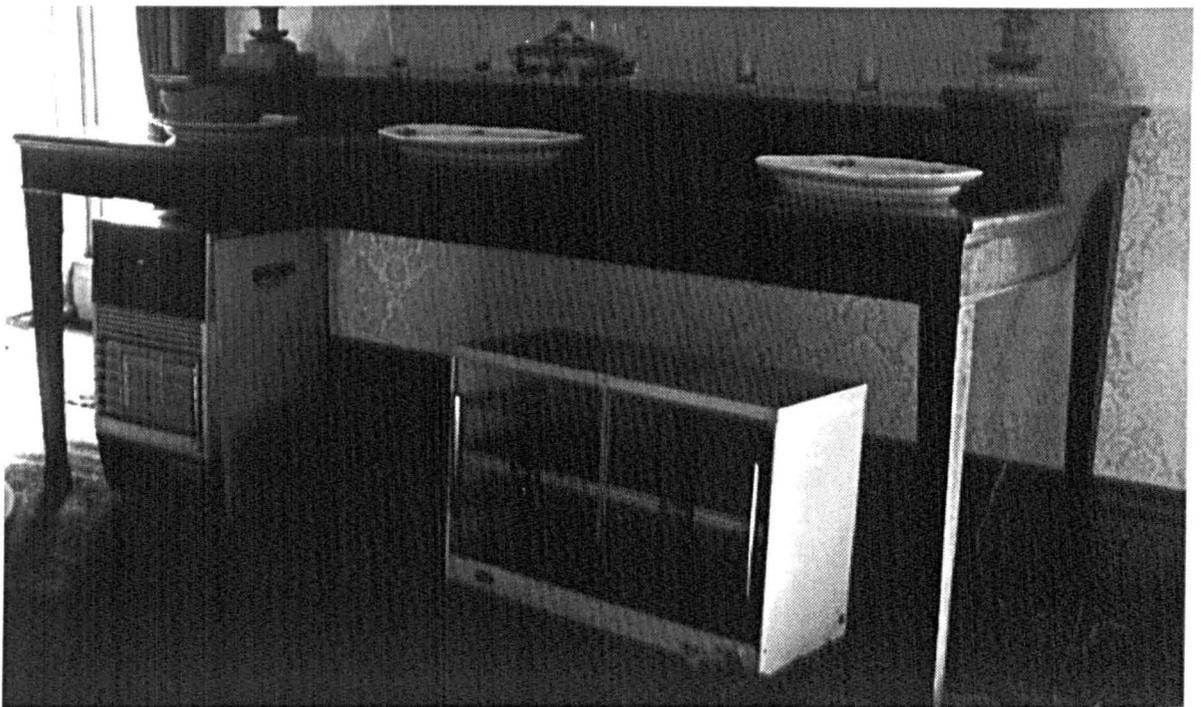


fig. 47. *Mahogany sideboard*. Circa 1775. Balcaskie.

fig. 48. *Dining Room.*
Yester House.

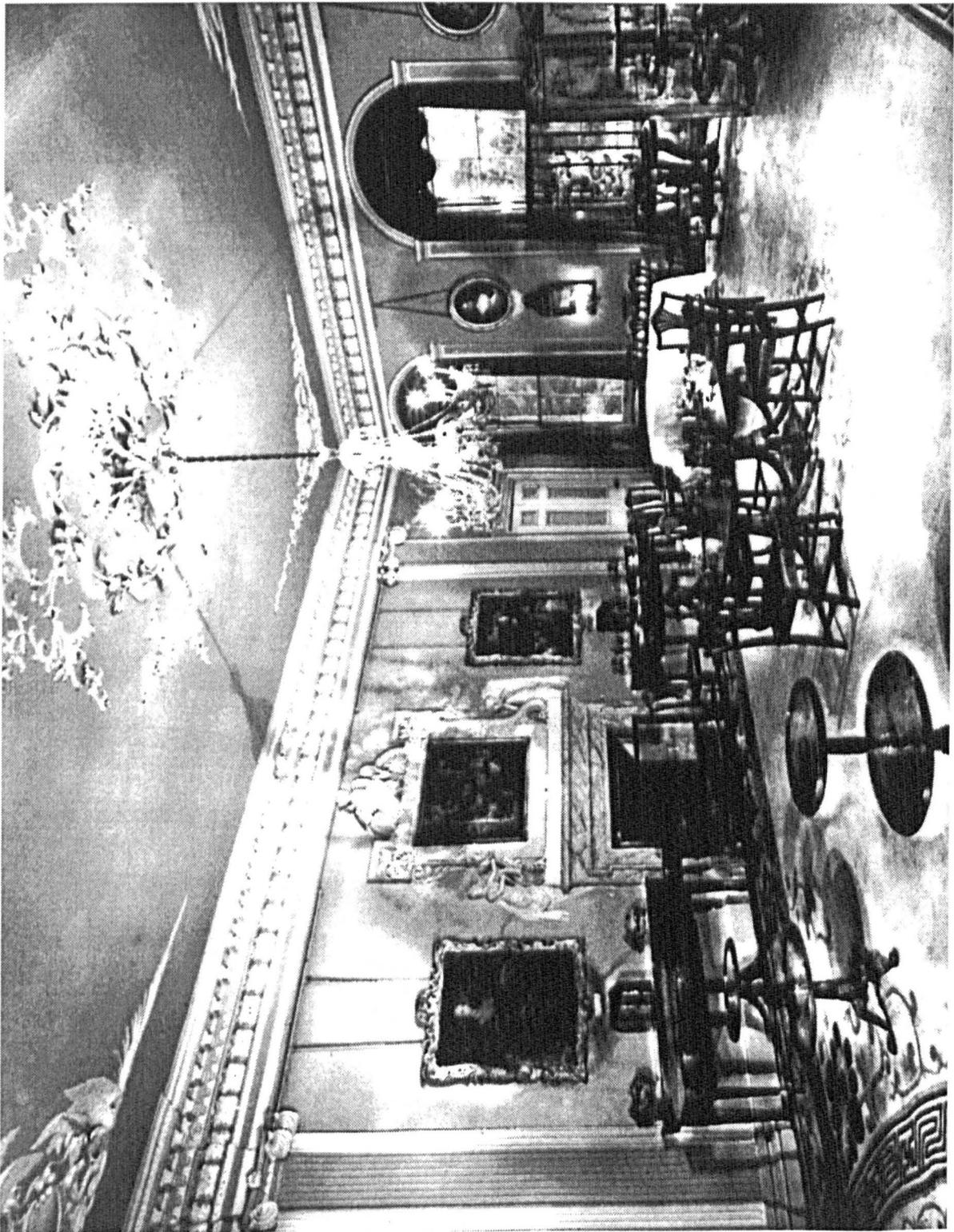




fig. 49a. *Mahogany brander back chair; one of a set.* William Lamb for the Council of the Royal College of Physicians, 1792. Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.



fig. 49b. *Detail of ditto.*



fig. 50. *Mahogany brander back chair; one of a larger set.* Robert Hodge, circa 1800; stamped under the seat rail. Glasite Meeting House, Edinburgh.

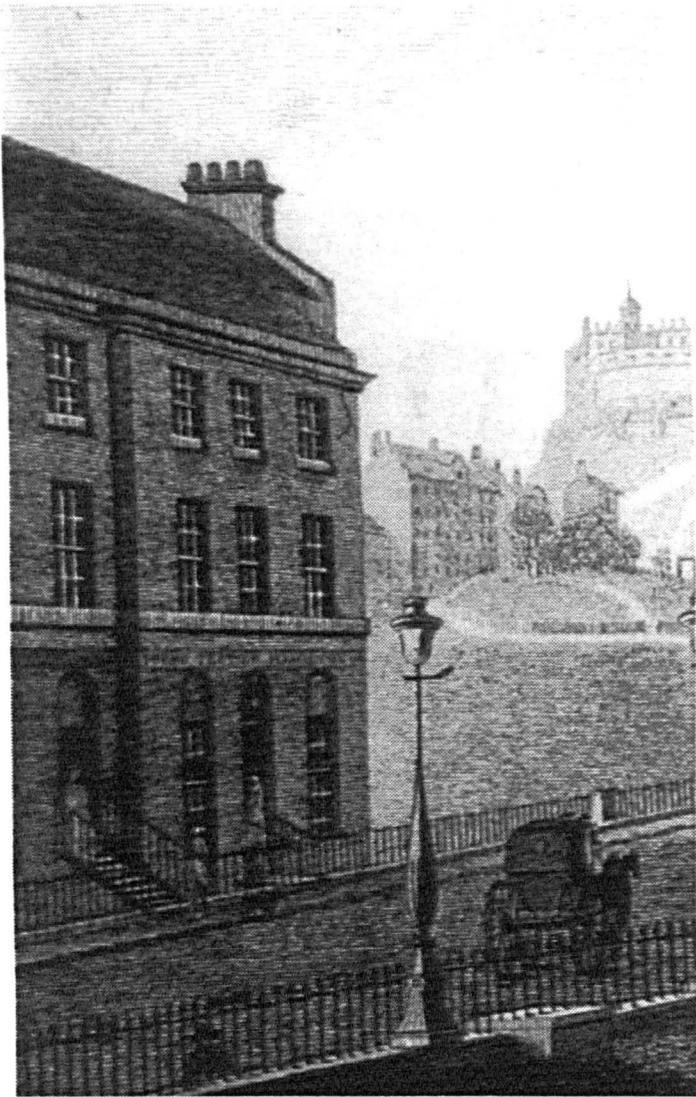


fig. 51. *Engraving of Princes Street*; the shop of Young, Trotter and Hamilton is prominent in the foreground. Circa 1795.

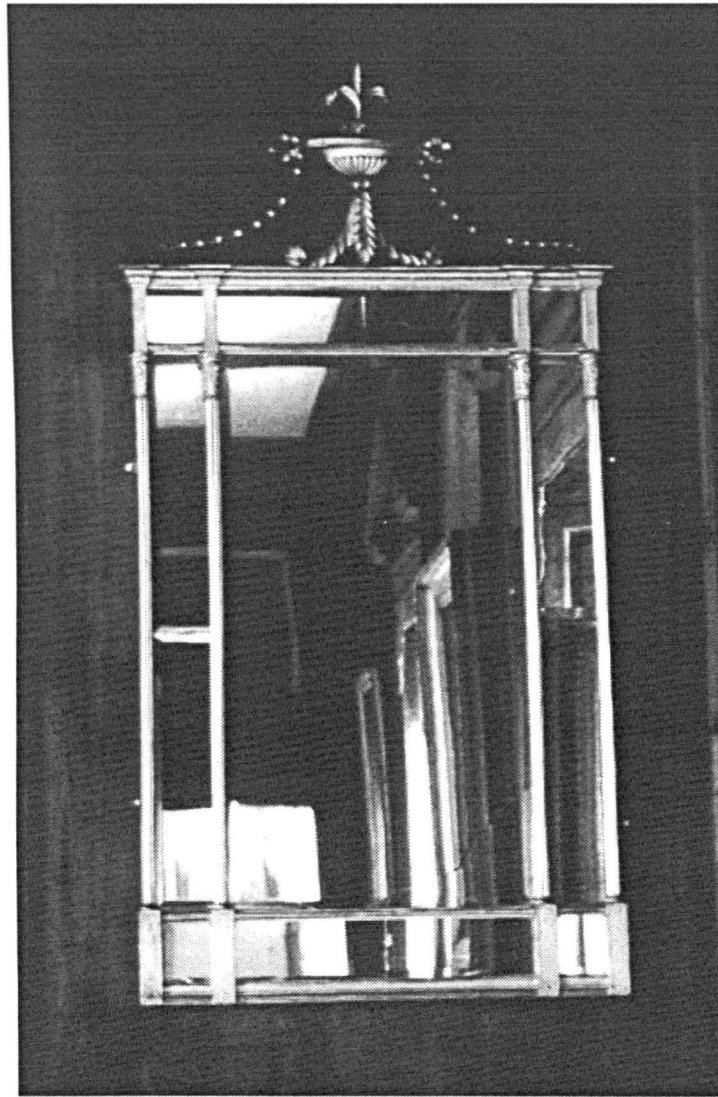


fig. 54. *Gilded pier glass; one of a pair.* Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. '2 Square Pier Glass frames finished with glass Borders the frames in Burnished gold for your mirrors £3 15/'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.

figs. 52&53 on following page

fig. 52. Painted 'drapery back' chair; one of a pair. Attributed to Young, Trotter and Hamilton, 1793. National Trust for Scotland, Culzean Castle.

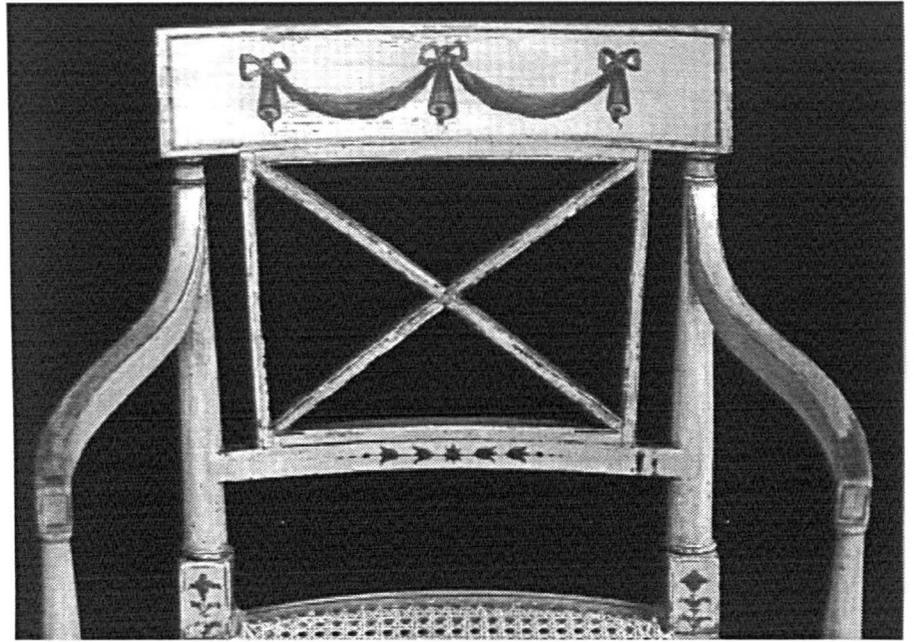


fig. 53a. Carved mahogany 'drapery back' chair; one of a set of eighteen. Young, Trotter and Hamilton, 1796. Holyroodhouse.

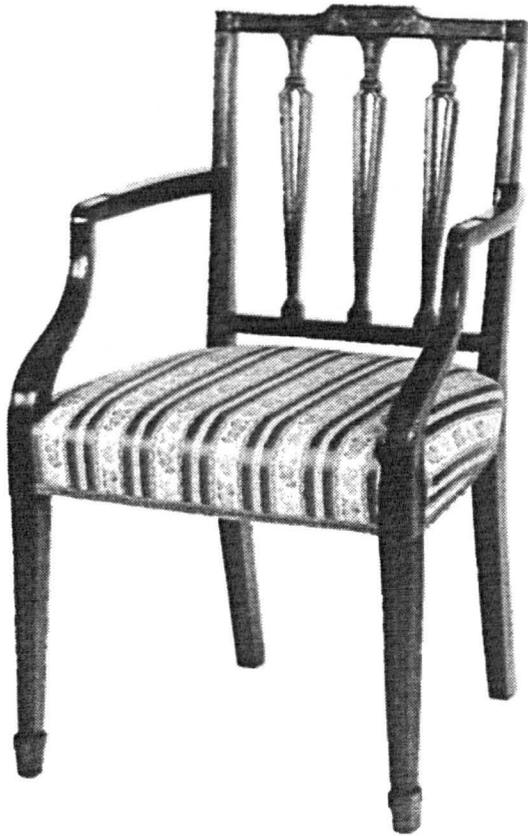


fig. 53b. Detail of ditto.

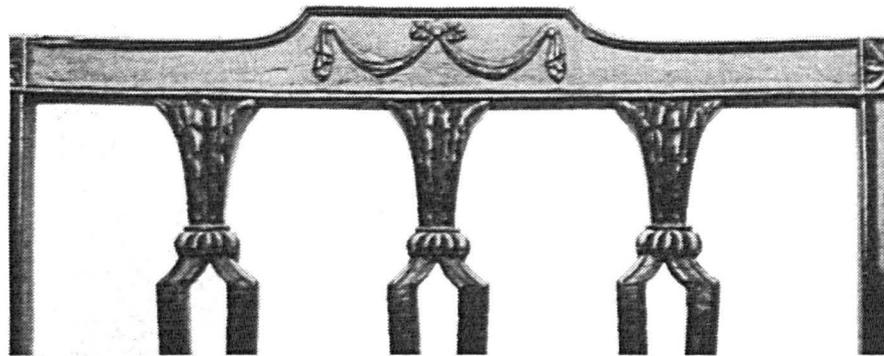


fig. 54 on previous page

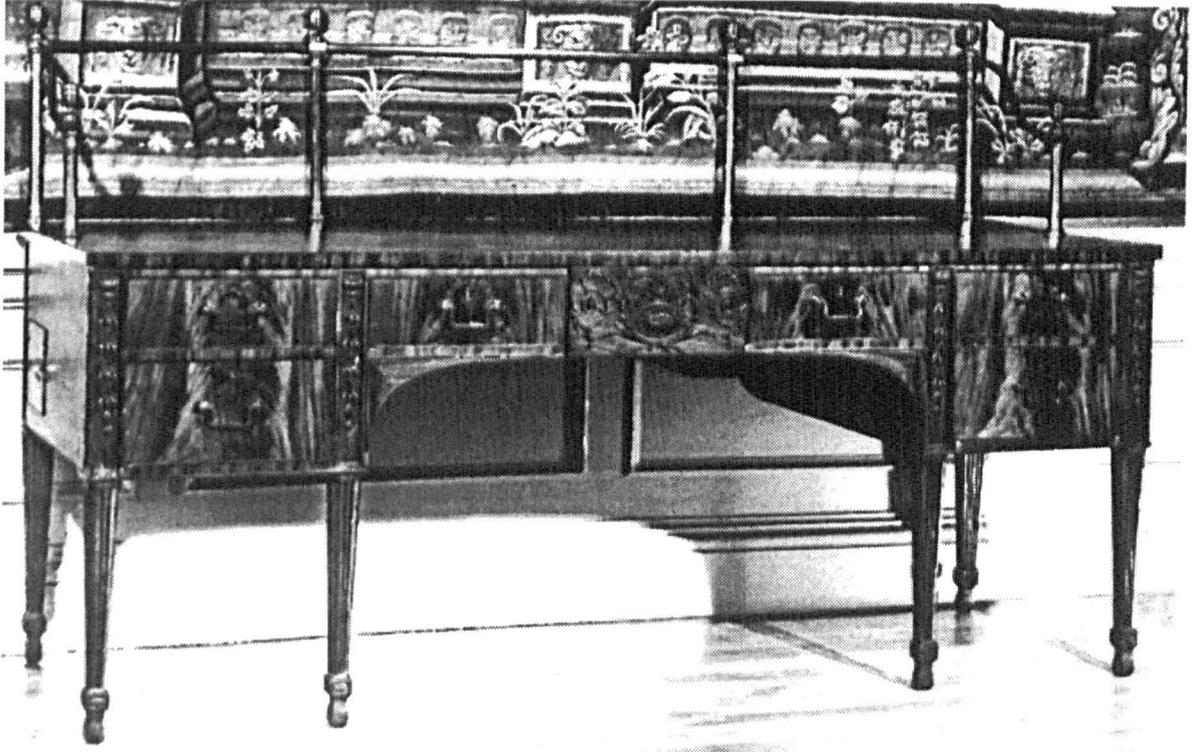


fig. 55. *Carved mahogany sideboard*. Young, Trotter and Hamilton, 1796. 'large sideboard with a cellaret drawer lined with lead and drawer containing lead cistern to lift out and in, & 3 other drawers the legs neatly moulded and voluted ornament with carving ... in the centre 7ft 6ins long £12 12/'. Holyroodhouse.



fig. 56. *Carved mahogany sideboard*. Circa 1790.

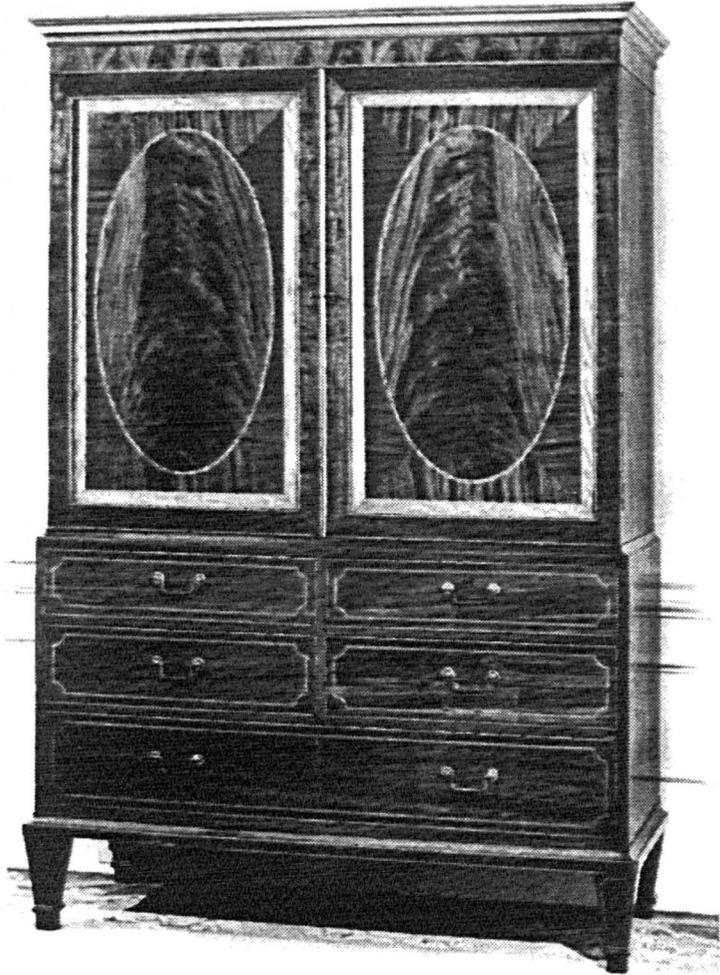


fig. 57. *Mahogany wardrobe*. Young, Trotter and Hamilton, 1796. 'large mahogany wardrobe in two parts, the under part containing 1 long and 4 short drawers on thirned feet, the upper enclosed with doors neatly wrought with oval pannels and brass astragals with six sliding trays good locks and mounting £20 15/'. Holyroodhouse.

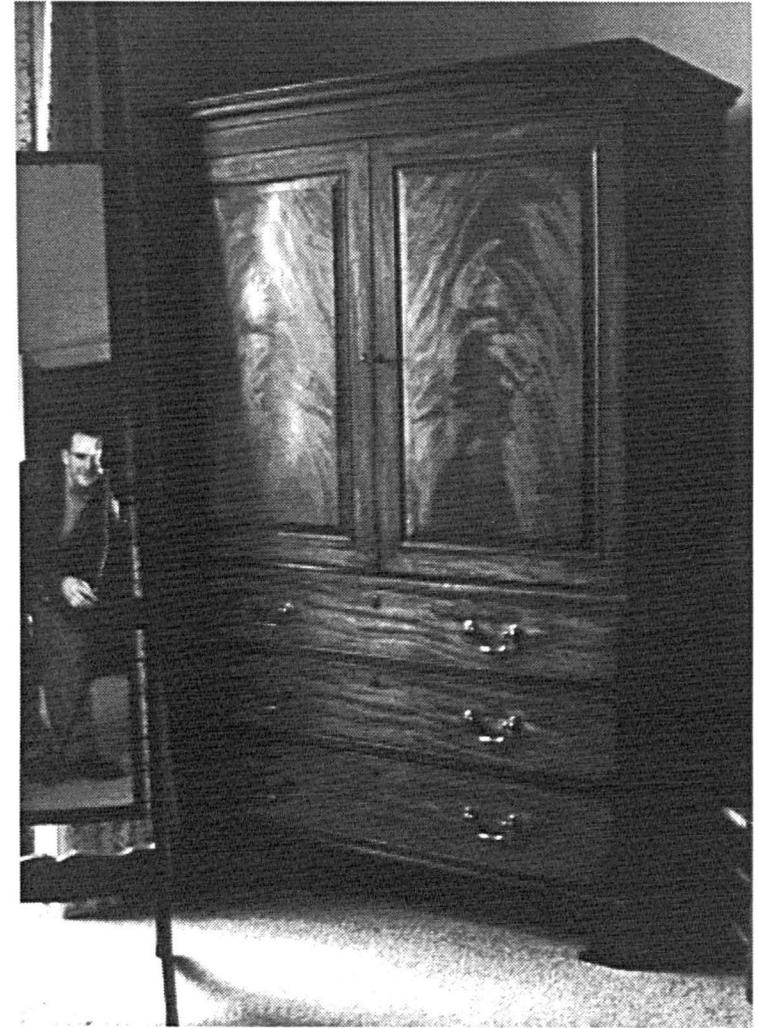


fig. 58. *Mahogany wardrobe*. Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. 'mahogany wardrobe containing 3 long drawers and 4 sliding Trays 3ft 10Inches long'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.



fig. 59. *Mahogany hall chair; one of a set of six.* Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. '6 Mahogany Hall chairs with oval backs and seats @35/6'; an extra 8/6d was charged for the 'Crest and motto'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.



fig. 60. *Mahogany pembroke table.* Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. 'mahogany Octagon Pembroke table ornamented with crossbanding and stringing 3 Cannisters in drawer £3 3/'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.

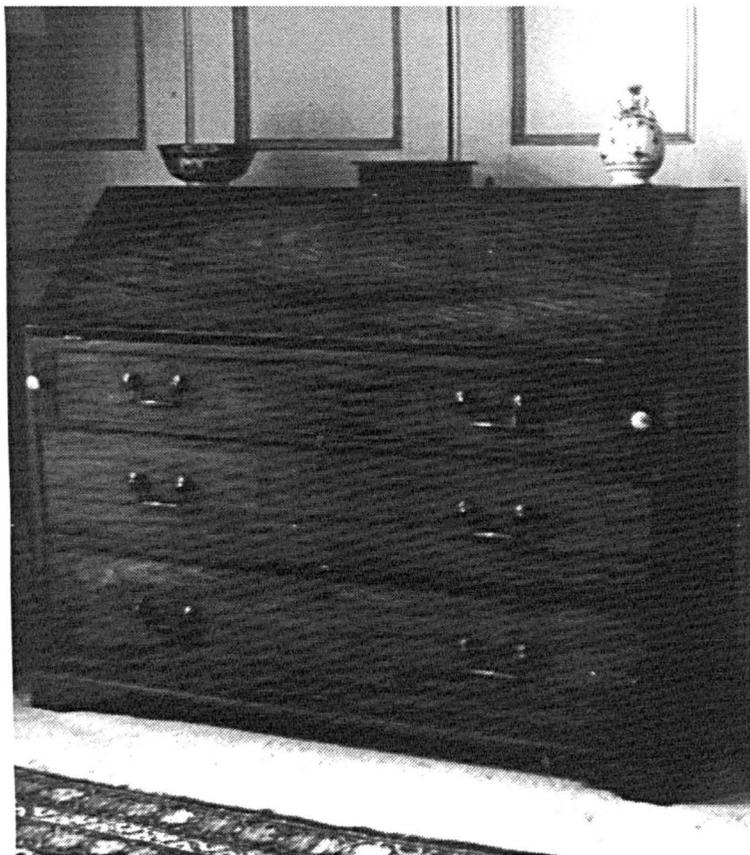


fig. 61. *Mahogany bureau*. Young and Trotters for Sir Alexander Kinloch, 1801. 'mahogany Bureau with a prospect door good locks and mounting 4ft long £9 18/'; NRA(S)2595/129. Gilmerton House.

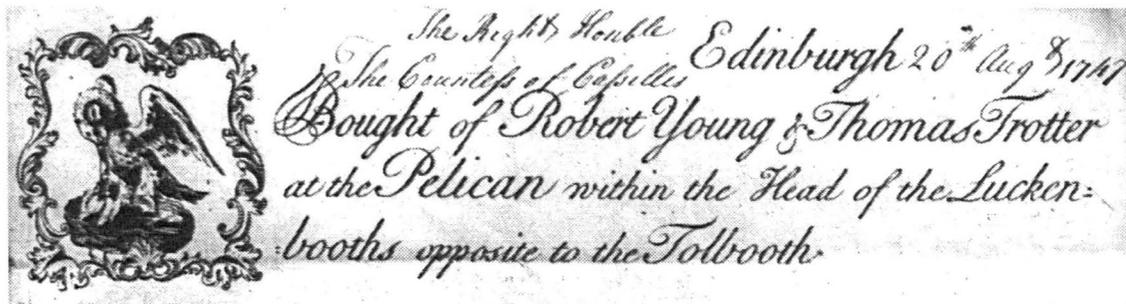


fig. 62. *Billhead* used by Young and Trotter, 1747. GD25/9/18/23.



YOUNG & TROTTER,
MERCHANT UPHOLSTERERS,
 at the PELICAN, in the Luckenbooths, Edinburgh, are presently provided with a very neat Assortment of the following Goods, viz. Silk and Worsted mixt Damasks, plain Worsted ditto, Harrateen and Cheny Camblets, Morines and Linceys, with a Variety of other Bed-stuffs, great Choice of Furniture, printed Cloths, Carpets of all kinds, painted Cloth, and India Papers of the newest Patteras, English Blankets, Bed-Laces, and all other Upholsterer Goods. — Also, Upholsterer Work done in the newest and neatest Manner.

N. B. Having greatly improved the Manufacture of Scots Carpets, we hope to serve our Customers with superior Advantage in that Article.

fig. 63. *Notice* in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 22nd March 1750.

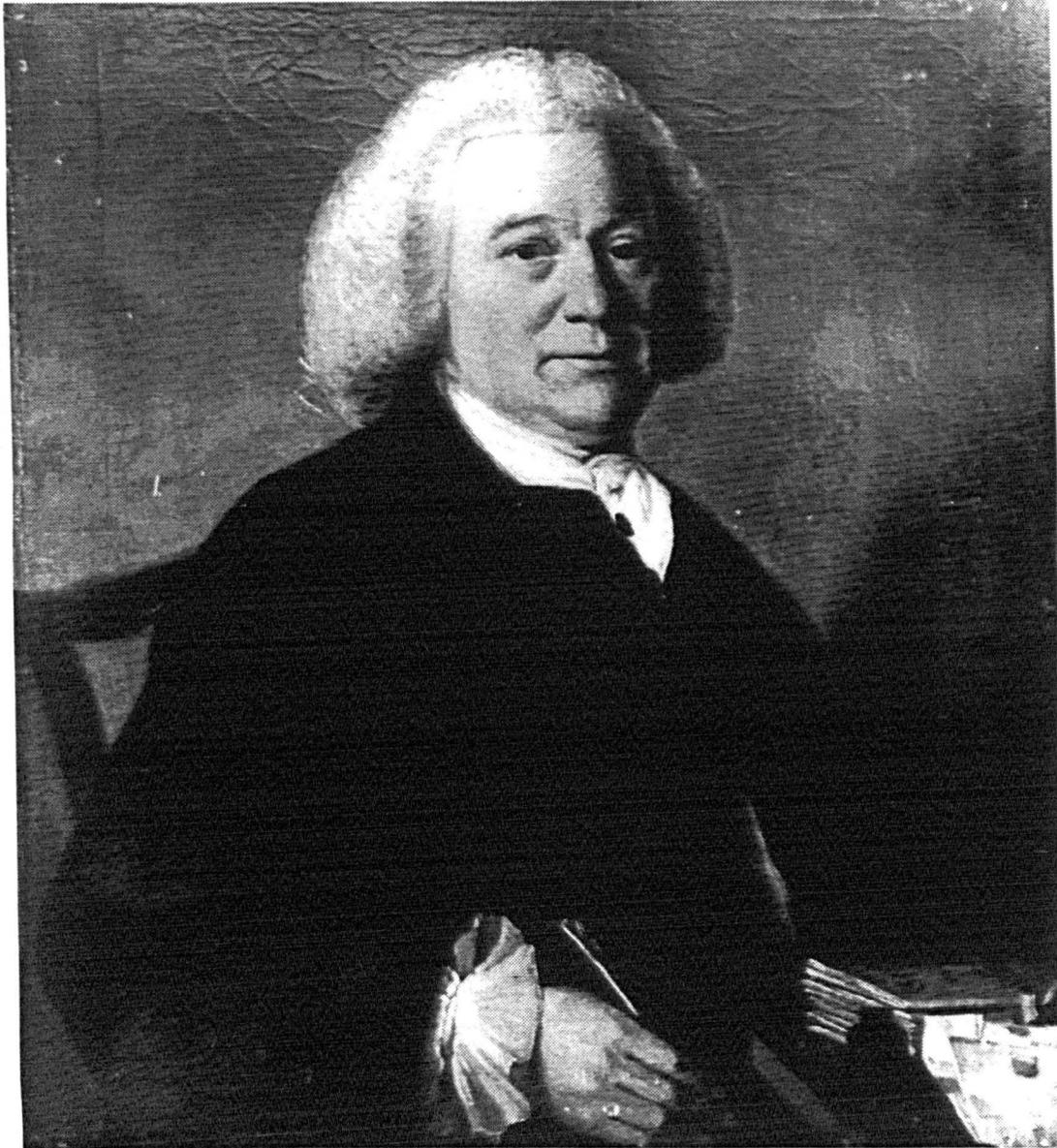


fig. 64. *Portrait of Thomas Trotter.* William Miller, circa 1780. Whereabouts unknown.



fig. 65. *Painted bamboo armchair; one of a set of eight.* Young, Trotter and Hamilton for the Earl of Cassillis, 1793. '8 Bamboo Elbow Rush Bottom'd chairs neatly painted @20/6d'; GD25/9/10/5. National Trust for Scotland, Culzean Castle.



fig. 66a. *Cockpen wing chair*. Circa 1775, attributed to Young and Trotter.

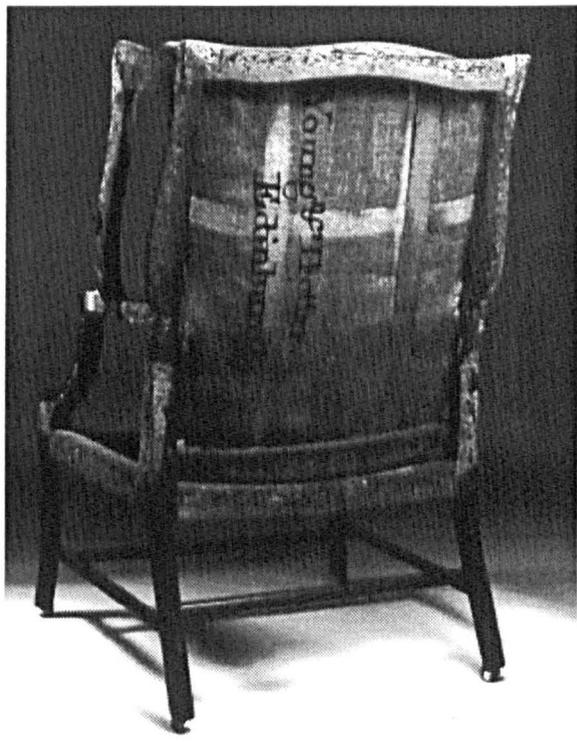


fig. 66b. *Ditto*.

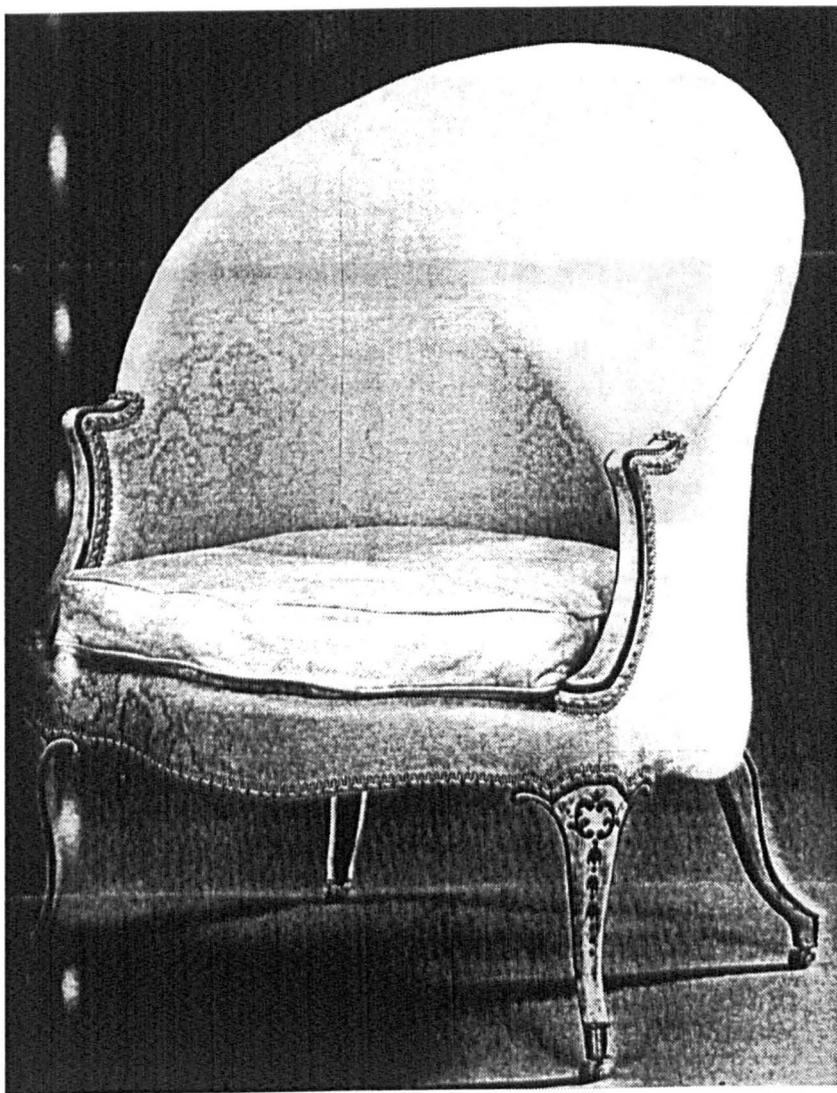


fig. 67. *Painted bergere chair*. Circa 1780, the canvas backing is stamped Young and Trotter. Sold by Sotheby's on the 12th July 1991.

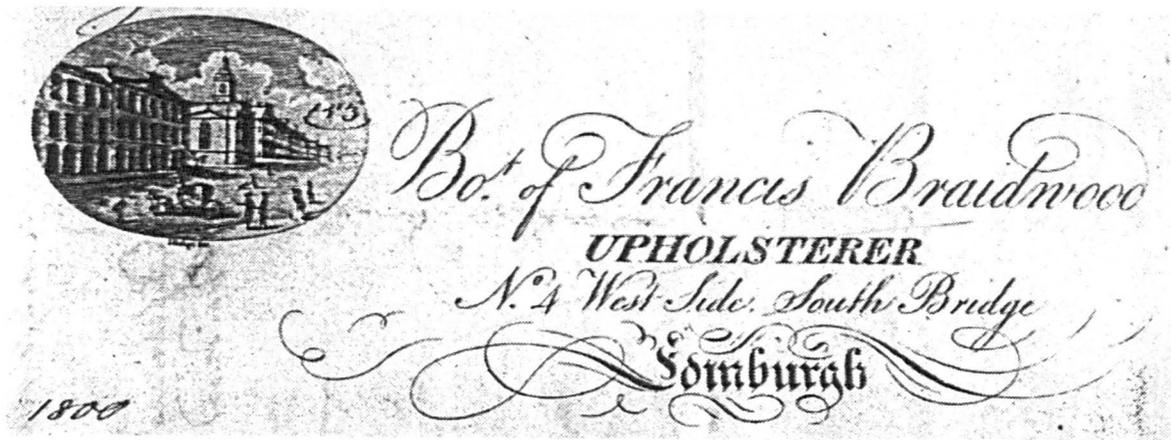


fig. 68. *Billhead* used by Francis Braidwood, 1800. GD152/216/2/2/26.

fig. 69a. *Mahogany secretaire bureau*.
John Biggar, circa 1800. National
Museums of Scotland.

fig. 69b. *Label on ditto*.

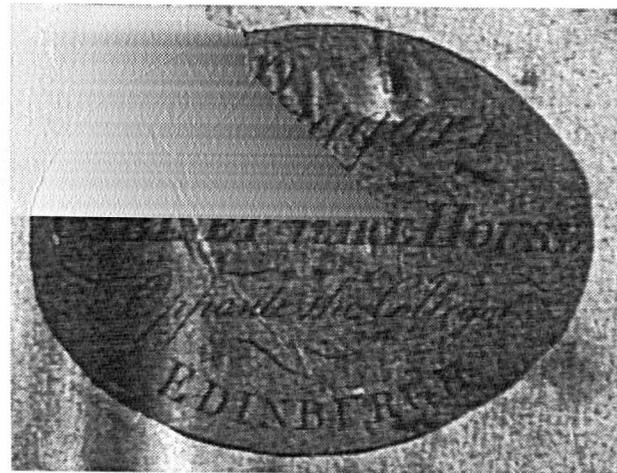




fig. 70. *Mahogany dining chair; from a larger set.* William Hamilton for Sir John Clerk, 1772. 'in full of Chairs for Dining Room £33 14/ 9d'; GD18/1758a. Penicuik House.

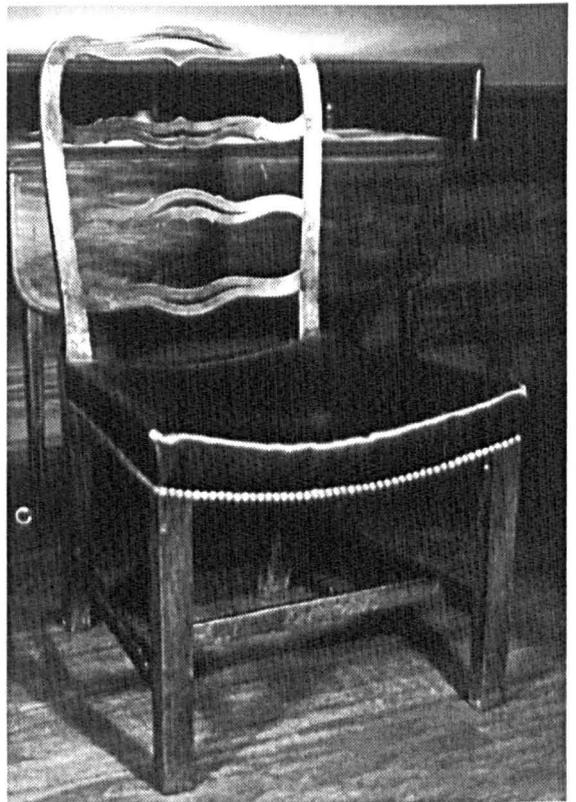


fig. 71. *Elm dining chair; from an original set of 48.* William Hamilton, 1774; GD226/4/6 (3rd August). Trinity House, Leith.

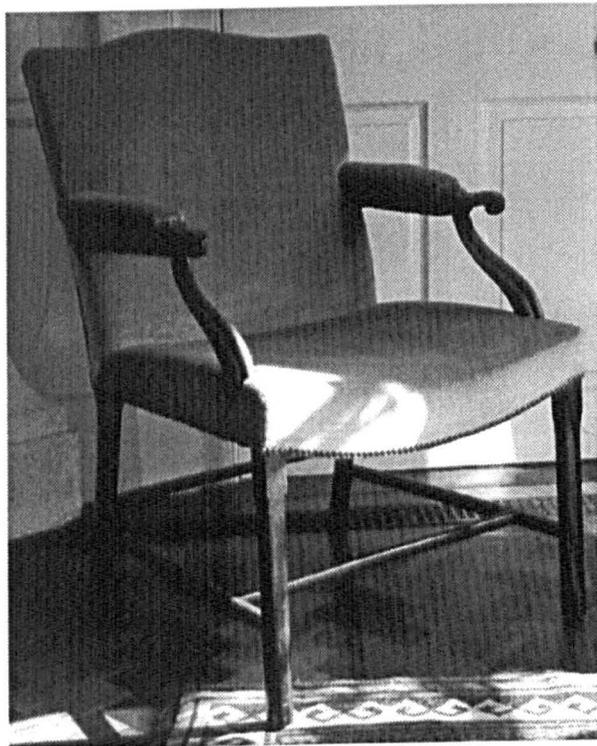


fig. 73. *Mahogany cockpen armchair; one of four.* Attributed to William Hamilton, circa 1775. Penicuik House.



fig. 72. *Elm Master's chair.* William Hamilton, 1774. Trinity House, Leith

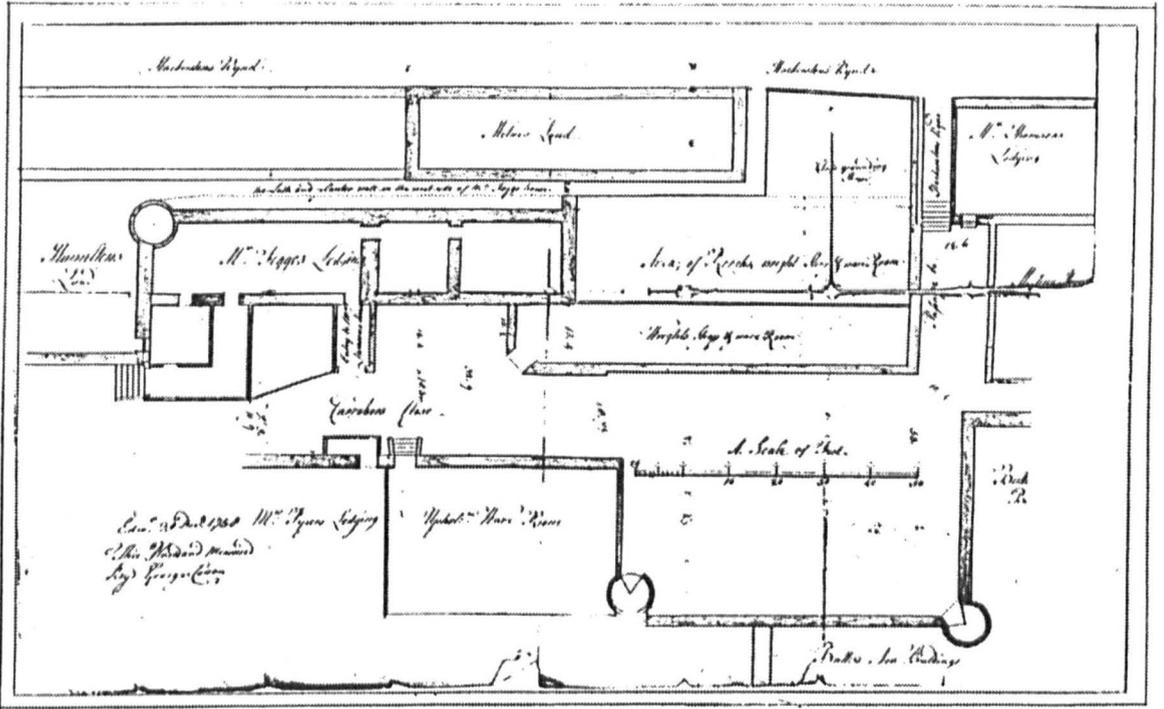


fig. 74. Plan of William Reoch's workshop. Dean of Guild Petition, December 1764.



fig. 75. Engraving of the interior of Messrs Cleland, Jack, Patterson and Co's Warehouse, Trongate, Glasgow. From *The Stranger's Guide or a Picture of Glasgow* 1812.



fig. 76a. *Gilded pier glass; one of a dissimilar pair.* John Thomson for Sir John Clerk, 1769. 'To a Carved Peir frame for Drawing Room £18 9/ 10d ... To Gilding Ditto £7'; a further £5 was charged for border glasses and silvering the principal plate; GD18/1837/5. Penicuik House.



fig. 76b. *Gilded pier glass; one of a dissimilar pair.* John Thomson for Sir John Clerk, 1769; as above. Penicuik House.

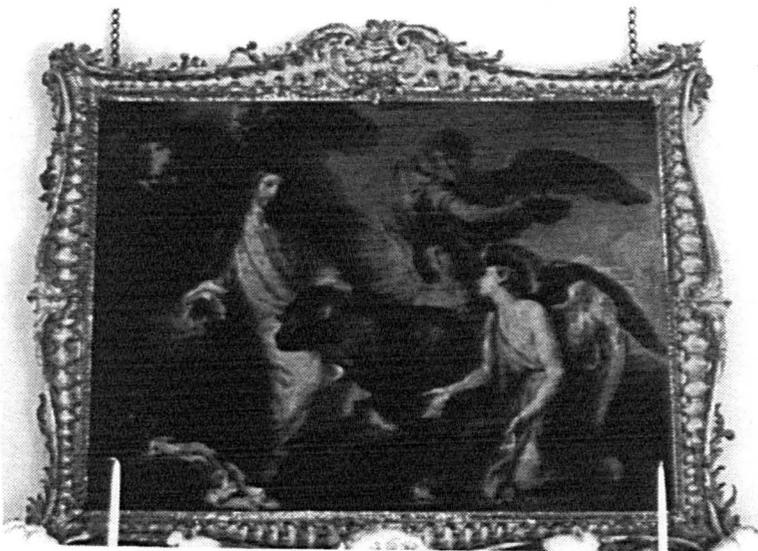


fig. 77a. *Gilded picture frame*; one of several which survive *en suite*. Attributed to John Thomson, who was paid £144 by Sir John Clerk 'for Carving picture frames and Gilding in Dining Room' in 1773; GD18/1758a. Penicuik House.



fig. 77b. *Ditto*.

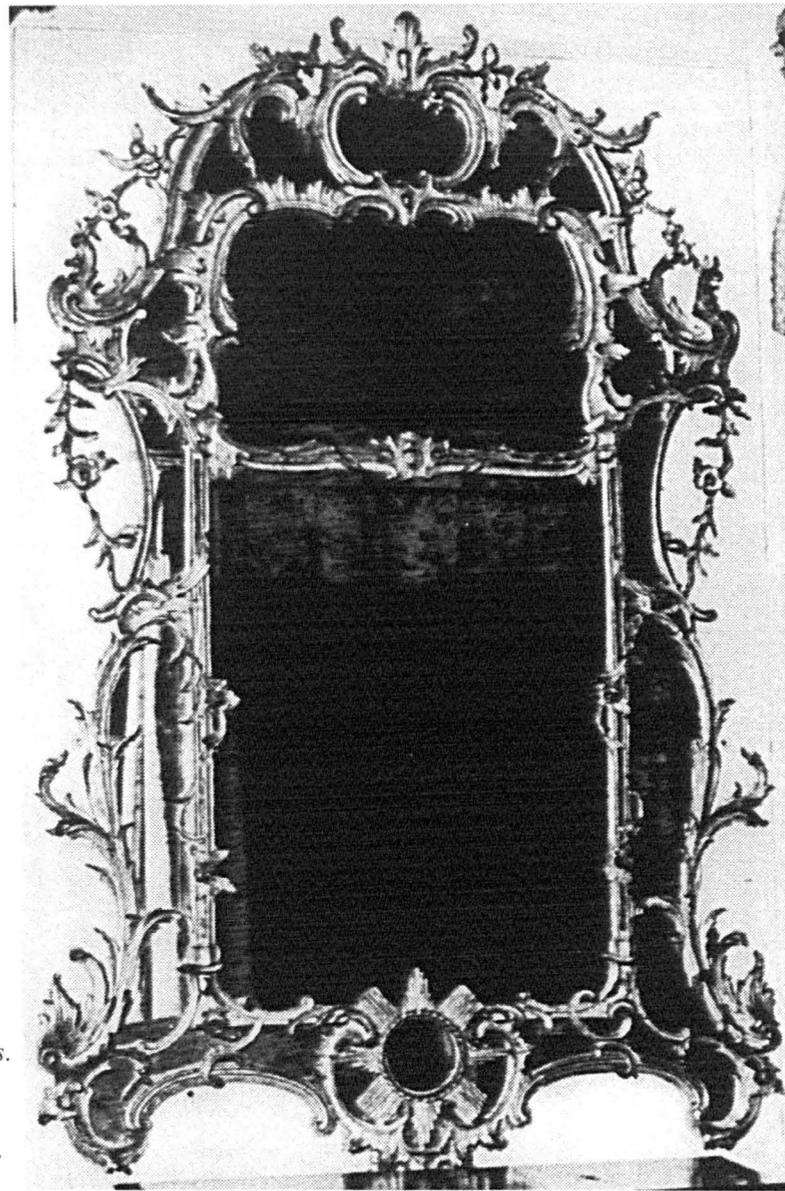


fig. 78. *Gilded pier glass*. William Mathie for the Earl of Dumfries, 1759; £14. NRA(S)631/A720. Dumfries House.