

Gladstone's Land, 483 Lawnmarket

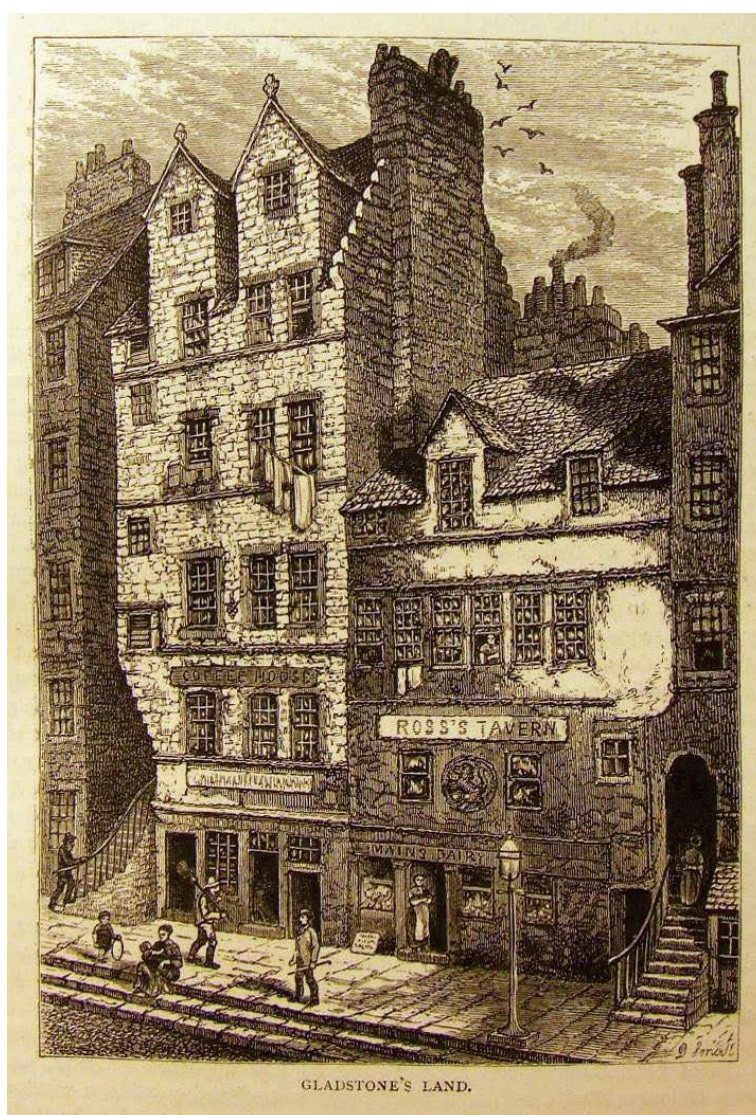
Edinburgh

Historic building survey and analytical assessment

for

The National Trust for Scotland

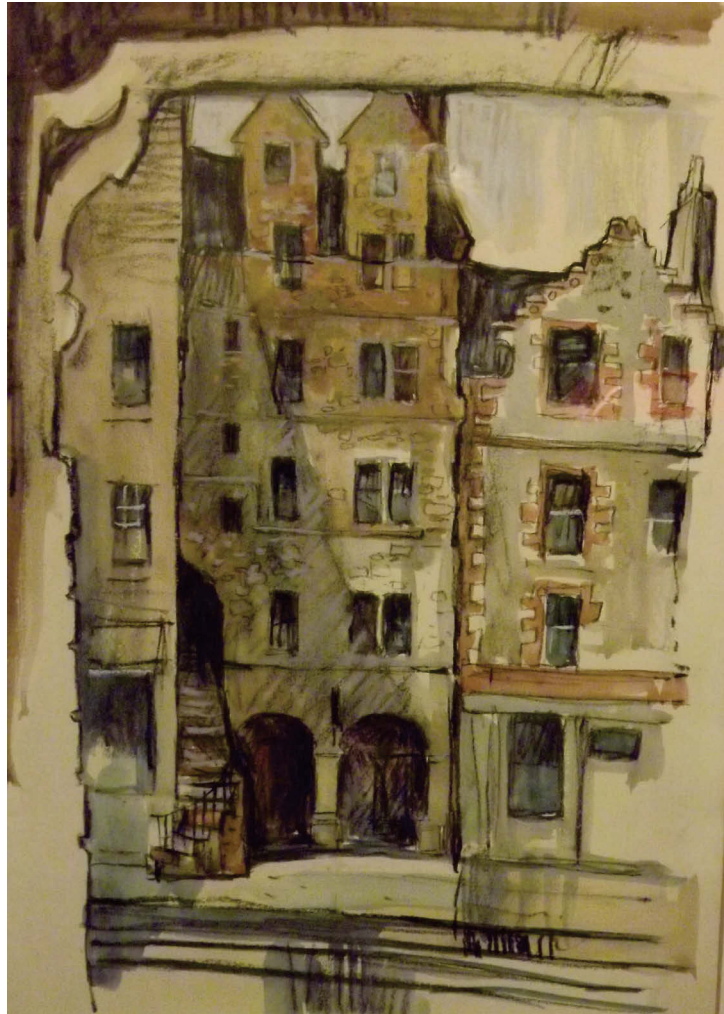
February 2015



From Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, 1882



Addyman Archaeology
Building Historians & Archaeologists
A division of Simpson & Brown Architects



Detail of painting at Gladstone's Land (NTS)

Acknowledgements

Addyman Archaeology would like to thank Historic Scotland for their invaluable assistance in allowing access to files, formerly of the Office of Works or Scottish Development Department: Steven Robb, Heritage Management Team Leader (Historic Buildings) East, and Damiana Magris, Paintings Conservator at the Conservation Centre, and her staff. The assistance of the dedicated team running Gladstone's Land has also been invaluable.

Thanks are also due to Ian Riches, National Trust for Scotland archivist; Simon Green, RCAHMS historic buildings team, for advice and his paper on the twentieth-century history of the building; Christopher Hartley, former curator of Gladstone's Land for discussion and additional information.

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Edinburgh

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Job number 2142.00

February 2015

by Nicholas Uglow and Tom Addyman, with Kenny Macfadyen and Jenni Morrison
Drawings by Kenny Macfadyen

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1.0 Introduction

Gladstone's Land, at No. 483 Lawnmarket, Edinburgh is one of Edinburgh's, and thus Scotland's, best-known buildings. It has long been a principal incident on a perambulation along the Royal Mile, to most visitors a picturesque remnant of old Edinburgh and, since being taken in to the care of the National Trust for Scotland in the 1930s, one of the most popular.

The apparently unified stone frontage of the building masks a complex evolutionary history, one that incorporates a wealth of important evidence relating to the early evolution of the townscape and the study of Scottish urbanism more generally. Saved for the nation when under threat of demolition, the building also embodies a multitude of more modern interventions carried out under the auspices of The National Trust for Scotland over the succeeding eighty years. These interventions reflect evolving approaches to historic building conservation and changing ideas as to the interpretation of the past.

This study was commissioned by The National Trust for Scotland in order to carry out a comprehensive review of the understanding of the evolutionary history of Gladstone's Land, to develop a detailed knowledge-base of its physical fabric and of the significances it embodies. The resulting report is intended to serve as a key tool for informing the future management of the property and to guide proposals for its improvement and possible alteration. The study was also seen by the NTS as an opportunity to augment and extend existing records for the building and to produce an up-to-date resource and a new analysis of its evolutionary history.

The scope of this report was developed through consultation with Daniel Rhodes, NTS Archaeologist for the Southern Region and, through him, the property staff and wider team concerned with the running and presentation of this important site.

1.1 Development of the project design

The resulting project design followed an initial taking-stock exercise in order to gain some idea of the extent of previous metrical survey and assessment of the building and to also establish the extent to which archival sources existed. By this means it was hoped to avoid unnecessary duplication in any new work.

In summary it was established there were extensive existing records held by the NTS, by the RCAHMS, by Historic Scotland, the City and even in the National Archives of Scotland, as well as a substantial body of published material. The building had also seen a number of separate analyses and surveys the latter including a recent as-existing digital plan set that was employed as a basis for new survey work, for overlaying of phasing data, and so on.

In summary it was felt the most effective approach to the required study would involve the following elements at the first stage:

Stage 1 Comprehensive digest of sources, base analytical survey drawings, and analytical report

First was a comprehensive digest of the historical record for the building, including its conservation history. Accompanying this was a graphic working-up of existing drawn records and an analytical report. To break this down into individual exercises:

Historical

- A comprehensive review of historical material, sources, etc. So as to avoid re-inventing previous work this began with a detailed review of previous written accounts and research so as to identify both what records were available and where the knowledge

gaps were (for example there was little indication that Edinburgh Dean of Guild records have been previously examined in detail – much of this recently re-catalogued).

- Gazetteer of records for the building was made – the NTS archive holding is catalogued by file folder and with a general summary of contents of these. It was proposed that a more comprehensive catalogue of these be compiled – particularly on architecture-related documentation, plans, etc. The catalogue also included a list of references for material from other sources – RCAHMS / HS (Stenhouse) / Dean of Guild / published material, etc ...
- The historical material was assessed for significant information that would feed in to the understanding of the evolution of the building.
- The wealth of knowledge held by those most involved with the property, both in the past and at the present time, was also drawn upon as the work progressed.

Drawing survey set

- Drawing from existing survey resources. The as-existing survey of the site was assessed for its accuracy on site – however it was assumed to be generally accurate and a usable base. Using the digital survey as a basis was then layered with the following data:
- The phasing data from Bob Heath's survey (a set at RCAHMS, also NTS archive) and observations from his report
- The internal arrangements as existing in c.1935 (manuscript plans in NTS archive)
- The proposed arrangements of 1935 (manuscript plans in NTS archive).
- The subsequent modifications by Hurd in the 1970s, minor modifications by Bob Heath subsequently; other recorded modifications generally
- Annotated information about the analytical history of the building from other sources. Most important was a review of other visual material from the mid-late 1930s (and before), particularly the photographs taken of the interior during works.
- Other sources consulted – particularly the Ministry of Works records relating to their involvement under their architect Wilson Paterson – including 'in progress' photography, more records of the dismantled painted ceilings, etc.
- MR Apted's drawings of the painted ceilings (c1961), held at the NMRS Library
- Data from previous recording works (e.g. Addyman 2000)

Enhancing the drawn record

Better / new survey drawings were prepared of the more important areas of the building where these proved to be lacking – in particular the principal rooms at ground, first and second floor levels where the principal decorative and interpreted interiors exist. These areas obviously contained the most significant surviving elements and decorative finishes and were also the most complex in terms of their conservation history. By contrast the rooms on the upper floors' interiors were far less significant and are mostly defined by partitions inserted post-1935.

These first-stage enhancements to the drawn record were integrated with the general digital drawing set. For the significant historic interiors drawings could also be layered with conservation-related data.

Analytical report

In addition to the survey and assessment works, the enhanced understanding of the site was drawn together in narrative form by means of an analytical report, this document - a digest of the research carried out. This is arranged so as to be the primary document (in conjunction

with the drawing set) that can inform the decision-making process in relation to possible future modification to the fabric of the building. The analytical report is arranged chronologically and contains a detailed account of the conservation history of the building (*section 2*), an analysis of its surviving historic fabric (*section 3*), and followed by a significance assessment and statement (*section 4*). *Section 5* suggests potential future works in relation to making a more comprehensive general record of the building, and includes recommendations for on-going investigations and research.

Supporting appendices

Supporting appendices include a compendium of source materials – historical drawings, imagery, published and manuscript accounts as a basic resource document for the site.

The report will be archived with NTS and RCAHMS, and an OASIS record (OASIS ID addymanal-210075) will be submitted on completion of the final report.

1.2 Project works

The present project was undertaken between November 2014 and February 2015. Site assessment and survey work was carried out by Kenneth Macfadyen, supported by Jenni Morrison, with further general assessment of the evolutionary history of the structure by Tom Addyman. Following initial consultation by Tom Addyman a more comprehensive review of historical sources was carried out by Nicholas Uglow. Some delay in delivery was caused by the elaborate measures required to access Historic Scotland's archival material in particular. Inevitably the present study identified additional sources throughout the process of consultation; it was not possible to consult some of these within the given time-frame.

2.0 Historical account derived from documentary research

2.1 Historiography

The overall shape of the historical development of this building is relatively straightforward; however there are multiple phases of alterations, reductions, extensions, refurbishments of parts and all of the building, and restorations, those with the greatest impact being in the twentieth century. None of the published or un-published accounts were able to detail this story in full and therefore none of them has been a reliable companion throughout this report. However, almost all of them have contributed some important information to the understanding contained in this report.

Of the published accounts of the building, there are two that examine its history as a whole. The RCAHMS account in the 1951 Inventory is a very detailed account with a set of phase plans. It has a good earlier history of the building, but mentions almost nothing between the early eighteenth century and the acquisition by the National Trust for Scotland. It does not discuss the extensive alterations in the twentieth century or restoration of the painted interiors, and predate major alterations after the publication date.

The account in *The buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, published in 1984 (Gifford et al.), is based in part on the RCAHMS work. It includes fuller reference to the National Trust for Scotland alterations in the late 1930s and the late 1970s, but inevitably does not go into detail in such a brief account. There is some expanded interpretation of how the frontage was extended into the street, and almost half of the account of just over a page, focuses on the painted interiors.

There are two early guidebooks by Hurd of 1948 and 1952, and four by Hartley between 1983 and 2000. A few interpretation companion guides have also been published, including Graham et al. (c.1982). All of these pamphlet books are valuable, but contain many broad-brush impressions and facts that might be misleading in this detailed analytical account, and have been read with a degree of skepticism.

Of the published accounts of the interiors, Apted's pioneering 1964 thesis research was published in much abbreviated form in 1966 as the *Painted ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650*. This account gives some historical context for the painted interiors but makes no mention of the late 1930s restoration, and pre-dates the 1960s and 1970s restorations. Bath's *Renaissance decorative painting in Scotland* is the most recent account, but is really an inventory-style record, with the best description of the actual paintings. Again, no mention is made of the successive restoration campaigns.

There are several unpublished reports concerning the interiors from the mid to late twentieth century, and there are two recent reports by Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators (2006 and 2009). These tend to be technical in nature, but all have some important information on the dates of the various campaigns of restoration of the painted interiors and the changes in methodologies in this period. Addyman & Kay's 2000 report and *Discovery and excavation Scotland* entry for the same year is a very detailed analysis of the so-called bar parlour on the ground floor.

Finally there are several unpublished professional reports concerning the building, including Quinquennial inspections from 1988 (Heath), 1994 (NTS) and 2010 (Gray, Marshall & Assocs.). These provide important snapshots of the building at these dates, and are illustrated, but essentially post-date the major alterations.

There is also much information in primary source archives. Concerning the earlier history of the building, all alterations to the building from the 1670s onwards should be recorded in the Dean of Guild Court records in the Edinburgh City Archives. In 1674, the Town Council passed an act decreeing that the Dean of Guild and his Council should be informed of new buildings and repair work to existing buildings in advance of work commencing. An official visit was to be paid, and, if the builder's intentions conformed to the standards and intentions of the Council, this would be certified

by a warrant. Later this evolved into a system where drawings were submitted (Rock, 2013¹). However, the petitions before around 1860 were registered in ledgers as they were received, i.e. chronologically. A searchable catalogue compiled by Dr. Joe Rock exists for the 1770s-1820s, and from the 1860s to the present. There is otherwise no catalogue for the rest of this material and it is therefore not possible to search it; the only way to find pertinent records is to look at all records submitted each year. This search is impossible to carry out for any single address.

The petitions to the Dean of Guild Court are most useful for this type of research when they include architects drawings, but this was not a requirement until more recent times. Therefore, many of the earlier records only note changes in words and give some details on ownership and the tenancing of the various houses in the land. From the early 2000s, the petitions to the Dean of Guild Court were all lodged electronically and have been searched. Fortunately, almost all the petitions to the court from the 1880s onwards have comprehensive drawings, which represent with a fairly high degree of reliability work that was actually done to the building up to the present day.

The papers of the National Trust for Scotland are from the mid-1930s and have voluminous letters, minutes and other papers. There has been no attempt to read every piece of paper partly because of the very useful executive committee minutes. The executive committee of the National Trust for Scotland met frequently and the minutes of their meetings are the main source of information from the early years of the organisation. There are extracts of the minutes in the Gladstone's Land files, but it is not certain that they are complete. Nonetheless, they provide a reasonable account of the decision-making and events with a set of dates. The later the date, the more information exists in the archive files, probably because more paperwork was produced and more was retained on file.

The NTS photo library also contains 35mm slide images of the building, internally and externally, some showing alterations work in progress. The slides were only discovered at the end of the work for this report, and it has not been possible to consult them. They may contain important information that enhances the understanding and should be integrated into this analysis in the future.

The various public bodies responsible for building work in Scotland were also involved in work to the building from the mid-1930s until the 1990s. The Office or Ministry of Works became the Scottish Development Department, which became Historic Scotland from 1991. Their records of the early architectural work have proved elusive, though this may be because it was mainly confined to repairs. National Trust for Scotland minutes note that the costs of the works was on a 'time and material' basis and this may go further to explain the lack of records (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02).

However, there are more extensive records concerning the works done to restore the painted elements of the interiors by the Office of Works, later Historic Scotland (HS) held by their Conservation Centre. These files include several sets of detailed close-up photographs and some more general shots, a very few of alteration works in progress. There is also correspondence and a few reports on works. Some material is also contained in a single folder archived in the National Archives of Scotland, largely containing correspondence. In 2002, Gillian Cook, a Structural Paintings Intern with HS, compiled a single file of papers, including minutes, reports, some photos and correspondence concerning work to the painted ceilings and walls from the 1930s to 1990s. These papers were compiled from both NTS and HS archives. The file is held at the HS Conservation Centre and is a useful summary, but original papers have also been consulted for this analysis.

2.2 Early owners and occupants

Hurd (1948) contains a narrative of the early owners of the building, based on archival research done by Dr. Marguerite Wood (Keeper of the Burgh Records at that time), but none of it is referenced (Hurd 1948, p.8). The earliest date found was 1501 when 'the "tenement" was even then subdivided and had already been built on as "Lands" (Hurd 1948, 8). This reference to 'tenement' is to the plot, not the

¹ <https://sites.google.com/site/edinburghdeanofguild/home/edinburgh-building-legislation-and-legal-precedents>

common twenty-first-century usage meaning a building. There is no certainty that these references are to any of the actual fabric of the present building. According to Hurd, the chronology of the subsequent century is ‘complicated by constant changes in the ownership of the different “Lands”’, and it is not until 1617 that a document records that the then occupant of the land, William Fischer sold the tenement to Thomas Gleadstones (Hurd 1948, 9). Hurd lists the other contemporary residents, expanded by Graham et al. (1980, 3) who note the floor on which they rented accommodation.

Floor	1631 From a disposition transferring ownership of part of the building to David Jonkin	1635 From the Poll Tax Roll	1724 From the testament of James Marshall
Fifth	Thomas Gleadstones	Thomas Gleadstones	Unspecified location of accommodation: John Mitchelson (advocate) William Ranken (wright) Widow Taylor Mr. Charles Erskine (advocate)
Fourth	Front – Thomas Gleadstones Back – David Cruikshank	Thomas Gleadstones	
Third	Front – William Struthers (minister) Back – John Riddoch (merchant)	Mr. John Adamson (writer)	
Second	William Struthers	Andrew Hay (writer)	
First	Sir James Creighton of Frendraught, Kt.	David Jonkin (merchant)	
Ground	Booths and ‘pentis’ – John Riddoch Back – James Nicolstone	Booths – Andrew Pringle	
Cellar	Fore-cellar - John Riddoch’s tavern, previously tenanted by William Shaw	Tavern – Andrew Pringle	

Table 1 Early occupants of Gladstone’s Land

Hurd adds the rooms the tenants rented in 1631. It should be assumed that the rooms might have been over several storeys. For example, Struthers seems to have rented the whole of the second floor, and part of the third, but also rented some cellarge, though this is not noted in the table above.

William Struthers: a hall, four chambers, a kitchen, and a cellar
John Riddoch: hall, kitchen, and cellar with fore vault, two booths and a ‘pentis’, penthouse or little house
Sir James Creighton: hall, two chambers, a kitchen, and a low cellar within the close
James Nicolstone: the lowest back dwelling house with a hall, chamber, and cellar

Hurd comments that this shows a typical social diversity in the occupants of these buildings at the time, with the social stratification mirrored in the way the spaces were occupied. Graham et al. includes an account of several of the people who lived at Gladstone’s Land in the 17th and 18th centuries, the evidence basis for the fictional narrative earlier in the pamphlet. It is referenced to primary source material in archives, though not down to the level of individual papers or collections (Graham et al. 1980, 21-23).

Bath states that Gleadstone was a Kirkcudbright merchant (2003, 242). Hurd also notes this, and the evolution of the name from Gleadstone or Gleadstaine or Gleadstayne, to Gladstone, and finally Gladstone. Hartley (2000) has the most succinct summary of the life of Gleadstone and his family, though it is not referenced (p.22).

2.3 The building before the mid-eighteenth century

It is possible that the predecessor structure to the present stone building was timber and was destroyed in the early sixteenth-century in the burning of Edinburgh in the Anglo-Scots Wars (Hurd 1948, p.6). Gifford et al. note that from the sixteenth-century onwards the pressure on the land available within

the Royalty of the Burgh forced developers to build buildings where houses were piled on top of one another. They note that the earliest example of this is John Knox House, with Gladstone's Land and Moubray Court (adjacent to John Knox House) dating from the early seventeenth century. They also note on the elevation of Gladstone's Land that the sill-courses linking the first floor windows are characteristic of this period (Gifford et al. 1984, 59). MacGibbon and Ross concur, that Gladstone's is a typical example of the stone-fronted houses of the seventeenth century, built 'after the projection wooden galleries had been abandoned' (1887-92, Vol. IV, 461). In essence, the sources agree that Gladstone's Land as it is today, now represents a 'typical' tenement from the late seventeenth century.

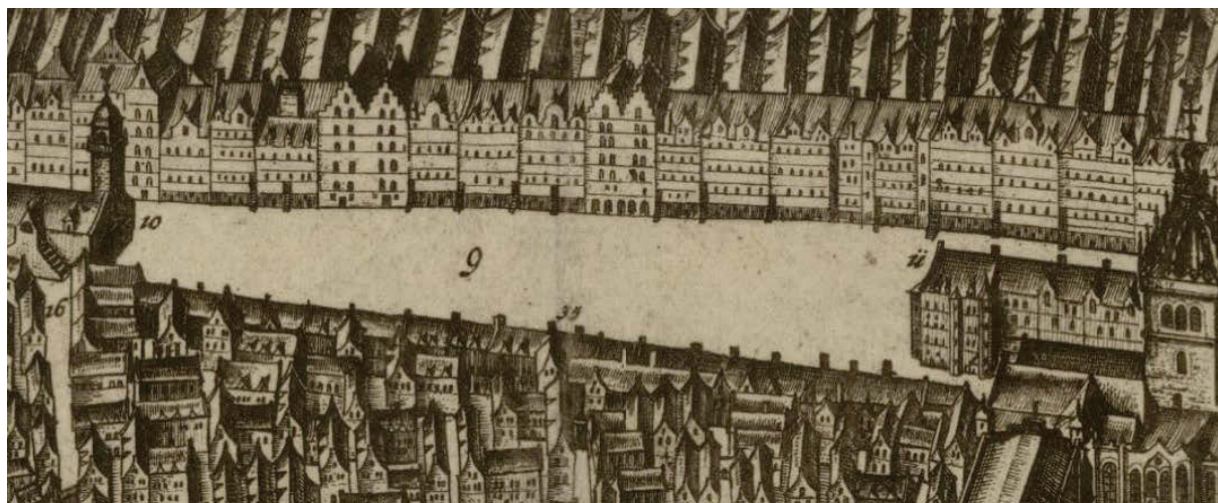


Figure 1 c.1647 James Gordon of Rothiemay "Plan de la Ville d'Edenbourg, capitale d'Ecosse", version published Leiden 1729. The Tollbooth Kirk is on the left and St Giles on the right. It is not easy to identify Gladstone's Land itself, possibly because it shows the building before it was re-faced in stone. However, it shows the character of the High Street with multiple fore-stairs, arcades and wall-head gables.

Gifford et al. states that the earliest parts of Gladstone's Land 'is the C16 rear wing in James Court' (1984, 195). It notes that the building originally had 'balconies and oriels facing Lawnmarket' before the 1620 dated ceilings. Rock's 2013 introductory text on his Dean of Guild catalogue provides one explanation of why there were projections over the street:

From the history of this city it appears, that in the beginning of the 16th century the Magistrates, in order to promote the sale of wood belonging to the community, permitted the purchasers to advance the front of their houses seven feet into the street, upon their leaving these new fronts supported with pillars for the conveniency of passengers; Maitland's History of Edinburgh. The space therefore, occupied by these piazzas is the property of the public

(1783, Court of Session, Edinburgh: 3rd March 1783.
Sir William Forbes and others against John Ronaldson. Quoted in Rock 2013²)

Gladstone extended this frontage further to the south into the High Street 'in at least two stages'. Gifford et al. states that the first stage was completed by the 1620 date on the ceilings. It was a new block of rooms 5.6m deep, with timber galleries projecting into the street, and the stone turnpike stair in the SW corner. It is assumed that the building had a timber fore-gallery (Gifford et al. 1984, 195).

² <https://sites.google.com/site/edinburghdeanofguild/home/edinburgh-building-legislation-and-legal-precedents>

FOURTH PERIOD

— 462 —

GLADSTONE'S LAND

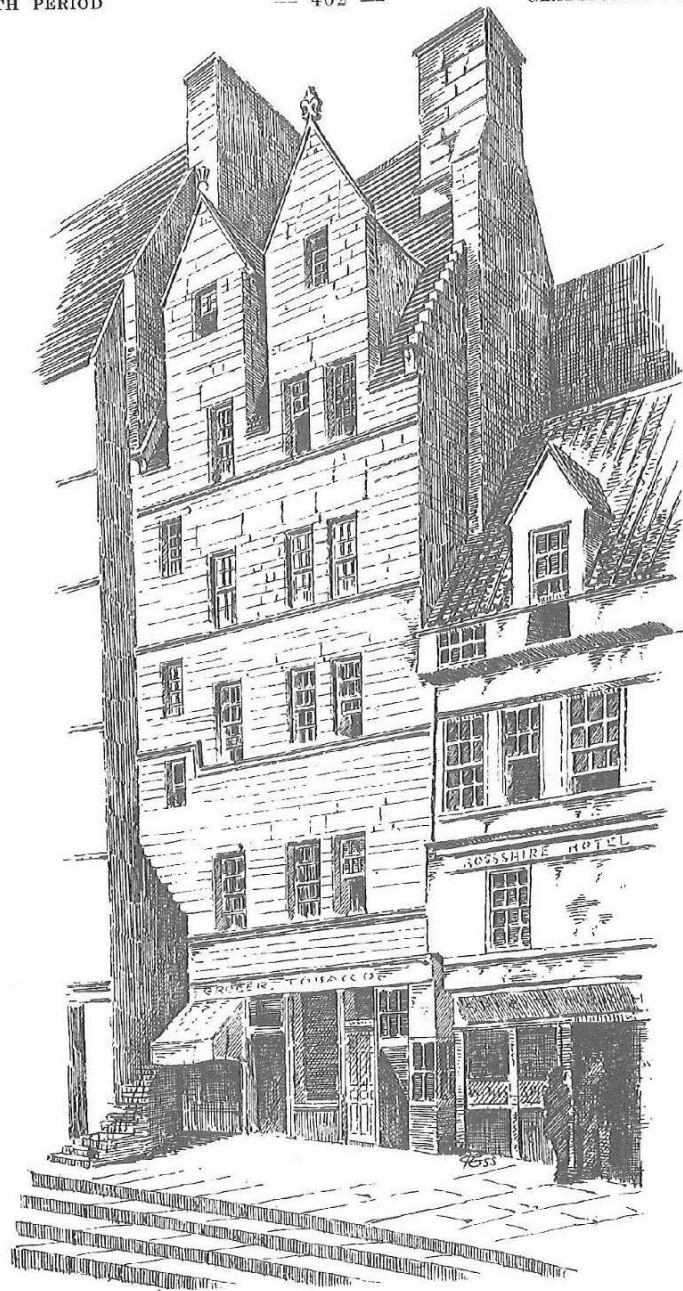


FIG. 1044.—Gladstone's Land, Lawnmarket.

Figure 2 Illustration of Gladstone's Land in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, from 'The castellated and domestic architectural of Scotland' MacGibbon & Ross

The second stage was the replacement of the timber gallery with an ashlar façade, supported on the arcade at street level and the corbels in the SW corner (Gifford et al. 1984, 195). The RCAHMS Inventory states that from the end of the sixteenth century, owners of buildings were required to 'preserve the passageway that ran below the galleries' and it suggests this as the reason that the arcade exists (RCAHMS 1951, 75).

It is interesting to note that the term, 'close', the foot lanes between burgage plots, describes a passage that was 'closed' at night by a gate (Hurd 1948, 6).

Gifford et al. note that in 1674 the Town Council attempted to encourage the wholesale replacement of timber-fronted buildings in stone, by granting exemption from taxation for seventeen years (Gifford et al. 1984, 59). It is therefore possible that some or the entire stone front of Gladstone's Land may date from this date, significantly later than sources have previously suggested. Though the painted ceiling decoration is dated 1620, they may have been re-used in subsequent alterations, either removed and replaced or left *in situ*. Nonetheless, there is currently no archival evidence for any work at this date. It is also possible that though the painted decoration is dated 1620, the timbers themselves may have been installed in the building at an earlier date.

The stack of rooms that forms the NE jamb of the building, includes the basement, the ground floor former shop or Bar Parlour, and the Green Room. Addyman & Kay's report of the year 2000 notes the development of this part of the building based on documents from National Trust for Scotland project files. They state that this part of the building was built c.1733-55 and is referred to as the 'new south jamb' of the building between it and the High Street. It was originally of five stories including the basement (Addyman & Kay, 2000, 1 & 2). It is not clear whether the rooms in this part of the building were always part of Gladstone's Land rather than part of the adjacent building on the High Street. There was a close that originally marked the boundary of the burgage plot that ran along the east side of Gladstone's Land. The presence of the close is known from the physical evidence of window margins on the ground floor of the building and references to its name of Gladstone's Close. There must have been cantilevered stone or timber rooms from the first floor upwards, projecting over the close below, accessed by the doors in the north wall of the front room on each floor. Though the new eighteenth-century jamb of rooms would have blocked Gladstone's Close, it had probably already been built on by extension of the building on the High Street to the east of Gladstone's Land.

2.4 Alterations between 1770s and c.1900

As noted in the historical sources section of this report (see p.95), the Dean of Guild archival research in this project is confined by the nature of the material and its limited cataloguing. A searchable catalogue exists for the 1770s-1820s, and from the 1860s to the present.

The earliest identified petition is from 1772. There was a complaint made to the Dean of Guild about the poor state of the roof of Gladstone's Land. The petition was made by the proprietor of the fourth floor, John Langlands, manufacturer in Potterrow, against the proprietor of the attic, James Muirhead, who was responsible for the roof. There were no drawings with this petition.

In 1776, there was a complaint made to the Dean of Guild about water entering the shop and cellar of Gladstone's Land, owned by William Dawson, merchant. A drain or sewer (open) beneath the external stair of the building was ordered to be moved to the west by one foot, with a proper gutter. The heritors summoned were William Spence, painter, Alexander Duncan WS as factor for the Rev. Collin Campbell at Renfrew and Miss Ferguson, 'residenter'. It is not clear whether they were all proprietors of property in Gladstone's Land or the adjacent building to the west as well. There were no drawings with this petition.

In a petition of 1794 by the Procurator Fiscal, there was concern about the mutual gable between Gladstone's Land and the adjacent building to the W, Whitslaid's Land/Whitesleads Land or James Court. This latter building is referred to as a timber-fronted building, and was later demolished by order of the Dean of Guild and rebuilt in 1795. The proprietors of Gladstone's Land are listed as William Dawson (merchant), Mrs. Col. Rixon, John Longlands (linen manufacturer in Potterrow), Miss Nelly Fergusson (of Blythes Close, Castle Hill) and John Spence (painter) for himself and as factor for his sister.

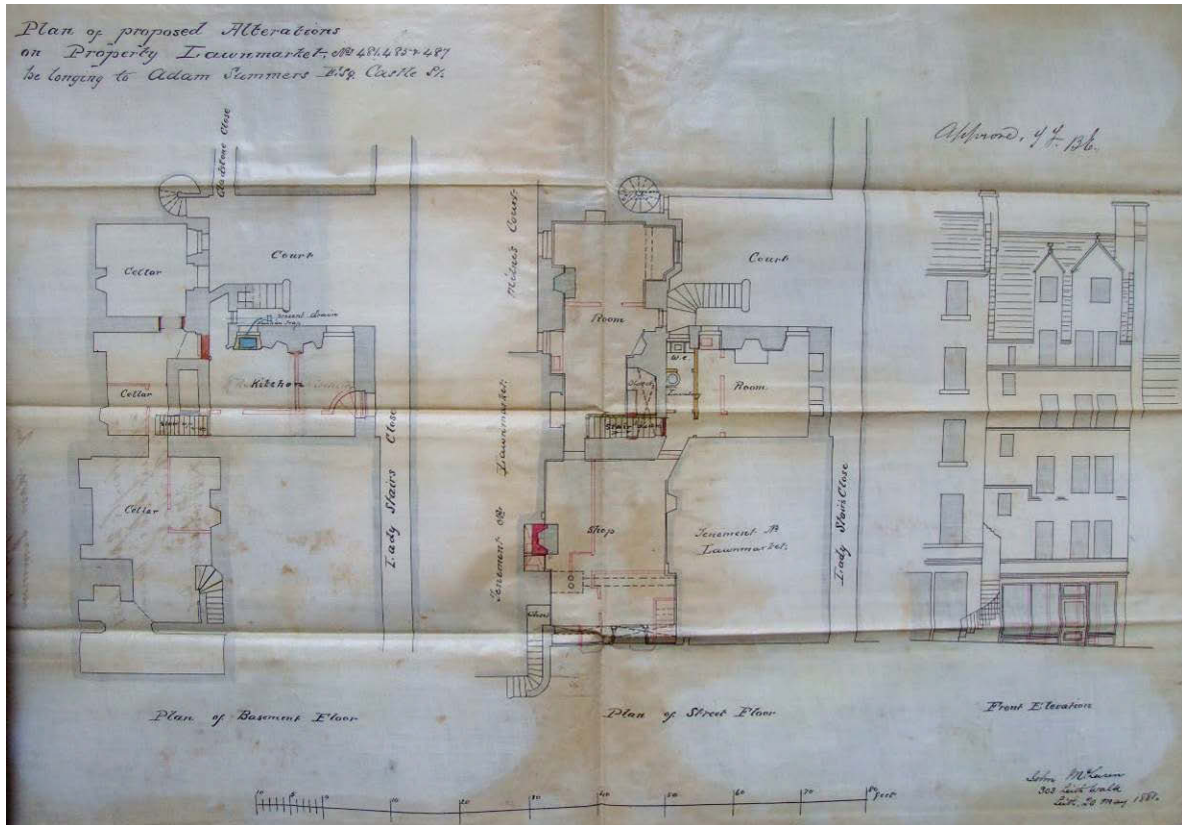


Figure 3 Plans and elevation showing warranted alterations scheme for basement, ground and elevations. Application dated 9th June 1881. City of Edinburgh plan store

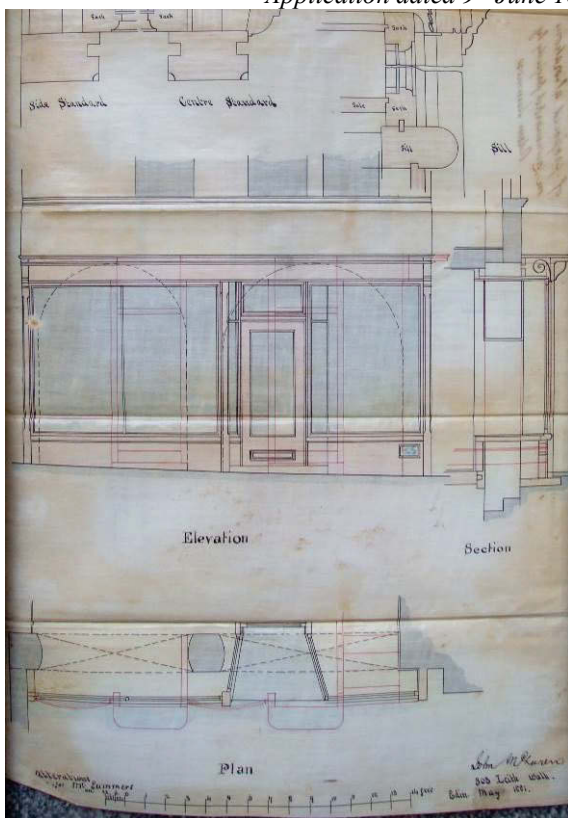


Figure 4 Drawings showing warranted alterations scheme for shopfront. Detail (mechanism fitting etc cropped out of view). Application dated 9th June 1881. City of Edinburgh plan store

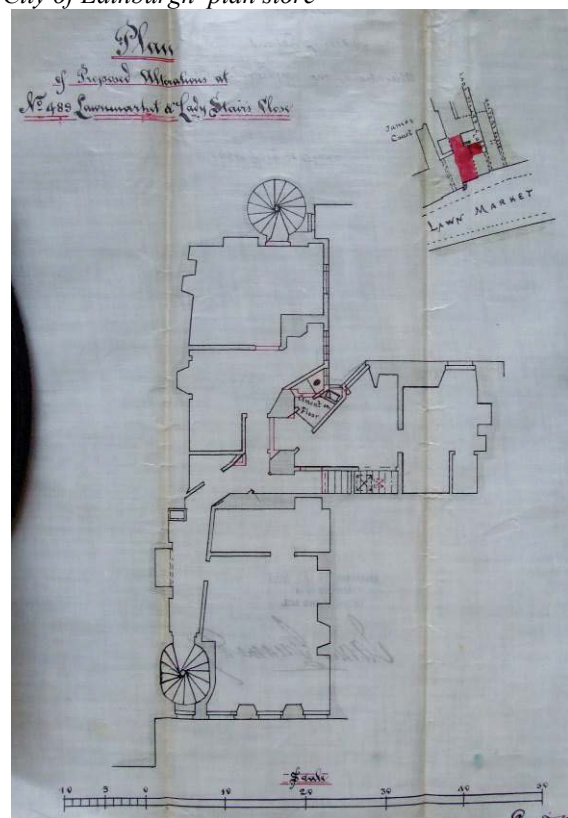


Figure 5 Plan showing warranted alterations scheme for second floor and roof light from floors above. Application dated 25th July 1889. City of Edinburgh plan store

In 1795, a warrant was granted to rebuild Whitslaid's Land/Whitesleads Land. This is relevant to Gladstone's Land because there was a series of petitions and replies to the Dean of Guild regarding the forestair, as the building line of the former was advanced to the south. In summary this caused the then existing stair to be compromised, and it was eventually rebuilt in its present form. A petition of 25th December 1795 complained that the proposal to turn the stair to the east would obstruct the shop premises in Gladstone's Land, rented or owned by Mr Finlay. A drawing included in this petition seems to show a working-out process for the stair and alternative proposal. Another drawing in a petition lodged on 16 March 1796, shows that the stair was built to the plan it has at present, i.e. turning to the west. This petition makes a spurious claim that a year's rent was lost by the petitioner, Miss Fergusson, on her 3rd-floor house in Gladstone's Land. She claimed that the forestair had been partially demolished which prevented access.

There are no further petitions in the early nineteenth century, and, as noted above there is a gap in the ability to search petitions between the 1820s and the 1860s. The first petition after the latter date is an application dated 9th June 1881 for various alterations to the basement and ground floors, including replacing the existing shopfront (Figure 3 and Figure 4). The property is noted as being owned by Adam Summers of Castle Street. Alterations include the removal of many internal partitions, installing a WC and moving some sinks. It is interesting to note several things from the plans, including the entrance to the basement from the street, via a stair in the front elevation of the building, eastern end. There is also another building and Gladstone Close marked to the north of the north elevation of the present building. This building seems to have enveloped the north turnpike stair of Gladstone's Land. The same building is shown on the next plan (see below).

There is another petition of 25th July 1889 to upgrade the accommodation on the second floor, submitted by Henry Seton for the owner Mrs. Eleanor Lennon (Figure 5). There is an accompanying statement which explains that the house had been condemned as 'uninhabitable' and that the proposed works were to make two houses into one larger, by 'building up the entrance from Lady Stair's Close and forming a door in the intermediate partition and putting in new enlarged windows'. Work also included a new WC and other sanitary ware as noted on the drawing, and enlarging the roof-light over the internal stairs to the attic flat to allow more light in.

Both the 1881 and 1889 plans show the rear turnpike stair with its external door on the E side; however, in the 1934 plans showing the building as existing (see Figure 11), it is shown in the position it remains in today, to the north. Photographs from c.1900 show the first floor painted externally with shop signage for T. Bennett, bootmaker (Figure 6 and Figure 7). Some of this signage remains *in situ* on the plaque over the present door to the turnpike. Therefore the doorcase and probably the corbels to the E and the string course on the second floor, which are of similar character, date from between 1889 and c.1900, after the building to the N was demolished. There is likely to be a Dean of Guild petition for the demolition of this building.



*Figure 6 Photograph of the front elevation c.1900, showing the dairy as Thomson's and T. Bennet Bootmaker on the first floor.
Canmore_image_SC01130811 digitised from ED6998*



*Figure 7 Photograph of the rear elevation c.1900, looking west, showing another sign for T. Bennet Bootmaker above the white-washed area on the first floor. By this date the rear range
Canmore_image_SC01130812 digitised from ED6999*

On 7th April 1898, a petition was lodged for alterations to the rear room to the east on the ground floor, known as the Bar Parlour. At that date, it was part of the adjacent tenement, but was acquired by the National Trust for Scotland in 1934. Addyman & Kay's report of the year 2000 quotes the application, to

slap out a stone wall and insert rolled steel joists and further to build up one doorway
(Addyman & Kay, 2000, 3)

This slapping was between the front and rear rooms on the ground floor, presumably to improve the connection between the rooms (Figure 8). This rear room may have previously been part of the bar. Addyman & Kay suggest that the jambs on either side of the slapping are 'considerably older than 1898 and may be original from the construction of the wing', suggesting that it was a widening of an existing opening.

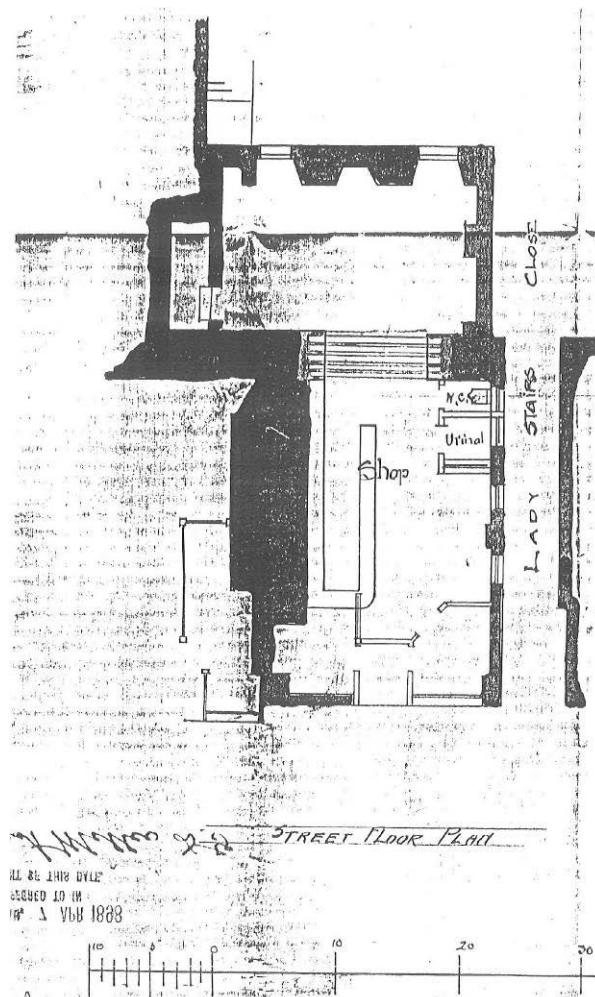


Figure 8 Plan showing warranted alteration for a new slapping to unite the ground floor of building adjacent to Gladstone's Land to E. Application dated 7th April 1898. City of Edinburgh plan store, used in Addyman & Kay 2000

There are no further petitions before the 1936 application for the National Trust for Scotland. However, it is clear from several photos c.1900 that the E-W ridge on the front range of the building parallel to the street had been removed (Figure 9). The thackstane is visible on the W chimney and gives an idea of the ridge height, but the ridge is not visible between the dormers. Additionally, there is a ladder from the E chimney which must be secured to a flat roof. If it is assumed that the 1881 elevation is correct (see Figure 3), then the ridge was taken off between the 1880s and the 1910s.



Figure 9 Photograph of the front elevation c.1910, showing that the roof ridge had been taken off. Ramages Dairy are shown on the ground floor. Canmore_image_SC01122221 digitised from ED6909

2.5 Tenants and owners up to c.1935

In correspondence in 1980 between the NTS factor A. B. Bryant and Sheriff Neil Macvicar, ownership history of the various parts of Gladstone's Land between the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the acquisition by the NTS is traced.

In a long letter Macvicar establishes that several of his ancestors had an interest in one of the houses in the land, though it is not known in which part. John Langlands owned a house in Gladstone's Land and one in Lady Stair's Close before his death in 1791. He conveyed these both to his surviving nephews and niece, Neil (d. 1813 and Lord Provost 1802-04), Ann and David. They owned it up to the 1820s, but had sold it by 1827 (23rd November 1827, NTS archives 01/0054/04/02). Bryant replied with a schedule of the ownerships as far back as the title deeds owned by the NTS went (Figure 10).

In the NTS archive is a photocopy of the last decade or so of a hand-written list of tenants and owners of the shop and public house on the ground floor of Gladstone's Land, which stops around 1935. It states that it was derived from archive Valuation Rolls, but is otherwise vague. From 1898, the front shop was owned by William Urquart and several female relatives, and the back shop was owned by three men named Brydon. The whole of these premises was tenanted by J. Sinclair, spirit dealer, until 1904, when J & G Oliver became tenants. Oliver sublet the premises in 1922 to Andrew Crosbie Brown. In 1923, Urquart's name disappears, but Mrs. Catherine McLennan and the Ross sisters, Urquart's female relatives, remain as owners to the end of the transcription, c.1935 (NTS archives 01/0054/05/06).

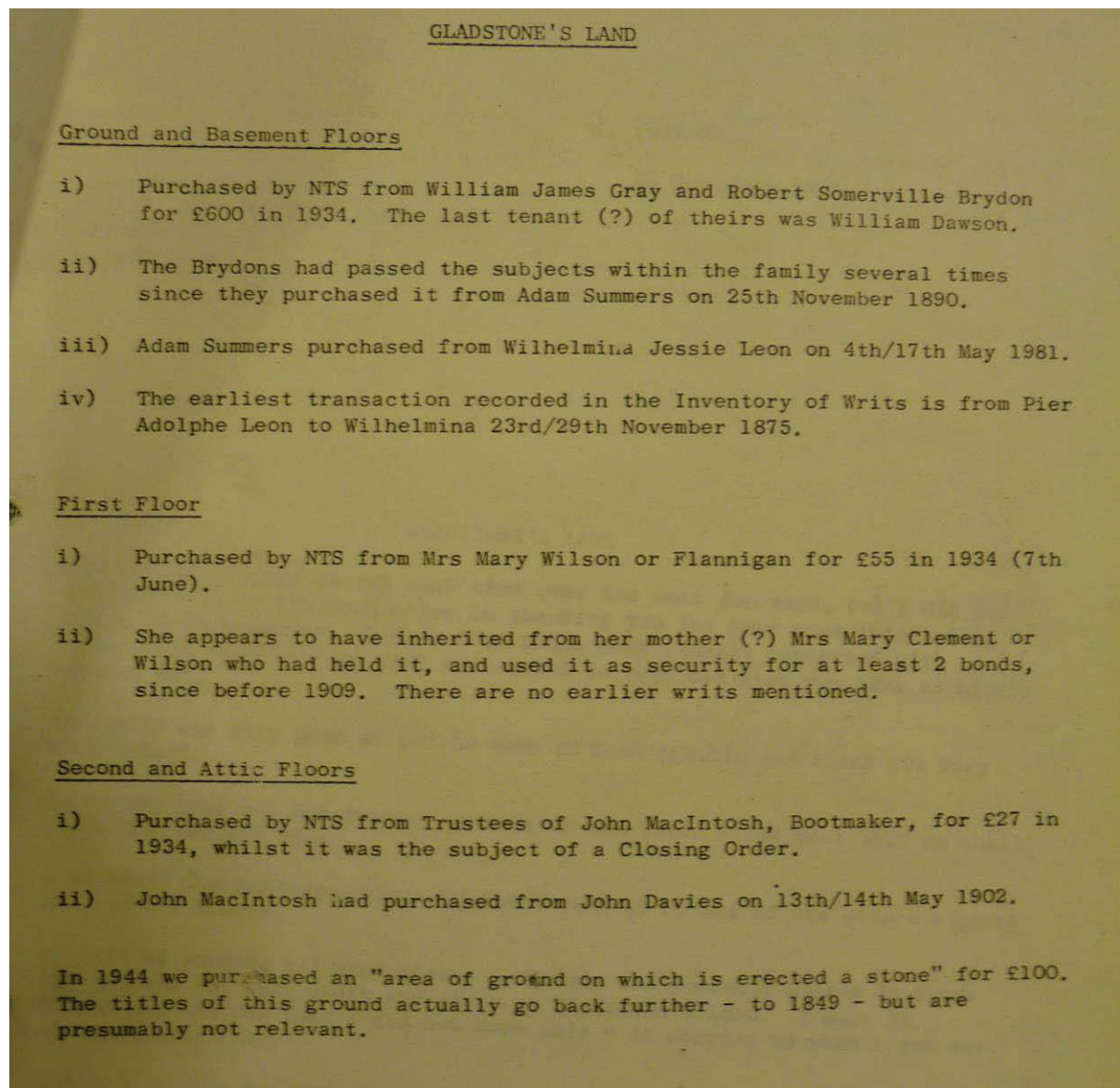


Figure 10 Schedule of ownership in letter of 3rd December 1980 from NTS factor A. B. Bryant to Sheriff Neil Macvicar. The schedule was derived from the title deeds of the property owned by NTS. NTS archives 01/0054/04/02

2.6 The first major phase of alterations by the National Trust for Scotland: 1934 - 38

Watters & Glendinning outline the 'sequence of interrelated conservationist initiatives in the 1920s and 30s' which paved the way to the National Trust for Scotland purchasing Gladstone's Land in 1934. The 1930 Housing Act exerted pressure on local authorities to clear sub-standard slum houses, and replace them with modern buildings. Though the main focus of these clearances was nineteenth-century housing stock, there was a number of sixteenth to eighteenth-century buildings that were under threat across Scotland, and which became the focus for agitation. Before this landmark date, the Council (later Association) for the Preservation of Rural Scotland was formed in 1926, driven by architect and planner, Frank Mears. The National Trust for Scotland for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty (NTS) was formed in 1931. Following this the Saltire Society was founded in 1936, with architect Robert Hurd as the key council member, and later president (Watters & Glendinning, 2006, p.14-15). All of these names and groups are critical to the story of the preservation of Gladstone's Land.

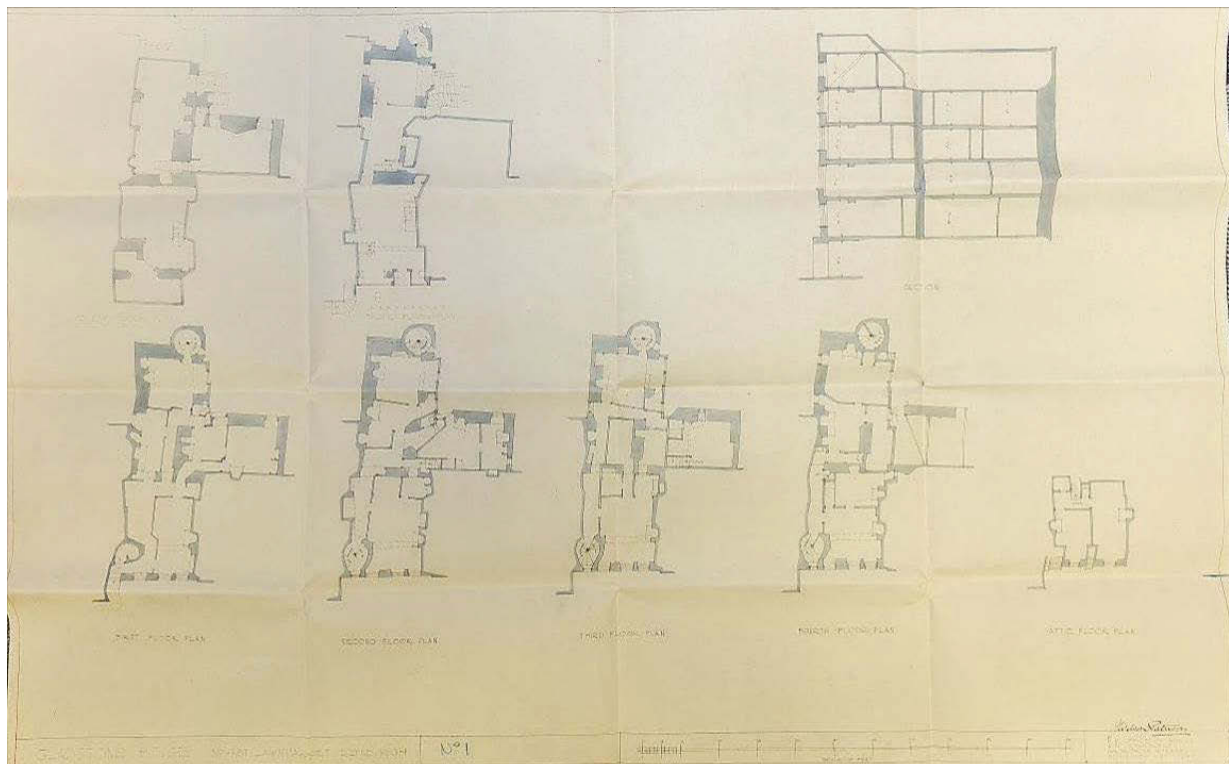


Figure 11 Drawings showing as existing, dated October 1934. H.M. Office of Works, signed Wilson Paterson. NTS archives 01/0054/01/03

The minutes for the meeting on 16th May 1934 records that Gladstone's Land was brought to the attention of the NTS by Frank Mears, through Kenneth Fergusson, Secretary of the Association for the Protection of Rural Scotland. It was thought to be of interest to the NTS as it was considered to be 'one of the few features of old Edinburgh which still remains intact'. It is noted that the building was derelict apart from a dairy on the ground floor. The Edinburgh Corporation had condemned the building as unfit for habitation and it was not suitable for reconstruction by them. Mears had indicated to the NTS Secretary 'that there was a certain lady who he thought might be prepared to give £1,000 towards this project' (NTS archives 01/0054/01/01). By the 20th February 1935 minutes, the donor is revealed as Miss Harrison (NTS archives 01/0054/01/01). The condition of her gift was that the

National Trust should 'provide some small houses for old people of limited means', a condition which essentially meant providing housing for single or widowed elderly ladies (Hartley 2000, p.4).

Mears (1880-1953) was an architect and had trained with Patrick Geddes (1854-1932), who had recognised the cultural significance of the Old Town and its buildings in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Mears was also Geddes' son-in-law and was steeped in Geddes' understanding (Meller, 2008). In 1931 he wrote *The City of Edinburgh: Preliminary Suggestions in Regard to the Development and Replanning of the Central Area*, and in 1935, as head of school of Edinburgh College of Art founded the town planning course. In the same year he was a key contributor to the second report on housing in Scotland for the Department of Health (Dictionary of Scottish Architects). He restored Huntley House in the Canongate for the Edinburgh Corporation 1927-32 (Historic Scotland listed building report for Huntley House not included in this report). He became one of the foremost authorities on town and county planning in the UK.

In the minutes of 19th October 1934, it is noted that the building was being purchased piecemeal. It is noted that the ground floor, consisting of two properties, the dairy and a public house, was the most expensive at £650, with two tenants whose leases were to expire on Whitsunday 1935 and 1938 respectively. The first floor flat was purchased for £50, the second and third floor for £27, and the fourth and fifth for £30. This 'cost the Trust £762 excluding Legal Expenses', and permission had been obtained from the Office of Works for their staff to begin preparing plans and a technical report. Three names from the Office of Works are listed as having been to visit the building: 'Mr. Mears, Mr. Richardson and Mr. Wilson Paterson' (NTS archives 01/0054/01/01). It is presumably following this visit that John Wilson Paterson (1887-1969) of the Office of Works, drew up his plans showing the building as existing, dated October 1934 (Figure 11).

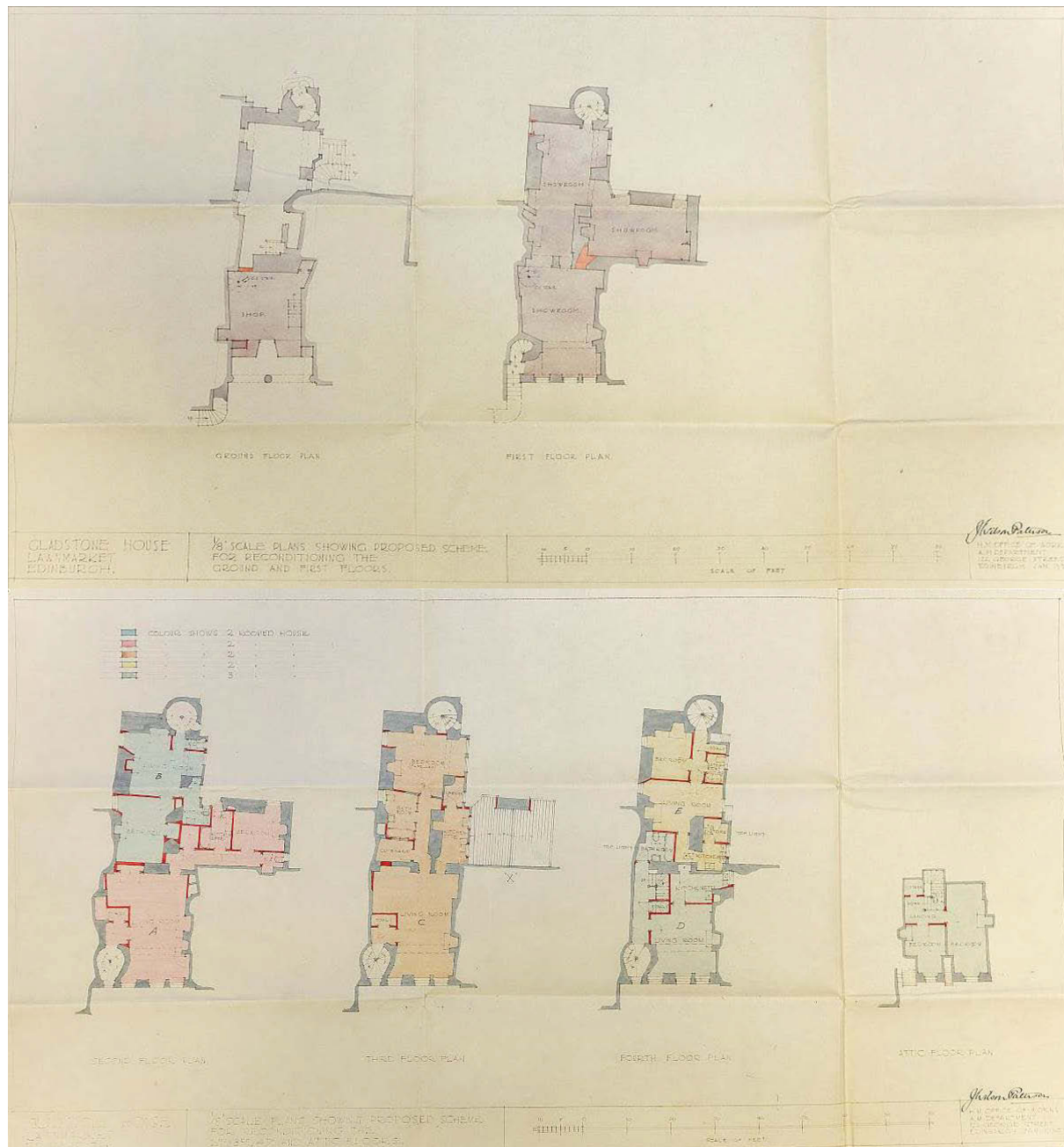


Figure 12 Drawings showing Gladstone's Land as proposed for subdivision, dated January 1935. Scheme not implemented. Red seems indicate new partitions. They show the creation of five 'houses' on the second to attic floors, each shaded a different colour. These were to be accessed by the front or rear turnpike stairs, with a shop on the ground floor and show rooms on the first. H.M. Office of Works, signed Wilson Paterson. NTS archives 01/0054/01/03

The minutes of 14th November note that a committee had been formed to lead a public appeal for funds, the initial figure thought to be necessary being around £3000 (NTS archives 01/0054/01/01). The fundraising effort was slow in the following months: the minutes up to and including July 1935 note that the figure raised was around £500.

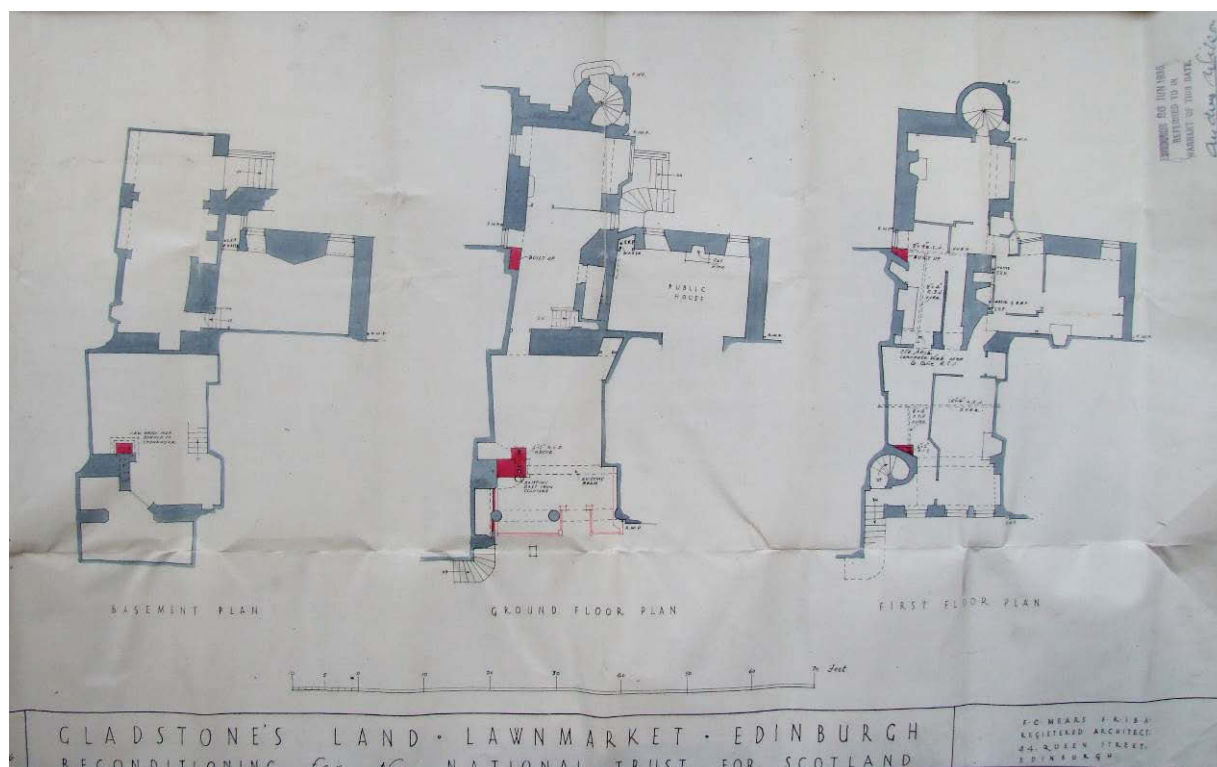


Figure 13 Plans showing warranted alterations for basement, ground and first floor. The full set of drawings in this application shows work warranted but not carried out. Application to Dean of Guild dated 3rd July 1936. City of Edinburgh plan store

The minutes of 20th February 1935 note a ‘very full and comprehensive report’ from Wilson Paterson, and a fundraising drawing of the ‘colonnade’ by Richardson. Provisional plans for ‘reconstruction’ had been approved (NTS archives 01/0054/01/01). The May minutes note that Wilson Paterson and Mears ‘each submitted plans for the reconstruction and explained these to the Meeting’. Wilson Paterson’s were accepted and Mears was asked to carry them out (NTS archives 01/0054/01/01). Wilson Paterson’s in the NTS archives are dated January 1935, and clearly show the way he intended to divide the building into five dwellings (‘houses’), a shop and a suite of ‘showrooms’ on the first floor (Figure 12).

This decision to accept Wilson Paterson’s scheme, but to ask Mears to carry it to execution seems rather odd. The scheme was clearly not to the satisfaction of Mears. Though both the June and July minutes note that he was intending to apply to the Dean of Guild Court in ‘the next few weeks’, the application seems to have been repeatedly pushed back. Various matters seem to have slowed progress; the October 1935 minutes note Mears had a concern:

The wall on the east side of the back wing as at present is built of overhanging timber and would not, in Mr. Mears’ opinion, pass the Burgh Engineer’s Department as it stands. Mr. Mears expressed amazement at the way it has stood as it has.

Mears had to submit alternate proposals ‘for this and other necessary reconstruction’ to the Office of Works, and was asking their advice at this time (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02). The same October minutes also note that ‘the mutual chimney stack’ was rebuilt in stone by the Office of Works, even though the adjoining proprietor had wanted it rebuilt in brick at a lower cost. The chimney rebuilding works are shown in progress from the street in a photograph (Figure 15). It is clear from the evidence of the roof structure itself that it was replaced in its entirety at this time.

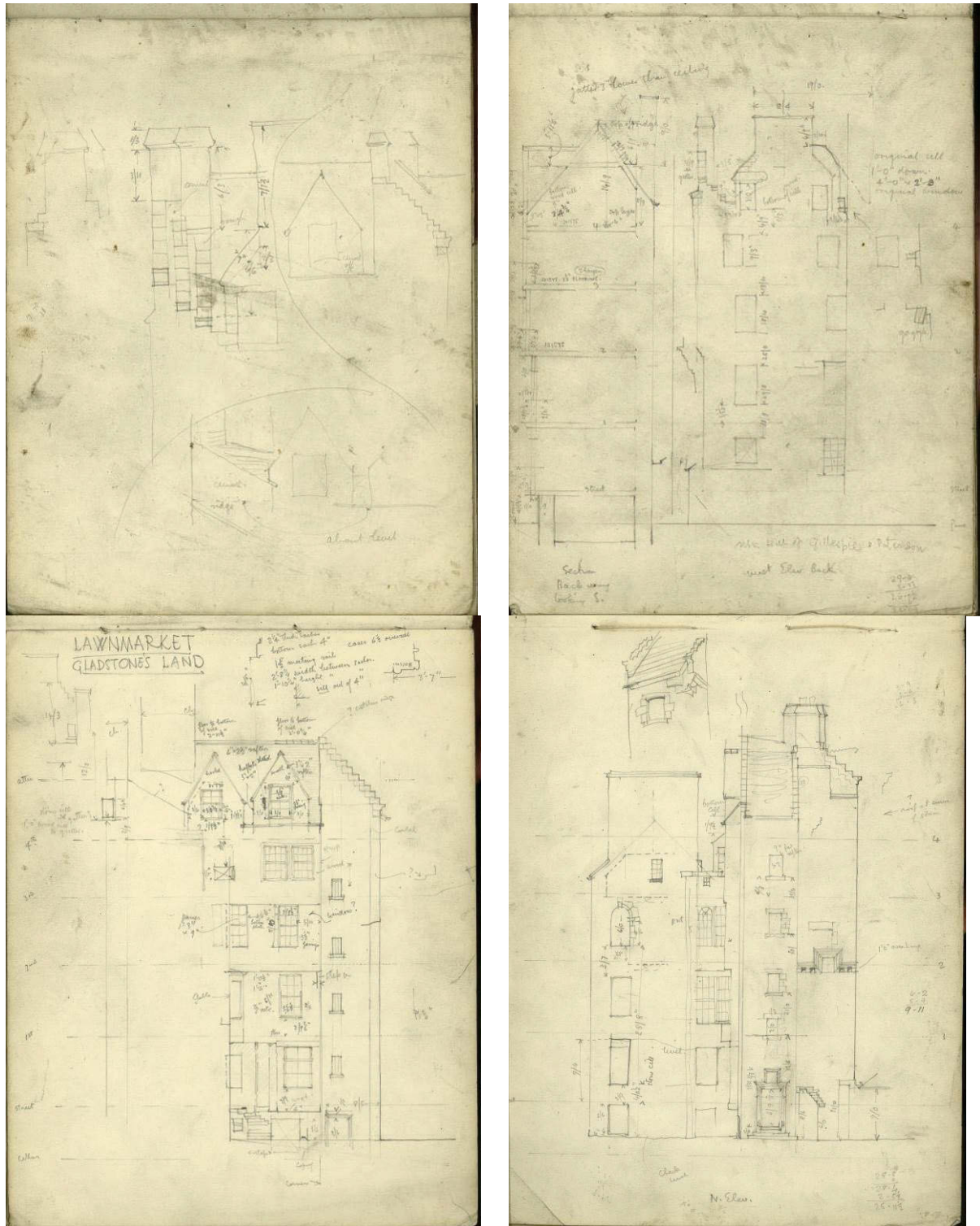


Figure 14 Working drawings as existing, 1937, Frank Mears. Clockwise from top left: chimneys etc.; section looking S and W elevation; N elevation; E elevation. NTS archives



Figure 15 Detail of c.1935 photograph showing works to roof and common chimney (scaffolding platform to the left). The chimney E on the right, seems to have been completed. A hording seems to have been raised on the W end of the flat roof perhaps as edge-protection for works. Canmore_image_SC01164086 digitised from ED247



Figure 16 Detail of c.1940 photo showing the completed chimney works. The E crow-steps are in poor condition and must have been replaced subsequently. Canmore_image_SC00426588

The November 1935 minutes note the Office of Works had been consulted on the back wing and its chimney, and advised that it could be repaired. The Burgh engineer had also intimated that the chimney stack on the 'west wing' also needed to be reconstructed, and the Office of Works were

arranging for both sets of repairs to be carried out. The costs of the works was on a 'time and material' basis (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02).

Because there was no prospect of the works on the rest of the building beginning, the October minutes note that the dairy's tenancy was being extended for a further six months from December 1935, having previously been extended by six months in May (for May see NTS archives 01/0054/01/01).

The minutes for January 1936 record that the external works were proceeding satisfactorily. It is clear from examining the roof timbers that they were also entirely replaced in this period, and part of the ridge of the front block parallel to the street reduced to a flat roof (see Figure 52). The chief interior works by January 1936 were 'exploration' work by Wilson Paterson (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02). The February minutes are the first to note that, presumably as a result of these explorations,

Some interesting painted ceilings had been discovered which it was hoped to preserve.

Though this is the first mention of painted ceilings, it is clear that the significance of the discovery was not initially appreciated, even when the Dean of Guild application was made in June 1936 (see section on the first restoration below, page 27).

The funding situation is noted to be insufficient for the long term aim of reconstruction. £1,054:9:6 had been spent on the acquisition and works to date; a further £200 was requested by the Office of Works and 50 guineas by Mears. Of the total amount received, £1688:12:11, around £380 remained. It was decided to await receipt of the full cost of the works and then devise a way to raise funds (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02).

The minutes of March 1936 record that there was opposition to the proposed plans from the Health Department Housing Committee of the Public Health Committee of the Corporation chiefly concerning the lack of light in some of the 'houses' in the building. The city architect indicated a solution, and though this would require some structural work to the building, Mears said he would put revised plans to the Health Department in the following week (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02) and they were approved in May 1936, as noted in the minutes of 20th May (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02). Nonetheless, the minutes of 17th June, it is noted that Mears had been obliged to cancel the original plans, and make new ones, as the Public Health Committee required changes, including the taking down of the top part of the NE wing to make the adjoining rooms habitable and

a fire-resisting partition being carried up between the front and back of the houses... This had entailed a great deal of time and work, but Mr. Mears had informed the Secretary that the plans were in an advanced state and would be delivered to the Dean of Guild Office in the course of the next few days.

It is clear that by this date, with so many changes to the January 1935 drawings by Wilson Paterson, the restoration and subdivision scheme was almost entirely the work of Mears.

As works had still not begun in June, the dairy was transferred to a weekly tenancy (NTS archives 01/0054/01/02).

The Dean of Guild application was finally made formally in June 1936, and warrant granted on the 25th June. The application drawings include plans, elevations and sections (Figure 13). However, it is most significant that the plans take no account of any of the painted ceilings first noted in January 1936 (see above). At this stage, the works to the basement, ground and first floors were to be limited to structural works to strengthen the upper floors, including several steel or concrete beams.

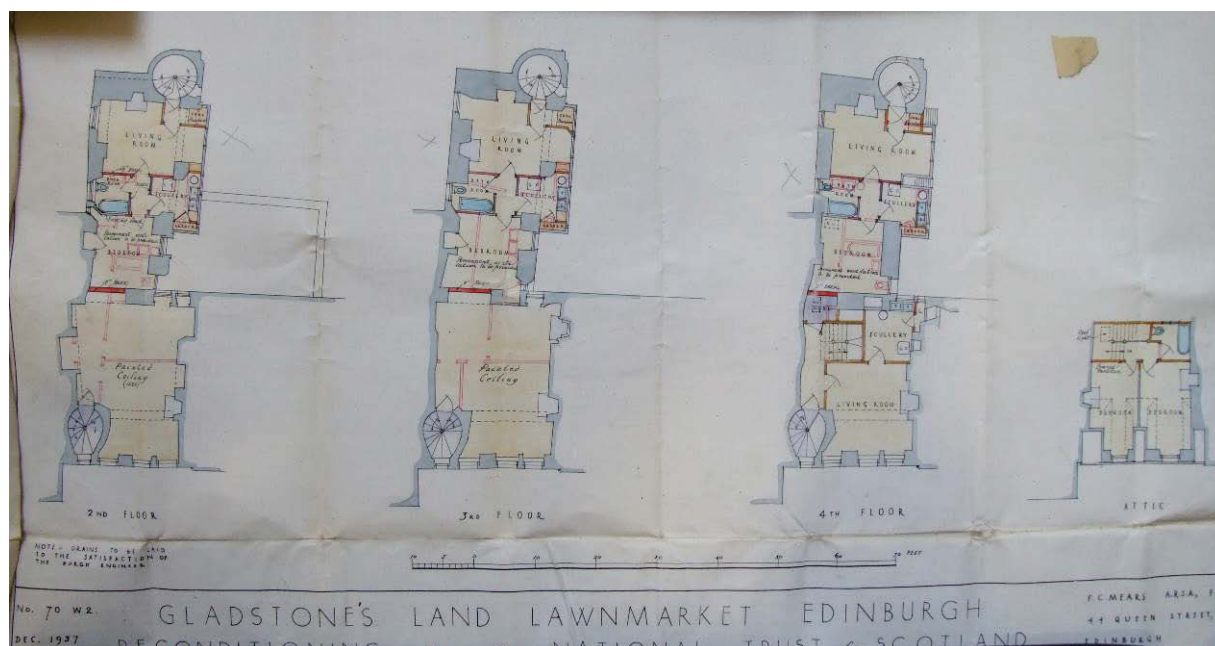


Figure 17 Plans showing warranted deviation of December 1937 from previously warranted scheme. Alterations to retain painted ceiling rooms on second and third floors. Filed in application to Dean of Guild dated 3rd July 1936. City of Edinburgh plan store

In minutes of November 1936, Wilson Paterson indicates that he expects the external works to be completed by early spring 1937, and that tenders could then be invited for interior works. It is noted that though £350 had been remitted to the Office of works, they requested another £200. In the January 1937 minutes, however, it is noted that the Office of Works had requested a further £350 to continue with the restoration (both NTS archives 01/0054/01/02). In the April 1937 minutes, a further £400 was required by the Office of Works and remitted (NTS archives 01/0054/01/05). There is no note at this stage of the status of the fund which, on the basis of the February 1936 minutes, would have been around £920 in deficit.

There are some working survey drawings by Mears from 1937 showing room elevations and perspectives of the interiors, and elevations and sections of the north wing with its turnpike stair (Figure 14).

In the minutes of March 1937, it is noted that the tenant of the public house, the back room of which was part of the NTS' ownership, withdrew his previous verbal consent for the taking down of the chimney which served his coal fire, and refused a gas alternative. His tenancy had three years to run, and the minutes note that 'it might be necessary to make some money adjustment', and obscure comment, but which may allude to increasing his rent (NTS archives 01/0054/01/05). By the following month, in the April minutes, a temporary chimney had been erected, to serve the fire and Mears was investigating whether it might serve its purpose for the duration of the tenancy (NTS archives 01/0054/01/05).

The July 1937 minutes authorised £700 to be spent, though it is not clear for what purpose (NTS archives 01/0054/01/05).

In one of the early guidebooks, Hurd says that it was the discovery of the painted ceilings that made the NTS change its earlier plans, from restoring the building as tenements, to devising a plan to enable the public to see the most important interiors:

*the front part [was] to be used as an antique shop and therefore accessible to the public;
the back part, accessible from James's Court, remaining as houses.*

(Hurd 1948, 22)

However, he is mistaken, as the initial strategy shown on Wilson Paterson's January 1935 plans, shows the ground and first floors were always to be a shop and showrooms. It was not until December 1937 that there was an application for deviation from the warranted scheme of June the previous year. The new drawings show that the second and third floor front room interiors with their ceilings were to be isolated from the houses at the rear, and accessible only from the front turnpike stair (Figure 17). This meant that the number of houses was reduced. The deviation was granted warrant on 7th January 1938.

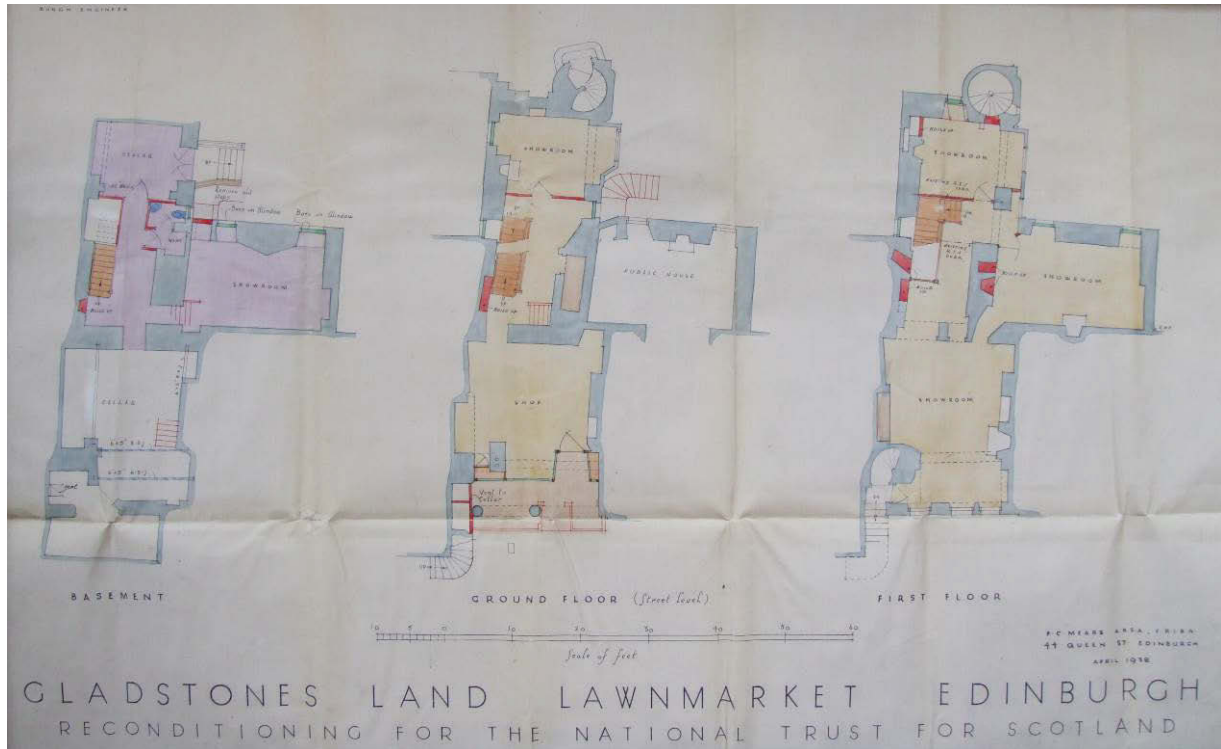


Figure 18 Plans showing plans for basement to first floors, scheme warranted 3rd June 1938. City of Edinburgh plan store

The January 1938 minutes note that Mears had been instructed to prepare plans for opening up the arcade to the street. Additionally, it is noted that

Mr Wilson Paterson should proceed at once with the necessary work on the painted ceilings of the first flat

(NTS archives 01/0054/01/05)

It was not until April 1938 that Mears drew up the scheme for the basement to first floor, accounting for the painted interiors. The Dean of Guild application was on 25th May, and warrant was granted in June 1938. This reserved these floors for public access, with the most significant intervention being the addition of a stair in the middle room between the ground and first floors (Figure 18). WCs were also intended in the second and third-floor front rooms with the painted ceilings, labelled as 'Studio', but do not seem to have been carried out (Figure 19). There are no drawings of the fourth and attic plans, and it is assumed that these were to remain unchanged (see Figure 17)

Several of the alterations warranted in 1936 had already been carried out by this date on the basement, ground and first floors, and to the elevations. This is known because they are no longer marked as changes in the 1938 drawings, but 'as existing'. This point is clearest in a comparison of the N-S sections between the 1936 and 1938 sets (Figure 20 and Figure 21).



Figure 19 Plans showing plans for second and third floor, scheme warranted 3rd June 1938. It seems that the WCs on these floors were not installed. City of Edinburgh plan store

There are a large number of photographs dated by the RCAHMS to 1938, generally showing the interiors stripped back to structural stone and timber (Figure 22 to Figure 25). A large number of the original prints are pasted onto the pages of a brown bound folder in Historic Scotland's Conservation Centre files (XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SC/42)). The NTS does not seem to have any of these images, and the largest number of photos is with the RCAHMS.

There is a further gap in the NTS archive for this period, and the final minute is from April 1938. There are some notes about potential tenants, but it is clear that the work to the interiors was almost complete; a certified account had been received for building, joinery, plumbing and plastering for £675, and Mears reported that the three houses in the back wing were almost ready for the painter (NTS archives 01/0054/01/05). The Annual Report by the National Trust for Scotland Council of 30th April 1939 notes that the building was completed and officially opened on 22nd February 1939.

According to Gifford et al. in 1934-36 on the third floor, the 'remains' of the painted timber ceiling, some late seventeenth-century paneling and a bolection-moulded fireplace were discovered 'and removed' in the conversion to flats. The fireplace and perhaps some decorated plaster can be seen in one of the 1938 photographs (Figure 24).

Hurd records that the antique dealers vacated at the outbreak of the Second World War and the Saltire Society took the lease (Hurd 1948, 22). He also makes the earliest reference to the paneled room being white (Hurd 1948, 18).

The approach to restoring the building in this period, essentially gutting the building of all non-stone elements, with the exception of the painted ceilings, provides insight into early attitudes to restoration. The National Trust for Scotland and its agents understood that most important aspect of the significance of the building was its seventeenth-century occupation, and this meant removing all traces of subsequent development as far as possible. Though this may be argued as not incorrect in principal, particularly for a building that was apparently in poor and unsanitary condition, important information about the different phases of the building's occupation and use were destroyed in this restoration. There is no evidence of any historical research or buildings archaeology feeding into the decision-making process nor systematic record-keeping of the changes made. However, it would have been

remarkable to find this kind of input or recording at this date and the methodology was common practise. The set of photographs of the gutted shell are an important record that many buildings restored at the time lack and they are a vital insight into this part of the history of the building.

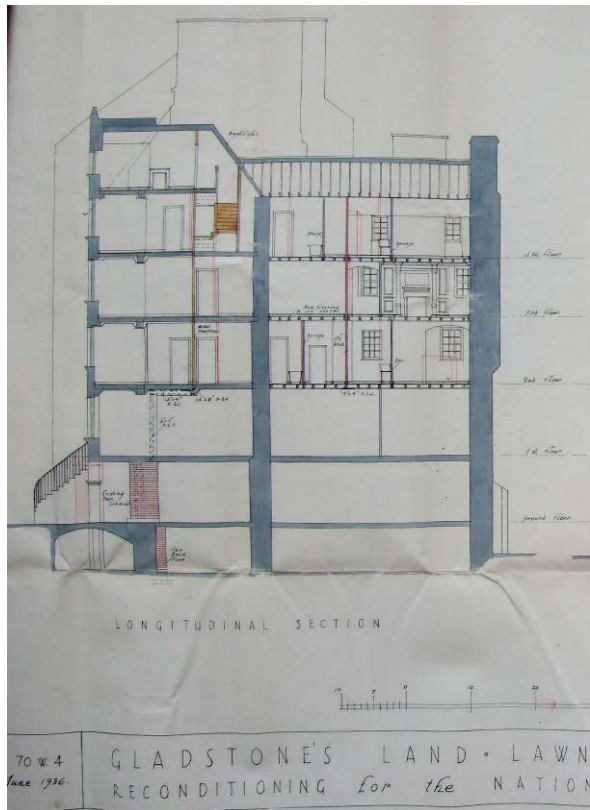


Figure 20 N-S section showing warranted scheme of 3rd July 1936. City of Edinburgh plan store

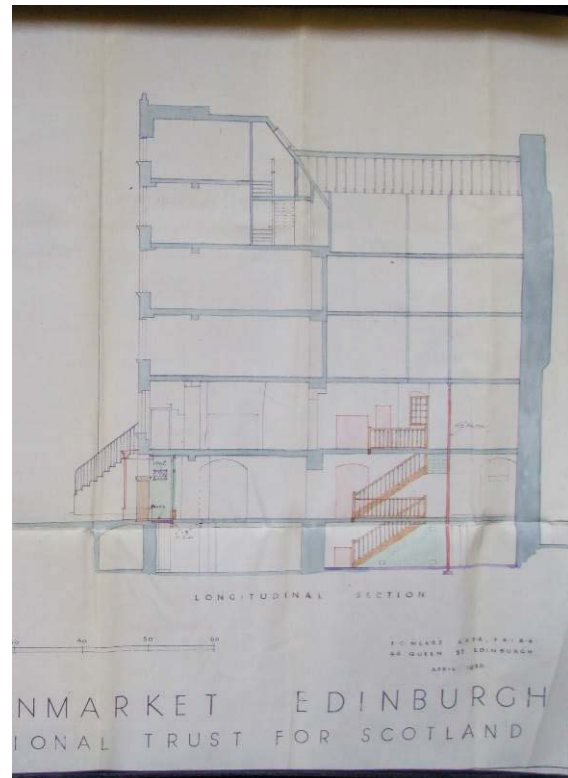


Figure 21 N-S section showing warranted scheme of 3rd June 1938. This drawing shows that some of the 1936 works had been carried out, and are not marked as new. City of Edinburgh plan store



Figure 22 1938 photograph of second floor, looking N. This was taken early in the works, before the floors were lifted and the existing plaster ceiling removed, to reveal the painted timbers above. Compare to Figure 23. canmore_image_SC01164116 digitised from ED249



Figure 23 1938 photograph of second floor, looking NW. Both the first and third floor rooms are visible between the floor joists. Compare to Figure 22. canmore_image_SC01114335 digitised from A52477

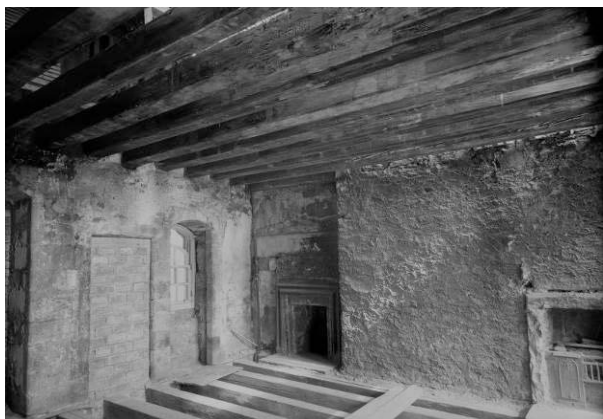


Figure 24 1938 photograph of third floor looking E. It is interesting to note the two fireplaces, particularly the bolection-moulded example on the left. canmore_image_SC01114325 digitised from A52469



Figure 25 1938 photograph of first floor looking N. This must have been taken at an advanced stage of the works, as the ceiling has returned and the walls are plastered. The balustrade of the inserted staircase can be seen on the left. canmore_image_SC01114324 digitised from A52468

2.7 The first 'restoration' of the tempera paintings

After the initial discovery of the ceilings in January 1936, Ministry of Works conservation under George Houston tested a small area to see if it could be restored satisfactorily, possibly *in situ*. As it was successful, the boards (but not the beams) were removed to the French Prison, a building used at the time by the Ministry of Works in Edinburgh Castle for restoration. The removal of the boards was a typical approach to 'conservation' at the time, and it protected the boards from potential damage by the building contractors.

There is a report by Houston of February 1941 in the Historic Scotland Conservation Centre files (XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SP/42)). It was consulted and noted in Robert (Rab) Snowden's report of November 1979 (NTS archives 01/0054/04/02).³ This report was again analysed by Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators in their 2006 report for the NTS. After dry vacuuming, the boards were surface cleaned with warm gelatin solution, some stubborn dirt removed by adding ground pumice powder. They were photographed and then given a coating of wax, benzole and oil, and polished when dry. The original photographs survive in Historic Scotland Conservation Centre files (Figure 26 and Figure 27).

The beams were not removed from the building; they were also conserved in the same way. Some areas where there was damage were re-drawn and re-tinted in tempera colour to match the existing work. This re-touching was very slight as the beams were in an excellent condition.

(XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SP/42))

Hurd's 1948 comments, that the painted ceilings 'were only cleaned, not touched up by George Houston at the Ministry of Works' (Hurd 1948, 18) is therefore incorrect (see discussion below on Snowden's report, 1979).

In addition, the wall paintings on the first and second floors were in poor condition and there was a 'considerable amount of making up and resurfacing', and cleaning in the same manner as the ceilings.

³ Snowden assumed that the date of the report (February 1941) was the date of the work, and some of the report is indeed written in the future tense. However it is clearly referring to work previously completed, and the restoration was definitely completed before the building opened in February 1939.

They were also retouched and waxed and oiled. Painted fire-jamb tiles on the third floor were also cleaned and waxed in the same way (Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators 2006, 10).

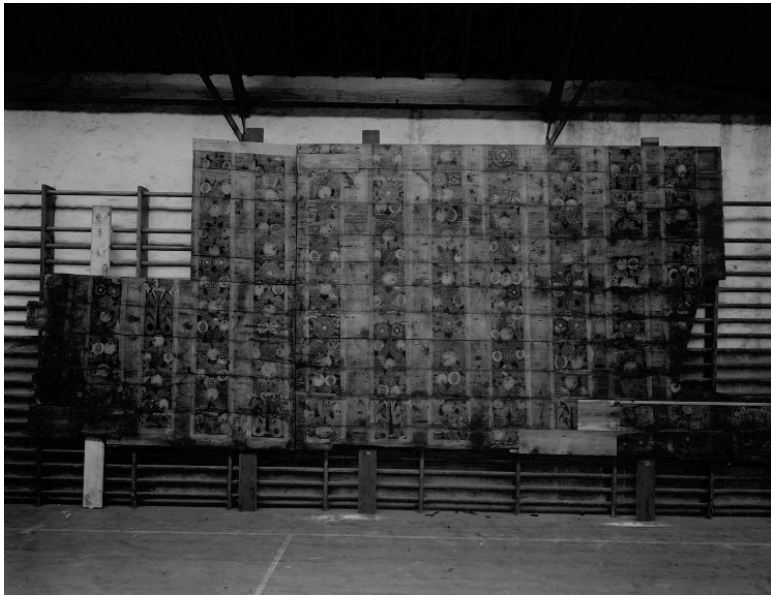


Figure 26 Undated photograph c.1941 of some of the boards of one of the ceilings after cleaning but before waxing. canmore_image_SC01114328 digitised from A52472



Figure 27 Undated photograph c.1941 of painted boards of ceiling on second floor (the southern part next to the windows) after cleaning but before waxing. canmore_image_SC01114323 digitised from A52467

2.8 Minor alterations 1943-58

In a meeting paper for the NTS' Budget review group in 1974, there is a brief account of the period following the late 1930s works.

For a time [Gladstone's Land] was let out as flats, with an antique furniture shop on the ground floor. The shop closed down at the outbreak of war and in 1943 the building was leased to the Saltire Society whose aims were closely in sympathy with those of the Trust.

(NTS archives 01/0054/03/01)

The Saltire Society was founded in 1936 to improve the quality of life in Scotland and restore the country as a creative force in Europe, by preserving and encouraging Scottish tradition, including architecture, arts & crafts, civil engineering, history, literature, music, and science (<http://www.saltiresociety.org.uk/saltire-society/>).

Minor alterations were made to Gladstone's Land in 1943 to accommodate the Saltire Society. In a minor warrant application to the Dean of Guild Court dated 1st February 1943 various works are shown (Figure 28). A new WC is shown on the ground floor with additional soil drainage, a partition near the new WC moved S to abut the staircase, various odd openings in internal walls are shown blocked, and bars added to the windows on the basement floor N elevation. It was granted warrant on the 5th February.

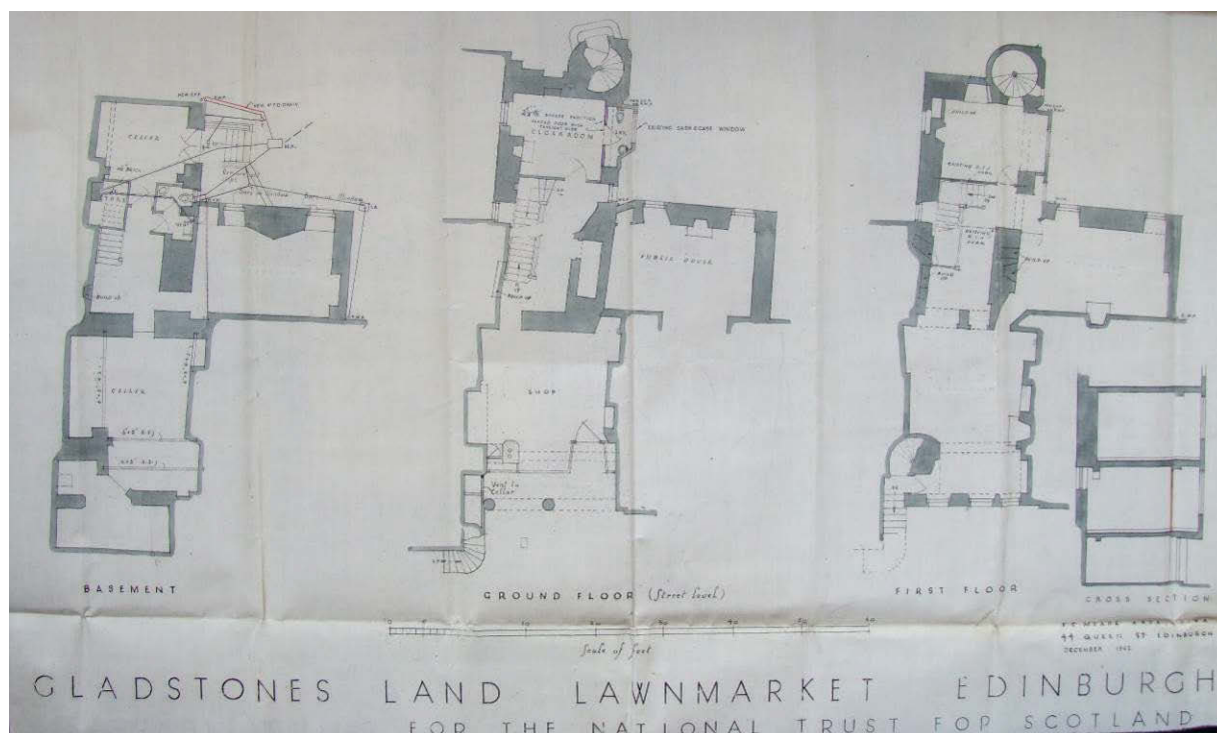


Figure 28 Plans and section showing basement to first floors. Minor alterations warranted 5th February 1943. City of Edinburgh plan store

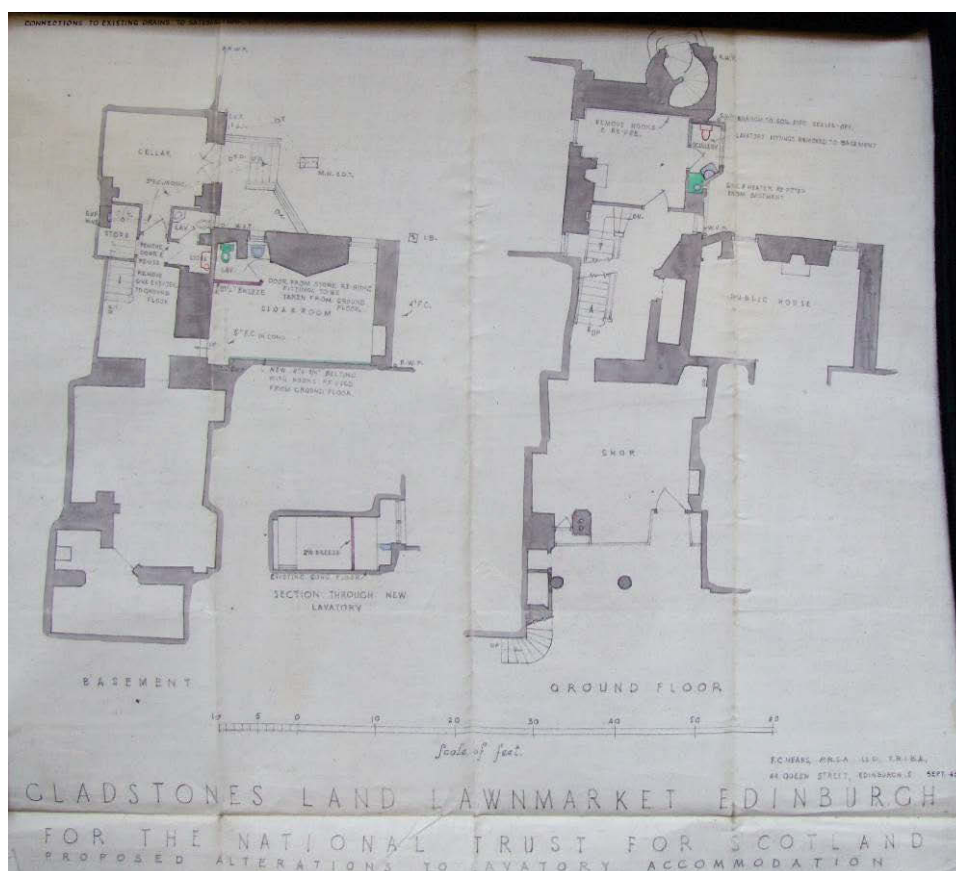


Figure 29 Plans and section showing basement and ground floors. Minor alterations warranted 16th November 1945. City of Edinburgh plan store

Another minor warrant was granted two years later on 16th November 1945. This includes removing the ground floor WC to a new position in the basement, with some minor alterations to doors and partitions (Figure 29).

In 1958, the lease of the rear room of the public bar to the E on the ground floor must have come to an end and was not renewed. In an application to the Dean of Guild Court of 21st March 1958, drawings show the opening between the front of the bar (in private ownership) and the rear room blocked with a 9" brick partition, plastered both sides. A slapping was made in the W wall of the room to connect it to the rest of Gladstone's Land, through a former window which must have been blocked up when the jamb of rooms was built in the eighteenth century. A concrete floor was laid in the vestibule for coals, and a cupboard formed in a recess in the N wall (Figure 30).

In the 1972, the rear lower flat was refurbished. The 1983 meeting paper notes that 'this involved new plumbing and electrical work installations and an improved kitchen layout' (paper for Executive Committee meeting on 10th March 1983, NTS archives 01/0054/04/03)

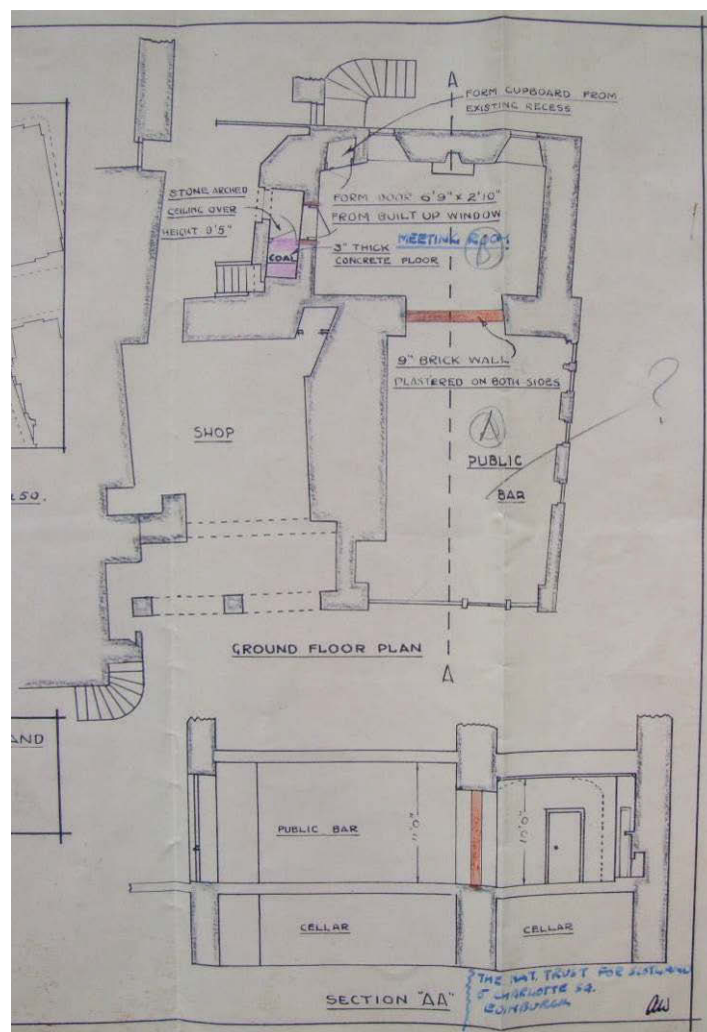


Figure 30 Plan and section showing ground floor of Gladstone's Land and adjacent building to east. Minor alterations warranted 21st March 1958. City of Edinburgh plan store

2.9 The second restoration of the tempera paintings

Around 1962, there was a second restoration of the tempera paintings. It is noted in the pages of a Ministry of Buildings and Public Works correspondence file in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS), entitled 'Stenhouse restoration centre' 1960-1974 (DD 29/97). Almost all sheets in the file have continuous page numbers, presumably added after the file was compiled, from one to around 250. Though the NTS had owned Stenhouse since 1938, it only became the NTS restoration centre after architectural works by I. G. Lindsay, opening in 1966 (DD 29/97). The Ministry of Works occupied some space in the same building.

Hand-written notes from the NTS restorer Ian Hodkinson and his assistant Rab Snowden in the late 1950s comment on the deteriorating condition of the painted wall plaster, and the darkening of the ceiling pigments.⁴ There is a Ministry of Works set of photos dated 1959, many in colour, in the Historic Scotland Conservation Centre files which may have informed this analysis (XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SC/42)). There were successful tests made for removing the wax on both the ceilings and walls. Snowden also recommends blending in the damaged beam faces which had been adzed away to take plaster ceilings (Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators, 2006, p.10). This can be observed very clearly in the beams *in situ*.

There is some confusion in the various sources because of the multiple ceilings and the wall paintings. Work was clearly completed before 1965. A minute of a NTS meeting in November 1962 is the earliest reference to the work in the NAS file DD 29/97, when the difficulty of finding a convenient date for the tenants of the upper rooms, the Saltire Society (see below), is noted (DD 29/97, 102). Subsequently, there is reference to the treatment of a wall painting and ceiling paintings – 'removal of wax, cleaning & restoration' – completed in August 1965 (DD 29/97, loose document in folder, NTS Financial Report 31st October 1966, app B). There are sets of Ministry of Works photos of the frieze of the Painted Chamber dated 1965, and of the ceiling (perhaps second and third floors as well) and frieze from the early 1970s (XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SC/42)). Three ceiling paintings are referred to on a list of work done by Stenhouse (DD 29/97, 191). There is no suggestion that the boards were removed from the building for this restoration. This restoration would have been led by Ian Hodkinson and assisted by Rab Snowden.

There are drawings of the second and third floor painted ceilings in the RCAHMS, both the originals and copies (Figure 31 and Figure 32). They were drawn by the Ministry of Works and are dated 1961, presumably part of the late 1950s interest of the Office of Works in Scottish interior painting. Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators assume that 'it is almost certain that ... a plan exists' of the first floor (Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators 2006, 4). Though the drawings are labelled in the CANMORE database as 'For thesis by Dr M Apted', they do not appear in the unpublished thesis, *Painting in Scotland from the 14th to the 17th centuries with particular reference to painted domestic decoration. 1550-1650* (1964 University of Edinburgh). In fact, though vol. 3 of the thesis is figures, most of them are photographs, and there are very few illustrations, none of which are by the Ministry of Works. The original pencil/ink drawings at the RCAHMS are very large – 1140mm by 950mm – at 1:8 and 1:9 scale, and on blue linen.

The fact that only the second and third floors were drawn is confirmed in a list of painted ceilings drawn by Thea McDonald dated March 1986 in Historic Scotland Conservation Centre files. Only the second and third floors are noted. The list is attached to a note to Snowden (XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SP/42)). This seems to be proof that for some reason, the first floor ceiling was not drawn at the same time as the second and third floors in the 1960s, nor subsequently.

⁴ In 1969, when the Ministry of Works took over the Stenhouse Restoration Centre, with its equipment, records, books etc, leasing the centre from the NTS, Hodkinson accepted an assistant professorship at Queens University, Kingston, Ontario (Canada) (DD 29/97, 234). Snowden was taken on by the Ministry of Works as restorer.

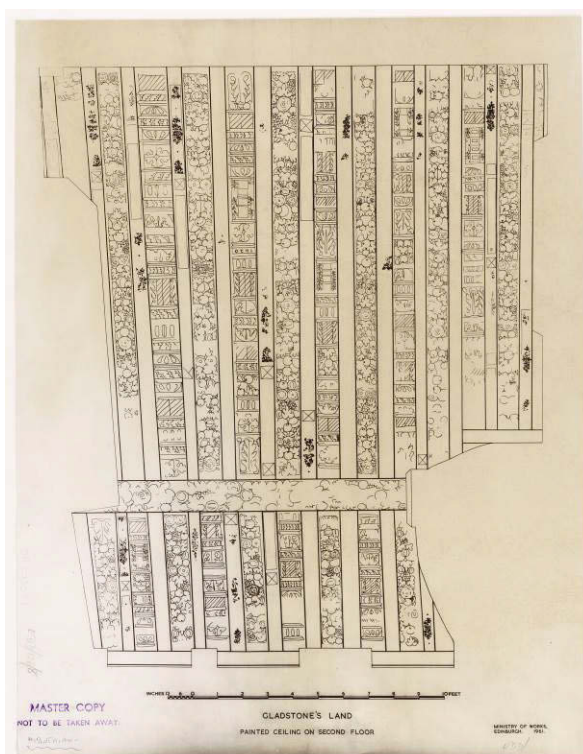


Figure 31 'Painted ceiling on second floor', Ministry of Works 1961. This figure reproduces a scaled-down copy of the original. RCAHMS DP_203387 digitised from EDD126/8

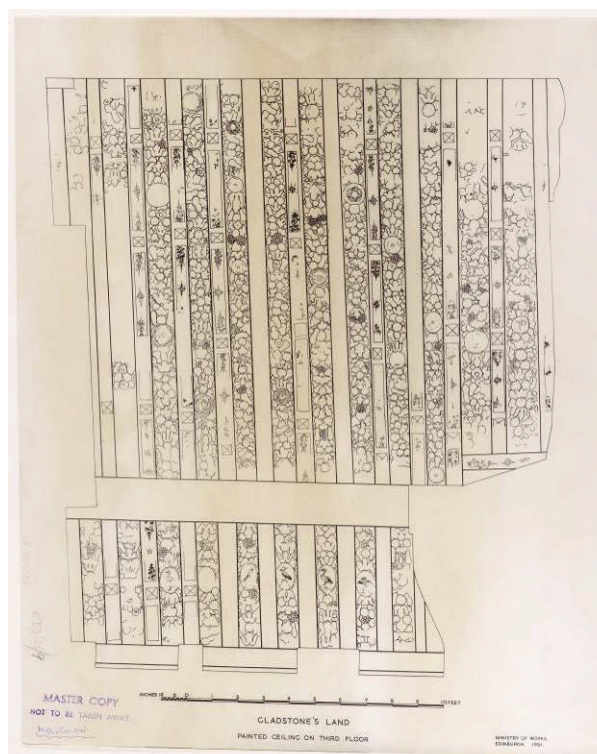


Figure 32 'Painted ceiling on third floor', Ministry of Works 1961⁵. This figure reproduces a copy as Figure 31. RCAHMS DP_203388 digitised from EDD126/9

2.10 The National Trust for Scotland returns: 1974

The meeting paper for the NTS' Budget review group in 1974, noted above, concludes

In 1964, it was decided to open the ground floor as a Trust Information Centre, but after a flourishing start numbers dwindled and this was closed in 1969...

(NTS archives 01/0054/03/01)

After the closure of the NTS information centre in 1969, it seems that the ground floor of the building was also given over to the Saltire Society. In the meeting paper, the NTS expresses its desire to re-occupy part of the building, and the outline plans by the architect Ian Begg (Robert Hurd & Partners) are considered acceptable by both the Saltire Society and NTS (NTS archives 01/0054/03/01). The alterations required were not carried out (see below), but the plans give an important snapshot of the building interior arrangements at this date. The essence of the plans was that the NTS would occupy the ground floor with a shop and exhibition, and be able to show visitors the first floor rooms (Figure 33).

The intention seems to have been that the Saltire Society would move its office up to the second floor front room and library in the third floor front room. It would retain use of the first floor rooms for concerts, held in the evenings after the NTS had closed. The basement would be shared, with new WCs, and the let flats at the rear of the third floor and on the fourth would remain.

⁵ Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators 2006 note that this drawing is incorrectly drawn, with east and west in reverse.

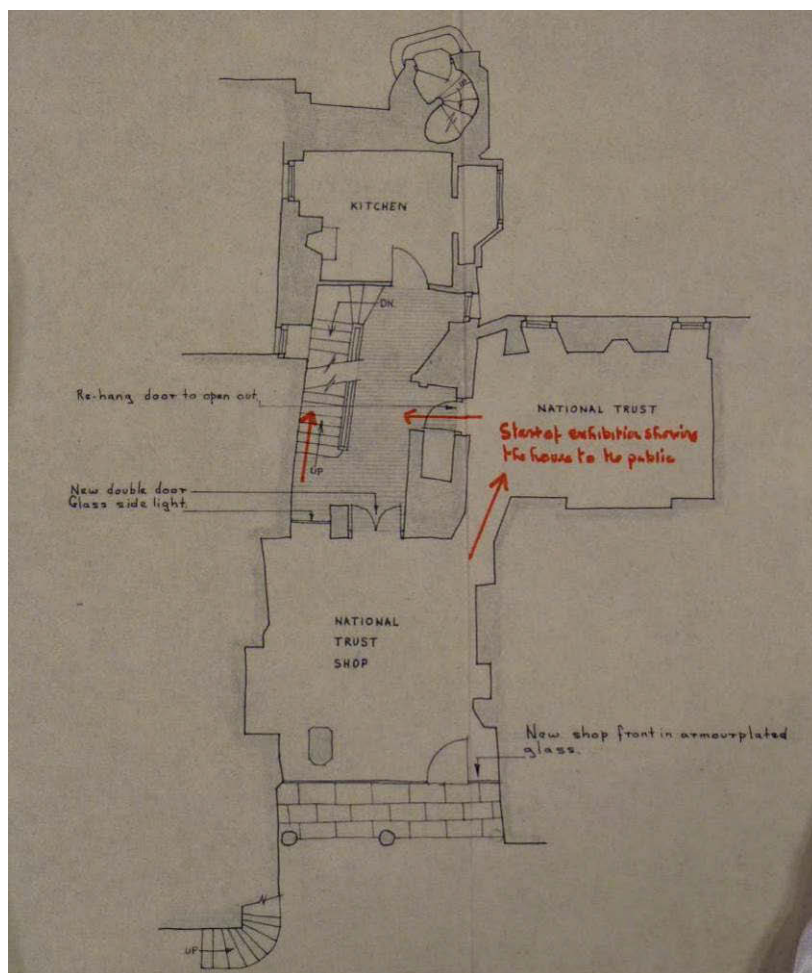


Figure 33 Plan showing ground floor as proposed January 1974, Ian Begg of Robert Hurd & Ptns. NTS archives 01/0054/03/01

In a meeting in August 1974, it is formally noted that Begg's proposed alterations to the building could not be carried out because of the 'present financial climate', but that the changes in arrangements of accommodation, noted above, would proceed. Subsequent documents refer to this sharing of the building as experimental and that the minimum of funds was to be expended on the basic necessities. The Saltire Society's lease was also to be extended for two years from November 1975, at a more realistic market rental of £400, increased from the previous £120 (NTS archives 01/0054/03/01). In a note to the Executive Committee of 12th September 1974, it is hoped that the Saltire Society's 'cultural activities, particularly in the field of art exhibitions, concerts and architectural interest ... [and] Its Festival programmes at Gladstone's Land' would attract visitors to the property for the NTS, especially with the re-opened first floor.

A meeting memorandum of almost a year later, of 18th December 1975, shows that the vision of the NTS for Gladstone's had advanced considerably in that year.

The real future in Gladstone's Land lay in opening the ground and first floor to the public as a 17th century Town House, to complement and link up with the Georgian House, 7 Charlotte Square.

It is further noted that the Saltire Society could not continue to rent space in the building at £400 per annum after their current lease expired on Martinmas 1977 (11th November). This is particularly because the 'current market value of a new lease would be nearer £3,000' (NTS archives 01/0054/05/03).

2.11 The second major phase of alterations: 1977 onwards

A meeting note dated 27th July 1977, outlines the changes to the building desirable to make it a tourist attraction, including providing accommodation and facilities for school parties in the basement, re-creating booth shop-fronts on the ground floor, removing the 1930s staircase, the access to the furnished rooms on the first floor being from the rear turnpike stair. It is also noted that the flats on the second floor and above would be reclaimed as the leases expired, enlarged and let on more profitable basis as holiday accommodation (NTS archives 01/0054/05/03). A formal representation was made to the NTS Executive Committee in a paper of the 12th October 1977 (NTS archives 01/0054/05/03).

On 17th January 1978, Begg provided plans to the NTS for alterations to Gladstone's Land, drawings dated December 1977. Various minor amendments are minuted in a meeting on the same day, with a schedule of implementation, aiming to let the building contract in June 1978 and open to the public the following April (NTS archives 01/0054/05/03).

The application to Edinburgh District Council for planning consent was dated 8th June 1978. A letter from the NTS quantity surveyor, John Williamson, to the planning officer in August, clarified some matters and replied to several objections made to the proposals. The letter complains of the 'sufficient delay' since the application was submitted, and hopes that the Planning Committee will be able now to grant consent (NTS archives 01/0054/05/03). Warrant was finally granted for the Robert Hurd & Partners scheme on 8th September 1978. This application for warrant is only recorded in the card index in the City of Edinburgh Council plan store; the role of drawings is missing. However, because there are amendments of 1979 and 1980, the scheme is fairly well understood (Figure 35 to Figure 38).

The overarching aim of this scheme was to present the building as much as possible as a mid seventeenth-century townhouse. To this end, some later alterations or additions were removed, for example there was extensive discussion over the possibility of the removal of a chimneybreast in the E wall of the front rooms. It also included creating various elements, including the fixed leaded lights and shutterboard windows on the first to third floors front and rear elevations, the timber-fronted shop booths on the ground floor, a kitchen with wall bed (based on an extant example in the Study, Culross), and several fireplaces.

These elements were not based on evidence derived from specific archival evidence of the physical fabric of the building, but from general sources drawn together in the July 1977 research report by Hartley (NTS archives 01/0054/05/02). This report is over a 100 pages and begins by discussing the development of the Royal Mile and its houses. It discusses the specific history of Gladstone's Land, the building, and its spaces, and includes comparanda illustrations, some of Edinburgh and some of French and Germanic evidence.

Hartley went to considerable lengths researching the appearance and contents of the interiors, based on seventeenth-century inventories and other accounts in the National Archives of Scotland (1977, 64). The accounts were selected by Hartley as they seemed to be comparable with the spaces and occupants of Gladstone's Land in the seventeenth century.

According to Hartley, shutterboard windows were installed only on these floors as the third, forth and attic floors were let to tenants. It was not thought appropriate to insist on installing the windows in flats that were residential (C Hartley 2015, pers. comm.). Subsequent planning applications were made in 1981 and again in 1990 for the fitting of the remaining floors (see from page 45).

The furniture and some fittings were bought in to dress the interiors appropriately and provide appropriate character. For example, the oak office door and doorcase on the ground floor, 'optimistically dated 1624, is largely a Victorian re-use of old timber', was acquired at a house sale (Hartley 2000, p.11). Some of the larger items of furniture were brought into the building before the 1930s staircase was removed, including the tester of the bed in the Painted Chamber. The remainder

was brought through the windows of the paneled room using a hoist installed on the roof (C Hartley 2015, pers. comm.).

The kitchen fire grate was found in the building in the 1970s, in the fore-cellar, and may have been extracted and stored in the late 1930s works. It is possible that the grate appears in Figure 24. The flag stones are York Stone, riven very thinly and close butted (C Hartley 2015, pers. comm.).

Various interiors and the exterior of the building was repaired and re-painted. It is clear that the cement harling and timber outshot on the rear elevations dates from this period. Internally, the paneled room was repainted from its existing white (Figure 34). According to the Hartley guidebook, there were fourteen layers of paint on the walls, and the present green was 'one of the earlier colours' (2000, p.18). It goes on

The display cupboard, put in recently to replace a modern cupboard door, is based on an eighteenth-century design.

(Hartley 2000, p.20)



Figure 34 Photo of panelled room looking SE, c.2000. From Hartley 2000, pp.18-19

There is correspondence and annotations on drawings in the NTS archives between Hartley and the project architect, Bob Heath, discussing details of many of the recreated elements (Figure 39 and Figure 40). In particular, drawings by Heath show two schemes for the grate in the former bar parlour on the ground floor of the E wing. According to Hartley, this grate was purchased (Figure 42).

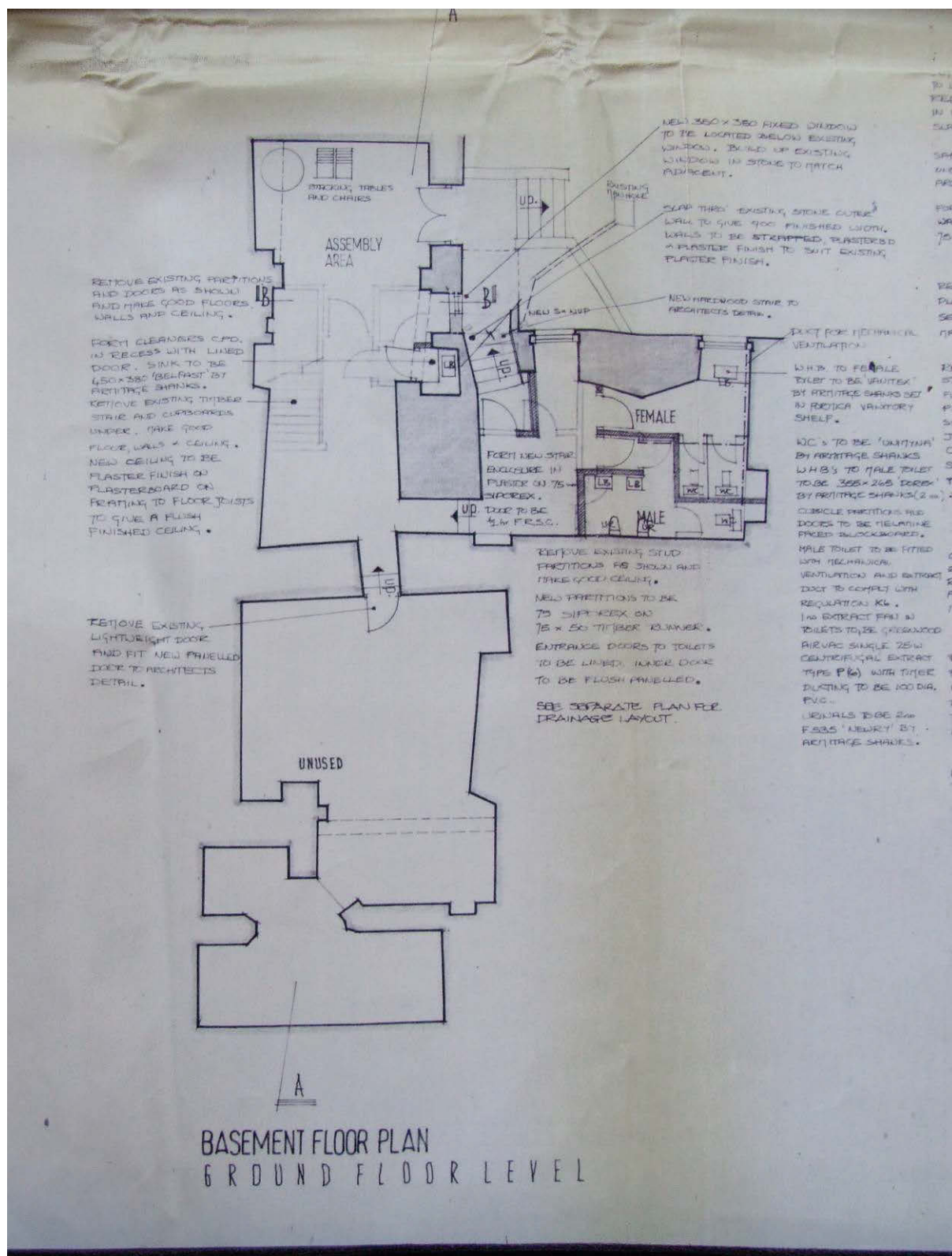


Figure 35 Plan showing alterations scheme for basement by Robert Hurd & Ptns. Granted building warrant September 1978. The plan for the WCs was changed in 1980 (see Figure 38). City of Edinburgh plan store

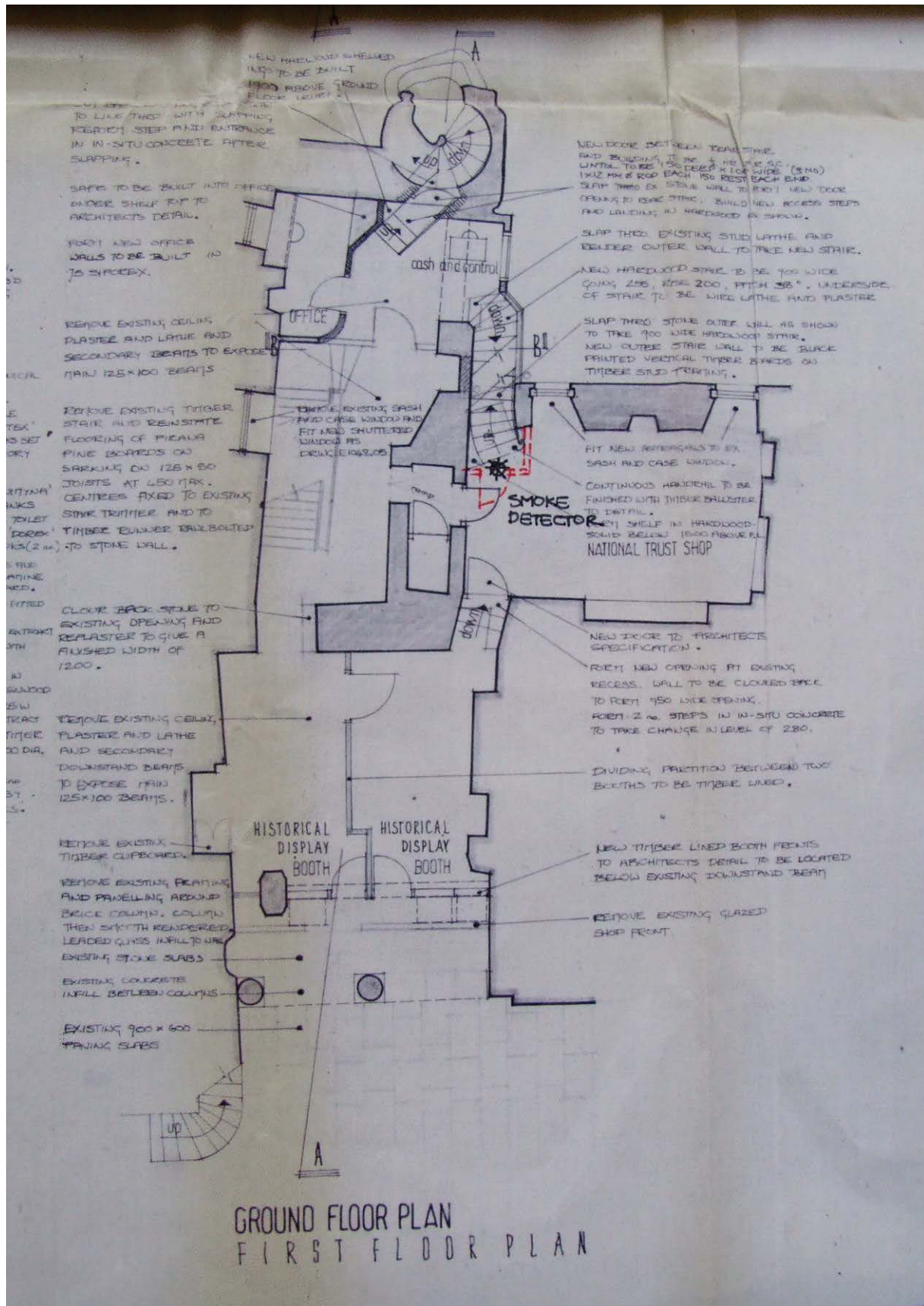


Figure 36 Plan showing alterations scheme for ground floor by Robert Hurd & Ptns. Granted building warrant September 1978, with 1980 amendment, to omit the smoke lobby. City of Edinburgh plan store

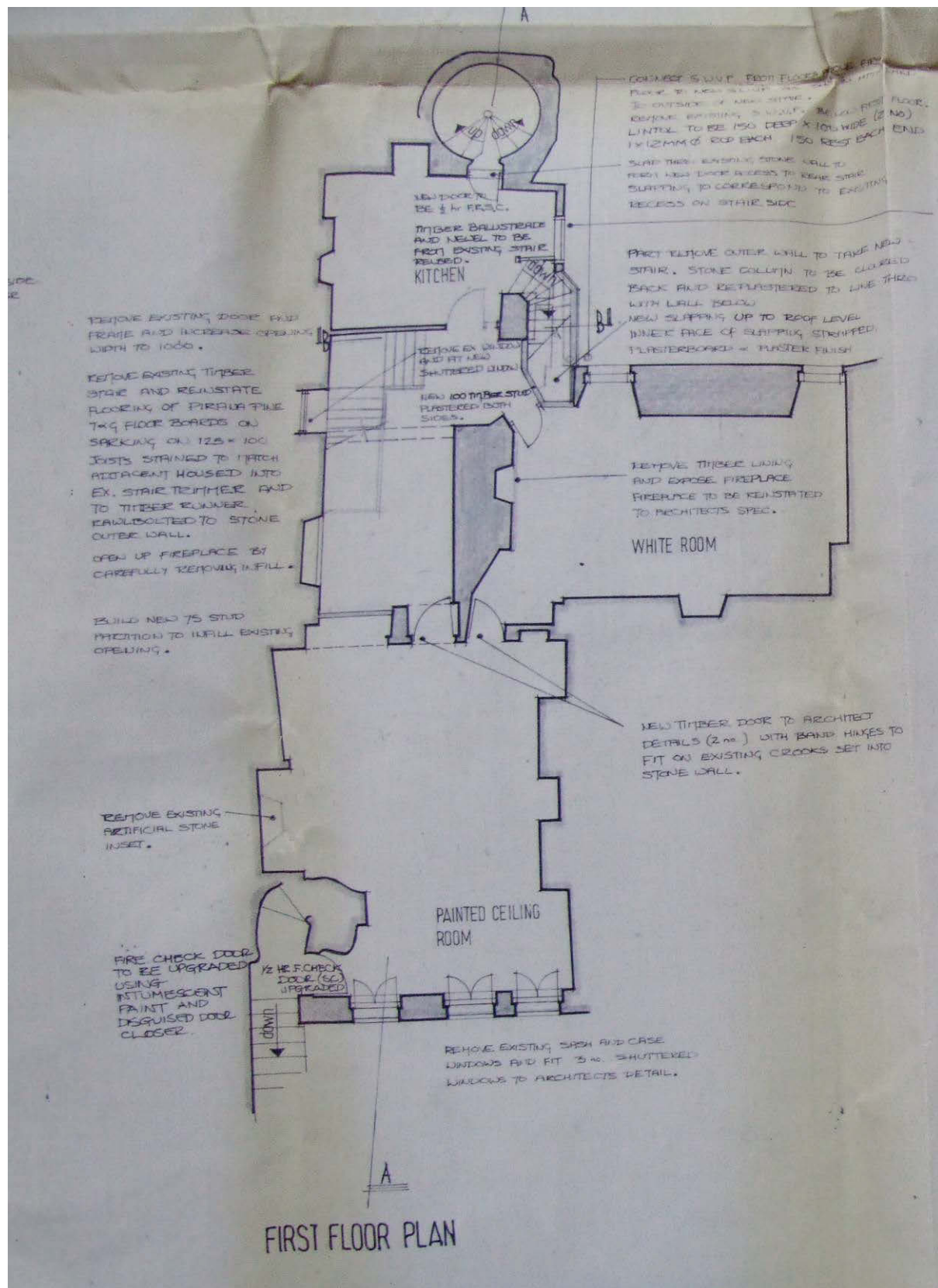


Figure 37 Plan showing alterations scheme for first floor by Robert Hurd & Ptns. Granted building warrant September 1978. City of Edinburgh plan store

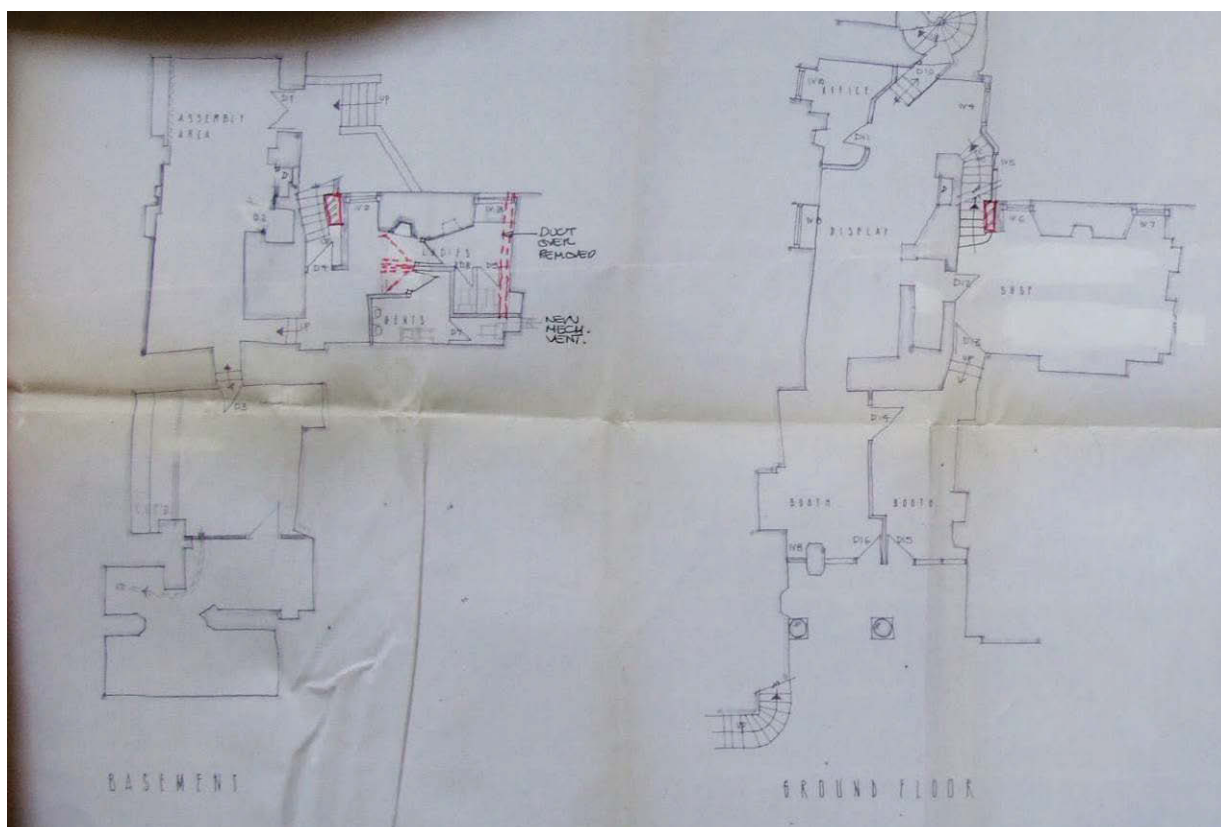


Figure 38 Plans showing basement and first floor amendments to the 1978 scheme, Robert Hurd & Ptns, granted warrant in May 1980. There is an engineer's detail for the pier, showing engineering brick, concrete and steel. City of Edinburgh plan store

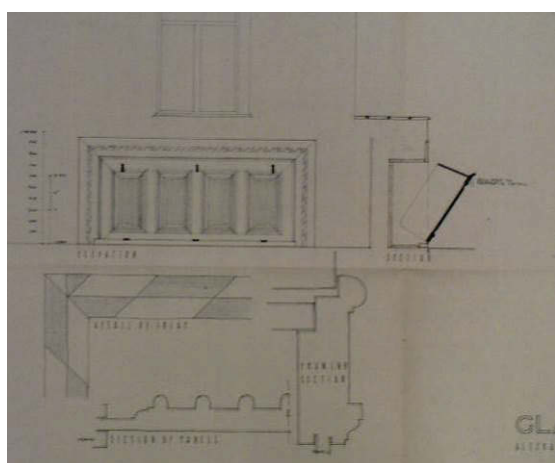


Figure 39 Drawing showing design for wall bed. Robert Hurd & Ptns, 1979. NTS archives 01/0054/05/03

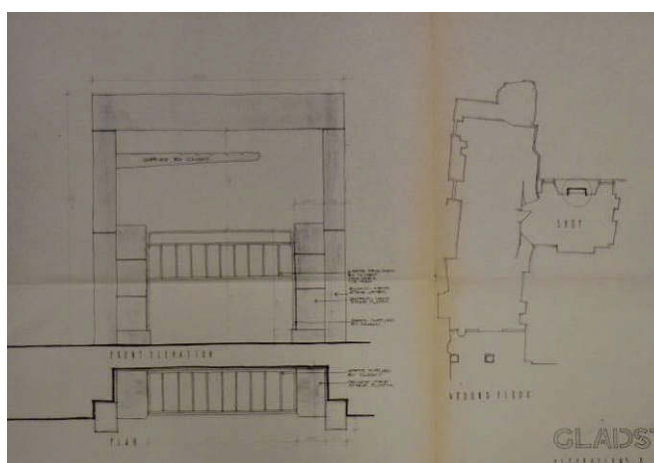


Figure 40 Drawing showing design for fireplace in ground floor rear room. This drawing is a revision of a previous design, rejected by Hartley. Robert Hurd & Ptns, 1979. NTS archives 01/0054/05/03

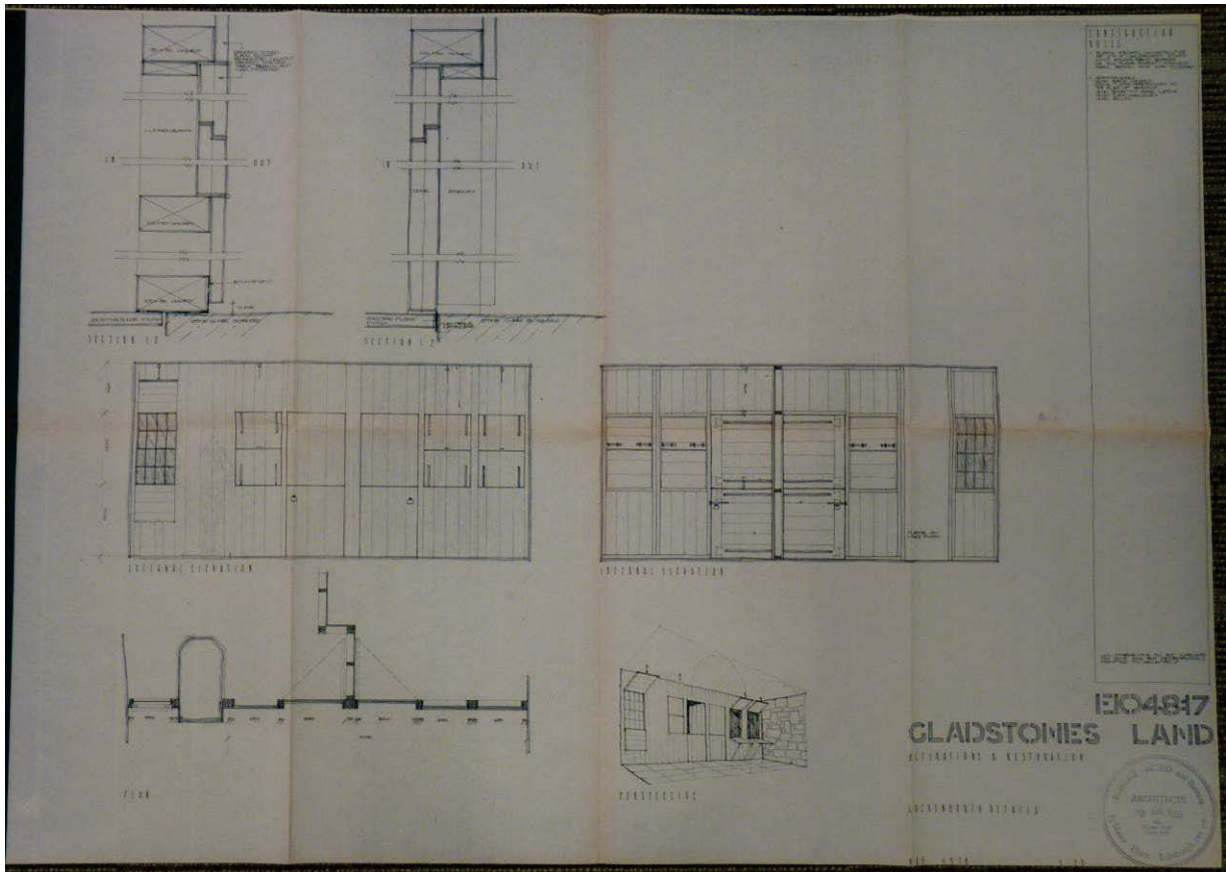


Figure 41 Drawing showing designs for the ground shop booths, closely based on Hartley's research of Dutch and London examples. Robert Hurd & Ptns, 1979. NTS archives 01/0054/05/03



Figure 42 Photo of ground floor room (shop/bar parlour) with the purchased fire grate, c.2000. From Hartley 2000, p.20

Three colour photographs in the NTS archives give an impression of how extensive the works were (NTS archives P/01/053) (Figure 43 to Figure 45).

By March 1979, in an Executive Committee minute, Ian Begg reported that the contractors' work was progressing satisfactorily. He also mentions the 'discovery' of a chimneybreast inserted into the building from the first floor up, subsequently discussed in other minutes and correspondence. This discovery is recorded in a few photos in the Historic Scotland Conservation Centre files (XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SC/42)); they show the frieze on the E wall uncovered behind the 1930s lath and plaster, and the revealing of the chimneybreast. There is a test area for the frieze opened up on the upper left of the chimneybreast (Figure 46 and Figure 47). These photos are from a set of colour and black & white images largely of the Painted Chamber and other ceilings.

The NTS wanted to remove the chimneybreast as it covered part of the re-discovered painted frieze on the first floor and disrupted the presentation of Gladstone's as a pure example of a seventeenth-century building. However, removing it entirely was costed at around £30,000 (noted in paper to Executive Committee 8th November 1979 01/0054/04/05). An alternative was investigated, its partial removal on the first and some floors above, but leaving the top floor intact and stack above. However an engineer's letter states that this would cause forces 'similar to balancing an eraser on top of a sheet of paper' (letter 13th February 1979 NTS archives 01/0054/04/05). The Executive Committee paper for the meeting on the 8th November 1979 notes that it was decided finally to leave the chimneybreast in situ (NTS archives 01/0054/04/05).



Figure 43 Photo of c.1979, looking SW on ground floor (Addyman plan number room 14), showing the W wall after the late 1930s stair was removed. NTS archives P/01/053



Figure 44 Photo of c.1979, looking N on ground floor (Addyman plan number room 14), showing the new steps to the rear turnpike. NTS archives P/01/053



Figure 45 Photo of c.1979, looking SW on ground floor (Addyman plan number room 14), subsequent to Figure 43. It shows the W wall after first floor was replaced. NTS archives P/01/053

There are two applications to the Dean of Guild Court for which warrants were granted on 2nd March 1979 and 23rd May 1980 which are amendments to the 8th September 1978 warranted scheme. In the former, warrant was granted for a smoke lobby on the basement to be deleted. In the latter, there were minor changes to the WCs plans, and a new structural pier was added, adjacent to the stair between basement and first floor (Figure 36 and Figure 38).

In a meeting note of 18th April 1979, various matters were resolved and Heath confirmed that the contractors would complete the interiors in mid May. However, a steel beam was ‘discovered’ in the fabric of the building, as noted in the minutes of the Executive Committee on 10th May. There is no mention of where the beam was, but it was anticipated work would require additional outlay of £5000 and delay opening to the public (NTS archives 01/0054/04/05). A subsequent paper to the Executive Committee clarifies that the previously unknown beam was ‘re-positioned’ (8th November 1979 NTS archives 01/0054/04/05).

There was a total refit of the top, rear flat specified in June 1979 (NTS archives 01/0054/05/04) and it was let subsequently as a holiday flat. The 1983 meeting paper notes that ‘this involved new plumbing and electrical work installations and an improved kitchen layout’ (paper for Executive Committee meeting on 10th March 1983, NTS archives 01/0054/04/03).

There was a meeting in the building on 24th September 1979 to resolve various small details of the finishes and arrangements, and 21 items are listed in the meeting note (NTS archives 01/0054/05/04).

As noted above, the rear lower flat was improved in 1972, and the top rear flat in 1979. This proved financially successful, and in 1983 both the middle rear and front flats had ‘become vacant’. It was agreed to upgrade them and let the front flat in the current financial year and the middle rear in the next (Executive Committee minutes 10th March 1983, NTS archives 01/0054/04/03).



Figure 46 Photo of September 1979, of E wall on first floor showing the frieze uncovered behind the 1930s lath and plaster. HS Conservation Centre Y573-2



Figure 47 Photo of September 1979, of E wall on first floor showing the chimneybreast being discovered. The area of wall in Figure 46 can be seen top right. There is a test area for the frieze opened up on the upper left of the chimneybreast. HS Conservation Centre Y571-7

2.12 The third restoration of the tempera paintings

In a meeting note of 18th April 1979, it is noted that the Scottish Development Department, Ancient Monuments, was to be instructed to proceed with the 'restoration' of the painted ceiling and frieze of the first-floor front room, led by their restorer, Rab Snowden (NTS Archives 01-0054-05-04).

In the November 1979 paper to the Executive Committee, it is noted that Snowden and his team had almost completed work on restoring the ceiling and frieze in the first-floor front room only (NTS archives 01/0054/04/05). Snowden submitted a report the same month, stating that preservation treatments applied in the first restoration in 1938 had, in the light of modern understanding, been 'detrimental to the visual and physical characteristics of the paintings'.⁶ He states that the wax/resin/linseed oil preparation used, caused the original matt appearance of the tempera to become glossy, caused the colours to become transparent and dark, and the preparation itself became darker over time.

It seems from this report that the principal work carried out by Snowden was consolidating any deteriorating areas of the paintings and cleaning off the wax/resin/linseed oil preparation. The report also states that areas of painted decoration lost would be re-painted (26th November 1979, NTS archives 01/0054/04/02). Gifford et al. corroborates that this actually happened and states that the painted decoration of the first-floor room was 'extended in simplified form' by Snowden (1984, 196) (Figure 48 to Figure 50). This work was supported by grants from the Historic Buildings Council for Scotland, the Scottish Tourist Board and various other donors.

Gifford et al. note that there remain traces of painted decoration on the fourth floor, though this is not referred to in any other source (1984, p.196).



Figure 48 Photo showing frieze on N wall of first-floor front room, E end. Rab Snowden himself is shown at work during restoration in 1980. NTS archives P/01/053

⁶ As noted above, Snowden assumed that the date of the report (February 1941) was the date of the work, and indeed some of the report is written in the future tense. However it is clearly referring to work previously completed, and the restoration was definitely completed before the building opened in February 1939.

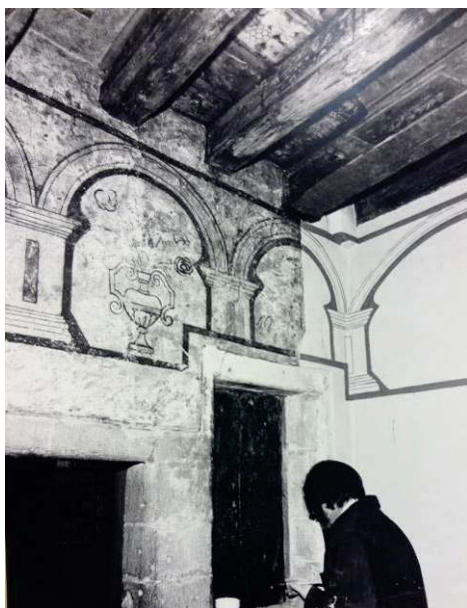


Figure 49 Photo showing frieze on N wall of first-floor front room, at corner with E wall. It shows the reconstructed continuation of the frieze on this wall. NTS archives P/01/053



Figure 50 Photo showing frieze on E wall of first-floor front room, looking S. NTS archives P/01/053

2.13 Alterations from the 1980s onwards

A lively correspondence regarding the type of window glass installed in the Robert Hurd & Ptns shutterboard windows is in the NTS archives from early February 1980 (NTS Archives 01-0054-04-02). Hartley argued that the new windows used a quality of glass that was not good enough for the interior being created, based on current historical research. The glass nonetheless remained (C Hartley 2015, pers. comm.). The refurbished building was officially opened on 8th May 1980.

In the summer of 1981, an application was made to alter the windows on the third to attic floors from sash and case to shutterboards. Though this was granted warrant on 7th August, the work does not seem to have been done (see below). By way of confirmation, Gifford et al., published in 1984, only note the shutterboard windows in the first and second floor (p.195).

In 1982, it is noted in correspondence from Hartley that there was some mould growth in the third-floor flat, caused by blocked rhones and rainwater goods associated with the flat roof. This was clearly rectified, but by 1985, it was causing damage to the N-wall frieze in the Painted Chamber. It was restored by the Scottish Development Department (formerly the Ministry of Works and later Historic Scotland), and there are before and after photos of the damaged area in Historic Scotland Conservation Centre files (XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SC/42)).

By the late 1980s, the Gladstone's Land Gallery is referred to as occupying the second floor. It was run by the NTS on a seasonal basis, before it was closed in January 1989 (NTS archive 01/0054/04/05). It does not seem from the archives that any material alterations were needed to accommodate the gallery.

In 1988, a Quinquennial inspection was made for the NTS by Bob Heath, formerly of Robert Hurd & Ptns, and acting by 1988 as Heath Architect & Stone Consultant. The report, in the RCAHMS, is illustrated with an appendix of photographs, which provide an important snapshot of the building at that date. There are also two sets of drawings, plans and elevations, one entitled 'Historical Survey', with historical phasing data overlaid onto the plans. It is interesting to note that the apex of the roof of

the main block of the building parallel to the street is noted as flat (Figure 51). The alteration appears in photographs from c.1900 and there does not seem to have been a warrant (see Figure 9).

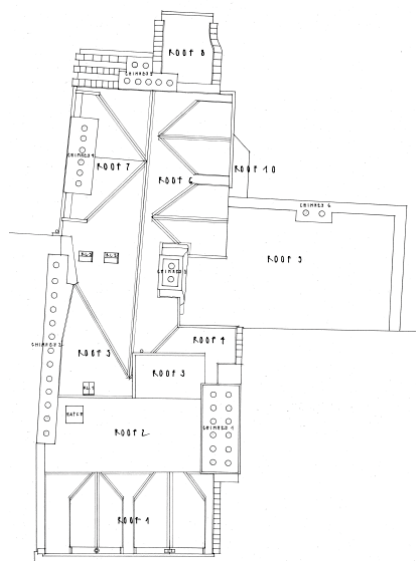


Figure 51 Plan showing roofs, Heath Architect & Stone Consultant, 1988. It shows that the apex of the roof parallel to the street had been replaced with a flat area. NTS archives



Figure 52 Photo looking S, showing the flat area of roof. From the 1988 Quinquennial inspection report, Heath Architect & Stone Consultant. RCAHMS MS 503/14

In July 1989, a second application was made to alter the windows on the third to attic floors to shutterboards, after the failure to implement the 1981 warrant. A relaxation of building standards was required and warrant was granted on 8th January 1990 (ref 89/4398). This time, the work was actually done.

After the photos in the Hartley 2000 guidebook (see Figure 42), the former bar parlour was changed in appearance to give the character of a 1950s bar. It was repainted in drab colours to resemble tobacco-stained paint work and dressed with furniture and props.

On 23rd March 2006, planning and listed building consent was granted for alterations to the ground floor shop (application ref 06/00027/LBC). The eastern door was to be doubled in width from a single door into a double, and most of the central partition within the shop itself was removed (Figure 53). This work was not carried out. Interestingly, the 1988 Heath drawings were submitted with annotations. As noted above, these drawings show the flat roof on the front block. However, in the 2010 Quinquennial survey drawings, Gray, Marshall & Associates show that the apex of the roof had been re-instated.

On 28th January 2011 planning and listed building consent was granted for alterations to the flat on the fourth and attic floor (noted on NTS-owned drawings). The E-W wall between the kitchen and the sitting room was to be taken down, and a new kitchen installed, along with a refurbishment of the bathroom above into a shower-room. This work was not carried out.

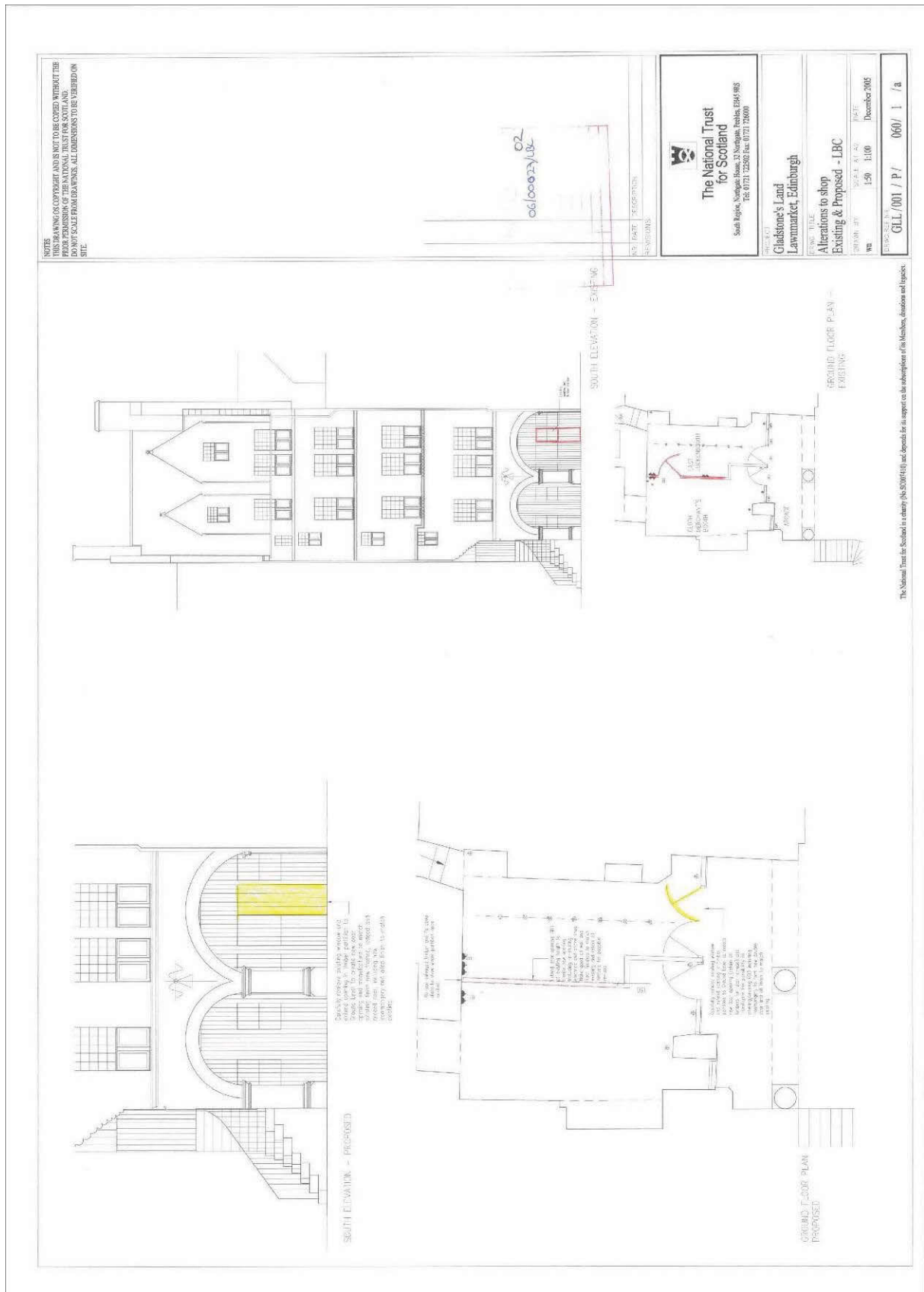


Figure 53 Drawings showing as existing and proposed, dated December 2005. NTS. City of Edinburgh Council Planning Portal

3.0 Descriptive analysis

3.1 Introduction

As has been described in *section 2.1* above Gladstone's Land has seen a number of earlier assessments of its architecture, its details, and of its evolutionary history. Most significant of these is the RCAHMS' very fulsome 1951 inventory description and accompanying phase plans. This was probably largely written by or before 1941, shortly after major conservation efforts under Frank Mears had revealed much of the early fabric of the structure (and now mostly covered again). In addition to this is the wealth of accumulated data and knowledge embodied in the phased plan set worked up in 1988 by architect Bob Heath, this augmenting the RCAHMS' analysis. Gifford, et. al. (1984) provides a succinct synopsis of the analysis of the structure. All of these sources remain valid, the present in-depth study confirming their conclusions in broad terms and principally offering additional refinement only in detail. However in addition to these sources the present study also addresses the evolution of the structure subsequent to the late 16th and 17th centuries, the period of its primary architectural significance, and includes the extensive works carried out by the NTS.

Though the building was extensively reworked in successive campaigns by the NTS from the mid-late 1930s onwards, the very comprehensive as-existing drawings set of 1934 by Wilson Patterson preserves a great deal of further significant information about the earlier appearance of the structure. By that stage the building represented the culmination of some 350 years of repeated improvement, modification and sub-division, as well as dereliction, that was typical of Edinburgh Old Town's urban experience.

The reader is referred at this stage to *section 8* of this report - the accompanying A3 folio volume. This contains a set of revised extrapolated phase drawings of the building and a compilation of historic plans and drawings from archive sources, arranged in chronological sequence.

3.2 Origins

The earliest physical fabric that the present structure incorporates may be of late medieval or early post-medieval date. The RCAHMS describe the exposure of what appeared to be masonry fabric whose character suggested it was an earlier building fragment incorporated into the existing core building. They described,

At the street and cellar levels a section of rough masonry was visible in the portion of wall that is marked in solid black ['1st period' on their phase plans – see figure 51]; this may or may not have been the last vestige of the N. or back wall of an early house but, in any case, in the time of James VI the wall, whatever it is, presumably repaired at the base and rebuilt from the first floor upwards, became the S or front wall of a new building ... [the latter the '16th century' phase indicated on the RCAHMS plans]

Doubtless there had been predecessor structures on the site well before the 16th century phase of construction, probably from at least the 12th century onwards. Initially these were likely to have been timber buildings. Most traces of earlier structures will have been removed when the existing structure was erected, a process that typically within the Old Town involved extensive terracing-in to the slope and/or the formation of cellars. From the 15th century onwards construction was increasingly in stone and it is possible the earlier wall formed part of a predecessor structure. However it is doubtful whether this had been a rear wall of a predecessor building – expansion into the High Street is a feature of the later history of the building, from the early 17th century onwards. If it is an earlier fragment it more probably represents part of a frontage wall. Unfortunately little more can be added to these observations, the section of walling in question having been re-plastered and inaccessible for examination since the 1930s.

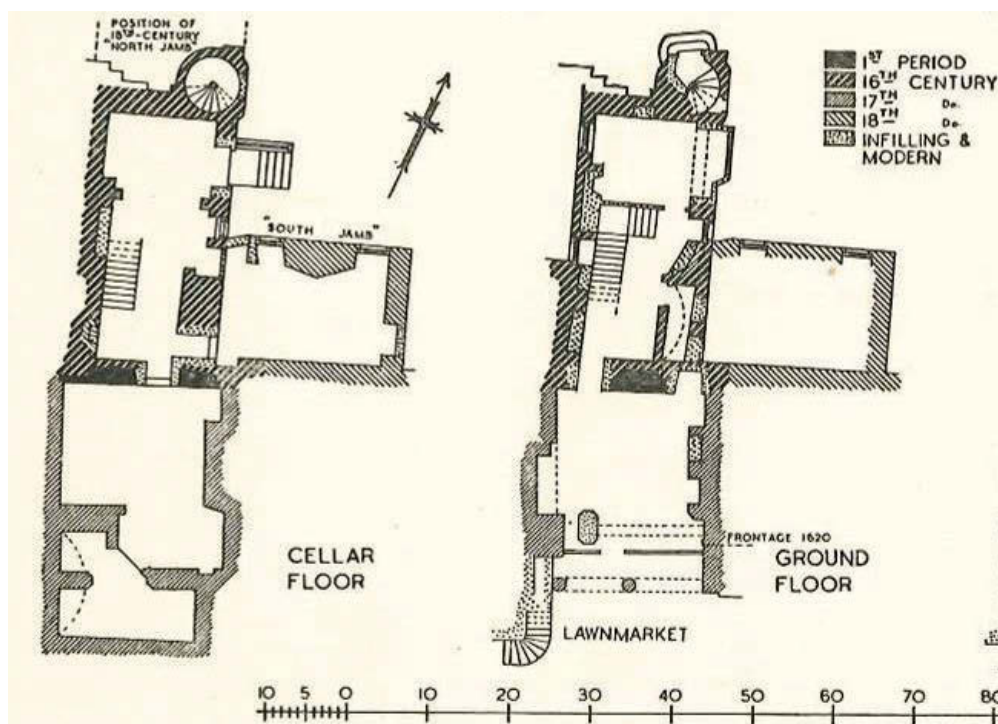


Figure 54 Cellar level and ground floor phased plans (RCAHMS, 1951, 74)

3.3 16th century

The RCAHMS' analysis concluded the rear part of Gladstone's Land was the earlier surviving fabric. They described its extent and principal features, conclusions that have not been contradicted by subsequent commentators,

So far as can be ascertained, the 16th century building was oblong on the ground floor but L-shaped above, the wing having perhaps been supported on posts, and contained four main stories reached from a newel stair, still extant as a projection from the N. end but at one time incorporated in a low range which ran as far N. as Lady Stair's House. From its front wall projected tiers of wooden balconies, one on every floor above the street level, each of which was enclosed at one end to make an oriel window communicating with the room behind through an archway. On each of the upper floors there is evidence for two rooms at the S. end of the building and for one at the N. end so that the accommodation in each house probably consisted of hall, "chalmer" and kitchen. [figure 52]

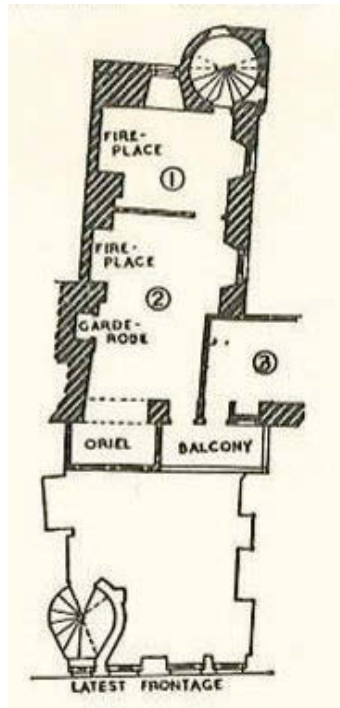


Figure 55 Suggested 16th century arrangement, 1st floor ad above (RCAHMS, 1951, 75)

Again much of the evidence accessible to the RCAHMS or reported to them by Frank Mears has long been covered up, mostly by new plaster applied 'on to the hard.' However there seems little reason to dispute this analysis overall. Of the early fabric of this period it is principally the dressed elements that remain visible though more masonry details are visible in various of the earlier photographs of the site.

Overall the structure was rubble-built, of a mortar-bonded pale grey sandstone. The freestone employed for the dressings is of a hard, fine-grained, crystalline variety that takes sharp detail. Openings at this period were almost invariably detailed with rounded arises. The principal exception to this being a part-buried entrance within what had been the close on the east elevation of the rear range – the original entrance to the newel stair, *plate 1*. This displays a developed moulding that is certainly consistent with a mid-late 16th century date. Many of the dressings preserve masons' marks, of which there are multiple examples of some.

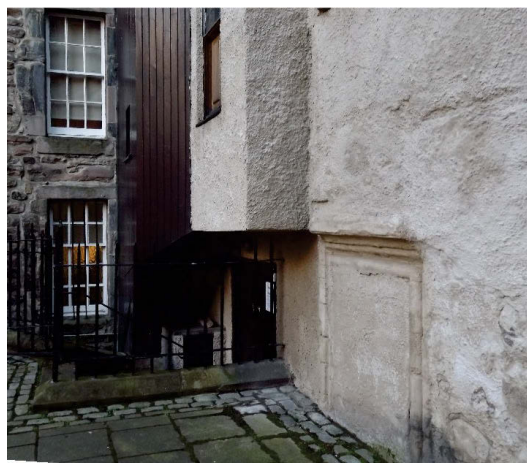


Plate 1 The east wall of the rear range (harled), showing remains of original stair entrance, looking south

As the RCAHMS describe, the rear wall of what are now the frontage rooms of Gladstone's Land marks the line of the frontage of the early building – i.e. the former street frontage onto the High Street. At first, second and third floor levels this walling preserves many early openings that are still visible. The arrangement of openings is similar at each of these levels namely, from west to east, a broad arched opening, followed by an entrance, a second entrance of similar size and, finally, a window, *plate 2*. At first floor level the window preserves a shutter that retains painted decoration, *plate 3*.

The presence of these openings, with their dressed faces to the south, certainly appears to represent a relict frontage of a structure of some pretension. The arrangement of timber projections as suggested by the RCAHMS makes the best sense in relation to the openings – on a practical level the broad arches could only have provided access to an interior space (i.e. an oriel), the entrances to a gallery that permitted access between the two rooms behind, and the window to light the eastern room at each level.

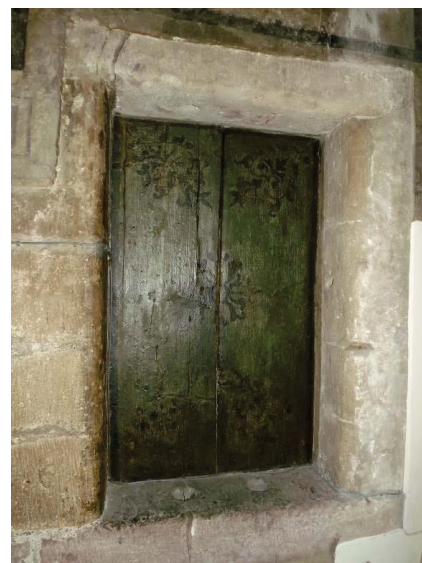


Plate 2. Relict openings of the frontage of the early range as seen at first floor level, looking north; the broad arched opening to the oriel is behind the bed to the left

Plate 3. (Right) Detail of the shutter within the window

3.3.1 Basement level

Other than the abovementioned entrance off the close at existing basement / cellar level little can now be seen of the fabric of this period other than a single window opening within the east wall in the area of the pend; this is notable for its preservation of evidence for a stout bar-grille of wrought iron, *plate 4*. The basement level was presumably accessed directly off the close by means of an entrance, now lost or obscured. There seems to have been no internal intercommunication with the newel stair to the rear. Other than that there is little visible indication as to the former function and arrangement of this lower level, so extensive had been its modern lining out.

However an important piece of evidence is the building warrant plan of 1881 which shows the interior to have had a major masonry cross-wall dividing it in to two chambers, *figure 56*. The plan also shows what seems to be a proposed new entrance through the cross-wall – implying they had formerly been wholly separate. The northern chamber is shown with an entrance and window to the pend to the east, which is likely to have been the early arrangement. The southern chamber has what may have been a window in the east wall; if this were the case then the entrance may have been from the south, by means of steps down from the street frontage.

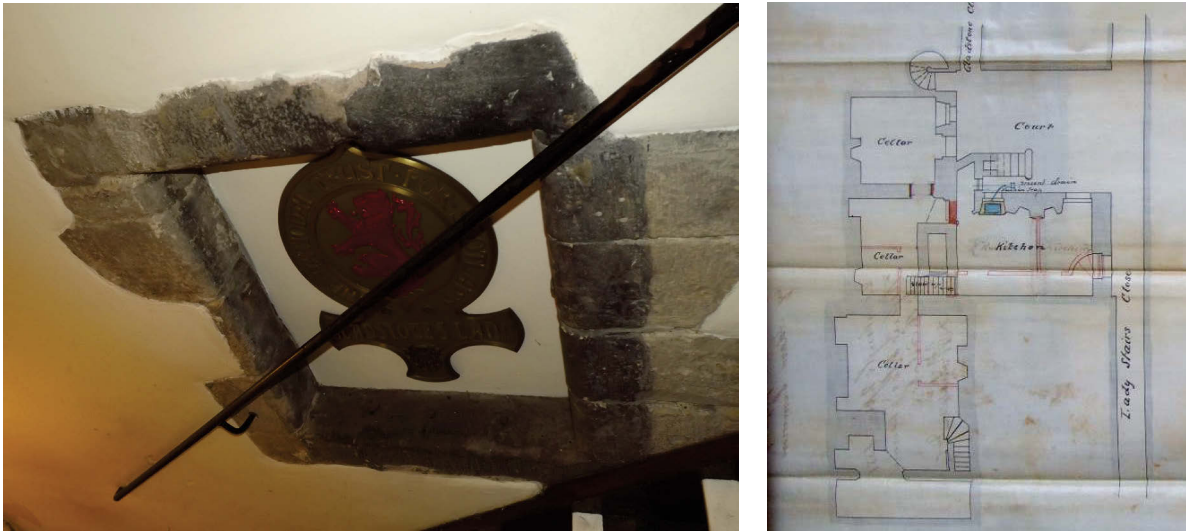


Plate 4 former window at basement level, with sockets indicating iron grille

Figure 57 Plan at cellar level showing warranted alterations at basement level, June 1881 (City of Edinburgh)

One anomaly of the plan however is an over-thick section of walling on the east side of the cellar level; in terms of construction this was necessary for the support of a mural chamber on the floor above. The rough rubble walling discussed by the RCAHMS, thought by them to be part of a pre-existing structure, might perhaps be explained (at this level at least) as a coarse construction built against an earth cut following the terracing in to the natural slope. This would imply that the cellarage to the south of the wall is all of subsequent date, which seems likely to be the case.

3.3.2 Ground floor

At ground floor level no detail can presently be seen of the former street frontage. The RCAHMS' phase plan indicates two openings though both are suggested to be of secondary date. One at least, probably that to the west, may occupy the site of a pre-existing opening. Again without revealing the masonry behind it is difficult to discuss the possible nature of the early walling described by the RCAHMS. There are no surviving subdivisions within the space behind to suggest the disposition of internal space.

Further east at this level there seems most probably to have been a pend that gave access to the close and back-land behind, however no suggestion of this possibility is given on the RCAHMS' phase plan. That this may have been the case is suggested by the presence of the mural chamber at this level within the east wall of the early range. The chamber is narrow and formed beneath a vaulted ceiling. In the east wall of the chamber there is evidence of two openings, the northern of which had clearly been a window (subsequently re-formed as an entrance) that in turn implies an exterior space to the east, i.e. the pend. On the south side of this was an entrance that was likely accessed by means of a number of steps down – descending to the level of the pend outside. The chamber thus seems to have functioned as a small stair-vestibule from an entrance off the close; it in turn gave access into the ground floor of the early range proper.

Even with this suggested arrangement the mural chamber is a curious feature. However the unusual thickness of the wall section it occupies, rising from the cellar, may be explained by the wish to form fireplaces, flues and a chimneybreast rising from first floor upwards immediately above. Indeed a substantial stone chimney still emerges at the eaves at this point and the historic plans show that an eastwards-facing fireplace existed at first floor level – serving the eastern chamber; and a similar arrangement may have existed on one or more of the levels above. While the RCAHMS suggest that the unusually thick masonry at the two lower levels in this area are of the original 16th century

construction on the floor above they suggest the masonry in this area to be of secondary, 17th century date. This is perhaps an inconsistency in their analysis.

At ground floor level there seems to have been no connection to the newel stair at the NE angle; the existing entrance at this point was formed during works in 1989. The ground floor level thus seems to have been a self-contained unit. It is possible it had even consisted of two units – perhaps a small commercial premises to the south, fronting on to the High Street, that may have also occupied the space beneath the galleries (perhaps a shop-front area below the gallery and a small stock-room and/or workshop behind), and a residential space within the rear part of the range, accessed separately off the pend and lit by windows further north within the east wall, one of which can still be seen though blocked, *plate 5*. There are two further windows within the west wall that must have overlooked the neighbouring close.



Plate 5 former window in the east wall of the rear range at ground floor level,

The residential area also preserves evidence for two fireplaces in the east wall – recorded in plan by the RCAHMS (see *figure 58* and the historic plans sequence, *section 8*).

3.3.3 First, second and third floors

The three levels above were of very similar plan. Each was accessed off the newel stair at the east end of the north wall and, if the RCAHMS is correct, each comprised three principal chambers. The chambers consisted of a kitchen occupying the rear part of the range, a hall within the front area that also included the oriel-gallery space on the south frontage, and a further small chamber to the SE.

Little now survives of the chambers to the SE other than their entrance arrangement and adjacent windows to their east side, *plates 2* and *3* above. Though their east and north walls have all gone (presumably dismantled when the existing NE jamb was built) these side chambers must have been comparatively narrow and must not have extended beyond the burgage plot boundary – i.e. they must have bridged the pend but could not have extended much further. As suggested above the wall that formed the west side of each of these SE chambers may have contained a fireplace at each level.

At each level the hall was the most commodious chamber, well-lit by means of the oriel to the south and a further window beyond the flues further north in the east wall. In the west wall was a small mural chamber – a wardrobe – and, further north, a substantial fireplace. The fireplace at first floor level is notable as an original chimneypiece with rounded arises to the jambs but with a mismatched recycled lintel above detailed with a narrow quirked roll, *plate 6*.



Plate 6 First floor room, west wall – early fireplace

The northern part of the range, beyond a framed partition wall, was occupied by a further chamber. This contained a substantial fireplace to the west and was lit by a window within the east wall. The RCAHMS suggest the north wall to have been an exterior wall and that the openings within would therefore have been windows. At present there is no possibility of examining the physical fabric to revisit these possibilities. If there had been a window at this point at first floor level then that would have an implication for the height of a range running off to the north.

If ever the harl is removed from the exterior of the north wall, or the linings from within, there may be revealed very significant new information about the former arrangement of the rear part of Gladstone's Land and, in particular, whether there is evidence that the apartments within the early range had originally extended further northwards than they do today. The existing north wall is likely of early date and, if so, would have formed a major feature from early on in the building's history – and it has always been assigned to the 16th century structure. It is flue-bearing and of considerable thickness and it also partly incorporates the common stair of stone turnpike construction on its east side. While the presence of a range running off to the north was known from historic sources and the visible wall stumps it seems to have been assumed by earlier architectural analyses that this had been a secondary construction and that the existing north wall was originally built as a rear gable wall – the RCAHMS show windows within it – rather than an internal sub-division within a longer range that continued further to the north.

In this respect the position of the stair is significant because it would be uncomfortably sited in relation to the wall if the latter had been a gable – it would have projected externally to the north. That the stair had been an internal feature is strongly suggested by the presence of small landings of double-

key width on its north side at each level (corresponding to the positions of the existing windows – see phase plan at each level, *section 8* and *plate 8*); these in turn imply an entrance into a chamber within the lost northern range in each case.

On this basis it would seem that the stair had always been internal to a range that surrounded it – thus implying that the north gable wall had always been an internal cross wall within a range (there is no evidence to suggest the stair itself was a secondary insertion). The position of the stair indicates it had been designed to provide access to chambers both to the south (as it continues to do) and to chambers within a lost part of the lost range extending to the north. What is not clear is whether the chambers to the north formed a further part of the main apartment at each level or whether there had been a sequence of further apartments that were independently planned. This question would be resolved if evidence for intercommunication between chambers was identifiable within the north wall. It would also have considerable implication for understanding the planning and function of each apartment and would require revision of the RCAHMS' proposed a three chamber arrangement as described at the beginning of this section.

3.3.4 Loft (fourth floor) and roof

Little or nothing can now be seen of the details of the early range at the uppermost levels. The existing roof structure is of sawn pine and likely dates to the works of the 1930s. The lower parts of the chimney that rises from the east wall appears to be of early construction (RCAHMS assign this to the 17th century). Internally the upper level is wholly covered, lined out with plasterboard or otherwise obscured by modern subdivisions. However the RCAHMS certainly regarded these upper areas as part of the early range rather than a secondary work.

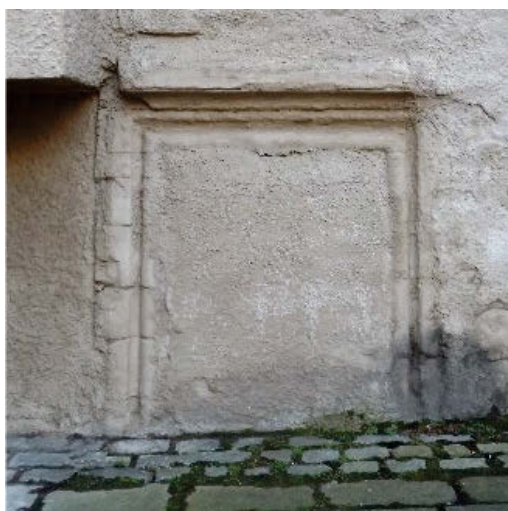


Plate 7. the part-buried entrance to the stair

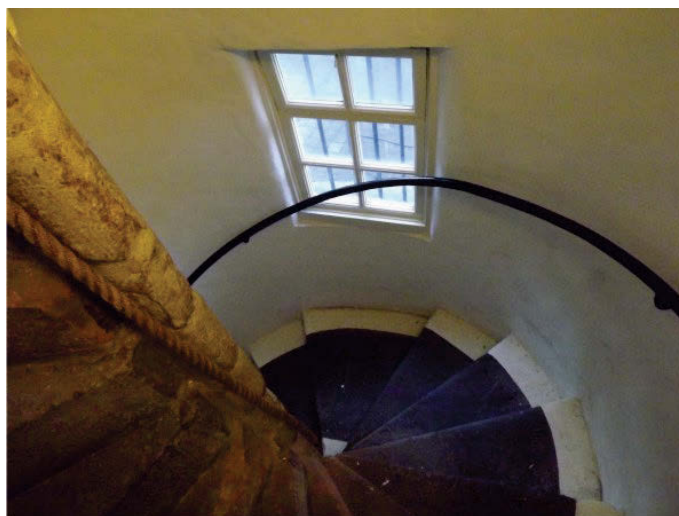


Plate 8. Stair interior showing landing implying an entrance on the north side

3.3.5 Elevation to the Close

Little now survives of the elevation to the close that relates to the early period, or it is otherwise mostly inaccessible – the elevation is now coated with cementitious harl. The northern parts of the wall are galleried out, work that the RCAHMS indicate to be 'infilling & modern' but which nonetheless exist on the ground floor plan of 1881. Whatever the dating of what survives now, the RCAHMS reconstruction plan of the typical upper level layout suggests solid masonry on the main wall line walling with windows within that. Possibly they were aware of specific evidence revealed in the 1930s to demonstrate this. However it may alternatively have been the case that there had been projecting elements such as galleries or enclosed bays – until the evidence can be re-visited this remains an open question.

3.3.6 Discussion

Whether the early range extended further northwards or not, what now remains demonstrates it to have been a well-constructed and intelligently designed single composition of some pretension. The building was probably conceived of from the first as a mixed commercial and residential property. The residential component was composed of a series of self-contained, well-appointed individual apartments or tenements, with those occupying the first, second and third floor levels of near identical plan and detail and of some status and comfort. The uppermost floor may have been similar in planning but a little less commodious, rising as it would have done up in to the eaves space. Ground floor level may also have contained residential premises to the rear but was likely to have been commercial at the street frontage, with a pend running to the east side through to the close. And it seems that the ground floor apartment may have been accessed from within the pend via a small vestibule. The lowest level was accessed directly off the close by a further entrance whose well detailed surround may perhaps suggest residential accommodation as well. As suggested the commercial premises fronting on to the High Street may have partly extended to the space beneath galleries and oriels projecting from the floors above. It is possible this space had been framed in rather than fully open and perhaps contained dismountable shutters and a booth-like configuration, possibly incorporating a counter, within. This might not be inconsistent with the arrangement illustrated for many of the properties along that side of the High Street, though at somewhat later date, in James Gordon of Rothiemay's view, *figure 59*. Rothiemay illustrates the majority of the lower frontages with what appear to be darker timber elements (shutters / timber frontages); only one or two are shown arcaded.

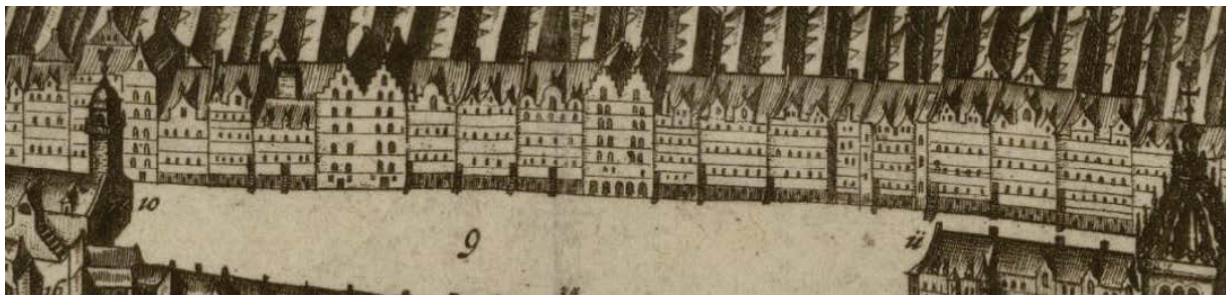


Figure 59 detail from James Gordon of Rothiemay "Plan de la Ville d'Edenbourg, capitale d'Ecosse", c.1647

Overall the early range incorporated within Gladstone's Land is an important survival, especially given its likely early date and as an example of intelligently designed tenement accommodation that maximises both residential comfort and the number of units possible and combines this with the commercial benefits of the High Street frontage. Though there is no specific documentation linked to the structure that indicates a construction date, its observable details would not be inconsistent with dating to the third or last quarters of the 16th century.

3.4 Early 17th century - I (c1620)

3.4.1 Introduction

The early range itself seems to have remained almost wholly unaltered at the second major phase of works. The principal impact was upon the galleried timber street frontage of the building. In a process that is demonstrated by evidence to be seen in many of the pend interiors along the High Street, the street frontage advanced often in a series of stages. This is a well-documented phenomenon in medieval and post-medieval European towns, referred to informally as *frontage creep*. It was an effect of increasing civic prosperity, rising property value, the wish to maximise commercial possibilities (both business and residential), and of increasing population density. Given the topographical constraints of Edinburgh's townscape this process was particularly acute along the High Street, with ever-increasing pressure to build upwards, to the rear, and forwards in to the street. In Edinburgh the process was largely regulated by civic ordnance and was orderly for the most part.

Gladstone's Land is one of the better surviving examples where the advance of the frontage can be seen. The process was sometimes informal – where projecting timber elements, balconies, booths, etc. gradually became formalised in more permanent materials, and at other times quite deliberate and controlled – with a major new street frontage line being established by the burgh.

3.4.2 The new frontage rooms

In the early 17th century the frontage of what was to become Gladstone's Land advanced very substantially in to the High Street, by some 5.6m - 5.8m (18'6") from which further galleries projected – overall to about 7.5m (approximately 24'6"). It is likely that this occurred in concert with properties on either side because the side walls were held in common and the access to pends and closes required coordinated planning. The work seems to have involved excavation of cellarge (presuming none had existed previously) that seems also to have included a new vaulted front cellar beneath the High Street itself, and certainly the RCAHMS assessed it all to be of this date.

The new side walls were flue-bearing and remains of substantial fireplaces are to be seen at first, second and third floor levels the west wall and at fourth floor level in the east side wall (there also seems to have been one at ground floor level in the east wall). Floor structures were formed between the side walls, of beam and board construction these remain well preserved and are fully exposed at ground, first, second and third floor levels. They are formed of multiple adze-square common joists of pine (at this period almost certainly imported from the Baltic). As the RCAHMS noted (1851, 75) the joists seem to have been inserted into the sockets vacated by the pre-existing jettied beams of the galleries formerly projecting from the north wall (the pre-existing frontage). Further south the beams were supported by a much more substantial transverse principal joist extending between projecting piers of ashlar. The same common joists extended over the principals for a further 1.75m – 2.0m (6') in order to support the framing of a timber galleried frontage. To the SW a stone newel stair rose within this space; the western principal-supporting pier was integral to the side wall of the stair.

3.4.3 The decorative painted interiors

The principal glory of Gladstone's Land are the painted interiors within the frontage rooms at first, second and third floor levels, although there are remnants of decoration also to be seen at the 4th floor level, on the fireplace lintel in the east wall of the frontage room and upon the masonry pier flanking the stair to the SW. Bath (2003) includes an entry on Gladstone's Land pp.242-3. It is reproduced in full as follows. It should be noted that only the upper two of the three painted ceilings were drawn in 1961 (see page 31).

Painted Chamber [first floor] Board-and-beam ceiling divided by a massive crossbeam, which marks the point at which Gledstane broke through the old outer wall to construct his new extension. Beams decorated on each side with arabesque leaf scrolls in white rectangular or lozenge-shaped compartments of alternating red and dark blue backgrounds. Underside of beams has repeated trailing tassel pattern in opposite directions on alternate beams. Underside of boards painted with fruit and flowers – apples, red and blue grapes, red and blue roses – and with white leaf forms including large, double acanthus-style leaves. Ceiling rests on painted frieze of trompe l'oeil arcading, not unlike that in the Earlshall long gallery, with classical pilasters and semicircular arches, outlined in black on white plaster with red infilling, and containing ornate vases filled with flowers.

Lecture Room [second floor] Board-and-beam ceiling. Beams have arabesque motifs, black on white, white on black or black/white on red; on the underside of the beams these are enclosed in rectangular compartments separated by square chamfered studs. Board sections alternate between fruit and flowers similar to those on first-floor ceiling, though with heavier swags of fruit including pears and gourds, and pseudo-architectural designs including a stacked column flanked by leaf scrolls, and a diagonally striped column between acanthus leaves. At two places the date '1620' is painted. Similar chamfered bosses to those on the crossbeams decorate the supporting beam on the

end wall, into which the crossbeams are mortised, whilst a similar beam in the opposite wall is painted with false arcading similar to that on the first floor, though no sign of the continuation of this arcading is now visible on the surrounding plaster.

Office [third floor] *Board-and-beam ceiling. Beams similar to those on second floor, divided again by a massive crossbeam, and including a row of six oval medallions featuring birds and animals. These include a phoenix, an ape, a standing hawk, a standing crested bird, a duck, and a crested eagle (?) with outspread wings. There are fragments of painted decoration on the plaster of the walls, notably another arcaded frieze above the present window recess.*

3.5 Early 17th century - II (c1631-5)

3.5.1 The frontage

The existing finely built street frontage of Gladstone's Land is the property's most characteristic feature and, in spite of some apparent anomalies in its construction, appears to be of a single period. On the basis of carved initials that appear on the frontage's skew-putt it seems likely to have been built by Thomas Glaidstaines following his purchase of the property in c.1631. It has been variously described, for example by the RCAHMS (1951),

At ground level there is a doublet arcade towards the street. On the W. direct access is given to the upper floors by a forestair, over which the whole corner of the tenement is carried on corbelling. From the first floor upwards the front is relieved by horizontal string-courses. In each tier are four windows, so arranged as to suggest a triple division within, except on the attic storey where the windows are contained in two gablets of unequal size. The roof has been truncated. The E. skew-putt bears the trademark of Glaidstanes, a saltire on a vertical stem, while his initials and those of his wife, B. C. for Bessie Cunningham, are carved on the W. one.

And by Gifford et. al. (1984),

Gladstone's front is a dramatically tall slab, only 7m across but of five stories and attic in height. Three windows linked by sill-courses, the r. two paired, with tiny additional windows for the stair at the l. The fourth floor windows rise into two unequal gablets pierced by generous openings to the attic, and all except the stair-bay is supported by a pair of round-headed arches with a circular central pier, restored by Mears in 1934-6. Curved forestair to the first-floor stair-door, the wall immediately over it carried out to full width by steep corbels following the line of the stair inside. Fixed leaded windows in the original checks, with shutters beneath, were restored in the first- and second-floor windows by Robert Hurd & Partners in 1979-80; more conjectural was their design for the timber shopfront set back behind the arcade.

There are a number of minor structural anomalies within the construction of the ashlar frontage that are symptomatic of its having been applied to an existing structure, *plates 9 and 10*. The western arch of the arcade, which is slightly narrower than its companion, has rather awkwardly detailed springings; there is a slight structural discontinuity in the masonry at the junction of the stair and the façade proper, possibly suggesting a two-staged construction process, the joisting of the first floor structure lies uncomfortably just below the level of the apexes of the arcade arches, the string course necessarily steps up at second floor level to avoid a stair window and internally there are slight inconsistencies between levels in the detailing of the timberwork at the junction of the floor structures with the new frontage.

The construction of the frontage necessitated the removal of the outer, southern walling of the turnpike stair to the southwest. The actual junction is no longer apparent, now covered by modern plaster; however the RCAHMS reported that much of the curvature of the stair wall was a rebuild – in its entirety to the south and most of its east side – and that this explains its existing plan which is slightly ovoid. To support the piers of the arcade an octagonal pier was run down through the pre-existing

cellar vault and further masonry elements were added along the frontage line; the western pier of the arcade must have been supported by a corbelling arrangement, this formed above vault level.



Plate 9. The first and second floor levels of the street facade



Plate 10. The ground floor arcade



Plate 11. The upper part of the street frontage

3.5.2 Ships' timbers

The RCAHMS also observed

In the course of the operation [to rebuild the frontage and incorporate the pre-existing stair] old ship-timbers were used to support the overhanging parts; and these curved "grown timbers" were so suitable for the purpose they have been allowed to remain in the masonry

They also speculated, a little too freely, that the ship timbers may have been of sufficient age to have come, via the breakers-yard, from one of James IV's naval vessels. Following their rediscovery two of these timbers were left exposed within the curvature of the stairwell wall within the restored interiors. Their curvature indicates them to have been ribs from a small- to medium-sized vessel. Each timber displays multiple drilled trenail holes for affixing external hull boarding, the number of holes suggesting repeated renewal of the latter during the course of the vessel's life. The timbers appear to be of oak.

3.5.3 Forestair

The existing exterior forestair rising from ground to first floor level seems to be entirely of secondary construction in its present as demonstrated by the historical evidence that has already been discussed, *section 2.4*, above. This must obviously overlie the site of a predecessor structure.

3.6 The NE jamb (early- to mid-18th century)

3.6.1 General

The NE jamb appears somewhat anomalous in its now-reduced form. Having had its 'surplus' upper stories removed and a flat roof installed in the late 1930s, it has lost much of its proportion and correct detailing. However the extent, internal planning and much of the form of the missing upper stories and roof-scape are recorded in Wilson Patterson's as-existing drawing set of 1934 shortly before their removal.

The jamb is rubble-built and clearly incorporated much recycled material, presumably from a predecessor range upon the site or nearby. The lower quoining of the NE angle is formed in part of narrow stones of 16th or 17th century character that misleadingly suggest the possibility of the incorporation of pre-existing structural elements, though in this case it is the individual stones that seem to be recycled. The masonry fabric of the jamb is actually for the most part of 18th century date – the surviving large windows of 18th century character do not appear to be insertions. However the range likely does incorporate some earlier fabric, especially within the western parts of its southern wall internally. However the proportions of the jamb, the size and arrangement of its windows and its other details are all consistent with it being new-built in the 18th century. Documentary evidence suggests its construction occurred sometime after 1723 (RCAHMS, 1951, 76).

The formation of this jamb represented a clear improvement of the accommodation though slightly unusual in that its construction clearly involved encroachment across the long-established burgage plot boundary to the east, presumably by individual purchase and most probably involving the demolition of whatever structure had formerly existed on the site, likely part or all of the uppermost of the rear ranges running down from the adjacent frontage range. The advantage of this initiative was clear. By the removal of the pre-existing building the upper part of the back-land was opened-up between the two closes to form a court that admitted better light and circulation of air, and in turn permitted the creation of well appointed, well-lit chambers at the principal levels of the new jamb – especially at first and second floor levels. These chambers would thus have constituted a major extension of and improvement to the accommodation within Gladstone's Land.

As a localised re-planning initiative within the historic townscape it perhaps echoes more ambitious schemes whereby the cramped and claustrophobic closes were beginning to be opened up by the formation of courts and more modern ideas of comfort were being introduced, beginning with the great tenement block development of Milne's Court (at 513 Lawnmarket a little to the west of Gladstone's Land) of c.1690 whose interiors were well lit and well-appointed and, like the first floor chamber at Gladstone's Land, lined with decorative pine panelling, plastered ceilings, and featured other refinements, panelled doors, press cupboards, and the like.

3.7 Later modifications, mainly 19th century

Extensive reworking, re-planning and subdivision of the interiors is evident from Wilson Patterson's survey drawing set of 1934. The majority are comparatively minor works, additions or insertions and the fundamental underlying fabric of the earlier structure remained unaltered. Much of this later intervention was clearly regarded by the 1930s as diminishing the important historic significance of the primary phases of work and a symptom of decline to slum-like conditions. The works of the 1930s saw their extensive removal and some reversal of individual impacts – i.e. restoration. So the survival of these features or evidence for them is now largely minimal or incidental.

3.8 Remodeling the rear elevation (c.1900)

Up to the end of the 19th century the north-facing rear elevation at the down-slope end of the existing structure was no elevation at all. What is viewed now is the product of the demolition of the buildings continuing northwards within the burgage plot. In typical fashion these had consisted of ranges fronting to the close that successively stepped down the slope of the hill towards the Nor' Loch. Only

the very upper stage of the existing 'north elevation' had ever been visible externally hitherto, this indicated by the apparent evidence for an historic roof line running in on the side of the turnpike stair.

In the wake of the demolition, which must have occurred between c.1881 and about 1900 (see historical evidence, *section 2.4*, above), the newly exposed rear gable wall of Gladstone's Land was clearly an inelegant truncation with the stubs of the principal walls still evident. While the elevation still remains a rather awkward composition, a serious attempt was made to improve its appearance, this presumably shortly after the demolition. It is apparent from the 1881 plan that the stair tower entrance at the NE angle had originally given directly on to the close to the east. The remodelling and making-good of the elevation involved the recasting of the original stone turnpike stair. The stair had formed a common access to the rear rooms of the upper levels of Gladstone's Land (the existing building) and, perhaps, also to chambers within the first part of the demolished range to the north. The stair was remodelled to form the appearance of a traditionally detailed projecting stair tower. The intervention included re-siting of the stair entrance on the north side, providing it with a new ostentatiously detailed surround, and the formation of a sequence of new narrow stair lights also on the north side, these in addition to the existing windows at each level to the east, *plate 12*. These newly inserted masonry features were formed of neatly cut ashlar set self-consciously proud of the surrounding wall face which was harled and whitewashed. Attempt was made to make the best of other anomalies of the frontage by the insertion of baronial detailing also formed in ashlar, particularly the corbel table mid-way up to the west of the stair tower on the western side.



Plate 12. The inserted entrance of c.1900 to the NE stair

In the absence of early photographic coverage and with the presence of the all-enveloping harl the detailed analytical evidence embodied within the underlying masonry fabric is largely obscured. It is thus difficult to deduce a very detailed understanding of this part of the range. Clearly significant historic fabric still survives that pre-dates the remodelling works of c.1900.

3.9

4.0 Significance

4.1 Introduction

In 2006 a statement of significance was written for the 2003-2006 Property Statement. Though it is unreferenced, it is clear that it is based on a good understanding of the building. Importantly, the Historic Scotland Paintings Conservator of the time, Fiona Allardyce, contributed to the section on the painted decorations, one of the key significances of the building.

The statement has been updated and extended with the additional understanding of the building established in this report. The statement as it stands is treated as a quote below, in italics. Additional paragraphs on the aspects of significance derived from the twentieth-century acquisition and restorations by the National Trust for Scotland are not in italics. One paragraph under 'Visitor Interest', concerning the interpretation of the bar parlour, has been deleted as the interpretation has changed and it was no longer relevant.

4.2 Statement

Gladstone's Land is of outstanding national significance as an exceptionally early and well preserved survival of a characteristically Scottish domestic architectural type – the tall tenement. While other tenements along the Royal Mile mostly contain some early fabric and preserve some of the flavour of a post-medieval streetscape, most have been altered, refronted and internal layouts reworked. What makes Gladstone's Land so special is the degree to which both in internal layout and decoration, and in the main street elevation, it remains an authentic survival in comparison to the much-changed buildings all around it. It is thus one of the few surviving examples anywhere in Scotland which is able to give physical shape to the changes that were brought about by the urban development trends of the late sixteenth century. Internally, the surviving room layouts and painted decoration is of high national importance. Today Gladstone's Land provides an opportunity for visitors to explore and understand the development of the Old Town experienced through a single building and the property is a key player in the city's tourism market.

Summary

The following paragraphs elaborate upon the significance of Gladstone's.

The outstanding heritage feature of Gladstone's Land is the quality of the building itself, combined with its early date. While similar buildings are known from drawings or survive in altered form, Gladstone's is certainly the earliest and most complete survival in Scotland of this type of tall, narrow-fronted dormer-gabled tenement.

Cultural Heritage
Building Style

In particular, Gladstone's boasts rare and early survivals of an arcaded ground floor and a very early example of a dressed stone frontage (timber or part timber build was usual until the later 17th century); both features indicate a building of considerable status and advanced architectural taste. Gladstone's original curved forestair, which leads directly from the street to the first floor, is less rare, but is of considerable importance because of the physical evidence it provides of the building's comparatively early design.

In addition, few other early urban tenement buildings retain comparable potential for understanding how such properties actually functioned under divided (possibly multiple) ownership and occupation. The early development of the flatted interior is a key social and legal feature of the Scottish urban tradition and Gladstone's is a key witness to that process. It is recognised that the Trust does not know enough about this and other

aspects of the development of Gladstone's Land (including information about the parts of the building that have been demolished) and that a programme of research is vital to our understanding of the significance of this building.

There is cultural-heritage significance in the way that the building was acquired and restored several times in the twentieth century by The National Trust for Scotland working with leading experts, conservators and eminent conservation architects. There is significance in the fact that Gladstone's Land was one of the earliest properties purchased for the Trust's portfolio; this is important because the evidence shows that though the Trust recognised that the building was of significance as a structure, they were intending to restore it mainly as housing for the vulnerable elderly and as commercial premises, rather than as a museum. This understanding provides an insight into the Trust's attitude towards conservation of the historic environment in the 1930s, in the wake of the housing acts of the 1930s (see Watters & Glendinning, 2006, p.14).

Conservation

The way that the Trust restored the building in the 1930s and in the 1980s is also significant, as is the preservation of a wealth of associated documentation in various repositories, particularly the Trust's own archive and the Stenhouse material held by Historic Scotland. Since the late twentieth century there has been international dialogue on the terminology used when working with historic buildings; undoubtedly the Trust has done more 'restoration' than 'conservation' in its ownership of Gladstone's, i.e. re-instating elements that have been lost and removing other elements, rather than retaining fabric that existed. This is typical of contemporary 1930s and 1980s approaches to historic buildings and Gladstone's Land can be seen as a living example of these changes in approach during the twentieth century (and will continue to evolve).

Thus the conservation history of Gladstone's Land has evolved over a period of more than eighty years, is of outstanding significance in its own right and is a fundamental component of the story of the conservation movement in Scotland.

An important defining feature of Gladstone's is its narrow frontage and towering seven storey façade (including basement). This is a lasting demonstration of how the designs of urban buildings in Scotland have been constrained by the widths of the medieval "lands" or "rigs" on which they were built – in this case almost certainly reflecting a traditional module of seven ells (approximately 22 feet) in a layout of property boundaries which probably goes back to the Middle Ages, well beyond the date of any standing structure on the site - and how, in the face of growing economic and urban development pressures, tall street frontages and a warren of backlands development ensued. While people can read about such developments in history books, at Gladstone's they can actually experience some of their physical reality. Its contribution to the outstanding universal value of this part of the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site is therefore immense.

Streetscape

Gladstone's also makes an important contribution to the Royal Mile; a streetscape characterised in the 17th-18th centuries by the tallest series of urban domestic buildings in Europe. Today the Royal Mile is still perceived as a mediaeval street, although it actually consists of mostly 18th

and 19th century facades. Gladstone's is a typical example of the house type that originally predominated, and so aids understanding of the Mile's earlier appearance. Aesthetically and architecturally remarkable, it remains a significant city landmark, a role it has fulfilled since its construction. The building is reasonably well documented and illustrated, which adds to our understanding of the building and its social and economic history.

The interiors are of high national significance, because of the large amount of surviving original features. These include original sixteenth century chimneypieces and a surviving panelled room in the later (18th century) south jamb of the building.

Interiors

But the most significant interior features are the painted walls and ceilings of the first, second and third floor front rooms, which are of a standard and quality which bear comparison with the best of other urban properties in Scotland. Though not now on the scale of some of the grandest examples in the country, sufficient traces of painted decoration survive to show that there was a complete suite of such work in every important room throughout the building and to give a valuable insight into the fashionable interior decoration of the day (the second floor ceiling being dated 1620) – representative of a large body of work that has been lost. On the first floor, the combination of ceiling and mural decoration is probably unique among Scottish town houses.

Painted Decoration

While the survival of painted ceilings is rare, but not exceptionally so, to find both wall and ceiling paintings of a single scheme at Gladstone's is exceptionally rare and provides valuable evidence of the heavily patterned interior decoration of the day. The arcaded frieze on the inner wall, possibly belonging to a different decorative phase from the ceilings, is thought to be a very early trompe l'oeil imitation of plasterwork carried out both at Winton House in East Lothian and also for James VI and I at Edinburgh Castle. The Gladstone's frieze is almost contemporary with these very early examples of ornamental plasterwork in Scotland and ranks alongside them in the forefront of this new fashion.

While Gladstone's Land has seen repeated modification, much conservation intervention and historic reworking it nonetheless retains very considerable historic fabric, a broad repertoire of vernacular constructional detail and a wealth of further features that are inaccessible, covered up or, without any doubt, still to be discovered. In general terms the understanding of the building history of Gladstone's Land is far from complete and the archaeological potential of its upstanding fabric is outstanding.

Archaeological

There are very many individual areas of the fabric where future opening-up would reveal important new information about the planning, details and function of the structure and, particularly, its interior spaces, and even recently new areas of painted interior decoration have been identified. Similarly there are individual aspects of the fabric that have great potential for focussed studies, such as an assessment of the incorporated ships' timbers, a general dendrochronological study, and so on.

The archaeological potential of buried deposits within the cellar areas and in the immediate vicinity of Gladstone's Land is considerable, particularly in relation to understanding the origins and earlier history of the upstanding

fabric. The potential for significant information relating to the details of the lost range running off to the north is judged to be particularly high. However, given the typical extent of terracing-in to the hillside that occurred along the High Street it is doubtful whether substantial remains of pre-existing structures or occupation deposits would be recoverable.

Gladstone's offers visitors a unique experience of real Edinburgh - an insight into the story of its origins and a perspective on the day to day life of domestic Edinburgh. It is the oldest inhabited vernacular building open to the public in Edinburgh and offers an opportunity to see inside and to understand the buildings in the Royal Mile and explore the soul of the Old Town. For example, it is thought that in Scotland there are only 23 painted ceilings within buildings that are open to the public and Gladstone's, being amongst the most accessible of these, gives visitors an important opportunity to appreciate this and other features.

Visitor Interest

The contents in the house have no association with it, having been assembled to bring the property alive for the visitor and offer an impression of 17th century Old Town tenement life. This is supplemented by occasional costumed guides.

...

Gladstone's Land can be read as a historical timeline document. As well as the importance of the building itself, there are a number of documented stories of some of the occupants, which add interest, as well as understanding of how the building functioned. Survey and study of its building and social history and layers of alterations have the potential to improve current knowledge of post mediaeval buildings in Scotland.

Education

The property supports a strong and extensive schools education programme offering a sophisticated visit package based on replica costumes, a guided tour and object handling. This generates a lot of repeat visits including regular visits from local schools.

An important feature of Gladstone's is that it is still functioning much as it did when built, with a mix of residential and business use. This sense of life is crucial to its modern social significance and to its ability to offer a direct link to the story of its historical use.

Social & Economic

Gladstone's is a significant player in Edinburgh's visitor attraction market and contributes to the city's tourist economy. Its prime location on the Royal Mile, en route to the castle, gives it significant potential to the Trust as a tourist draw and source of income generation.

The property is supported by a large group of enthusiastic local volunteers. Overall however, Gladstone's significance to the local residential community is very low, having greater affinity with the visiting tourist community in Edinburgh.

5.0 Conclusion

5.1 General

The present project afforded the unusual opportunity to carry out a comprehensive review of the understanding of the evolution and history of one of Scotland's most significant historic urban structures. The work has been important in drawing together for the first time varied historical sources held in a variety of archives and repositories and to consider them as a whole.

Generally the study of the physical fabric of the building was hampered by the extent to which historic fabric is now covered up. However this limitation was to a considerable extent off-set by the richness of historical sources and earlier records relating to the understanding of the building.

What has emerged is a better understanding of the earlier history of the building, this study proposing some new interpretations and highlighting areas where investigation might considerably advance that understanding in the future. This study has also permitted a detailed review of the often complex and convoluted conservation history of the building which, carried out intermittently over a period of eighty years, now constitutes one of the principal significances of the structure in its own right, reflecting changing attitudes to conservation, reuse and public interpretation.

5.2 Recommendations

An important aspect of the present study was to consider what future measures might be taken to further improve the understanding and record of the building. Given the time pressure and resources available for the present project it was only possible to carry out targeted new survey and assessment work.

5.2.1 Survey and record

The following additional work is recommended as a follow-on stage that would be aimed at bringing the overall record up to the standard of a comprehensive Historic Building Survey, such as that carried out by the NTS at Brodick Castle, for example. Further works might thus include,

- Comprehensive photographic record of the building, fully catalogued
- Completion of full room-by-room survey drawings, digitised
- Specific additional detailed recording works might include the following areas:
 - . first floor painted ceiling – reflected ceiling plan concentrating on a record of the painted decoration (strongly recommended)
 - . systematic recording coverage of the sides of the common joists of the painted ceiling structures at first, second and third floor levels
 - . 4th floor frontage rooms
 - . detailed drawn record of other exposures of early decorative schemes – e.g. 4th floor frontage room
 - . the roof structures
- Context record / database – consider whether this would be of value for general coverage of the building; certainly recommended for the principal historic interiors
- Specialist assessment of timbers -
 - . ships' timbers within the stairwell – maritime specialist
 - . a programme of dendrochronological assessment, species identification, etc.
 - . review of whether further historic timbers, e.g. safe lintels, floor structures, etc., exist elsewhere within the building
- Monitoring of new invasive building works and associated enhancement of existing records for the building as and when the opportunity arises

5.2.2 Future targeted investigations

There are a number of areas within the building where targeted investigation would beneficially address particular issues about the building's analytical history. These include parts of the cellar area, particularly the walling between the frontage rooms and the rear rooms, and the corresponding wall section above at ground floor level.

The historic arrangements of the ground floor frontage area and how it may have originally functioned as a commercial space seem to be comparatively little understood; any investigation of this area, particularly of the early masonry fabric behind the modern linings, has the potential to offer important new evidence.

The rear gable elevation of the structure generally will contain very important information relating to the history and understanding of the planning of the 16th century building – how it related to the lost northwards-running range and whether there was intercommunication through the existing wall. Much would be revealed by removal of external harl, or by selective investigation of features within this wall section seen internally.

The understanding of the 16th century building would also be improved if evidence were revealed relating to its eastern frontage rooms, particularly to confirm the width of the room by establishing the position of its east wall. Evidence for the return of the east wall may still survive within the existing south wall of the east wing at basement level and at first floor level (the panelled room) and above.

Further opportunity to examine the junction of the existing masonry frontage with the c.1620 structure might be targeted; this would also include identification of phasing breaks in the area of the masonry newel stair to the SW.

5.2.3 Ongoing documentary research

There are clearly further historical sources for Gladstone's Land that exist that it was not possible to consult within the remit of the present report. In particular a more comprehensive review of sources relating to the earlier ownership and occupancy history could be very usefully commissioned. Edinburgh's Dean of Guild records will almost certainly contain considerably more material relating to the development of the physical fabric of the structure, particularly for the periods where the records are as yet uncatalogued, which would include the earlier two centuries of the existence of Gladstone's Land. Some significant additional historical material was identified within the NTS' own archive at a late stage in the present project, including a collection of slides taken during the NTS' various repair works to the building in the mid-later 20th century. It was not possible to assess these for the present report.

Further research into the occupancy and ownership of Gladstone's Land would constitute an individually worthwhile study in social history, this a particularly attractive prospect because historical information can be closely related to the understanding of the physical fabric and the evolution of its planning over such a long period.

5.2.4 Oral history

There is a great resource of personal knowledge of Gladstone's Land within the NTS, both present staff and staff now retired. A very useful exercise might be to gather such knowledge, where it is still available, for posterity.

6.0 Selected Sources

6.1 Extract from 'The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland'

The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland from the twelfth to the eighteenth century

David MacGibbon & Thomas Ross, 1887-92, volume IV extract. For accompanying sketch, see Figure 2.

EDINBURGH

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FOURTH PERIOD

GLADSTONE'S LAND, LAWNMARKET.

We have in this lofty tenement (Fig. 1044) an example of the stone-fronted houses which came to be erected in the seventeenth century after the projecting wooden galleries had been abandoned. This stone elevation forms a striking contrast to the timber-fronted house adjoining, of which a part is seen in the Sketch.* The outside stair to the first floor still remains, with a corbelled stair-head, recalling the form of the similar one constructed in wood at Mary of Guise's House (*ante*, p. 418). From the first floor level a wheel-stair with small windows conducts (as in the older plans) to the upper stories. The building is six stories above the street, including two floors of attics in the roof, thus necessitating the lofty gablets, with two tiers of windows, which were common about the time. It will be observed that although crow-steps are still used on the main gable, the gablets have plain skews. These are surmounted with the almost universal ornaments of the thistle and fleur-de-lis. After the union of the crowns the rose was conjoined with these national emblems in situations where three finials were needed.

This house, according to Sir D. Wilson, was erected by Thomas Gladstone, a merchant burgher of Edinburgh, in 1631. On a shield below the crow-steps of the west gable are the initials T. G. and B. G., while in a similar position on the east gable is carved a device which is probably the trade mark of the proprietor. This house is referred to in a writ of 1634 as "Gladstone's Land."†

HOUSE OPPOSITE GLADSTONE'S LAND.

This is another house (Fig. 1045) with stone front and lofty dormers like the above. An archway gives access from the street to the courtyard behind, while a central door on the street level admits to the wheel-stair, the small windows of which are seen all the way to the top. The front is finished with attics and dormers similar to those of Gladstone's Land. The structure on the right in the Sketch shows a later form, in which all reminiscence of the Scottish style is lost, and the contorted skews of the Renaissance are introduced.

* The timber-fronted house has been taken down while these pages were passing through the press.

† Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 285.

6.2 Extract from RCAHMS Inventory

An inventory of the ancient and historical monuments of the City of Edinburgh with the thirteenth report of the Commission, RCAHMS, 1951.

PLATE 69.



FIG. 210.—Edinburgh Castle (No. 1); the Well-House Tower.



FIG. 209.—Gladstone's Land (No. 14).

To face p. 72.

PLATE 70.

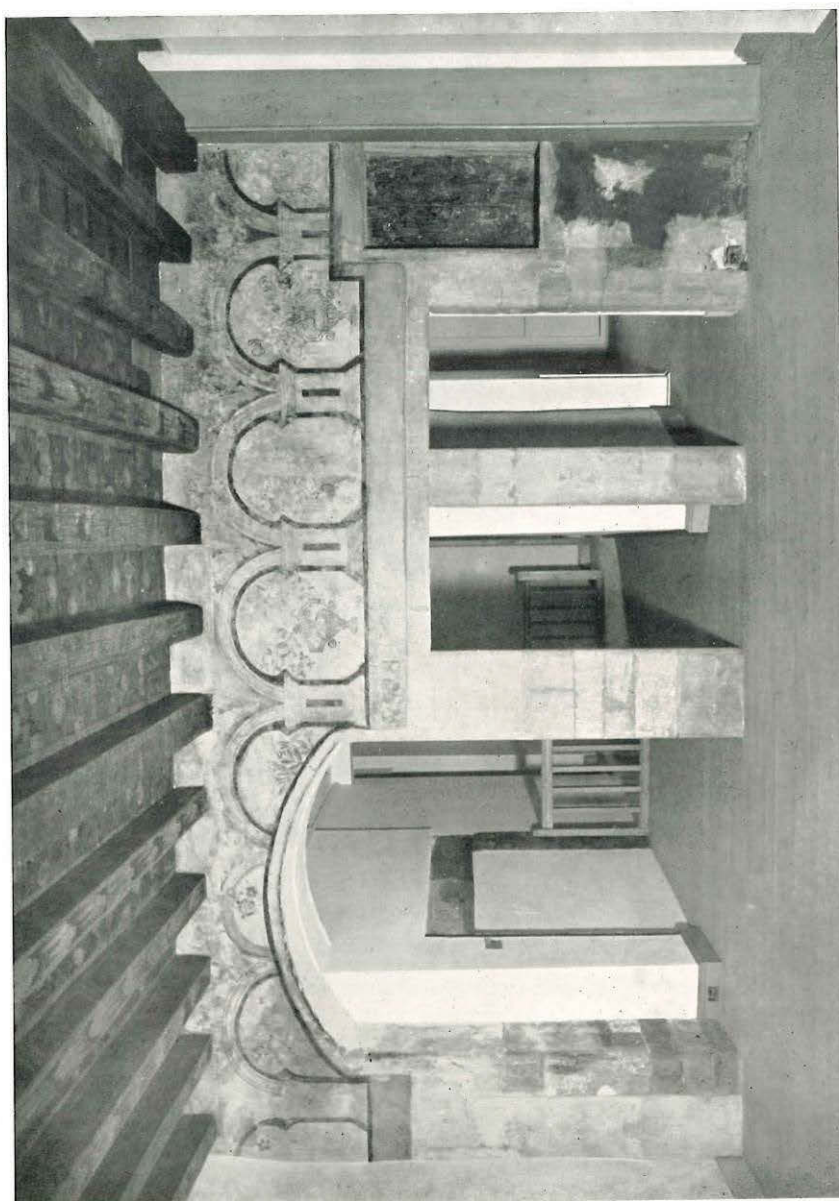


FIG. 211.—Gladstone's Land (No. 14); interior of room on first floor.

PLATE 71.

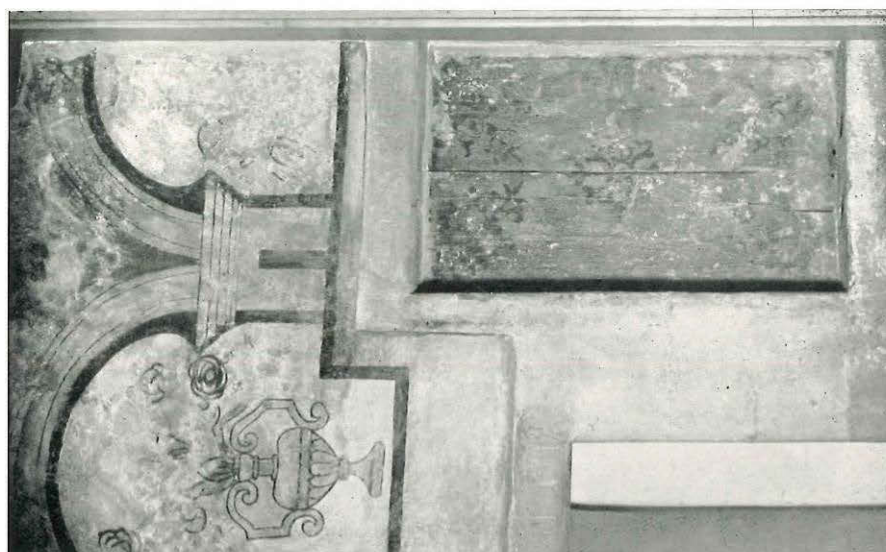


FIG. 213.—Decorated frieze.

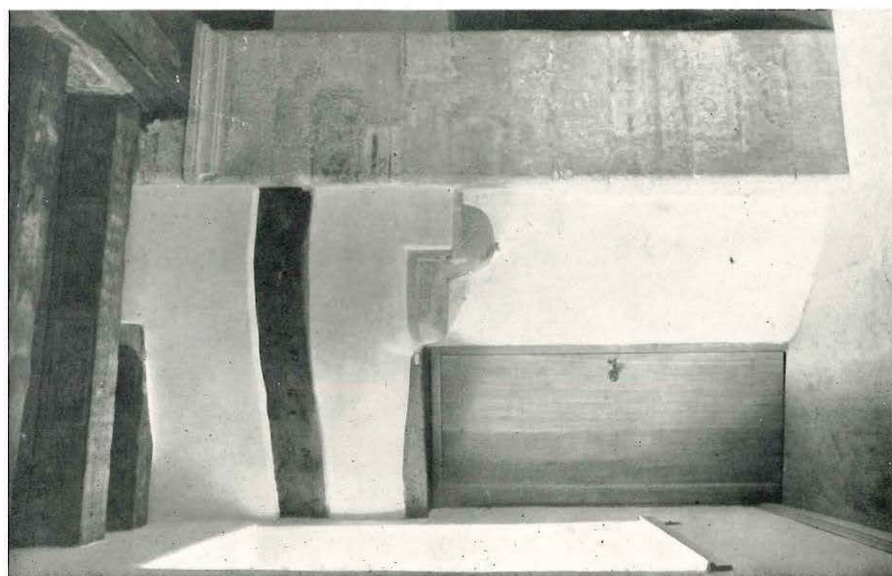


FIG. 212.—Door to stair.

GLADSTONE'S LAND (No. 14).

PLATE 72.



FIG. 214.—Painted ceiling.

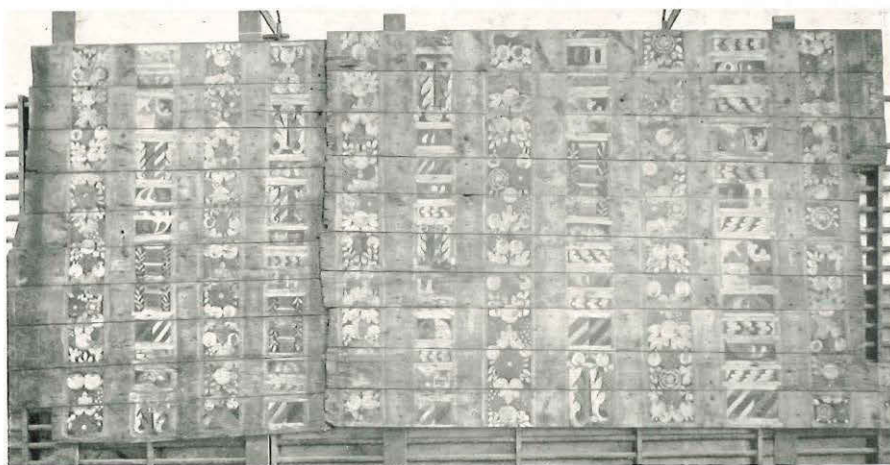


FIG. 215.—Boarding of painted ceiling.

GLADSTONE'S LAND (No. 14).

from the Court. Some of them still have panelled rooms of the early and later parts of the 18th century.

To the S. of Brownhill's building stands an older tenement, much altered and recently harled, which has an irregularly-shaped stair-tower projecting from

(Fig. 209), standing on the N. side of the street and extending at the back into James' Court, takes its name from Thomas Gladstones,* burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh, who became its proprietor in 1631.¹ In 1934 it was acquired by the National

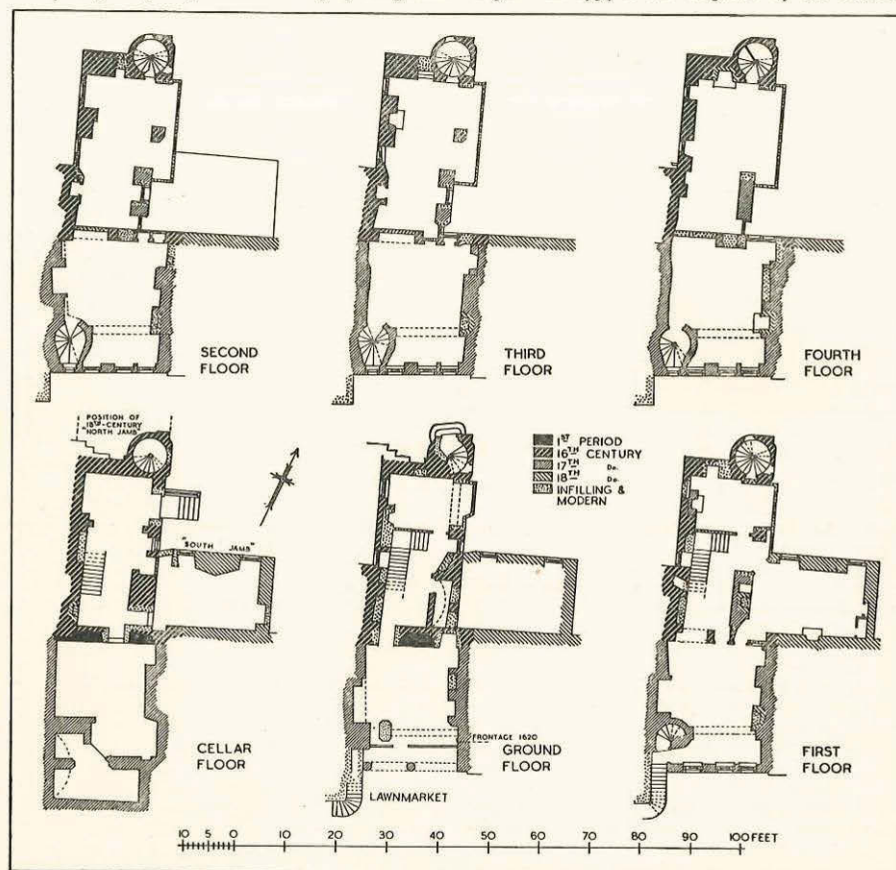


FIG. 225.—Gladstone's Land (No. 14).

its N. end, and what may have been a stair-turret projecting from half-way up its W. wall.

¹ O.E.C., iii, p. 247. ² Drummond, *Old Edinburgh*, pl. vi.

14. Gladstone's Land, 483-489 Lawnmarket.—This dignified ashlar-fronted building

Trust for Scotland. It has a special interest as being the last building left in Edinburgh with an arcaded front. Such fronts were a development from the overhanging timber galleries, sometimes corbelled out and sometimes supported on wooden posts, with which so many mediæval houses in Edinburgh were provided (see p. lxx). When

* His descendant, Sir John Gladstone, dropped the final "s" in 1835 by Royal License (*Burke's Peerage*).

these galleries came to be rebuilt in stone and lime, as was done from the end of the 16th century onwards, proprietors were required to preserve the passageway that ran below the galleries, and the new stone fronts were accordingly supported upon open arcades which left room for pedestrians behind them. Thus, while the upper storeys were extended to the new building-line, the front of the street floor was from 4 ft. to 10 ft. inside it.

Gladstone's Land has a frontage of 23 ft. 6 in. and a depth of 63 ft., the latter divided unequally into two major divisions by a stout transverse wall which rises from the cellar to the attic through the four main storeys. At the street and cellar levels a section of rough masonry was visible in the portion of the wall that is marked in solid black in Fig. 225; this may or may not have been the last vestige of the N. or back wall of an early house but, in any case, in the time of James VI the wall, whatever it is, presumably repaired at the base and rebuilt from the first floor upwards, became the S. or front wall of a new building which survives to-day as the back portion of the existing tenement. There may have been another building between it and the Lawnmarket, but for this there is no evidence. So far as can be ascertained, the 16th-century building was oblong on the ground floor but L-shaped above, the wing having perhaps been supported on posts, and contained four main storeys reached from a newel-stair, still extant as a projection from the N. end but at one time incorporated in a low range which ran as far N. as Lady Stair's House. From its front wall projected tiers of wooden balconies, one on every floor above the street level, each of which was enclosed at one end to make an oriel window communicating with the room behind through an archway. On each of the upper floors there is evidence for two rooms at the S. end of the building and for one at the N. end, so that the accommodation in each house probably consisted of hall, "chamber" and kitchen.



FIG. 225.—
Gladstone's Land
(No. 14); 16th-century
arrangement.

In the year 1620 the galleries were removed and the building was extended 18 ft. 6 in. S. towards the street, providing an extra room upon each of the upper floors and a shop below. In the course of the restoration of 1936 the ceiling-joists of the front

apartment on the street floor were found to run right through the 16th-century wall on the N., that is to say, the upper part of this wall seemed to have been built upon the top of the joists, a circumstance held to rule out the possibility of the wall having once been an external one, as suggested above. There was no point in giving the ceiling-joists more than the customary wall-hold of from 10 inches to 1 foot, whereas the joists of a balcony might quite well have been carried right through the wall, as cantilevers. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the balcony-joists were withdrawn and ceiling-joists inserted in their places in 1620. The new rooms were evidently of importance, and were presumably halls. The new front had timber galleries overhanging the street floor, and a newel-stair of stone at the W. side.

When the new owner acquired the property in 1631 he replaced the wooden front by the present stone one, with the arcade upon which it rests. He had to take down the outer half of the staircase and rebuild it to suit his front, which accounts for the staircase being egg-shaped and not circular on plan. In the course of the operation old ship-timbers* were used to support the overhanging parts; and these curved "grown timbers" were so suitable for the purpose that they have been allowed to remain in the masonry. The design of the stone front suggests that it was then proposed to shut a lobby off from the front room of 1620 upon each floor. In that event every flat would have contained five compartments while the street floor would have had a shop in front and a dwelling-house of three rooms at the back, all resting on a cellarage which was divided into four compartments. Evidently one flat was reserved for the proprietor himself² and presumably he let the rest; his accommodation was thus at least equal to that of James Johnston, a neighbour on the W., who had a hall with a chamber at one end and a kitchen at the other, a loft above and two cellars below.³ The alterations just described were probably completed by 1634.† As late as 1733, the date of the earliest title extant, the premises were still in the hands of the Gladstones family and were then ruinous. Half a century earlier the N. half of the building had been remodelled internally. Rooms were divided up, pine-panelling was introduced, fireplaces and windows were closed up and others opened out to suit the re-arrangement.

The back portion of the building, as has been said, was certainly oblong on the ground floor, but above that level the easternmost of the two rooms at the S. end may have projected E. of the main E. wall in a timber construction. Something of the

* The ship from which they came, being old enough in 1631 to be fit only for the breakers' yard, may have formed part of the navy of James IV.

† In that year the city was divided into sixteen "companies," of which the second was to terminate at Thomas Gladstones' land.

sort is suggested by the plan, and moreover, a structure in such a position, standing back to back with a timber house facing the Lawnmarket in the position presently occupied by the premises numbered 479, is on record in a title of 1755. It appears that the structure in question was replaced, at some time after 1723, by a wing which the deed speaks of as "the new south jamb" and which stood at right angles to Gladstone's Land looking out on a little court situated on the S. side of Lady Stair's House. The lower part of the "new south jamb" still exists, but a corresponding "north jamb," which ran N. from Gladstone's Land to Lady Stair's House, was taken down some years ago. The accommodation of the entire third floor is given in 1733 as six "fire-rooms"—that is to say habitable rooms with fireplaces—in addition to a kitchen and a cellar. Further subdivision took place later and, when the National Trust acquired the property, there were twelve compartments upon the first floor, five in the part facing to the front, four towards the back and three in the E. wing. Under the direction of Sir F. C. Mears, P.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., who acted in consultation with the architects of H.M. Office of Works, a scheme of restoration was drawn up having for its object the laying bare of as much of the earlier parts of the fabric as was compatible with putting the place to practical use. As the scheme took shape the front portion of the building was opened out to show the arrangement of 1620 and was placed in direct communication with the first floor of the wing, which in its turn illustrates the treatment of the 18th century; while in the upper part of the back portion three small dwelling-houses were formed for working-class tenants, who enter by the N. staircase. For the purpose of the present description, however, these dwelling-houses have been omitted from the plan (Fig. 225), which shows the back portion of the house as a skeleton and makes clear the arrangement that now obtains in front.

At ground level there is a doublet arcade towards the street. On the W. direct access is given to the upper floors by a forestair, over which the whole corner of the tenement is carried on corbelling. From the first floor upwards the front is relieved by horizontal string-courses. In each tier are four windows, so arranged as to suggest a triple division within, except on the attic storey where the windows are contained in two gables of unequal size. The roof has been truncated. The E. skew-put bears the trademark of Glaidstanes, a saltire on a vertical stem, while his initials and those of his wife, B. C. for Bessie Cunningham, are carved on the W. one.

As the site fell away to the N. the back cellars were partly above ground. In course of time soil accumulated to a depth of at least 3 ft., and accordingly

the back door, which had opened directly from James' Court into the E. side of the 16th-century D-shaped stair-tower projecting from the back gable, was built up and replaced by another, which was higher up and on the N. side of the stair-tower. The back gable, the projecting stair-tower and the W. side of the house are stone-built throughout, but from the second floor upwards the exposed part of the E. side is of timber and plaster. From time to time the back gable has been altered, and it was partially restored early in the present century.

The cellarage, which originally comprised five intercommunicating compartments entered by the doorway at the S.W. corner of the court, has been opened up of recent years. The present entrance at the N. end of the E. wall of the back portion is not original, and it replaces the one that the E. addition blocked up. Beside it is a built-up window, while the opposite or W. wall, which is recessed in two places beneath stout arches, contains a late fireplace. The featureless compartment beneath the shop has one corner cut off to carry the front newel-stair above, and opens on the S. into a vaulted cellar beneath the pavement. The cellar of the E. addition has two windows to the N., beside which there is said to be a fireplace concealed behind the wall-lining.

Apart from the remains of the arcades, the street floor had been almost entirely modernised before the National Trust took possession. But the walls have now been stripped and it is possible to say that in the 17th century there was a shop, or possibly two shops, towards the street, while the back portion extending into James' Court was a house, evidently separated from the shops, as the present access through the division wall is comparatively recent. The shop premises, of course, were separated from the street proper by the arcades, and the only indication of the original line of their frontage is one rybat, either of a doorway or of a window, still visible in the wall on the E. side. The end of the passage-way which formerly existed farther S., between the shop frontage and the line of the arcade, has been filled in. At the date of visit the shop was an empty shell. On the N. there is the modern access to the back portion of the building at the W. end of the division wall, and at the other end is a built-up doorway which was originally entered from the back court. On the E. is a projecting chimney-breast, an addition of the 17th century, containing a built-up fireplace and a recess. On the W. is a wide, arched recess with side corbels, which became a fireplace in modern times. On its S. side is a pier supporting the front newel-stair. An arch beyond carries the upper part of the forestair. In the 18th century the space beneath the lower part of the forestair was let as a booth.

In the part N. of the wall that divides the shops from the house the most interesting feature is a vaulted chamber within a projection at the S.E. corner. This, in the first instance, was a porch, gained by a forestair from the court outside; but when the 18th-century addition came to be built outside it, its entrance and window were blocked. The N. end of its vault rests upon a moulded encorbellment. On its N. side is a late fireplace, built up in its turn, as well as an original window beyond which the outer wall has been opened out for a modern window. The only feature in the N. wall is a recess which may prove to be an inserted fireplace. A wide, arched recess in the N. wall faces the porch. A large fireplace farther N., built up but obviously an original provision, stands between two small original windows. For convenience a modern internal stair has been provided to the first floor and to the cellarage.

The forestair leads from the Lawnmarket to a landing beneath the corbelling previously mentioned, whence a low doorway on the right admits to the first floor while another, directly in front, gives entry to the S. newel-stair. On the first floor there is a single large room towards the street, amply lit by three windows. The wall on the N., which divides the back part of the building from the front, contains an archway at the W. end, two doorways side by side near the centre, and a window at the E. end, all part of the 16th-century house. The window, which had evidently been secured by iron stanchions, has been closed for three centuries. Its existence, however, proves that the wall in which it is situated was once the outside or S. wall of a building extending to the N. and arranged generally as indicated in the conjectural plan that is given in Fig. 226. In the W. wall of the front room is a large fireplace of the 17th century in which lies a contemporary firebasket of iron, recently discovered in a built-up fireplace on the third floor of the back portion of the building.

The projecting part of the E. wall of the same room is a chimney-breast which was added, probably by Gladstones, in the 17th century. It contains a recess, the remains of a fireplace inserted some time in the 18th century. On the S. a heavy timber bressumer runs from a pier on the wall of the staircase to the remains of another on the E. wall, both piers being parts of the structure of 1620. Such beams are common in Edinburgh houses of the 17th century and are usually explained as survivals of the method of construction that employed timber fronts and galleries, such as was used here. But an alternative explanation may be preferable—as the side walls of these houses invariably contained a number of flues into which it would have been unsafe to run the floor joists on account of the risk

of fire, the joists were run from back to front and the bressumers were used as a means of reducing their span.

In this room the ceiling-joists, some of which were originally deeper than their neighbours, as well as the boarding above them, are gaily painted in size-distemper with arabesques, fruits and flowers, several of the patterns being identical with those at the Palace, Culross, the fabric of which was completed about 1611.⁴ The ceiling, which has now been treated by H.M. Office of Works, owes its preservation to the fact that the joists were lathed and plastered over in the 18th century, and it will be found that the deeper joists have been cut back in order to obtain a level ceiling. The walls of the room have also been decorated. On the N. wall is a frieze representing a continuous arcade with a vase of flowers standing in every archway, while a single archway with a vase of flowers is painted on the incomplete pier which supports the E. end of the bressumer. The other pier bears a dado-band. The bressumer is painted with a tiled pattern in the space between the joists. The shutter of the closed-up window in the N. wall, too, is painted and bears a pattern of arabesques.

The archway and the doorways in the N. wall are left open on this floor, the first. Behind the archway can be seen a large built-up fireplace, the lintel of which had previously been used elsewhere. Otherwise there is nothing of special interest in the back portion of the building at this level, which now contains the modern staircase with an office behind. Originally, however, there were three rooms, the most northerly of which was the largest and was entered directly from the N. staircase. It had a fireplace in its W. wall, which was afterwards built up, and it was lit from N., E. and W. It opened into two other rooms side by side to the S., of which the one to the W. led by means of the archway into an oriel contrived at the end of the balcony which projected to the S., and communicated with the balcony by the nearer of the two doors. The other door formerly led into the adjoining room, of which nothing is known, but to-day leads into the 18th-century wing. Here, in the first instance, there were two rooms *en suite*, but these have now been thrown into one; both had panelling and fireplaces of the late 18th century. The panelling remains but the fireplace of the W. room has been covered up.

On ascending the S. stair to the second floor, one comes to a room very like the one below it. The N. wall shows an identical arrangement of an archway, two doorways and a window. It has been possible to open up the window as the upper part of the 18th-century wing behind it has been removed. The doorway beside it has also been made into a window. The other doorway and the archway have both been built up. On the W. is a large fireplace, on the E.

is a recess, probably a vestige of a fireplace introduced by Gleadstones, and on the S. three windows. Between the staircase and the E. wall runs a bressumer, supported on piers, to carry the ceiling joists. This ceiling is a very handsome one, of similar character to the one below, but bearing the date 1620 both behind and in front of the bressumer, so that the precise age of the timber front is known. The N. wall shows traces of an arcaded frieze; other traces of decoration are seen on the pier at the staircase. The door at the entrance is of oak and dates from the 17th century. In the part of the building to the N. of this room the lowest of the working-class flats has been formed. The three rooms that it replaces were no doubt arranged like those below, but the one at the S.W. corner was provided with a close garderobe.

In the doorway through which the front room on the third floor is entered hangs another oak door of the 17th century. The room itself is generally similar to those below it, the N. wall containing an archway and two doorways, one of which has been turned into a window while the other and the archway have been filled in. At the N. end of the E. wall is a fireplace of 1620, the recess of which has been painted to represent tiling. The ceiling is painted, the patterns being rather bolder than those in the room underneath, and in the part in front of the bressumer is a series of cartouches containing birds and, in one instance, an ape. It has been suggested that one painting represents a gled or hawk perched upon a stone, which together form a play upon the name Gleadstones or Gladstone; but against this identification is the fact that the ceilings were eleven years old when Gleadstones purchased the property, nor is there any evidence of "pentimenti." On the walls there is nothing to show that there was a frieze, but a painted dado can still be traced on the archway, while the architrave of the doorway beside it has also been decorated. To the N. of this room lies the second of the modern flats. In its most northerly apartment a painted ceiling was discovered, while the walls had panelling of the late 17th century and a bolection-moulded fireplace of the same time. These features have been removed, as it was impossible to preserve them *in situ*.

On the fourth floor both parts of the building have been modernised. In the front room, however, can still be seen the remains of a large fireplace which had a lintel set out on corbels of slight projection. This fireplace and the pier beside the staircase both show traces of painted decoration.

¹ Minute of Town Council, 28 May, 1631. ² *Protocol Book of Alex. Guthrie*, vol. viii, 11 March, 1643. ³ *Ibid.*, vol. vi, 12 Oct., 1639. ⁴ *Inventory of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan*, No. 152.

15. Lady Stair's House, 477 Lawnmarket.—Originally called Lady Gray's House, after the widow of the original proprietor, Sir William Gray of Pittendrum, this 17th-century property was purchased in 1719 by their grand-daughter, Elizabeth, first Countess of Stair, with whom the house and the close of which it formed the W. side thereafter became identified. Threatened by a clearance scheme in 1893, it was bought in 1895 by the fifth Earl of Rosebery, a later descendant of Sir William Gray's, in order that its preservation should be ensured. Having renovated the building, Lord Rosebery presented it to the City in 1907 for use as a municipal museum. To fit it for this purpose extensive structural alterations were required, both internal and external, so that to-day the domestic arrangement is no longer obvious. But the available facts have been gathered together by Sir Thomas B. Whitson, of whose account in the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, iii (1910), pp. 243-52, free use has been made in the present article.

Built of rubble with freestone dressings, the house has three main storeys with an attic above, the lowest floor accommodating itself to the falling site. On plan it has an oblong main block running N. and S., from either end of which additions of 1700 have been removed, as well as a wing of 1725 which extended on the W. into James' Court over a narrow passage called Gladstone's Close. The major division has a newel-stair tower projecting from the S.E. corner, its superstructure an innovation more elaborate and less functional than the original termination. The lower part is original and is set out on an attractively moulded encorbelment above the entrance. The doorway has a moulded architrave. On the lintel is a central cartouche, parted per pale and charged: Dexter, a lion rampant, for Gray of Pittendrum; sinister, a saltire, with a crescent for difference, representing Smith of Grothill. Behind the cartouche runs a label inscribed FEARE THE LORD & DEPART FROM EVILL. The initials W G and G S for Sir William Gray and Geile (Geida or Egidia) Smith, his wife, appear on either side of the coat of arms and are repeated in monogram on the left, balanced by the date 1622 on the right, between a mullet at one end of the lintel and a cinquefoil at the other.

When the additions were removed from either end of the main block, both gables had to be rebuilt, and there is much modern work in the W. side also; but something of the original character is left in the E. elevation although the eight windows on the lowest floor, the architectural framework half-way up the wall, and the top window at the N.E. corner date only from the restoration. The wall-head bears two heavy chimney-stalks, the more northerly one incorporating a pediment surmounting an original

6.3 Listed building record

2/6/2015

Historic Scotland Data Website - Listed Buildings: 481 AND 483 LAWNMARKET, GLADSTONE'S LAND



481 AND 483 LAWNMARKET, GLADSTONE'S LAND (Ref:29233)

This building is in the **Edinburgh, City Of** Council and the **Edinburgh** Burgh. It is a category **A** building and was listed on **14/12/1970**.

Group Items: N/A, Group Cat: N/A, Map Ref: NT 2552 7358.

Description

Frontage 1621, 16th century rear wing and 18th century addition to NW; further 19th century alterations and additions; restored Frank C Mears 1934-6 and Robert Hurd and Partners, 1979-80. Narrow 5-storey, attic and cellar 3-bay L-plan tenement with 2 round-headed arches and circular pier forming open arcade to ground floor, curved stone fore stair with iron railings to outer left, leading to door at 1st floor, and 2 tall narrow finialled (thistle to left, fleur-de lys to right) gabled dormerheads breaking eaves at 4th floor. Grey ashlar. Moulded cill courses at 1st, 2nd 3rd and 4th floors. Small windows lighting turnpike stair to outer left; single windows to left; paired windows to right. Important painted decoration to interior.

REAR (JAMES COURT) WING: 16th century, incorporating earlier fabric). Narrow 4-storey and attic wing, extending 3 bays into James Court. Grey harl.

E ELEVATION: small windows lighting stair to outer right; asymmetrical crowstepped gable. 2-storey plastered timber outshot with boarded timber extension to left; 2-bay plastered timber jettied storeys at 3rd and 4th floors above and paired gabled dormerheads breaking eaves to attic. 3-storey 2-bay rubble-built block adjoining to NE (see Notes).

N ELEVATION: pentice-roofed stair tower to left with timber boarded door in raised hoodmoulded surround and small windows lighting stair; curved corner to right. Half-gabled recessed blind bay to right with chequer-set machicolation to moulded corbel course at 2nd floor level. Remains of earlier construction visible.

WE ELEVATION: 2 bays, regularly fenestrated (1st floor left window blocked); broad wallhead stack.

INTERIOR: timber shop-front set back behind arcade (see Notes). Painted decoration to timber ceilings and beams to rooms at 1st, 2nd and 3rd floors. 18th century panelling and bolecion-moulded chimneypiece in room to rear.

Small-pane fixed leaded glazing above, timber shutters below; predominantly 12-pane glazing in timber sash and case windows to rear. Grey slates. Cowstepped stone skewes (see Notes). Tall corniced stacks right with circular cans.

Notes

Property of the National Trust for Scotland. Initials TG (Thomas Gladstones) and BC (Bessie Cunningham, his wife) and trademark - saltire on vertical stem - on skewputts. Bought in 1617 by Thomas Gladstone, who extended it S, building arcaded shop to ground and ashlar front replacing timber galleries. Acquired by the National Trust for Scotland in 1934, when restoration was carried out by Sir Frank Mears. The 3-storey rubble-built wing to NE is part of a wing added circa 1740, reduced by 2 storeys and given a flat roof by Mears in 1934-6 (original form illustrated by Home). The stone arcaded ground floor was also revealed during Mears' restoration; Grant's illustration shows it concealed behind a later shop-front. The Dean of Guild plan shows alterations, including a window in the lobby and the addition of a W.C. in the 1880's, when the 3 back houses were considered 'uninhabitable,' and alterations to the shop The timber booths behind, and the leaded windows and shutters are part of Hurd's restoration for the National Trust of 1978-80, when the house was furnished as a 17th century Old Town house and opened to the public.

References

Dean of Guild 25th July 1880 and 9th June 1881. Grant OLD AND NEW EDINBURGH (1885) ill p109. Bruce J Home OLD HOUSES IN EDINBURGH (circa 1910). RCAHMS INVENTORY EDINBURGH (1951) No. 14 pp74-78. Gifford, McWilliam and Walker EDINBURGH (1984) pp 195-6.

<http://data.historic-scotland.gov.uk/pls/html/dbof?p=2200:15:0:::BUILDING:29233>

1/2

6.4 Extract from 'Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh'

Gifford et al. 1984

194

I. OLD TOWN

TRAIST. The yellow stucco applied in 1895 looks horribly bald. For the former Tolbooth Church *see* above.

LAWNMARKET

N SIDE. After the rear of New College comes MILNE'S COURT. In 1690 *Robert Mylne* demolished closes to form a courtyard bounded by existing structures on the E and W. On the N and S he built vast double piles (converted to university halls in a reconstruction by *Ian G. Lindsay & Partners*, 1966-70). The S tenement (PHILIP HENMAN HALL) presents a six-storey-and-attic ashlar front to Lawnmarket, the windows regular except for very narrow closet windows at the ends (their leaded lights over wooden shutters restored in 1966-70), the three chimneystacks along the roof-ridge also regular. The only enrichments are the scrolled skewputts and rusticated pend entry (encroached on by shopfronts) with triglyph frieze and broken pediment dated 1690. Five swept dormers, increased to a monotonous twelve in 1966-70. Timber lift-tower at the W gable 1966-70. To the court a rubble elevation with a touch of Scots Mannerism where the two middle bays shoot up into a tall crowstepped half-gable. Moulded doorpiece belonging to *J. A. Williamson's* partial reconstruction of 1914. The rooms inside were end-on to the frontage. Original scale-and-platt stair. The symmetry of Mylne's rubble-fronted N tenement (EDWARD SALVESEN HALL), five storeys with crowstep-gabled ends and architraved doorpiece, does not extend to the chimneys. The rear elevation, towering above the Library Hall of New College to look down on Princes Street, breaks into a Mannerist display of five wall-head gables, the end ones colossal chimneystacks pierced by windows. In the reconstruction of 1966-70 moulded chimneypieces (some with carved detail) were kept and much of the C17 panelling was re-used; in one room are fluted Corinthian pilasters and a rich cornice. The W side of the court (demolished in 1883) is now minimally enclosed by the harled flank of an extension to New College and a single-bay five-storey N block of 1966-70. On the E side the early C17 N block, with an octagonal stair-tower and crowstepped gable, was shortened by two bays in 1966-70 and a S block tactfully added.

E of Milne's Court the much larger JAMES COURT. In 1723-7 *James Brownhill* followed Mylne's precedent by removing closes to form a courtyard, building a massive double tenement on the N side. He kept the earlier buildings facing Lawnmarket but these were rebuilt (except for Gladstone's Land) with plain ashlar fronts in 1795. Their well-finished flats are approached from James Court by cramped turnpike stairs, and at No. 11 by a giddy geometrical stair built on a

very tight radius. The rear wing at Nos. 503–505 Lawnmarket and No. 13 James Court, built for John Allan at the same time as the front block, has tripartite windows at the gable. The truncated harled wing at Nos. 493–495 Lawnmarket/3–5 James Court, five storeys with a very irregular stair-turret and outshot at the N end, looks C16 or C17. The timber-framed upper floors at the NE corner and balconies on the E flank belong to the remodelling for Patrick Geddes by S. Henbest Capper, 1892.

The earliest part of GLADSTONE'S LAND (property of the National Trust for Scotland) is the C16* rear wing in James Court. Four storeys, basement and attic, with a stair-turret under a lean-to roof at the E corner of the crowstepped N gable. On the E flank a jettied and double-gabled outshot of plastered timber and a SE jamb (rebuilt c. 1740, and reduced by two storeys and covered with a flat roof in *Frank C. Mears's* restoration of 1934–6). This L-plan house, with balconies and oriels facing Lawnmarket, was bought in 1617 by Thomas Gladstone who extended it to the S over the next few years in at least two stages – the first (completed by 1620) producing a new front block 5.6 m. deep with a room on each floor above a ground-floor shop, galleries to Lawnmarket and a turnpike stair in the SW corner; the second an ashlar front, probably on the line of the projecting galleries. Gladstone's front is a dramatically tall slab, only 7 m. across but of five III storeys and attic in height. Three windows linked by sill-courses, the r. two paired, with tiny additional windows for the stair at the l. The fourth-floor windows rise into two unequal gablets pierced by generous openings to the attic, and all except the stair-bay is supported by a pair of round-headed arches with a circular central pier, restored by *Mears* in 1934–6. Curved forestair to the first-floor stair-door, the wall immediately over it carried out to full width by steep corbels following the line of the stair inside. Fixed leaded windows in the original checks, with shutters beneath, were restored in the first- and second-floor windows by *Robert Hurd & Partners* in 1979–80; more conjectural was their design for the timber shopfront set back behind the arcade.

Inside Gladstone's Land a great deal survives. At the SE corner of the C16 rear wing, a narrow vaulted ground-floor room seems to have been a lobby to the main block from the open ground floor of its original jamb. In the first-floor back room an original chimneypiece with a re-used lintel. In the C18 jamb a panelled room with a china cupboard and a moulded stone chimneypiece. The front room is of outstanding interest. In its N wall (i.e. the front wall of the C16 house) a segmental-arched recess, a pair of doors and a window, relics of the orielled and balconied front. Above, a painted C17 frieze of vases of flowers in an arcade with coupled pilasters. Painted arabesques on the window shutters and on the

* The RCAHMS found evidence of still earlier masonry at the original S gable.

beamed ceiling* along with fruit and flowers. A heavy transverse beam between ashlar pilasters (the E one fragmentary) spans the full-width opening into the front extension – formerly a timber-fronted gallery. Similar beamed ceiling, and gaily decorated timber lintels to the windows overlooking Lawnmarket. The second-floor front room is almost an exact repeat, its ceiling conveniently dated 1620. In the N wall of the room above, a painted dado in the arched recess and a painted architrave to the door beside it, the ceiling more boldly patterned with animals and birds: among them, in the front part, a gled (hawk) perched on a stone. Chimneypiece dated 1620. On the fourth floor more traces of painted decoration.‡

On the N side of James Court stood the massive double tenement built by *James Brownhill* in 1723–7, a double pile of five storeys, attic, and basement to the court, and, taking advantage of the fall of the ground, a full eight storeys and attic to North Bank Street. A jamb at each end, narrower at the E, returned to the S. After a fire in 1857 the W tenement was rebuilt as the Free Church College (see Public Buildings, above). The W half of the E tenement, badly damaged by the fire, was reconstructed by *David Cousin* in 1858–65 as further offices. The S front to James Court remained largely unaltered so that the E tenement still reads as a whole, the windows grouped three and three with a central crowstepped gablet; a short splay softens the join with the jamb which has been raised one storey in brick. Less unified front to North Bank Street. To the W Cousin altered floor heights, corniced the windows, and flanked the central gablet with tall angle-turrets, treating it as a link between the unabashed Victorian of the new offices and the unaltered, starkly unadorned Georgian to the E. Inside, two flats had§ early-C18 panelling and chimneypieces of William Adam type; only the marks of the planted carved detail of the slightly grander upper flat remained.

To the E of James Court LADY STAIR'S CLOSE, its small front block to Lawnmarket dull neo-C17 infill of the 1890s when demolition left the close as little more than a hiccup between James Court and Wardrop's Court. On its W side LADY STAIR'S HOUSE, built for Sir Walter Gray of Pittendrum in 1622|| and in 1893, at Patrick Geddes's instigation, bought from the City by the fifth Earl of Rosebery, a descendant of Gray. Restoration by *George S. Aitken*, an imaginative

*Part of the design is the same as that on a ceiling in the 'Palace' at Culross, Fife. In both cases the original clear colours are distorted by the absorption of wax applied with protective intent in the 1930s. The painted decoration was extended in simplified form by *R. L. Snowden*, 1979–80.

‡ The remains of a painted ceiling, late C17 panelling and a bolection-moulded fireplace were discovered in the third-floor N room (and removed) in 1934–6 when the upper part of the rear wing was converted into flats.

§ The panelling was removed in 1979 with a view to restoration. It has not been put back.

|| It was bought by Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Stair, in 1719.

6.5 Summary Report – recording n the Bar Parlour (Addyman & Kay Ltd., June 2000)

1. Introduction

Addyman & Kay Ltd were requested by Robin Turner, Senior Archaeologist, National Trust for Scotland to undertake a short recording exercise at the Bar Parlour, a room within the early 18th century 'new south jamb' of Gladstone's Land, Royal Mile, Edinburgh.

The bar Parlour occupies a lower room of the 'new south jamb', originally a 5 storied wing added behind the frontage building between 1733 and 1755, now reduced to 3 stories.

The Bar Parlour had undergone recent removal of modern wall linings on its east and south walls as part of a refurbishment. Numerous early architectural features of interest were revealed and, in particular, a sequence of early decorative schemes, both wallpaper and painted.

The evolution of the existing Bar Parlour at Gladstone's Land has been well traced from documentary sources by Patricia Wigston, Property Manager for the NTS. The present report has benefited greatly from this research.

2. Early masonry

It is not clear from the documentation so far provided whether substantial remains survive of the original tenement within the rooms of the structure fronting onto the High Street (although Bob Heath's phase plan suggests that there may be some early work in the W part of the S wall of the Bar Parlour). *This is to be double-checked.* It is possible that the 'new south jamb' was partly built against earlier fabric surviving to the S. The W wall side of the existing space consists of the 17th former façade of the adjoining tenement (Gladstone's Land proper)

3. Mid 18th century

i. General

The construction of the 'new south jamb' is dated by documentary sources to ca.1733 – 55. The bar parlour occupies the second level of this structure. The new south jamb was originally of some 5 stories but was reduced to 3 stories during the restoration by the architect Frank Mears for the NTS in the 1930s.

The ground floor rooms were described in 1755 as:

a fore booth with a kitchen and chamber joined to it, being part of the new south jamb

The 'kitchen and chamber' occupied the Bar Parlour. Where the division between these two parts of the space is still not wholly clear. A vertical scar within the plasterwork of at the western part of the S wall may relate to this, although a later plan of 1898 shows that a small mural chamber had been colonized from the tenement to the W and may actually represent the 'closet' referred to.

ii. The chamber

In broad detail the room retains its 18th century outline. The room was lit by two spalyed windows to the N. The sash and case windows appear to be the original although the original astragal arrangement has been superseded (probably in the 1.19th century). The truncated remains of the original astragals can still be seen.

Between the windows there was a modest fireplace, now replaced but shown in plans of 1898 and 1936. The function of a small recess at the NW corner of the room shown in 1898 and 1936 but now occupied by a staircase is not clear, although there is some suggestion from visual sources that it was originally occupied by a window.

Two substantial recesses were formed within the E wall. Each originally rose from floor level to just beneath the cornice. The small of the two, to the N, had most probably been lined out as a press and probably had doors. The larger southern recess was also lined out and may have been a further press or simply open shelving.

The south wall presently contains a substantial 2.75m wide opening, now infilled. The two jambs of this opening appear to be early and may relate to two earlier doorways the dividing pier of which was removed in 1898 – see section 5. If these had been two doorways it is unclear how they may have related to the internal space of the room - ?perhaps one had been a press or more than one phase is represented - ***to be further assessed.**

The entrance at the SW corner of the S wall appears from the 1898 and 1936 plans to have been original but at that stage blocked. This has now been unblocked. A further option for the arrangement of the internal space is that the vertical scar on the south wall formed a N/S partition that formed the E side of the lost Gladstone's Close. **This requires some further consideration.**

The original floor level was identified, some 0.47m above the existing. A sequence of close-set joist sockets exist in the south wall that contained common joists running N/S.

The existing ceiling and cornice is probably the original, albeit overlain with plaster board.

iii. Features below the former floor level

The principal feature of interest below the level of the former floor lay within the larger southern recess in the E wall. On the exterior it was clear that there had been a window correlating to the position of the recess, subsequently blocked. Removal of a loose plank blocking on the interior revealed that the *actual* sash and case window survived *in situ*. This remarkable survival was in reasonable condition, even retaining some glass and its iron locking mechanism. Plaster survived within the jambs.

4. 19th century interventions

The principal intervention that can be reasonably dated to the 19th century was the blocking off of the window within the east wall of the basement chamber. This was blocked with rubblework to the exterior and partly reduced on the interior. The latter involved the construction of a mortared brickwork skin against the N jamb of the ingo. The frame of the window itself was also sealed with horizontal planks.

5. The Bar Parlour phase

a. The entrance through the south wall.

A Dean of Guild petition was lodged in April 1898 to

slap out a stone wall and insert rolled steel joists and further to build up one doorway..

The slapping opened from the shop into the Bar Parlour. While this was subsequently re-blocked the feature still survives as a substantial recess in the S wall of the Bar Parlour. 'To build up one doorway' also probably refers to this work – i.e. to form a *single* doorway. The jambs on either side of this opening are now exposed. It is apparent however that these jambs must be considerably older than 1898 and may be original to the construction of the wing (as described above). The 'stone wall' slapped out may refer to a central pier separating *two* former entrances. ***This will be re-examined in the near future.**

b. Fitting out of the Bar Parlour

The Dean of Guild plan annotates the street front chamber as a 'shop'. Its internal arrangements correlate with a memoir of the interior from the mid 20th century (supplied by the NTS) and was thus probably functioning as a public house at this stage. The Bar Parlour was thus probably fitted out following the opening up of the S wall (thus ?ca 1898).

The fitting out consisted of the introduction throughout of 3" tongue-in-groove V-section lining boards. These survive within the window ingos of the N wall where original paintwork can be seen – principally medium-dark browns. Within the jambs of the ingos survive evidence to demonstrate that there had been both a dado rail and a top rail defining the boarding. The existing window architraves are modern and it appears that the boarding simply ran around onto the wall face. The top rail impression correlates with the lower edge of a lime-plastered frieze occupying the upper wall area (the modern plaster boarding was taken upto this point).

The plaster frieze is remembered as having been decorative. As no paint schemes appear to survive on the face of the plaster it is possible that the decoration had been a bossed wall paper - perhaps a Tynecastle Canvas repeated pattern.

Parts of the floorboards of the Bar Parlour survive within the window recesses to the N, beneath later coverings.

6. Recent interventions

a. Lowering of floor level

The earlier floor level – which appears to have been laid upon the original 18th century joists – was removed in the most recent NTS refurbishment. The floor was then lowered by 46cm – 48cm throughout. The existing stair at the NW corner of the N wall was extended down to the new level.

b. Removal of match boarding

The Bar phase lining boards were removed throughout the room and, once the floor was lowered, replaced with the plaster board that remains in some areas and stripped out in others. Where stripped out to the E and S this was revealed to have been mounted on crude pine framing affixed by dooks into the stonework.

c. Fireplace

The existing fireplace is a recent insertion on the site of its smaller predecessor.

7. Historic decorative finishes

One of the principal reasons for the instigation of this record was the presence of historic decorative wall finishes, principally wall paper, on the S wall of the Bar Parlour. These were assessed by William Kay. Two sequences were recorded, one on the short section of walling to the SE and the other on the larger section of walling to the SW.

i. Walling to SW

On the western part of the wall the sequence was extensive:

a. Paint layers

The lowest layer, frag appearance of brown and white ? geometric paper (lowest layer)

Below paper, succession of painted finishes – probably mostly distempers. The earliest is painted directly onto early-looking wall plaster.

Early layer	.1	white / cream
	.2	blue
	.3	white
	.4	yellow ochre
	.5	pink

X-section analysis is recommended

b. Wallpaper I : geometric paper (third uppermost)

Fragmentary remains of brown paper with a repeated geometric pattern.

c. Wallpaper II : blue patterned paper (second uppermost)

Fragmentary survival of paper with grey ground printed over with a formalised floral / geometric pattern in strong cobalt blue. The whole field and pattern is overprinted with regularly disposed white dots ca.1 mm in diameter, and the blue pattern outlined with fine pale yellow lines.

A second motif in the print seems to be a black printed geometric design of lines and curves, but due to dirt could not be deciphered.

d. Wall paper III : red diaper wallpaper (uppermost)

A red ochre printed pattern on a neutral background, consisting of a diaper pattern border.

The paper appears to have repeated in horizontal bands with 16.5cm intervals between the tops of the borders. At least 3 bands of repeat are evident in surviving fragments.

ii. Walling to SE

On the eastern part of the S wall an early layer of finished plaster (no early finish readily detectable) had been keyed to take a secondary layer, 3 - 4mm thick. On the latter were recorded very fragmentary and extremely fragile remains of decorative finishes:

a. Paint I

The earliest painted finish is a yellowish ochre with evidence of marbling in black strokes.

b. Paint II

Subsequent layers:

- .2 stone colour
- .3 blue
- .4 possible white layers.

Again recommend x-sect analysis.

Sources & Bibliography

6.6 Addyman Archaeology project design

Nicholas Uglow

From: Tom Addyman
Sent: 16 October 2014 10:40
To: Daniel Rhodes (drhodes@nts.org.uk); 'Derek Alexander' (DAlexander@nts.org.uk)
Cc: Tanja Romankiewicz; Tom Parnell; Gary Oliver
Subject: FW: Gladstone's Land, Edinburgh - proposed assessment and survey

Daniel and Derek

Since meeting Daniel last week, when we discussed the possible scope of the project and I had a look at the archival records, I went to site and discussed requirements with the property manager – who introduced me to possible alterations they had in mind. I also looked over in detail the digital as-existing survey that already exists (?based on Bob Heath's survey?) and have had a really useful discussion with Simon Green of the RCAHMS, to find out from him exactly what had been done towards the analysis of the structure. He very kindly sent me the result of his research, particularly into the NTS' archive material (the same as I had a look at). Having gone through CANMORE on line I then looked through their drawings and manuscripts holding for the property at NMRS library – they have additional drawings of parts of the building, particularly measured surveys of the painted ceilings by Michael Apted (1961). By means of this 'taking-stock' exercise I was hoping to avoid duplication in any new work and to help fine-tune our proposal.

There is pretty good survey coverage for the building in general terms. I think for the purposes of the present exercise the digital plans set can be used as a basis to work on, to work up, to overlay phasing data, and so on. Given the short timescale this is probably the best approach. I would suggest a two-stage project.

Generally it is understood that the base requirement is for a comprehensive review of the analytical history of the building in order to provide a detailed knowledge-base of its physical fabric that can be used to inform proposals for its improvement and alteration – and that this is needed as soon as possible. It is also understood that the Trust regards this as an opportunity to augment and extend existing records for the building to produce an up-to-date resource and a new analysis of its evolutionary history. So I suggest:

1. Comprehensive digest of sources, base analytical survey drawings, analytical report (stage 1)

First would be a comprehensive digest of the historical record for the building, including its conservation history. Accompanying this would be a graphic working-up of existing drawn records and an analytical report. To break this down into individual exercises:

i. Historical

A comprehensive review of historical material, sources, etc. We would avoid re-inventing previous work so would begin by a detailed review of previous written accounts and research. This would identify both what records are available and where the knowledge gaps are (for example I have seen little indication so far that Edinburgh Dean of Guild records have been looked at in detail – much of this recently re-catalogued).

I would suggest that a gazetteer of records for the building is made – the NTS archive holding is catalogued by file folder and with a general summary of contents of these. I might suggest a more comprehensive catalogue of these – particularly on architecture-related documentation, plans, etc. (this can be discussed further ...). The catalogue would also compile a list of references for material from other sources – RCAHMS / HS (Stenhouse) / Dean of Guild / published material, etc ...

The historical material would obviously be digested for significant information that would feed in to the understanding of the evolution of the building.

ii. Drawing survey set

a. Drawing from existing sources

We would assess the accuracy of the as-existing survey on site – however it is assumed to be generally accurate and a usable base. Using the digital survey as a basis we would then layer on the following:

The phasing data from Bob Heath's survey (a set at RCAHMS, also NTS archive) and observations from his report

The internal arrangements as existing in c.1935 (manuscript plans in NTS archive)

The proposed arrangements of 1935 (manuscript plans in NTS archive).

The subsequent modifications by Hurd in the 1970s, minor modifications by Bob Heath subsequently; other recorded modifications generally

We would also add on or annotate information about the analytical history of the building from other sources. Most important will be a review of other visual material from the mid-late 1930s (and before), particularly the photographs taken of the interior during works.

Other sources would be consulted – particularly the Ministry of Works records relating to their involvement under their architect Wilson Paterson – there may be more 'in progress' photography, etc., including more records of the dismantled painted ceilings.

MR Apted's drawings of the painted ceilings (c1961), held at the NMRS Library

Data from previous recording works (e.g. Addyman 2000 ..!)

Etc.

b. Enhancing the drawn record

I would suggest that as part of the first stage of works and the initial reporting stage that better / new survey drawings be prepared of the more important areas of the building where these prove to be lacking. I am particularly thinking of the principal rooms at ground, first and second floor levels where the principal decorative and interpreted interiors exist. These areas obviously contain the most significant surviving elements and decorative finishes and are also the most complex in terms of their conservation history. By contrast the rooms on the upper floors' interiors are far less significant and are mostly defined by partitions inserted post-1935.

So, in order to suggest what may be most advantageous and pragmatic (given the tight time-scale), I would propose detailed new survey in the lower level areas – wall elevations and ceiling plans, where these have not already been produced, and enhancing the accuracy of any existing drawings where necessary. These first-stage enhancements to the drawn record would be integrated with the general digital drawing set (i.a, above). For the significant historic interiors drawings could also be layered with conservation-related data.

c. Significance

A drawing set could produced that outlines the relative significance of the various components of the structure – both the major constructional fabric and the interior schemes / finishes.

iii. Analytical report

The analytical report would provide a digest of the research carried out in stages i. and ii. It would be arranged in such a way as to be the primary document (in conjunction with the drawing set) that would inform decision-making in relation to possible modification to the fabric of the building. The analytical report would be arranged chronologically and would include an account of the conservation of the building (this using Simon' Green's work as a basis).

The report would also include a significance assessment and statement.

iv. Supporting volume(s)

It is suggested that a bound compendium of sources be drawn together as part of this exercise – historical drawings, imagery, published and manuscript accounts as a basic resource document for the site.

6.7 Published works

- Addyman, T. (2000)
'Gladstone's Land, Lawnmarket, City of Edinburgh (City parish of Edinburgh), 16th to 17th century merchant's house', *Discovery Excav Scot*, vol.1, 35.
- Apted, M. R. (1966)
Painted ceilings of Scotland 1550-1650, HMSO, Edinburgh
- Bath, M. (2003)
Renaissance decorative painting in Scotland National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh
- Gifford, J. McWilliam, C. Walker, D. (1984)
The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh Penguin, Harmondsworth
- Graham, I. (1980?)
A companion to Gladstone's Land, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, NTS, Edinburgh
- Grant, J. (1882)
Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh: its History, its People and its Places, 3v London
- Graham, I. MacSween, K. Watt, J.S.K. (NLS states pre-1982)
A companion to Gladstone's Land, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, NTS, Edinburgh
- Hartley, Christopher (2000)
Gladstone's Land, NTS Guidebook, Edinburgh
- Hurd, R. (1948)
Gladstone's Land: the Story of an Old Edinburgh House, NTS, Edinburgh
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- MacGibbon and Ross, D. and T. (1887-92)
The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, vol.iv, Edinburgh.
- Meller, H. (2008)
'Geddes, Sir Patrick (1854–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33361>, accessed 1 Jan 2015]
- RCAHMS (1951)
The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland. An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh with the thirteenth report of the Commission, Edinburgh, 74-8, No. 14
- Watters, D. & Glendinning, M. (2006)
Little Houses: the National Trust for Scotland's Improvement Scheme for Small Historic Homes RCAHMS and NTS, Edinburgh

6.8 Unpublished material

- Addyman, T. & Kay, W. (2000)
Gladstone's Land: Edinburgh: Summary Report – recording in the Bar Parlour, unpublished report for the NTS
- Apted, M. R. (1964 thesis)
Painting in Scotland from the 14th to the 17th centuries, with particular reference to painted domestic decoration, 1550-1650
- Gray, Marshall & Associates (2010)
Quinquennial inspection report
- Hartley, Christopher (1977)
A brief background to and details of: Gladstone's Land... NTS report
- Heath, R. (1988)
Quinquennial inspection report on structure and fabric RCAHMS MS 503/14
- National Trust for Scotland (1994b)
Quinquennial survey of Gladstone's Land, Edinburgh, Edinburgh. Held at RCAHMS D.8.41.GLA
- Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators (March 2009)
Gladstone's Land... Conservation treatment report – 17thC painted decoration
- Scottish Wall Paintings Conservators (October 2006)
Gladstone's Land... Condition survey of 17thC painted decoration

6.9 Historic Scotland files

Files held at the Conservation Centre, 7 South Gyle Crescent, EDINBURGH, EH12 9EB.

Reference: XHCC_O_1272_SP (SCC/SC/42).

The files concern the works done on the painted ceilings and wall paintings in Gladstone's Land from the mid 1930s to recent work restoring an easel painting in 1995. There are several folders of material, two containing correspondence. The rest contain several sets of photos from the 1930s, 1959, 1965, 1979-80 of the painted areas, mainly detail close-up shots.

In 2002, Gillian Cook, a Structural Paintings Intern with HS, compiled a single file of papers, including minutes, reports, some photos and correspondence concerning work to the painted ceilings and walls from the 1930s to 1990s. These papers were compiled from both NTS and HS archives and are a useful summary, well organised with a contents page.

6.10 RCAHMS

Canmore entry data:

Alternative Names	James' Court
Site Type	MUSEUM, TENEMENT
Canmore ID	52528

Site Number NT27SE 63
NGR NT 25549 73582
Council EDINBURGH, CITY OF
Parish EDINBURGH (EDINBURGH, CITY OF)
Former Region Lothian
Former District City of Edinburgh
Former County Midlothian
Datum OSGB36 - NGR

Collection items with Addyman Archaeology notes:

Digital images 43 items – largely Ministry of Works photos from the 1930s
Photographs 89 items – these items include all of the digitised files
Prints & Drawings 10 items – several of these items are digitised, and most of them are the painted ceiling drawings (originals, and two sets of different copies)
Print Room 6 items
Manuscripts 1 item – 1988 Quinquennial inspection report

6.11 National Trust for Scotland archives

Files in NTS archive, Hermiston Quay, 5 Cultins Road, Edinburgh, EH11 4DF

The ‘red boxes’ associated with the property were not investigated.

It was not possible to investigate the slides collection in the photo library within the timeframe of the project.

Table 2 (below) NTS Archive summary table of material pertaining to Gladstone's Land

Ref No	JD No	Box Title	File Date	File title	File Contents
01/0054/01/01	JD/0661/1	Gladstone's Land 1	April 1934 - June 1935	Gladstone's Land	Initial proposals for the buying of the condemned GL in Lawnmarket & plans to renovate it fit for division into habitable flats. Donations referred to & Appeal for funds launch; plans re the Assoc for Preservation of Old Houses of Edinburgh; Brown envelope containing plans & sections for a Hostel of 16 single-person homes in Musselburgh, from Burgh Surveyor's Office
01/0054/01/02	JD/0661/2	Gladstone's Land 1	June 1935 - Nov 1936	No title	Continuing corres: NTS takeover of GL & the renovations undertaken, under directions from Mears, by Office of Works; corres between NTS and tenants of GL; discussions re future of the ground-floor shop; 1936 Report on progress of work done; GL Fund corres.
01/0054/01/03	JD/0661/3	Gladstone's Land 1	Oct 1934 - Jan 1935	No title	See also 661/1 & 2; Brown envelope containing Office of Works a] plans and section of all of GL (Oct 34), b] the same but w/out Ground floor, c] 2 x plans for 2-4 floors and attic from Jan 35 and d] 2 x plans for Ground floor shop and 1st floor showrooms All moved to Architects Plans box 2
01/0054/01/04	JD/0661/4	Gladstone's Land 1	March - Nov 1937	No title	Details of 1937 accounts for works completed at GL; Compulsory Purchase Order for properties in Canongate; Slim brown envelope containing photos of GL and Lawnmarket prior to restoration – moved to Photo Library.

Ref No	JD No	Box Title	File Date	File title	File Contents
01/0054/01/05	JD/0661/5	Gladstone's Land 1	Dec 1936 - April 1938	1937	Corres on the scope and cost of continued repairs to GL; corres from Office of Works show that they were to carry out external repairs and then Mears the internal works; corres re tenants of the flat and the shop; decision to leave exposed painted ceilings
01/0054/01/06	JD/0661/6	Gladstone's Land 1	May 1935 - Feb 1944	Gladstone's Land	Includes 1935 Office of Works report on the condition of GL, the repairs required and costs involved. Later corres reveal all flats occupied (39); statement of costs & rents for 1939; Harrison plaque.
01/0054/01/07	JD/0661/7	Gladstone's Land 1	March 1952 - Feb 1953	Gladstone's Land from March 1952	Corres re the temporary storage of panelling taken from GL during the war and its possible return; Corres and estimates re internal redecoration especially on 1st floor.
01/0054/01/08	JD/0661/8	Gladstone's Land 1	November – December 1934	Gladstone's Land no. 483 Lawnmarket Edinburgh	Correspondence on purchase of building, correspondence about appeal, sketches, extract from minute.
01/0054/02/01	JD/260/	Gladstone's Land 2	January 1937 – June 1949	No title	Correspondence regarding repairs to the building, and work that needs to be carried out, with agreement in clear plastic folder.
01/0054/02/02	JD/260/	Gladstone's Land 2	October 1937 – May 1940	No title	General correspondence (very fragile paper)
01/0054/02/03	JD/260/	Gladstone's Land 2	June 1934 – September 1936	No title	General correspondence (very fragile paper)
01/0054/02/04	JD/260/	Gladstone's Land 2	February 1945 – September 1947	No title	Correspondence and notes on repairs at Gladstone's Land, meeting agenda, poetry exhibition at Gladstone's Land, adjustments to Lease, correspondence on Royal visit, programme for the Queen's visit to Edinburgh.
01/0054/03/01	JD/0262/1	Gladstone's Land 3	March 1967 - Dec 1974		Corres re future use of GL especially in years leading up to EAHY 1975. Saltire Soc as tenants though lease to end 1975. NTS plans for perm exhibition, shop & recruitment areas, mainly on GF; Possibility of joint concerts with SS; plans to develop GL to accommodate above. Contains architect's plans for the building
01/0054/03/02	JD/0262/2	Gladstone's Land 3	March 1975 - Dec 1977	Gladstone's Land	European Architectural History Year (EAHY) 75 events re GL & Old Town; NTS having greater prominence @ GL, open up to visitors; report on 75 season; dispute with Saltire Soc & need for NTS to take over more of GL and future plans; plans re Pear Tree Hse & other prop in Lawnmarket adjacent to GL; Copy of 1938 Lease to NTS & Minute of GL committee 1937, c/w architectural changes planned by I Begg in 1977.
01/0054/03/03	JD/262/	Gladstone's Land 3	December 1982 – October 1988	Gladstone's Land Gallery	Invoice, correspondence about setting up a textile workshop/ gallery, Gladstone's Land rent bill, postcard, budget variations, gallery costs, list of bills from the gallery.
01/0054/03/04	JD/262/	Gladstone's Land 3	February 1986 – January 1989	Gladstone's Gallery	Info on exhibition, list of paintings artists and prices, finances, breakdown of figures in June, accounts, difficulties with paying for accounts.
01/0054/03/05	JD/262/	Gladstone's Land 3	October 1967 – June 2000	Gladstone's Land	Revenue report July, hand written sums, statement of receipts and payments for year ended 31 st October 1967, correspondence regarding the Saltire Society, meeting minutes, entrance charges, proposals for the future of Gladstone's land, building layout, budget, progress report, upgrading flats, summary report.

Ref No	JD No	Box Title	File Date	File title	File Contents
01/0054/04/01	JD/0263/1	Gladstone's Land 4	Dec 1978 - Feb 1980	Gladstone's Land 1979	Relaxation of building regulations for bldg dvlp of an Old Town House @ GL with Saltire Soc no longer tenants; reports on dvlp of GL; rest. of ceiling & frieze; copy of research into history of GL prior to GF shop opening in 79; dvpt of top flat;
01/0054/04/02	JD/0263/2	Gladstone's Land 4	Jan - Dec 1980	Gladstone's Land	Preparations for grand opening of GL in May, after re-furbishment of ground and first floors for exhibition & shop & with NTS in sole occupier; new NTS rep @ GL; original window glass inserted during development; benefactors parties; donation of paintings by L Howlett; Plastic wallet containing hand-written notes from Exec Committee Minutes re GL from 1930s, copies of GL plans & tape script for history of GL;
01/0054/04/03	JD/0263/3	Gladstone's Land 4	Jan 1983 - Dec 1987	Gladstone's Land	Proposals to upgrade top & middle flats & let them out; renovation of 2nd floor room and opening of it as an exhibition room; corres relating to various exhibitions; reports into Listed Bldg Enforcement Notice against advertising at 491 Lawnmarket;
01/0054/04/04	JD/0263/4	Gladstone's Land 4	April 1978 - Oct 1991	Gladstone's Land	Legal and general corres for following; application for Planning Permission to convert GL into museum (78); lease between NTS & Mrs Orr for third floor rooms and ground floor shop (84); Lease between NTS and APRS for the let of third floor rooms (91).
01/0054/04/05	JD/0263/5	Gladstone's Land 4	May 1988 – May 2008	Gladstone's Land	Correspondence regarding re-painting, an appeal against a listed building enforcement notice, letters of praise and complaint, memos about the gallery, material damage claim form, a companion to Gladstone's Land, hand written notes, letters regarding ventilation system, correspondence about Green Room.
01/0054/05/01	JD/0562/1	Gladstone's Land	June 1972 - Dec 1974	Gladstone's Land	Tenancy of 477b GL to Mrs McIver; plans re future development of GL after Saltire Soc lease expires, i.e. NTS re-occupying GL with emphasis on recruitment, shop and exhibition space; corres re architect's proposed development of GL and estimated costings to that effect.
01/0054/05/02	JD/0562/2	Gladstone's Land	July 1977	A background to Gladstone's Land	A report by Christopher Hartley on the background, history & occupants of GL; contains photocopies of photographs, plans, inventories etc. and extracts from diaries and other contemporary accounts etc.
01/0054/05/03	JD/0562/3	Gladstone's Land	Feb 1975 - Dec 1978	Gladstone's Land	Corres re ground/1st floors of GL opened up to the public as C17th town house; negotiations between NTS & Saltire Soc re obligations; corres re alterations completed; corres re contents; 1976 greater NTS presence sought as problems with SS who leave in 1977. Incl 75 Supplementary Minute of Lease between NTS & Saltire Society; Architects plans; Black report on development of 485 Lawnmarket adjacent to GL; Pear Tree House.
01/0054/05/04	JD/0562/4	Gladstone's Land	Jan- Nov 1979	Gladstone's Land	Copy of NTS 1936 & 38 reports re GL; restoration of painted ceiling; report on planned alterations to top flat - 477b & application for Improvement Grant; detailed list of costs for development project.
01/0054/05/05	JD/0562/	Gladstone's Land	June 1980 – June 1984	Gladstone's Land	Newspaper and magazine cuttings.
01/0054/05/06	JD/0562/	Gladstone's Land	December 1998 – August 2000	Gladstone's Land Planning	Media information on patchwork exhibition, building plans, in clear plastic folder building plans, annual report, extracts from articles, correspondence regarding planning permission.
01/0054/05/07	JD/0562/	Gladstone's Land	April – December 2004	Gladstone's Land study day	e-mail correspondence about the study day, photocopies of documents from earlier files, Gladstone's Land conference plans and paper.

Ref No	JD No	Box Title	File Date	File title	File Contents
01/0054/05/08	JD/0562/	Gladstone's Land	2004	Gladstone's Land Lease to Ian Richie	Copies of leases to Ian Richie, Amber Antiques.
01/0054/05/09	JD/0562/	Gladstone's Land			Three further folders including plans, building layouts and photographs

6.12 National Archives of Scotland

File reference: DD 29/97 – Stenhouse restoration centre, 1960-74

This is a single government correspondence file of around 130 pages. It encapsulates the story of how the National Trust's paintings conservation department based at Stenhouse Mansion, Edinburgh, was closed and absorbed into the Ministry of Works department.

The work to Gladstone's Land painted ceilings and walls in the early to mid-1960s is noted in various places and helps to provide firm dating evidence.

6.13 City of Edinburgh Council Archives (Dean of Guild Court papers)

Petitions before around 1860 were registered in ledgers as they were received, i.e. chronologically. A searchable catalogue compiled by Dr. Joe Rock exists for the 1770s-1820s, and from the 1860s to the present day.

There is otherwise no catalogue for the rest of this material and it is therefore not possible to search it; the only way to find pertinent records is to look at all records submitted each year. This search is impossible to carry out for any single address.

6.13.1 Search results

Table 3 (below)

Catalogue 1770s-1820s – search terms: Gladstone's Land, Lawnmarket, High Street and Royal Mile.

Table 4 (below)

Alphabetical chronological search of legers 1860-1890s – same search terms as above

Card index major warrants and minor warrants by address 1890s to the 1990s – same search terms as above

Table 5 and Table 6 (below)

Keyword search of City of Edinburgh internet-based planning portal. Search terms: Gladstone's Land, 483 Lawnmarket

*Table 3 (below) List of relevant building warrants granted between 1770s and 1820s for Gladstone's Land.
Extracts from Dr. Joe Rock's catalogue*

BOX: 1772/55
WARRANT GRANTED: 26 August 1772.
PETITION LODGED: 11 August 1772.
PETITIONER: John Langlands, manufacturer in Potterrow.
SITE: Lawnmarket, Lady Stairs Close, Gladstones land.
PROPOSAL: Complaint about the condition of the roof.

NOTES: The petitioner is proprietor of the fourth story, immediately below that belonging to James Muirhead, writer in Edinburgh, who is responsible for the roof.

DRAWINGS: None.

BOX: 1776/35

WARRANT GRANTED: 23 October 1776 [expences].

PETITION LODGED: 10 July 1776.

PETITIONER: William Dawson, merchant.

SITE: Lawnmarket, Gladstones land.

PROPOSAL: Complaint about water entering his cellar.

NOTES: The complaint is centred on the external stair and a sewer or drain beneath it which is channelling rain water into his shop and cellar. The court granted a warrant on 28 August 1776 and ordered the sewer to be moved to the west by a foot and to be relaid with a proper gutter. He claimed and received the expences of the action.

The heritors summoned were William Spence, painter, Alexander Duncan WS as factor for the Rev. Collin Campbell at Renfrew and Miss Ferguson, residenter.

DRAWINGS: None.

BOX: 1793/36

WARRANT GRANTED: 5 November 1793.

PETITION LODGED: 28 November 1792.

PETITIONER: Rev. Walter Young, minister of the Gospel at Erskine.

SITE: Lawnmarket, north side, to the west of and adjoining Whitslaid's land.

PROPOSAL: To rebuild a tenement demolished by order of the Court.

[One of the four drawings included with this petition is for rearranging the forestair of Gladstone's Land as the building line of the adjacent building to the W, James Court, was to be moved S into the street. This application does not seem to have been carried out because another proposal drawing for the forestair appears in 1795 (see below).]

...

NOTES: The petitioner is given to understand that the line of the street is to be altered and allowance given to the proprietors of the three lands taken down to bring the fronts of their houses forward. He asks that the new line be determined by the Court and this was done on 7 February 1793.

The Rev. Young made a second petition on 24 October 1793, having purchased the area behind his proposed tenement from Mrs. Murray. He states that he paid £20 to the proprietors of James's Court to allow him to extend his property over the entry into the Court on the east [west on plan]. He submits a [new?] plan and previous elevation, a. and b. below. There does seem to be some discrepancy between the plan and the elevation with regard to entrances. There is an argument here about mutual gables.

In answers from the proprietors of James's Court dated on or before 4 November 1793 they state 'In the year 1727 James's Court the largest building in Edinburgh was erected, and from that period down to the present, the proprietors have been at the sole expence of laying and paving the fore closes or entrys leading to the court. When the fore lands were demolished, the respondents were in hopes by giving up some of their fore entrys that they might be accommodated with one more commodious and large in the centre; but from the variety of clashing interests in the fore tenements, this is found somewhat impracticable ' They dispute that they agreed to accept £20 and ask instead, if he will not widen the entry by 3 feet, for £25. He agreed.

See petitions of 16 February/8 March 1792, 10 January 1793 and drawings with 12 December 1793 (Andrew) which suggest the entry was on the east.

DRAWINGS: 4 sheets.

BOX: 1794/3*

WARRANT GRANTED: 1 April 1794.

PETITION LODGED: 10 March 1794.

PETITIONER: The Procurator Fiscal.

SITE: Lawnmarket, Whitesleads land, to the west of Gladstones land.

PROPOSAL: Complaint about an insufficient mutual gable.

NOTES: Whitesleads land, a timber fronted tenement was demolished following on from the demolition of other neighbouring properties by order of the Court. The proprietors wish to rebuild but are prevented from doing so by the remnants of a large stone turnpike stair communicating with the floors of a back land. In a second petition from the Procurator Fiscal of 11 March 1793 he stated his belief that the west gable of Gladstones land was out of plumb, hazardous and ruinous and that it should be taken down. He cites the proprietors or their agents: William Gowan, glazier for himself and as doer for James Brunton, wright at Lugton and Charles Sanderson, mason in Dalkeith; James Chalmers, solicitor and James Skinner, writer, factor for John Kerr, merchant near Dunbar, proprietors in Whitesleads land. Then William Dawson, merchant, Mrs. Col. Rixon, residing there; John Longlands, linen manufacturer in Potterrow; Miss Nelly Fergusson, residing head of Blythes Close, Castle Hill and John Spence, painter for himself and as factor for his sister, all proprietors or dowers for Gladstones land.

DRAWINGS: None.

BOX: 1795/38

WARRANT GRANTED: 25 December 1795.

PETITION LODGED: 22 August 1794.

PETITIONER: William Gowan, glazier, Henry Hardie, baker, Charles Sanderson, mason in Dalkeith and William Haldane, mason in Nicholson Street.

SITE: Lawnmarket, Whitslaid's land, fronting James's Court 'immediately to the west of Gladstone's land'.

PROPOSAL: To rebuild a tenement of five floors and attics.

NOTES: Tenement demolished by order of the court. The court required William Sibbald, Overseer of Public Works to make out a plan of the intended alteration to the stair on 16 October 1794. A note on the back of the petition states "Edinburgh 29 Aug 1797 Borr'd by me, writer in Edinburgh, no 6 of this process being a plan of the shop story of Whitslaid's land for the purpose of laying before Messrs. Thos Hamilton & John Mylne, arbiters in the submission between the proprietors of said land which shall be returned in a day or so. The drawing is not here. There was a lengthy discussion about the position of the external stair.

There was a complaint by the proprietors including Dr. Gregory Grant, physician and others, on or before 19 December 1795 about narrowing the entrance to James's Court. The court visited on the 25th December and ordered that the walls of the entrance be taken down and rebuilt, moving each wall two inches outwards.

DRAWINGS: 3 sheets.

Description: c. Plan of the modified external staircase. Shows entrance to Mr Finlay's shop.

Size: 32.5 x 20.5 cms.

Inscriptions, recto: dated 21 October 1794 and signed, William Sibbald.

Architect: William Sibbald.

BOX: 1796/6*

WARRANT GRANTED: 17 March 1796 [no warrant].

PETITION LODGED: 16 March 1796.

PETITIONER: Miss Ferguson.

SITE: Lawnmarket, 3rd floor of Gladstones land.

PROPOSAL: Complaint about the entrance stair.

NOTES: The complaint is against William Govan, glazier, proprietor of the area and tenement now building, to the west of the stair. He has removed part of the stair without a warrant. The defender refers to a warrant granted 22 August 1794 for the rebuilding and the judgement of Lord Dreghorn on p. 24 of the said Act and Warrant dated 20 May 1795 and an interlocutor of the Court dated 11 June 1795.

DRAWINGS: 1 sheet.

Description: a. Plan and section of the stair.

Size: 40.0 x 26.5 cms.

Watermark: J Whatman

*Table 4 (below) List of relevant building warrants granted between 1860s and 1990s for Gladstone's Land.
City of Edinburgh Council archives*

Reference	Address	Applicant	Nature of work	Date	Notes
9 th June 1881	481, 485-7 Lawnmarket	Adam Summers	New shop front	9 th June 1881	
25 th July 1889	489 Lawnmarket & Lady Stairs Close	Henry Seton	Alterations	25 th July 1889	
3 rd July 1936	479, 483, 489, Lawnmarket	NTS	Alterations	3 rd July 1936	This application embodies has a confusing chronology. Drawings dated June 1936 were granted warrant on the 26 th June. There is then a letter dated 30th December 1937 and a further application for deviation from the warranted scheme, because of the discovery of the painted ceilings. Accompanying this, there is a single drawing sheet dated December 1937 showing the revised scheme for the second to attic floors. There are only minor deviations from the original scheme above the third floor. This was granted warrant on the 7 th January 1938.
3 rd June 1938	477, 483, 489 Lawnmarket	NTS	Minor warrant	3 rd June 1938	Petition dated 25 th May 1938
3 rd February 1943	483, 489 Lawnmarket	NTS	Lavatory etc. (Minor Warrant)	3 rd February 1943	
16 th November 1945	Lawnmarket, Gladstone's Land	NTS	Alteration of lavatory (Minor Warrant)	16 th November 1945	
21 st March 1958	Lawnmarket, Gladstone's Land	NTS	Erect partition (Minor Warrant)	21 st March 1958	
8 th September 1978	483 Lawnmarket	NTS	Alteration	8 th September 1978	
2 nd March 1979	483 Lawnmarket	NTS	Amendment to warrant	2 nd March 1979	
23 rd May 1980	483 Lawnmarket	NTS	Amendment to warrant	23 rd May 1980	
7 th August 1981	483 Lawnmarket	NTS	Alter windows	7 th August 1981	
89/4398	483 Lawnmarket	NTS	Alterations	8 th January 1990	

Table 5 (below) Planning application. City of Edinburgh Council planning portal

Reference	06/00027/LBC
Alternative Reference	Not Available
Application Received	Wed 28 Dec 2005
Address	483 Lawnmarket (Gladstone's Land) Edinburgh EH1 2NT
Proposal	Shop alterations - extending entrance doorway (as amended)
Status	Application Granted
Appeal Status	Not Available
Appeal Decision	Not Available

Table 6 (below) Application for building warrant. City of Edinburgh Council planning portal

Description Of Works	Alterations to top floor flat
Site Address	4F - 5F 483 Lawnmarket Edinburgh EH1 2NT
Application Reference	10/05498/ALT
Application Valid Date	Wed 05 Jan 2011
Decision Date	Fri 28 Jan 2011
Status	Granted Warrant
Application Type	Alter
Received Date	Wed 05 Jan 2011
Decision	Granted Warrant

7.0 Provisional DES entry for present work – 2142.00 Gladstone's Land

LOCAL AUTHORITY:	City of Edinburgh
PROJECT TITLE/SITE NAME:	Gladstone's Land
PROJECT CODE:	2142.00 (AA)
PARISH:	Edinburgh
NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR:	Tom Addyman, Kenneth Macfadyen, Jenni Morrison, Nicholas Uglow
NAME OF ORGANISATION:	Addyman Archaeology
TYPE(S) OF PROJECT:	Historic Building recording
NMRS NO(S):	NT27SE 63
SITE/MONUMENT TYPE(S):	Post medieval town house with multiple later alterations and extensions.
SIGNIFICANT FINDS:	None
NGR (2 letters, 8 or 10 figures)	NT 25549 73582
START DATE (this season)	01-11-2014
END DATE (this season)	01-03-2015
PREVIOUS WORK (incl. DES ref.)	Addyman, T. (2000) 'Gladstone's Land, Lawnmarket, City of Edinburgh (City parish of Edinburgh), 16th to 17th century merchant's house', <i>Discovery Excav Scot</i> , vol.1, 35.
MAIN (NARRATIVE) DESCRIPTION: (May include information from other fields)	<p>Addyman Archaeology was commissioned by the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) to carry out a comprehensive review of the understanding of the evolutionary history of Gladstone's Land, 483 Lawnmarket, Edinburgh. This was in order to develop a detailed knowledge-base of its physical fabric and of the cultural-heritage significance it embodies, to inform the future management of the property and to guide proposals for its improvement and possible alteration. The report is the first to comprehensively study and draw together the various documentary and secondary histories of the building, with a drawn survey and a full analytical assessment of the building fabric.</p> <p>The findings of the report confirmed the previous theories that the building was built in several stages from perhaps as early as the late medieval period. It was significantly extended southwards c.1620 with the addition of the front column of rooms with painted beam and board ceilings, probably with a timber frontage to the street. This was subsequently rebuilt in masonry to its present appearance. The newly-formed NTS purchased the building for housing in the 1930s, without knowing of the remarkable survival of the painted ceilings. Their conservation in the 1930s, which involved the removal of almost all interior features not considered authentic to the seventeenth century, revealed the ceilings concealed under later plaster. These ceilings have been restored and de-restored several times and the building itself altered internally and externally several times in the twentieth century.</p>
PROPOSED FUTURE WORK:	Reordering interiors, changes to interpretation

CAPTION(S) FOR ILLUSTRS:	
SPONSOR OR FUNDING BODY:	National Trust for Scotland
ADDRESS OF MAIN CONTRIBUTOR:	Simpson & Brown/Addyman Archaeology St Ninian's Manse Quayside Street Edinburgh EH6 6EJ
EMAIL ADDRESS:	nuglow@simpsonandbrown.co.uk
ARCHIVE LOCATION (intended/deposited)	NTS / RCAHMS

8.0 Drawings at A3 (in separate volume)