

Sir Patrick Walker of Coates and Drumsheugh (1777-1837)

Advocate, Gentleman Usher of the White Rod, Naturalist, Antiquary, Public Servant, Sportsman and Edinburgh Property Developer – Second Solomon or Perpetual Petitioner?

March 5 1829 Sir Patrick Walker, that Solomon the Second, came to propose to me that some benefit society which he patronises should attend upon Mons Megg.

Journal of Sir Walter Scott.



Mannequin dressed in Sir Patrick Walker's ceremonial robes, courtesy of Colin Dickson.

1. Introduction

On 4 October 1839 Robert Hamilton MD wrote to W. H. Lizars:

I wish to report to you concerning the steps I have taken in furtherance of the Proposal you made to me from Sir William Jardine to prepare a slight memoir of the late Sir Patrick Walker. After consulting with my friend Professor Jamieson and Mr Goldie WS, Melville Street, man-of-business to the late Sir Patrick I put myself into immediate communication with the Misses Walker and mentioned to them the compliment Sir William was solicitous of paying to their late brother and invited their cooperation in the way of supplying materials – information, catalogues, correspondence etc. At my first visit the proposal apparently received a cordial entertainment and an answer was given that the Misses Walkers would consider it. A week or ten days afterwards I repeated my visit when they informed me that they had not as yet made up their minds. After the lapse of a somewhat similar period I wrote them and shortly after received the following answer. “The Misses Walkers present their compliments to Dr Hamilton and in answer to his note of 28th beg to decline for the present his offer as a friend will see Sir William Jardine on the subject when he comes to Town”....¹

In the event no memoir seems to have been written, presumably for inclusion in a volume of *The Naturalist's Library*, edited by Scottish naturalist Sir Robert Hamilton of Applegirth and published in Edinburgh by W. H. Lizars during the years 1833-1843. Each edition contained a memoir, with, for example, an essay on Abraham Gottlob Werner in the 1835 edition on British Butterflies. In fact the only obituary of Patrick Walker found to date is the Oration spoken at the Funeral Lodge held in the Edinburgh Freemasons' Hall on 31 October 1837. Sir Patrick was described as ‘a bright example of a patriotic and public-spirited citizen’ who:

made the service of the Public his profession and perhaps no professional gentleman in Edinburgh had his time more fully occupied with business or proceeded to the dispatch of it with more systematic regularity.²

Yet while in many respects his life was that of conservative, affluent Edinburgh citizen, society and club member, he imbued the conventionality with theatricality, breath-taking doggedness of purpose and a mixture of naivety and blatant self-interest. Having become His Majesty's Principal Usher for Scotland (Usher of the White Rod) in 1805, he spent the rest of his life re-inventing and embellishing this role. He created a valuable natural history collection which was displayed in his museum room at the family home of Drumsheugh and referred to in learned tomes. Although a younger son he co-inherited a substantial estate with two of his sisters, Barbara and Mary. Thus he oversaw an important part of the development of the western New Town of Edinburgh in conjunction with those sisters who themselves posthumously shaped the townscape of the area by providing financially for the building of the ‘the Cathedral Church of St Mary’. He also confronted many issues especially relevant today; the balance or conflict of British and Scottish association; support of local autonomy against national centralisation; reinvention of historical tradition; civic improvement and heritage preservation; taxation, budget overspends

¹ Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, Dk/6/20134, *Letter of Robert Hamilton to W. H. Lizars Esq.*, 4 October 1839.

² William Alexander Laurie, *The History of free Masonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 224, 225.

and missed project deadlines. The debates and discussions in which he participated do not seem very alien in the twenty-first century.

As no family papers are extant—those of the Walker Trust relate to property and Trust business—Sir Patrick Walker’s story from 1777-1837 has been constructed from individual documents in other archives and from historical records and newspapers from the period when Edinburgh was expanding in what has been called its ‘Golden Age’ to the dawn of the Victorian era.³ Some confusion exists in secondary sources about the Walker family of Coates and Drumsheugh and the Dalry estates of James Walker; and Youngson in *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* misnames Patrick as Francis.⁴ Sir Francis Walker-Drummond (1781-1844) who added Drummond to his name in 1810 was the son of James Walker of Dalry. There is also a misconception that William Walker bought the Coates lands for his son; and a number of tourist information sites incorrectly describe Barbara and Mary Walker as the unmarried daughters of Sir Patrick.⁵ This account is intended to correct the misrepresentations and give some flavour of the personality of a Scottish ‘Georgian’ gentleman who, while overshadowed by more illustrious contemporaries, was nonetheless a colourful and well-known figure in Edinburgh and Government circles.

³ Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh the Golden Age* (Edinburgh, 2003).

⁴ Alexander Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.215-6.

⁵ For example < <http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/edinburgh/stmarys/>> [27 March 2014].

2. Family Background

When Barbara and Mary Walker first drafted their *Deed of Directions to their Trustees* in 1850, they stipulated that:

Out of respect to the memory of our father and also of our grandfather the Reverend George Walker of the Episcopal Chapel at Old Meldrum we direct our Trustees to pay to the Bishop of the Diocese within which the chapel is situated the sum of £50 yearly.¹

Ministers in eighteenth-century Scotland who adhered to the Episcopalian form of worship faced varying challenges depending on whether or not they swore allegiance to the Hanoverian monarchy, established in 1714; or whether they adhered to the heirs of James VII and II. A congregation using the Episcopalian liturgy but accepting the Hanoverian monarchy, qualified under the Scottish Episcopalians Act of 1711 for exemption from the penal laws against the Episcopal Church of Scotland.² George Walker, born in 1700, was ordained on 28 October 1730 in Aberdeen and became the incumbent of Oldmeldrum in 1733.³ Walker was recorded as having appeared with several colleagues before the Aberdeen Quarter Sessions on 3 March 1746, with proof of their respective qualifications and registration of their meeting-houses as directed by the law.⁴ Two years later eight witnesses including the son of the 'Established Minister of this Parish of Old Meldrum', appeared before the Sheriff of the county of Aberdeen to testify that Mr Walker prayed for 'Our Sovereign Lord King George the Second and all the Royale Family'; that he had displayed his certificate of qualification from the Sheriff on the outside of the meeting house door. They had never heard him 'propagate or vent any Jacobite principalls in his Sermons or in his conversation'.⁵ Consequently Bishop Dunbar excommunicated him but he seems to have repented by the early 1750s. He submitted to the bishop's authority, held services in his home and exercised his pastoral duties.⁶ As 'minister at the seceding house' he earlier featured in the Kirk Session records of Meldrum Parish Church on 29 October 1738, having been summoned by the local alehouse keeper's wife to find the captain of a bunch of drunken army recruits.⁷ As they were disturbing the peace on a Sunday they had to appear before the Kirk Session for reprimand; the offending sergeant having been dismissed.

Some personal details emerge from Mr Walker's extant correspondence with Arthur Petrie of Meiklefolia, Bishop of Moray.⁸ Walker's elder son Arthur, 'in somewhat a veletudenary (sic) state of health after a long disposition last voyage',

¹ The Walker Trust. This was changed later to an annuity of £500.

² The Act of Settlement of 1690 adopted Presbyterianism as the established Church of Scotland.

³ David M. Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689-2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 145.

⁴ William Walker, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Skinner MA, of Linshart, Langside, Dean of Aberdeen* (London, 1883), p. 47.

⁵ National Library of Scotland, M.1760119, *Precognition*, 2 March 1748.

⁶ Bertie, p. 145

⁷ Marshall B. Lang, *The Story of a Parish; being a short account of Meldrum and its ministers* (Aberdeen, 1897), p. 20.

⁸ Mr Walker's correspondence, cited below, is from 'near old Meldrum' and it seems his house was not in the town.

stayed with him in May 1769, along with 'Willie' whose business obliged him to return after two nights.⁹ In September 1777 his 'son and his wife with all their young folks' visited, allowing 'no time nor convenience for ailments'; Walker had previously been suffering from 'a severe cold and rheumatism in my head with an inflammation of my eyes'.¹⁰ Letters included inquiries after Petrie's health and his various travels, compliments sent from Mrs Walker, references to church affairs and a couple of requests to borrow a sermon for St Barnabas' Day.

In 1781, however, George Walker raised a storm. On 1 December Arthur Petrie recorded that 'Mr Walker has now been in Edinburgh some time having abandoned his charge at Oldmeldrum'.¹¹ Walker's sudden departure for Byres Close in the capital, apparently without ecclesiastical permission or a communication to Petrie, was excused on the grounds of not wanting to trouble the latter:

I was very desirous of your advice before I came south and would fain have seen you, having so many things to say that I could not write, but knowing your engagements at that time I could not presume to request a visit from you especially considering the kind and generous favours you had done me a little before of which I will for ever retain a grateful sense. I shall not trouble you with recounting any of my little adventures here nor my opinion of the place and persons nor my own uneasiness of mind on various accounts, as I flatter myself with having yet an opportunity of doing it Tete a Tete.¹²

This was in response to Petrie's letter of 17 February 1782 in which Petrie expressed his regret in losing 'such a neighbour' and his feeling 'at a Loss what to say' as he did not choose to interfere but could not approve of the action.¹³ He informed Walker that his congregation, having got the temporary use of a new house in the town, had been 'as well supported by the neighbouring clergy as circumstances would allow' but urged him to inform the congregation of his intentions, with the suggestion that, should he choose to return, living in the town would be more convenient at his 'advanced time of life'.¹⁴ He did not, however, consider a return would be in Walker's best personal interests and 'provided you be reconciled to Bishop K-r', thought 'it will be as well for you to remain where you are'.¹⁵ Petrie had been requested to write to Walker by Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, following information:

that the congregation at Old Meldrum having come to a resolution to build a New Chapel, had applied to Meldrum (Mr Urquhart the laird) for the Materials of the old and that he had given them a favourable Answer: but that by a Promise made to Mr Walker he was not at liberty to let them remove the Materials without his Consent.... Mr Walker has given no answer to the last letter sent him from the congregation.¹⁶

Mr Walker, however, while granting that a chapel in the 'Town of old Meldrum' might be more convenient, was not going to consent to the demolition of the old one 'untill I

⁹ National Records of Scotland, CH12/24/91, 20 May 1769. An Arthur Walker was the incumbent of Oldmeldrum 1788-1804.

¹⁰ NRS, CH12/24/259, 19 September 1777.

¹¹ Alex B. MacGillivray, *Meiklefolia: the saga of an Episcopalian Odyssey* (Oldmeldrum, 1980), unnumbered.

¹² NRS, CH12/24/366, 20 February, 1782.

¹³ MacGillivray, *Meiklefolia*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ NRS, CH12/24/345, 10 January 1782.

be satisfied with a plan proper for the new house' and funds for building it.¹⁷ He could 'make it evident that his property in that house, the furniture of it, is greater and more essential than any other can claim'; and moreover, he was determined to return by Easter 'though several here, as well as my nearest connections, remonstrate against my resolution'.¹⁸ He would inform Bishop Kilgour when he decided his departure date.

Speculation was rife, with Rev. John Cruikshank of Macterry commenting to his cousin at Alloa:

Your intelligence as to Oldmeldrum Walker is News indeed; his conduct hitherto has been unaccountable, and his settling at Leith would be no more.¹⁹

The Oldmeldrum congregation set about raising funds and there was a suggestion of paying a sum of £20 to Mr Walker but many absented themselves from worship and 'no wonder'.²⁰ Arthur Petrie commissioned John Allan of the meeting-house at the head of Carrubber's Close Edinburgh, to deliver 'Bishop Kilgour's commission to Mr Walker'; and to advise him not to return north until he received the approval of the Bishop considering that Walker had left without Kilgour's consent and had 'never yet vouchased him the scrape of a pen'.²¹ Walker, however, had already made plans to return and his silence was 'not owing to any Contempt of Authority but to a variety of unexpected occurrences'.²² He had officiated every Sunday and had given full proof 'that he is not yet, to use Dr W's phrase upon the verge of a second Childhood'.²³ Mr Allan had rather tactlessly shown Walker his letter from Petrie in which the latter referred to information from Dr Webster of St Paul's in Carrubber's Close that 'Mr Walker was not able to correspond to him and was on the verge of a second childhood'.²⁴

On 20 March Bishop Kilgour remained 'not a little straightened with regard to Mr Walker' who, notwithstanding his protestations, had failed reappear at Oldmeldrum in spite of continued speculation that he would do so.²⁵ He commented on 3 April to Arthur Petrie:

After the part he has already acted I shall be surprised at no part he may act. I really believe the Man is not himself: and I am of the opinion with Mr Walker that he will never come North; and I wish he may not, because I am afraid it might oblige me to act a part that would be very disagreeable to me. There is nothing particular occurs to me with regard to the Congregation at Old Meldrum but I wish they may get up their Chapel as soon as possible.²⁶

A few days earlier John Allan had reported from Edinburgh (27 March) that the old man had been confined to the house ever since his receipt of a message from the Bishop. Details emerged later. 'He was suddenly taken ill and for a day or two had

¹⁷ Ibid, CH12/24/366, 20 February, 1782.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Quoted in MacGillivray, *Meiklefolla*, 19 February 1782.

²⁰ NRS, CH12/24/360, Ash Wednesday (13 February), 1782.

²¹ Ibid, CH/12/369, 25 February, 1782.

²² Ibid, CH12/24/374, 6 March, 1782.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid, CH12/24/369, 25 February, 1782.

²⁵ Ibid, CH12/24/381.

²⁶ Ibid, CH12/24/28, 3 April, 1782.

apoplectic Appearances'.²⁷ Walker attributed this, not to the anniversary of his wife's death, but to Petrie's letter to Allan expressing the former's surprise at the proposal of return, his unwillingness to receive him till he settle with Kilgour and references to a second childhood.

Yet Mr Walker, it appeared, still entertained intentions of returning to Oldmeldrum:

when the weather was a little milder, to pay a visit to his friend and patron Mr Urquhart of Meldrum, but not with any Design of having any Connection with the Charge, or ever officiating among them, unless the Bishop should think proper to ask the favour of his assistance while he stay'd in the country which would be either short or long as he found it agreeable.²⁸

When urged to write to the Primus, Bishop Falconer, in the hope of clearing 'the Misunderstanding which had unluckily taken place' by a 'discreet dutiful submission on his part', Walker, however, said he had often attempted this but 'was always afraid of saying too much'.²⁹ Meanwhile the congregation at Meldrum pursued their goal of a new chapel. In the face of opposition from Mr Urquhart who declared he would 'not allow stones to be dug from his Grounds' and that such proposals were 'a cruel Persecution of the poor old Man', Mr Walker's former flock concluded a bargain with 'two Lads in the Town, Presbyterians', to finish the plan at a cost of £44.³⁰ Mr Walker never returned. On 22 December 1784:

died at Edinburgh in the 85th year of his age, the Rev Mr George Walker the eldest clergyman of the Episcopal communion in Scotland.³¹

What prompted him to leave Oldmeldrum remains a mystery, but given that he was in his eighties and that his wife had recently died, Walker may just have decided to move to Edinburgh to be near his son William who had established himself there.



Walker Family Tombstone, Greyfriars Churchyard.

²⁷ Ibid, CH12/24/400, 24 May, 1782.

²⁸ Ibid, CH12/24/396, 1 May, 1782, Alexander Allan to Arthur Petrie.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid, CH12/24/393, 14 April, 1782.

³¹ *General Evening Post, St James's Chronicle or British Evening Post*, 25-28 December 1784.

According to the Edinburgh *Old Parish Records*, Book 97 he was buried in Greyfriars' Kirkyard on 24 December 1784.

William Walker, born on 21 April 1738 in Oldmeldrum, appeared in the first of Edinburgh's street directories as a writer (solicitor) living in Byres Close in 1773.³² That remained his address in subsequent directories until 1793 when 'Coats' was added.³³ From 1799 to 1805 directories named only Byres Close, but thereafter William Walker of the Exchequer was listed as Drumsheugh.³⁴ This reflected his property acquisitions and doubtless Byres Close remained a business address where Patrick Walker was located in 1805.³⁵ The description of William Walker as 'Attorney of the Exchequer' in 1784 indicated that the legal business he transacted related to cases in the Scottish Court of Exchequer to which he had presented a commission of appointment from the Joint Remembrancers in November 1775.³⁶ Three attorneys, however, objected to the proposed appointment and were ordered to submit their complaints in writing; which they did, along with a response from Walker, on 22 February 1776. The Lord Chief Barons judged the statement upon which the objections had been founded to be 'malicious and groundless', ordered its withdrawal and the admission of William Walker as one of the attorneys in the Remembrancer's Office.³⁷

The Scottish Court of Exchequer created in 1708 after the Treaty of Union, dealt with all questions relating to Customs and Excise revenue and to all honours and estates, forfeitures and penalties arising to the Crown in Scotland with the legal aspects reserved to the Court of Session.³⁸ The Attorneys or Sworn Clerks took an oath of office that 'they shall truly and diligently behave themselves as Clerks in the King's Remembrancer's Office'—embezzlement being particularly forbidden—and not consent to commands or precepts 'directed to the prejudice of the King'.³⁹ By Walker's time the Attorneys numbered four but only the two senior posts received a salary (£50 annually), the others being 'supported entirely by fees paid by the suitors in Court'.⁴⁰ Walker's name is not recorded in the Minute Books of the Barons of the Exchequer Court until 1791, but some of his business can be traced as, for example, in July 1783 when the *London Gazette* reported him as dealing with the sequestration of the estate of Alexander Elphinstone at the beginning of the month and with the creditors of Lewis Gordon of Techmuir a fortnight later.⁴¹ The latter case was complicated as it involved issues such as the liability of Gordon's wife for her husband's debts as she had been married to the late Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and had property in her own right in addition to having settled some of the Fletcher

³² Peter Williamson, *Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate Leith and Suburbs, 25 May 1773-25 May 1774*, facsimile edition (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 80.

³³ Williamson, p. 122.

³⁴ *Post Office Annual Directory* (Edinburgh, 1805), p. 139.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ NRS, E351/6, *Exchequer Court Minute Book*, 14, 22, 23 November 1775.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1776.

³⁸ W. Forbes Gray, 'Gleanings from the Scottish Exchequer Reports', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xxiii, 1940, p. 39.

³⁹ Sir John Clerk and Mr Scrope, *Historical View of the Forms and Powers of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1820), p. 289.

⁴⁰ House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers House of Commons and Command, Accounts and Papers, Public Offices*, vol. 7, (London, 1831), p. 38.

⁴¹ *London Gazette*, 26 July 1783.

debts which she wished to reclaim from the heir General Fletcher. Small wonder that Walker as factor was still engaged in achieving a settlement in 1798; and in dealing with the affairs of Gordon of Techmuir in 1809.⁴² Similarly an inheritance claim on the estate of the Earl of Crawford involving his sister Lady Mary Campbell lasted from 1784 until 1808.⁴³ William Walker's employment by the distillers of Scotland to represent them in London concerning various public measures in 1785, resulted in Walker taking legal action against them for non payment of his fees following the dissolution of one of the companies. The case, later pursued by Sir Patrick Walker after his father's death, was still unresolved in 1832.⁴⁴

William Walker's appointment as one of the two salaried Attorneys of Exchequer did not occur until 20 January 1791.⁴⁵ The salary of £50, paid quarterly, comprised only part of his substantial earnings which were supplemented in 1797 when he successfully petitioned the Lords of the Treasury for compensation for the loss of fees incurred by 'the operation of the late Revenue Laws'.⁴⁶ In this he imitated his senior colleague Henry McKenzie, author of bestselling novel *The Man of Feeling* and favourable reviewer of the poems of Robert Burns. McKenzie was still being paid an additional £250 annually on his death in 1831; Walker received £200 until he died in 1817. William Walker is recorded as appearing regularly in the Court of the Exchequer after 1794, both dealing with procedural matters such as requesting extensions of time for Court hearings or acting in hearings on behalf of defendants in cases concerning, for example, ownership of quantities of starch powder at Haddington or duties on cargoes of spirits.⁴⁷ A case in 1812 involved a dispute over the right of collection of Government taxes for the New Town of Edinburgh. The Lord Advocate and Solicitor General argued in favour of the City magistrates but the Barons of the Exchequer (William Walker acting as Attorney) decided in favour of the Collectors of the County.⁴⁸

Throughout this period Walker amassed an impressive property portfolio which might have influenced a decision to become an extraordinary Director of the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Company.⁴⁹ Owning land and buildings gave status but was an investment for the future of his family. On 30 October 1768 William Walker married Mary Drummond who had been born on 21 November 1748 to Patrick Drummond merchant in Edinburgh and Christian Mitchell his spouse.⁵⁰ Drummond, entered as burgess and guild-brother on 1 February 1745, dealt in

⁴² NLS, MS/16757 fols. 3, 80, 182, 185; MS/16758 fols 20, 26, 40, 96, 120,123, 130, 153; MS/16766 fols. 9-24, 117-124, 194-9, 225, 237; MS/16809/236 fols 253-9, 262. NAS, CS17/1/26, CS17/1/29.

⁴³ NLS, Ad.MSS/26.1.7 fols. 9, 14, 21-2, 205.

⁴⁴ Sir Patrick Walker v. James McNair, 19 June 1832 in J. W. Dickson et al (eds), *The Scottish Jurist*, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1832), pp. 506-9.

⁴⁵ NRS, E229/10/1, *Book of holders of offices in Scotland 1708-1830*; E351/7, *Exchequer Court Minute Book*; E223/2/9, *Quarterly Lists*, 1785-1791.

⁴⁶ NRS, E305/11, *Minute Book of the Barons of the Exchequer*, 7, 12 May, 14 December 1797.

⁴⁷ NRS, E351/7, *Exchequer Court Minute Book*, 25 November 1790-5 July 1805.

⁴⁸ *Scots Magazine or Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, vol. 74, (Edinburgh, 1812), p. 562.

⁴⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 January 1806.

⁵⁰ *Register of Marriages for the parish of Edinburgh 1595-1800*, ed. Francis J. Grant (Edinburgh, 1922), pp. 212, 811; Edinburgh City Libraries, *Old Parish Records*, Book 49, 1759-71, Books 25-28, 1746-1755. Christian also appears as Christina and Christy in the records.

plants and seeds.⁵¹ On 22 November 1746 he married Christina Mitchell.⁵² Following his death on 15 April 1758 his widow continued the business from the shop opposite Libberton's Wynd in the Lawnmarket.⁵³

Inclosed I send a copy of your Acct with my deceast husband Patrick Drummond....I am settling all his affairs if you can send me either the whole or a part by the bearer it would be a great favour doon me as I have a great deal to do with money at present and has a large remittance to send abroad this night. I keep up the business as formerly for the behoof of Children and self and he has left me in very good Credit abroad so I'm sure of geting the best of goods I hope you with the rest of my good friends will still be my Customer if I can serve you as formerly which I shall take care to do.⁵⁴

In his testament of 7 April 1758 (registered 16 July 1759) which he had to have subscribed for him—being unable to write 'on account of a nervous Disorder or shaking in his hand'—Patrick Drummond named his wife as sole 'Extrix'. He left everything to her and in trust for his children Patrick, Mary and Agnes Drummond with the 'burden of maintaining and educating my said children suitable to their stations until their respective majorities or marriages'.⁵⁵

Drummond's estate included a share of the ship *The Charles Christian* of Burntisland and the unpaid profits as well as his inherited portion (amounting to £133 6s 8d) of a debt dating from 1739, owed to his mother by James Lord Drummond a leading Jacobite. Robert Colville of Ochiltree and his son Peter also appear to have been in debt to the Drummond family as a result of which a Decreet of Adjudication was obtained from the Lords of Council and Session on 26 November 1778 and signed on 18 January 1779. The charter granted the lands and barony of Cleish, the lands of Dunduff, Outh, Crombie and various other lands, fishings, coals and coalheughs in Fife and Kinross, to 'Lieutenant Patrick Drummond in the service of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, Mary Drummond spouse to William Walker Attorney in Exchequer and to the said William Walker for himself and for his own interest and to their heirs and assigners'.⁵⁶ To date no evidence has been found of the outcome of this property acquisition which may have been sold soon after, but Mary Drummond had obviously brought some wealth to her marriage.⁵⁷

Between the years 1769 and 1783, nine children were born to the Walkers, of whom four—Mary, Christian, Patrick and Islay—died in infancy.⁵⁸ Two sons, George and Patrick and their sisters Lillias, Barbara, and Mary, survived and the entire family

⁵¹ *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren 1701-1760*, ed. Charles B. Boog Watson (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 59; *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 January 1752, 27 September 1753; NRS, GD132/392, *Discharged Acct. To The Lady Lude*, 30 July 1753; NRS, CS228/D/2/91, *Patrick Drummond v Gibson and Davidson*, 1755.

⁵² *Parish of Holyroodhouse or Canongate, Register of Marriages*, ed. Francis J. Grant (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 149.

⁵³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 December 1758.

⁵⁴ NRS, RH15/38/134, *Letter to Mr Hugh Forbes Advocate by Musleborough from Christy Drummond Edinburgh*, 6 May 1758.

⁵⁵ NRS, CC8/8/118.

⁵⁶ NRS, SIG1/50/35.

⁵⁷ There are no relevant documents in the Walker Trust historic archive.

⁵⁸ ECL, *Old Parish Records*, Books 33-7, 1769-1786; Mary born 29 June 1769, Christian 26 October 1771, Patrick 4 December 1772, Islay 18 January 1781.

(including the Rev. George Walker) is commemorated on the family tombstone in Greyfriars' Kirkyard. Patrick, born on 14 February 1777, had two elder siblings, George and Lillias, the other sisters being younger.⁵⁹ It is not clear in which part of the properties in Byres Close they resided; the directory for 1804-5 adds Luckenbooths to Byer's (sic) Close as the address of William Walker of Exchequer. Two lands or tenements of flats stood in the part of the High Street named Luckenbooths, directly opposite the Tolbooth prison west of St Giles' Cathedral. Byres Close (previously named Lauder's) was the alley between the two tenements and took the name from Sir John Byres of Coates who had built part of the property on the west side in 1611. According to Robert Chambers in 1825, this town residence of Byres who also built a house on his lands of Coates outside the city around the same time, consisted of:

a large fore chamber with ane Studdy upon the south side of the said Turnpike off the right hand of the Entry with ane Transe leading to the rest of the house and kitchen on the west side of the said Transe with ane hanging stair on the west side divided into two rooms and Back-hall within and upon the north side of the said Chamber ane summer dining room on the west side of same and a Chamber of Dice within the said Backhall and Study on the east side thereof and Loft above the said Chamber of Dice and Back hall aforesaid.⁶⁰

Subsequent eighteenth-century owners included Lord Coupar, Lord Lindores and Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall and finally William Walker.⁶¹ When Henry Erskine, Lord Advocate wrote to William Walker on 13 November 1790 inviting him to a business dinner, he addressed the letter to Byres' Close.⁶²

The tenement on the east side of the close was described as being 'in that place of the Tolbooth commonly called the Poor folks Purses'; namely the area next to the northern wall of the prison where each of the licensed 'blue-gown' beggars received from the magistrates a leather purse containing money from the monarch.⁶³ In 1807 property in this tenement was advertised for sale:

being the second storey entering by the first turnpike upon the left hand, consisting of five rooms, kitchen and other conveniences....⁶⁴

It was purchased by Charles Henderson for £160 on behalf of David Lawson rope and sailmaker in Leith and disposed to William Walker on 3 August 1808.⁶⁵ In 1814 Walker, as principal proprietor of 'these different flats of houses and Cellars ...of those two great tenements of land' undertook a substantial renovation involving demolition and renewal of the western building and a new stone frontage for the eastern property.⁶⁶ By this time, however, the family residence had been relocated from the Old Town of Edinburgh.

⁵⁹ George born 27 August 1770, Lillias 15 May 1774, Barbara 30 August 1778, Mary 13 June 1783.

⁶⁰ Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1825), p. 172.

⁶¹ There are relevant documents in the Walker Trust Archive.

⁶² EUSC, Gen1995/25.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Chambers, *Traditions*, p. 184.

⁶⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 1, 22 October, 5 November 1807.

⁶⁵ WT.

⁶⁶ WT, 23 November 1814; Edinburgh City Archives, SL 144, *Petition of William Walker for alterations on a tenement at the head of Byers Closs*, 14 April 1814.

The *Post Office Annual Directory* for 1805-6 lists the address of William Walker of the Exchequer as Drumsheugh with that of Patrick Walker Advocate as Byres's Close.⁶⁷ Thereafter they are both credited with Drumsheugh and after William Walker's death on 16 November 1817, Sir Patrick Walker alone is mentioned. Only in the Directories for 1793-4, and 1797-8 is Coats included.⁶⁸ The advertisement for the roup, at a reduced upset price, of the 'Mansion-house of Coats', scheduled for 19 July 1786 (a postponement from August 1784), described the sale as being:

The LANDS and MANSION-HOUSE OF COATES, with office-houses, pigeon-house, gardens etc. The mansion-house is pleasantly situated within a mile of the Cross of Edinburgh, near the Water of Leith, and commands an agreeable and extensive prospect in every direction. The lands consist of about 30 English acres and are divided into four inclosures by sunk fences and all inclosed with high stone walls having strips of planting of various sorts of trees, with walks and beautiful borders of shrubbery all round. In each of the inclosures there is a water pond, and in three of the ponds there are fish; and the gardens are all well stored with fruit trees of all sorts of the best kinds. The great road to Queensferry passes along and will be the mutual boundary of these lands and the westmost square of the New Town when completed; and the cross road which bounds the lands on the south being in line with George-street, they will be very commodious for feuing to build on...⁶⁹

Clearly no bidders were forthcoming as on 2 December 1786, 'William Walker Attorney in Exchequer came to the Trustee and offered him the sum of £1800 sterling for the lands of Coats which the Trustee accepted'.⁷⁰ Previous to the sale the Trustees of Cramond district paid £27 13s for ground taken from the land of Coates for making a new road from Edinburgh towards Queensferry – a later cause of boundary contention.



Plan of the Manor Place of Coates, Walker Trust.

The acquisition of Coates gave Walker both an out of town residence and an opportunity for enhancing his investment, as can be seen from a newspaper

⁶⁷ *Post Office Directory 1805-6*, p. 139.

⁶⁸ *Post Office Directory 1793-4*, p. 181; 1797-8, p. 190.

⁶⁹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 3 June 1786.

⁷⁰ WT, *Extract Article of Roup*, 4 August, 2/8 December 1786. The sasine in favour of William Walker and of an annualrent for Mary Drummond is dated 3 May 1787.

advertisement of 15 May 1800 which cited the intention to build a crescent on the 'Lands of Coats' adjacent to Charlotte Square:

The intended canal between Glasgow and Edinburgh is proposed to be carried through the back ground of these streets on the on the south side thereof, where there is a very convenient place for a wharf and coal yard. There is an excellent situation on the north side thereof for butcher and fish markets so much wanted in the west parts of the city, is well supplied by water and there is already a common sewer to the Water of Leith cut out of the free stone rock, 40 feet below the surface of the ground, through a great part of the Lands of Coats which may be carried through to these new streets; so that the buildings will be rendered perfectly dry and comfortable. And as that part of the lands of Coats where the crescent is to be built lies within the extended Royalty, it is entitled to water and every other benefit in the same way as any other part of the New Town belonging in property to the city. The expense of digging founds will be trifling, and there is a Free Stone Quarry in the grounds from which some of the most showy houses in Edinburgh and Leith have been built. The elevation of the houses will be so framed as to be commodious and without deviating from elegant simplicity, at the least possible expense which the builders can suggest. Please apply to the proprietor at Coats.⁷¹

For his next property investment William Walker returned to the Old Town. The only bidder at the roup on 5 December 1799, he purchased from the heirs of Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Lord Justice Clerk, the lands of Meadowflat and Dishieflat and a house, garden, coachhouse and offices on the south side of the Canongate once belonging to the Duke of Roxburgh. Two years later he added to his Coates estate, lands of Drumsheugh which included two dwelling houses, a small dwelling house, flower garden, grass field, stable, byre and hay loft, for all of which his wife had liferent.⁷² What he had in mind, apart from taking up residence, is obvious from an advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 28 March 1807 which offered to be feued for building:

That part of the Lands of Coats and Drumseugh adjoining to Charlotte Square, conform to a plan and elevation. The city will supply water and there is plenty of good Free Stone on the grounds. Estimates and contractors wanted for making the Common Sewers through the said grounds according to levels taken by Mr Ainslie. For particulars apply to the Proprietor at Drumseugh.

According to the *Articles and Conditions of Feu by William Walker Esq*, the ground would be offered in lots on both sides of the intended streets at a mutually agreed annual feu duty – this being doubled at the entry of each heir. Feuars were forbidden to sell or dispone independently of William Walker and his heirs and each feuar was bound to build according to the specification of elevation made by Mr Robert Brown. Conditions included a ban on common stairs or shops; a requirement that no dung be carried away by front of street but only by the Mews Lane; and part payment of the cost of digging the common sewer from east to west of the first division of Melville Street. Mr Walker would bring the service pipe along the centre of the street for use of the feuars.⁷³ Walker made an agreement in July 1808 with the trustees of James Erskine, Lord Alva who had died in 1796, regarding a general feuing plan of the grounds of both and usage of the common sewers belonging to William Walker.

⁷¹ *Caledonian Mercury*.

⁷² WT, 5 January, 3, 4 February, 1801.

⁷³ WT, 12 August, 24 October 1807.

The plan included a church with the stipulation that if Walker did not build this, the cross-street on which the church was proposed (Stafford Street) should be carried through to Melville Street with uniform width and the different parts where the properties met would be squared.

Success in another roup in the following year—with Patrick Walker acting for him—gave William Walker ownership of subjects lying on the south side of the village of the Water of Leith at the cost of £330; and in August 1809 he paid £700 for the brewery at the Water of Leith and the Dwelling-house, Barns, Brewhouse, Kiln and Cobble, Draw Well and other houses and biggings bounded by the High Road leading to Bells Mills on the south, the Water of Leith on the north, Mrs Penman's garden wall and Lambs Houses on the east and the vennel leading to the Water on the east.⁷⁴ In the meantime, 'for certain causes moving me', he sold the superiority of the lands of Meadowflat and Dishieflat to Mr Patrick Walker advocate 'my second son'.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ WT, 27 April, 9, 14 November 1808; 3/12 August 1809. Mary Drummond was accorded liferent.

⁷⁵ WT, 8 October 1808; sasine dated 15 July 1816. In later years Patrick rebuffed the claims of the burgh of Canongate to collect dues from the property as this was expressly exempted in his charter, NLS, MS/16801/195, *Sir Patrick Walker to John Hume*, 29 October 1820.

3. Patrick Walker's Early Years and Career

Patrick, sixth of the nine Walker children, was third eldest of the five who survived beyond infancy. At the age of seven he enrolled, along with 88 other boys, in the class of William Cruikshank at the High School of Edinburgh.¹ Cruikshank, former rector of the Canongate Grammar School, taught him for three years with class sizes increasing from 94 in 1785 to 107 for the session 1786-7. Scholars then progressed to the class of the Rector, Alexander Adam.² According to Dr Adam:

The greater part remain with me two years; and a few sometimes three sessions; but many stay only one year. There is no certain rule, the whole depends on the discretion of the parents. Very often the worst scholars go to college, while the best remain with me. The Writers to the Signet have made a strange regulation, which determines numbers, that no one can be admitted to their society who has not attended some university at least two years. It matters not what progress they have made. That is no subject of inquiry.³

Patrick experienced two sessions in the Rector's class where educational emphasis centred on the teaching of classical Latin with principles of Greek and Geography added for the better scholars. Adam described the system which Walker would have undergone.

I manage matters so that the best scholars have sufficient employment, and no more is exacted from the lowest than they are able to learn. Though I have nominally but one class, I am obliged in fact to teach several, and have to accommodate myself to them all from the highest to the lowest. The method which I follow, and my predecessors followed, of teaching boys of different progress in the same class, is this, I always read different books this year, from what were read in the preceding session, so that a boy must remain two years at the class to go through the course. Last summer we read Livy for a great part of the day. The set lesson seldom exceeded half a chapter. This half chapter I went through with the whole class very minutely; and you know when boys have been four years at Latin, they may be, in certain things, joined with the most advanced in a school. All those that were able to say the prescribed lesson, whom I could soon distinguish, I set by themselves to prepare two or three chapters in a different book of Livy; while they were doing so, but with very little noise, so as not to disturb me, I was going on impressing the set task on the inferior part of the class. When I perceived the upper boys, or such as could, had read over their task, and they always fixed the quantity themselves, I gave them permission, while the whole class was silent, to ask me any phrase or difficulty they chose. At next meeting, all that could say this separate task were dismissed nearly an hour before the rest. Again, such as could repeat the separate task the best scholars had said before were dismissed also. Then I laboured with the rest to bring them on in what things they were most deficient.⁴

The boys did not attend classes on Sundays and had a six weeks' vacation in autumn; 'play days' being confined to Saturday afternoons in winter and Wednesday and Saturday afternoons in summer—but only for boys who had been attentive during the week.

If Walker conformed to the customary pattern, as did Walter Scott, six years his senior, he then proceeded to the college of Edinburgh to pursue studies which could include Latin, Greek, Ethics, Moral Philosophy, History, Civil and Municipal Law.⁵ Whatever his course of education took in the 1790s, with two friends he

¹ William Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵ John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1848), p. 47.

managed to complete a tour to the west of Scotland and Arran via Glasgow, Kilmarnock and Saltcoats returning to Edinburgh by Greenock; the expedition lasting from July 24 to 13 September 1797, although volume II of his journal says 1798.⁶ The main purpose of the journey seems to have been naturalist but Walker commented on both the scenery and people he encountered and kept statistics of the weather and miles covered.⁷ This chimed with the contemporary eighteenth-and-nineteenth century fashion for scenic tours described in private and published journals and the obsession with the works of Ossian, narrator and purported author of a cycle of epic poems published by James Macpherson from 1760.⁸ Some of the scenery around Killmichael, for example, reminded Walker of 'those scenes described by the inestimable Ossian'.⁹ Something of Patrick's personality as well as his lifelong antiquarian and general scientific interests and his patriotism emerge from a reading of his journals, written in what was to become his characteristically flamboyant and informal style. Describing Falkirk he pronounced:

It was near this Town that the Persicutors of Scotland, under the Ignoble Edward 1st, were by their numbers victorious over the poor but Patriotic Defenders of their country.... The English Monarch knew the falsity of his charge, but he cared neither for Justice or for the lives of his fellow creatures; Scotland knew also the falsity of the Charge, and insulted, stood forward to assert their independency. The malicious Edward destroyed their Records. Vainly did he suppose that the Patriotism of Scotland was folded up in a few musty papers. No, no Edward, had you yourself felt as a Patriot, you would have known, as Scotsmen shewd you to your cost, that Patriotism lived in the breasts of Scotsmen firm and indelible while life remained, and which they were ever ready to protect.... A Patriot may be beat but never conquered, the Patriotic Spirit will increase with danger and will endure to the last breath. I had almost forgot myself but recollection of my country's insults, the Battle which was here fought, the brave men who died in it fighting for their country, some of whose Bones perhaps lay where I at this moment tread, brought such reflection to my mind, they warmed me and I almost thought I was present and exultingly saw Wallace dealing death around every side and hewing vast roads through Edwards thousands.¹⁰

Glasgow he considered to be a 'very neat Town' which was expanding fast because of the increase of its manufactures and population; and he made a note to examine the inscriptions in Glasgow Cathedral on his next visit. Periodically a sense of humour enlivened his accounts. Sharing the coach during his Glasgow sight-seeing were:

a well-informed lady and a gentleman (whom I supposed to be a weaver) he sat stuck up in a corner, seemingly a great man in his own conceit, and for information from him, I might (upon trial) as well have applied myself to a Hat or Coat hung upon a Cloak Pin.¹¹

A mail coach took the party to Kilmarnock with its streets so narrow:

⁶ NLS, ADV.MS.20.5.1-3, Patrick Walker, *Tour to the West of Scotland from Edinburgh to Arran*, 3 manuscript volumes.

⁷ See below for the naturalist aspects of the tour.

⁸ For example, Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland 1769* (London, 1771) to which Walker refers; NLS, MS/3294-5, James Bailey, *Journey in Scotland July to September 1787*, manuscript. David Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century: Union and Enlightenment* (Harlow, 2002), Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland* (Yale, 2008) are two examples of the literature on the subject.

⁹ Walker, *Tour*, vol. I, p. 97.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 10, 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

that when the Mail was coming in, I was afraid to look out at the window of the coach, for fear some unfriendly corners might shave close as the Guillotine.¹²

Towards the end of his tour he returned to Glasgow crammed into the mail coach with five other passengers, one of whom he discovered to be a 'Merchant in Glasgow' who:

wore a curious cocked hat and a very full Cravat which might have been white in the morning but now looked more like a Panther's skin, from the brown drips which continued to flow copiously from a Nose of uncommon length and which was perpetually filled with immense quantities of snuff from a Gold box which he seemed as afraid to trust out of his sight as he was anxious that it should be noticed.¹³

When on Arran, his silent diatribe against the proprietor of Brodie Castle for his neglect of the property was interrupted by an attack from a bull:

which forced me to retreat from this fasthold to no small amusement of some of the Natives, who said a great deal in Gallic and by their looks and peals of laughter I could easily perceive that my recontre with the bull was the cause of their mirth. This sally was made by the Bull with such vigour that I was obliged to have recourse to my heels, otherwise I would have had all my reflections against his Lord and Master speedily put an end to.¹⁴

The schoolhouse at Whitefarland, like most of the huts on the island of Arran, was built of sod and thatched with fern with numerous holes cut in the wall to admit light, so varied in shape 'that almost all Euclid's Problems might have been worked from them'.¹⁵

The habits of the Islanders, especially the males, came in for harsh criticism—'the males are the laziest animals alive'—especially as they allowed the females to undertake at all kinds of hard masculine work while they did little else but sleep, eat or 'work a stocking'.¹⁶ One 'great stout fellow' riding from church on horseback through very bad roads while his wife ran barefoot alongside, merely smiled when reproached in both English and Gaelic, 'as much to say it is all you know about it, if I am easy that is enough'.¹⁷ Walker attributed much of the blame for the poor standard of living and health to 'the baneful effects of Whisky on which in my Opinion too much duty cannot be laid'; and he advocated a tenfold increase in the whisky tax in order to make the common people drink more beneficial malt liquor instead.¹⁸ His denunciation of whisky and its harmful effects, personal and national, was lengthy and graphic—their Bowels are corroded, wasted and burnt up—and to the liquor he attributed discontent at home which 'has made our enemies proud and arrogant' in thinking peace would be sued on any terms.¹⁹ Demonstrating the duality of his nationalism, Walker concluded:

¹² Ibid., p. 76.

¹³ Ibid., vol. III, p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid., vol. I, p. 92.

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. II, p. 63.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 146.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 136.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 137-141. Britain was at war with France from 1792-7 and 1798-1801.

But such a peace let us rather want: Britain is not come to such a Pass, and I have no doubt that, if tried, Britons will be Britons still. In short to Whisky I attribute the long continuance of the War and our distresses both at home and abroad.²⁰

At Killbride he witnessed the sacrament Sunday attended by a congregation of between 1500 and 2000 with one clergyman preaching in English in the church and another haranguing in 'Gallic' in a tent.

The wine, though mixed with water, went so smoothly down, that it was found very necessary to refill the Pewter Cups, for they had but two silver ones and they were used in the church. To some, this tasting only produced a relish for more and caused a very strong thirst that they seemed as desirous to remove by the hearty swigs of whisky which they seemed to be swallowing in two or three neighbouring blanket tents.²¹

Walker did, however, attend church twice at Gourrock where he had an instance 'of Presbeterian eloquence from as strange a blustering preacher as I ever heard', highly popular with the people on account of his hellfire approach.

This day, he described in the most horrid uncouth manner (I had almost said ludicrous) the entry to hell where he left us to get dinner: after which he commenced at the Gates of Hell again and went on at such a rate, that in a few minutes he had forced down the whole hearers within the Gates amidst fire and brimstone, Furnaces Cauldrons etc etc where was the devil working away with burning pitch and a kind of fork throwing the guilty into the hottest parts.²²

While this kind of discourse might do well in 'remote and ignorant corners', Walker deemed it unsuitable for town congregations, ending this journal entry with an anecdote of a preacher in the Western Isles:

who went to two islands alternatively and always sent one to heaven one Sunday while he sent the other next Sunday to Hell and so on regularly and alternatively. He was admired by these Islanders as the greatest of men and "no wonder" when he put them down, and then sent them up, no less than 26 times in a year.²³

Patrick concluded his account of his journeying with an appendix giving a general description of Arran; some comparisons with the earlier visit of Thomas Pennant whom he was not averse to criticising; observations on the people, housing and land cultivation; and descriptions of customs such as pig races and marriages. Excluding walks and expeditions often in rain, he covered over 248 miles with only 16 of the 52 days being described as fair.

Returning home Walker embarked on a legal career and on 2 June 1798 in the presence of the Dean, Robert Dundas of Arniston:

Mr Patrick Walker, second son of William Walker Esqr of Coats was publicly examined on Tit XIX Lib.1 Digest. De Officio Procuratoris Caesaris etc. and found sufficiently qualified etc.²⁴

Three days later he gained admittance to the Faculty of Advocates at the age of 21 years.²⁵ His examination subject dealt with the law concerning the duties of the Roman procurators, officers of the Caesar who looked after his public property;

²⁰ Ibid., p. 141.

²¹ Ibid., p. 144.

²² Ibid., vol. II, p. 149.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Angus Stewart and David Parratt (eds), *Faculty of Advocates Minute Book, 1783-1798*, vol. 4 (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 254.

²⁵ Sir Francis J. Grant (ed.), *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943* (Edinburgh, 1944), p. 213.

perhaps indicative of Walker's intentions of making a career in the Exchequer Court. Certainly he appeared there on 26 November 1800 on behalf of the defendants in a case involving the delivery of 'British Aquavits' worth 2s 6d a gallon from the sloop *Anna*.²⁶ Entries for him in the Exchequer records, however, are sparse. He acted as Counsel for the defenders in four cases in 1810 and in 1817 he acted in two cases, probably on behalf of his father who died on 16 November of that year.²⁷

William Walker clearly intended that both his sons should benefit from a connection with the Exchequer but this eventually proved costly for Patrick after what the Lord Chancellor described in 1833 as 'very tedious, protracted and expensive litigation'.²⁸ An examination of the circumstances demonstrates something of how sinecure posts were obtained at the time but also reveals what at best can be described as dubious practice. In 1778 William Walker entered into a transaction with Lord Ballenden, Heritable Usher and Doorkeeper of the Court of Exchequer, whereby for £250 his Lordship agreed to grant a commission as Deputy Ushers of the Exchequer to Mr Walker and his son George on the death or resignation of the current deputy Mr Tod WS. A subsequent arrangement of 1791 substituted Patrick Walker for his father for a payment of 10 guineas, Lord Bellenden being in 'very embarrassed circumstances'.²⁹ In theory, Ushers and Door-Keepers gave attendance at the doors where the Court sat and often served as messengers but in reality others were paid to undertake these duties while the fees attached to the posts were enjoyed by the honorary office-holders.³⁰

On the death of both Lord Bellenden and his heir, William Walker acted as trustee for most of their creditors. When Mr Tod died in 1800 George and Patrick presented their commission and became Deputy Ushers at a salary of £50 each; George being recorded as having taken the oath on 24 November 1804.³¹ He had, however, removed to London prior to 17 December 1790.³² Meanwhile in order to pay Bellenden's creditors, the Court ordained that the office of Usher of the Exchequer be sold—William Walker acting as common agent and Patrick Walker as Counsel—with the reservation of their rights as deputies to Patrick and George as defined in their commission. These procedures were later alleged to be 'of a very extraordinary nature' having been wholly conducted by Mr William Walker himself and 'chiefly directed to the object of securing the office of deputies to his sons'.³³ The sale of the office of Usher took place on 18 July 1802 with an upset price of £479 7s but James Gibson outbid William Walker by paying £1,370. Gibson then raised an action on 6 November against Patrick and George on the grounds that their

²⁶ NRS, E351/7, 26 November, 1800.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, E351/8, 29 May 1810; E351/9, 3 February, 2/3 July 1817. *Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh Observer or Town and Country Magazine*, 6 December 1817.

²⁸ James Wilson, Patrick Shaw, Charles Hope Maclean (eds), *Cases decided in the House of Lords on appeal from the Courts of Scotland 1825-34*, vol. VII, (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 104.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁰ Clerk and Scrope, pp. 291-2.

³¹ NRS, E305/12. The *Scots Magazine* of February 1801 announced that Patrick Walker Esq Advocate was to be Deputy Usher of Exchequer.

³² *Ibid.*, GD51/6/878. He wrote to the Rt Hon Henry Dundas on this date.

³³ NRS, CS46/1831/5/38.

commission was false and lacked the name, subscriptions and designations of the writer and witnesses; that according to the Usher's charter, each Usher appointed his own deputies; and that Ballenden had lacked the power to grant the deputation. Gibson claimed all monies which had been paid to the brothers and expenses.³⁴

During the protracted proceedings—no action being taken between 1803 and 1807—it emerged that the signature of one of the witnesses to the execution of the commission had been written on an erasure and that the handwriting of the word 'witness' differed from that of the signature. George Walker wrote from Drumsheugh to his clerk Charles Cummins in London on 28 September 1807:

It has now become absolutely necessary you should have to prove your handwriting to the Deed executed by Lord Ballenden 23 December 1791 appointing my Brother and I Deputy Ushers to the Exchequer which there can be no doubt of your doing at once but the sooner it is done the better. I would therefore wish you to write in course when you can set off and your expenses shall be paid when here. I am just returned from rustivating in the Highlands and perfectly recovered – remember me to all at the shop.³⁵

Under examination Cummins acknowledged his signature on what he thought was an erasure but did not recollect the deed itself nor the circumstances; and that the word 'witness' looked like George's handwriting. After a decision in favour of Gibson there followed a series of legal petitions, printed information, answers and appeals produced by both sides for the Lords of Council and Session and in 1814 for the House of Lords who remitted the case to the Court of Session. A final appeal by Patrick and George to the House of Lords on 22 February 1819 was rejected, the remaining question being the length of the period for which repayment of the emoluments of office should be made.³⁶ In 1809 Gibson had failed to persuade the Barons of the Exchequer to accept his nominee as deputy and the Walkers continued to draw both salary and fees until 1819.³⁷ (Patrick had earlier successfully raised a complaint against the Macer of the Exchequer Court for not having collected and paid the relevant fees due to him.³⁸) The issue of accounting procedures for repayment to Gibson Craig continued throughout the 1820s with Patrick claiming allowances for alleged services performed by him.³⁹ George meanwhile had died in August 1823 at Whitehall Cottage near Hanham, Bristol, aged 53 years.⁴⁰ Finally, on 21 January 1831, the Court of Session ordered Walker to pay £1,269 16s 7⁵/₁₀d with interest from 15 February 1830. He immediately appealed to the House of Lords but in vain and on 29 August 1833 he was instructed to pay costs of £237 13s 10d to Gibson Craig.⁴¹ The need to raise the above sums in cash may account in part for

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ House of Lords, *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 52 (London, 1818), p. 78; Wilson, *Cases*, p. 89.

³⁷ NRS, E305/13, 19 December 1809, 23 January 1810. When Gibson Craig's right to appoint his own Deputy was confirmed he chose Archibald Gibson and on his death, James Gibson his second son – E225/5, 11 March 1823, E305/22, 22 May 1823.

³⁸ Ibid., E351/9, 27 January 1814.

³⁹ Gibson added Craig to his name in 1818.

⁴⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.134 (London, 1823), p. 284; *The Edinburgh Annual Register* (Edinburgh, 1823), p. 471.

⁴¹ Wilson, *Cases*, p. 105.

Walker borrowing—with the consent of his sisters Barbara and Mary—£10,000 on 17 October 1833 from Alexander White Esq. Merchant in Leith with ‘Parts of the Lands of Coatts in Security’.⁴²

Following his admission to the Faculty Patrick Walker does not appear to have undertaken much work as an advocate. Lord Brougham referred to having attended the Circuit Court of Justiciary in Perth with him in 1800; and Brougham solicited his support with regard to the application of Mr Jeffrey—a candidate of ‘uncommon and almost universal abilities’—for a vacant post in the Faculty in 1801.⁴³ Earlier in that year the Court of Judiciary had appointed Walker and James Keay as Counsel in the trial of Peter Anderson subsequently hanged for housebreaking and theft.⁴⁴ In 1804 Patrick acted with Francis Jeffrey on behalf of the accused in a bank forgery case.⁴⁵ When the Faculty of Advocates met on 9 March 1807 to discuss the proposals proposed by Solicitor-General John Clerk and Lord Advocate Henry Erskine to reform the Court of Session, their number included Patrick Walker.⁴⁶ He also attended the meeting on 23 December when the advocates adopted resolutions approving of the division of the Court of Session into two chambers as outlined in the parliamentary bill.⁴⁷ In 1811, however, when applying to Viscount Melville for an unspecified post, he admitted:

In regard to the Professional claims, then if they depend upon the extent of business at the Bar I may not have the equal to some others but that has been occasioned by the time I have spent in the Public service and that the little share of professional knowledge I may lay claim to has been chiefly directed to the gratuitous attention to the Civil and Legal matters of this country.⁴⁸

Two years later while in London he tried for another appointment, informing Melville:

I have just received a Letter from my Father informing me that poor Burnet Bruce dropped dead on Wednesday morning – I had been in correspondence with him and the other Commissaries at whose recommendation I am publishing a small volume on the Law of Scots Divorces of English parties from English Marriages. A vacancy has thus occurred in the Commissary Court so suddenly as to induce a hope that no promise has been given in case of vacancy. To your Lordships friendship may I now look to succeed having hitherto been disappointed and passed over owing to prior promises for other situations.⁴⁹

The reply indicated that ‘Lord Melville is sorry it will not be in his power to assist his views as he has already recommended another’.⁵⁰

⁴² WT, *Bond and Disposition in Security*, 17/25 October 1833. In May 1833 Walker also took over his newspaper partner’s share of debt amounting to £6400. The Misses Walker fully discharged the loan in 1846.

⁴³ NLS, MS/10997, *Mr Brougham to Mr Patrick Walker*, 4 June 1801.

⁴⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 3 January 1801.

⁴⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 16 October 1804.

⁴⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 March 1807.

⁴⁷ *Scots Magazine*, vol. 70 (Edinburgh, 1808), p. 69. On this occasion the bill failed due to the fall of the government. In 1810 the Court of Session was divided into Outer and Inner Courts.

⁴⁸ NRS, GD51/6/1793, 31 October 1811.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, GD51/6/1837, 5 June 1813. For an annual salary of £250 Burnett Bruce held office in the Commissary of Edinburgh which dealt with marriages, divorce, separation and legitimacy until its abolition in 1836.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

In 1819 Walker tried again to obtain a public office, an element of self justification mixed with desperation detected in his correspondence from Drumsheugh with Melville.

I have long been the servant of the public and particularly of this quarter and have every inclination to continue to be so but in justice both to me and to the public I look to a remuneration in some shape or other after so long a gratuitous service. My first and greatest pride would be in case of a vacancy in the country by Sir William Raes' promotion that I should be remembered if my zeal and other considerations were considered sufficient to qualify me for that situation.

Failing that office I have looked for a Clerk of Session as an office that would satisfy all my wishes and one whose duties would not interrupt the continued attention I would feel myself called upon to give to the Country if I received such an appointment.... Regarding the Revenue for which I was educated an appointment therein however desirable it might be would have the effect of hampering my county services.

It has been supposed I did not stand in need of any appointment and it may be so by and by but although possessed of considerable value I am miserably restricted in Income all of which I entreat your Lordship to consider.⁵¹

No appointment being forthcoming he wrote again from London on 24 June 1820:

Since I called at the Admiralty I have heard of various vacancies likely to occur at Edr. In consequence of Baron Norton's death and have therefore taken the liberty of reminding your Lordship that I am still an expectant and rely on your friendly support.⁵²

This must have been an earlier visit as Lord Melville had written to him on the previous day inviting him to 'take the trouble of calling at the Admiralty on Monday next at half past Eleven o'clock'.⁵³ In common with his elder brother George, however, Patrick failed to achieve the public office he sought and had to concentrate his 'zeal' on his other duties including notably those in connection with the office of Gentleman Usher of the White Rod.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ibid., GD51/6/2009, 24 April 1819. William Rae was appointed as Lord Advocate in 1819.

⁵² Ibid., GD51/6/2009/2. Norton was a Baron of the Scottish Exchequer.

⁵³ EUSC, Gen 1982/46 No 174, 23 June 1820.

⁵⁴ See appendix 2 for George Walker.

4. His Majesty's Heritable Principal Usher for Scotland, Usher of the Parliament and Usher of the White Rod

When George Walker penned his approval of Patrick Walker's impending acquisition of the Office of Principal Usher in 1805, he wrote – 'Your purchase is certainly a most advantageous one if merely to sell again'.¹ George had clearly no inkling of how seriously and energetically his younger brother would embrace and embellish the duties of his new role bought, on 6 July 1805, through the agency of their father William Walker, for £7,600 (the equivalent of £245,000 of spending power in 2014).² The office of 'Ostarii regis principalis' or as Patrick denoted it in 1820—'his Majesty's Heritable Principal Usher for Scotland, Usher of the Parliament and Usher of the White Rod'—had a complicated history.³ The new officer immediately undertook a quest to establish this and assert his claims.

The role of Ostiarius regis or door-ward of the king's hall was documented in the 12th century but details of what this honour might have entailed are not cited until much later.⁴ Lost charters of 1373 and 1393, referenced in 1681, granted the right to Alexander de Cockburn de Langton and his heirs to be:

our Principal Ushers at our Parliaments, General Councils and feasts receiving an allowance for two Esquires and two archers, with the sword-bearers and horses pertaining to the same".⁵

In November 1462 Sir John Cockburn was apparently acting as Usher to the king; and in 1595 William Cockburn of Langton received a fresh charter of the lands of Langton and the office of Principal Usher.⁶ Subsequently the Cockburns of Langton were granted a series of charters confirming their rights but these were by no means held as consistently or indisputably as their later successors would argue. Nor is it certain what revenue they could claim as a variety of other Ushers also received fees. In 1647, however, the fees and salary of the office were fixed with a scale of amounts to be paid to the Principal Usher by all Scotsmen receiving any honour from his Majesty and all Englishmen receiving such within the kingdom of Scotland. Every creation of an Earl, for example, earned the Usher £180 Scots or £15 sterling; and each Knight £40/£3 6s 8d.⁷ Parliament in 1681 ratified all charters and fees and a salary of £250 sterling to Sir Archibald Cockburn and his heirs.⁸ Fees on the appointment of Archbishops and Bishops were added five years later.⁹

¹ WT, *Letter of George Walker to Patrick Walker*, 17 July 1805.

² *Ibid.*, *Minute of Sale*, 6 July 1805.

³ Court of the Lord Lyon, MS 46, *Memorial anent the office of Gentleman Usher of the White Rod for the Kingdom of Scotland*, February 1761.

⁴ *The Scottish Antiquary*, vol. XI, no 44 (April 1897), p. 159.

⁵ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. viii, 1670-1686 (Edinburgh, 1820), p. 293.

⁶ *Calendar of the Laing Charters AD 854-1837*, ed. John Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899), p. 38; *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* ed. John Maitland Thomson, vol. vi (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 123.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ix (1897), p. 651.

⁸ *Acts*, vol. viii, p. 293.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 633.

This represented the high point for the Cockburns of Langton for thereafter they increasingly faced the consequences of mounting debts and, as Patrick Walker phrased it:

the rights of the office were for long very much neglected owing chiefly to tedious litigations that commenced before the Union and continued without intermission until 1758.¹⁰

As a means of meeting the demands of the various creditors, in 1758 the House of Lords confirmed that the office could be sold and consequently it was purchased by Alexander Coutts. Coutts' tenure was brief but before re-selling it to Sir James Cockburn in 1766, he attempted a revival of rights and privileges, claiming both fees of honour and a place in ceremonial processions similar to that of the Black Rod.

The duty of the Gentleman Usher of the White Rod in Scotland:

was to bear the white Rod before the King in all solemn Processions and others wherein His Majesty was present or before his Majesty's Commissioner since the Union of the Crowns as well as those in Processions (or as we call them Riding the Parliament) and others that were made on particular occasions.... to introduce all foreign Ambassadors and great Barons of the Kingdom to his Majesty and on that account had an Establishment in the King's household¹¹

Coutts was able to quote various precedents to support his plea to be ranked prior to any other officer 'those of State excepted'; and that his fees and establishment in the King's household:

should be ascertained by his Majesty in pursuance of the 27th Article of the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland in the same manner as the precedence of the Lord Lyon and other officers of the Crown of Scotland have already been.¹²

For his pains he received a summons to attend the coronation of George III and he walked as Usher of the White Rod on 22 September 1761 behind the King's Regalia and in front of the Lord Mayor of London, Lyon King of Arms, Garter Principal King of Arms and the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.¹³

In spite of this promising beginning Coutts abdicated his role in 1766 but not before commissioning an emblem of office. Made in Edinburgh by John Clark and dated 1758-9, the silver rod has a gilt central loop and one at the lower terminal engraved with the Royal Arms.¹⁴ Clark made another rod in 1766 for Sir James Cockburn but like his predecessors, he too was pursued by creditors. In 1778 he resorted to the public roup of the ushership which then became the property of Sir Archibald Campbell for the sum of £12,100 sterling. Campbell who died in 1791 and his brother and heir Sir James Campbell of Inverneil received fees of honour averaging at £78 6s 8d in 1793, £405 in 1801 and £180 in 1804 from which was deducted 1s 6d per pound for office fees and Agency.¹⁵ This information formed part of Patrick Walker's research prior to the purchase of the office of Principal Usher

¹⁰ LO, MS 46, *The Humble Petition of Sir Patrick Walker*, 1820.

¹¹ LO, MS 46, February 1761.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *London Gazette*, 22-26 September 1761, *St James Chronicle*, 19-22 September 1761, *Public Ledger*, 22 September 1761.

¹⁴ Henry Fotherington, (ed.), *Scottish Gold and Silver Work* (Stevenage, 1991), p. 167.

¹⁵ WT, *Letter from Mr Cooke to John Ferrier WS Agent for Patrick Walker*, 9 January 1805.

from its new holder Brigadier General James Campbell.¹⁶ It marked only the beginning of a long crusade to reclaim and reinvent rights and status.

On 17 December 1805 Patrick Walker Esq His Majesty's Sole and Principal Usher of Scotland petitioned the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.¹⁷ He informed their Lordships at length of his entitlement to fees when land investments (the legal granting of heritable property) took place and annexed a table of amounts ranging from 12s 6d to £3 15s.¹⁸ An additional note six months later enclosed examples of payments having been made to the King's Usher.¹⁹ There appeared, however, to be unhappiness among some Writers to the Signet as Walker took the step of having printed copies of his case circulated. Employing his characteristic conversationalist style he declared:

The present Usher's right commenced 1st August 1805; and knowing the irregularities that had subsisted, he declined to insist on his Fees, which he certainly might have done, being determined to risk a loss than a murmur from any person. Every Writer who had signatures passing, therefore had intimation given him that the Usher's fee would be called for; and some of the Society accordingly paid their Fees, and many others offered to do so; but he declined receiving them until they had consulted their brethren, because several others had expressed a wish to that effect. As nothing has been done, though four terms are now past and a fifth commencing, the Usher trusts that some steps will be taken by the Writers to the Signet, either individually or collectively concerning the Premises.²⁰

He added a note to their Committee stating:

The Right of the King's Usher to Fees on Charters is now generally admitted and many of the Writers on looking into their Books since the meeting of the Society have found a fee uniformly paid to him, though in most cases lower than is now claimed by him. Little appears now to be added to the short printed Statement already in possession of the Society.²¹

A printed letter to the Keeper of the Signet was dispatched at the same time to inform him of a few facts:

which must remove every idea that some of them seem to have, that on exacting Fees on their Signatures, as his Majesty's Usher, I was guilty of an innovation; but I am sure you, and every other writer practised in passing Signatures, must be convinced that this is truly not the case, and that, in doing so, I am acting within the terms of my Charter. My great anxiety is to avoid disputes of every description and at the same time to maintain my right.²²

On 3 February 1807 the Society of Writers issued a table of fees payable to the Usher ranging from 5s upon every Signature of Resignation of a £5 land or under to 10s for every Barony or Regality, but notwithstanding that that these had 'now been universally admitted', Walker petitioned the Barons of the Exchequer again on 1 June 1807, complaining that he had lost a great number of them.²³ Signed

¹⁶ WT, *Disposition and Settlement by Sir James Campbell*, 21 May 1799; *Instrument of Sasine Heritable Office of Principal Usher in Scotland in favour of Brigadier General James Campbell*, 5 July 1805.

¹⁷ LO, MS46; NAS, E305/12.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid, 22 June 1806.

²⁰ LO, MS47, 20 November 1806.

²¹ LO, MS46, November 1806.

²² Ibid, 20 November 1806.

²³ NRS, E305/13.

documents had been removed from the Court before his fees had been collected and:

an Order from your Lordships not to give out these signatures until the King's Usher's are paid would be very beneficial to him and put him on the same footing with the Usher of the Court and enable the same person to collect the Fees of both.²⁴

The Barons ordered a report to be made. Fees of Honour, on the other hand, seem to have been regularly collected in the London Exchequer by Mr Cook who secured £52 9s in 1806 from the creation of baronets, knights and barons.²⁵

Simultaneously the new Usher investigated his rights to other fees and privileges, regaling the Attorney General with a documented account of the background to his office, Mr Coutts' success in having it recognised as British, 'the deranged state' of the Cockburn affairs and the lack of Insignia.²⁶ The Attorney General answered eight specific queries, confirming the entitlement to rights enjoyed before the Treaty of Union but expressing doubts regarding the demand for fees on the creation of Archbishops and Bishops which had not been recognised post Union and 'because the State of Scotland's Presbyterianism excluded the rank'.²⁷ Mr Adam opined that the Usher of the White Rod should be ranked next to the Usher of the Black Rod but declared that any claims and requests for the same fees as the Black Rod for introductions and bills in Parliament must be made to the King who would refer the Petition to the Attorney General and Lord Advocate. With regard to the Insignia of Office he suggested that Walker claim it from those who sold to him, but if not successful, to apply to the king who would presumably direct the Wardrobe and Jewel Office accordingly.

Perhaps taking the Attorney General's view on ranking too literally, Patrick immediately petitioned the King to:

order him to be summoned along with other Parliamentary officers (ranking next to the Usher of the Black Rod as fixed in 1761) at the ensuing Impeachment (of Viscount Melville) as Usher of the White Rod to your Majesty and the British Parliament²⁸

He received a brusque reply on behalf of Lord Spencer, the Home Secretary, to the effect that due to the impeachment there was no time at present to look at his claims, but more especially no precedent had been cited and :

your title to the office is not stated in such plain distinct and precise terms as to make it proper that his Majesty should be advised immediately to recognise the same.²⁹

The suggestion that his presentation style was somewhat lacking does not seem to have been taken to heart by Walker who over the next few months, bombarded the Lord Advocate with additional remarks and appendices while simultaneously bemoaning the fact that, although entitled to have a communication of all rights and privileges with the Usher of the Black Rod, the latter 'has been drawing every

²⁴ LO, 1 June 1807.

²⁵ WT, *Letter of W Cook to Patrick Walker*, 16 December 1806.

²⁶ LO, MS46, 15 April 1806.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 23 April 1806.

²⁹ Ibid., 20 April 1806.

emolument whether arising out of English or Scottish matters to the total exclusion of the Usher of the White Rod'.³⁰ The Usher of the Green Rod who attended the Knights of the Thistle, came in for particular venom. Walker considered that the duties and fees attending this office belonged to the Usher of the White Rod who had been usurped in his rights through the neglect of his predecessors and the opportunism of Thomas Brand who had been created Green Rod in 1714.

A speedy decision did not ensue. In a letter to Lord Sidmouth, Home Secretary, on 27 June 1812, Walker cited his charter of 23 September 1809 and his receipt of salary and fees on 'Creations of Honour', as confirmation of his position as Usher of the White Rod, but declared:

I am however anxious as in duty bound, to offer my services to, and be publically recognised in that character by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on behalf of His Majesty.³¹

With breathtaking confidence or naivety he continued:

I beg leave to apprise your Lordship that the office is described in the Charters as a Knight Service and held as such by my predecessors in office for centuries passed, in like manner as the Black Rod of England is, to which it is analogous. Not having the honour of being personally known to your Lordship, I beg leave to refer you to Lord Melville, and if I may use the freedom, I would urge, if possible, to be presented next Levee day, because the week after my presence in Scotland becomes necessary with the 3rd Mid Lothian Local Militia which I have the honour to command.³²

Lord Sidmouth had no objection to the presentation which took place on 17 July 1812, although the press listed 'Lt Col P Walker 3rd Mid Lothian Local Militia' rather than Usher of the White Rod.³³ Nothing, however was said about a knighthood so Walker addressed a hasty but wordy appeal to the said Viscount Melville, fellow Scot who had inherited his father's title in 1811 and was now first Lord of the Admiralty.

I am anxious to know if an opportunity has occurred of communicating with Lord Sidmouth.... I really would not press it if I did not consider it of importance because the acknowledgment of me in office without it must be destructive to all my rights and strikes at the analogy between Black and White Rods. The honour requested in right of office must as a matter of course come sometime whether I wish it or not. If for instance I should live to see a coronation I am bound to attend as it is now a subsistory British office and my situation being to rank with the Black Rod and so near the Royal Person and Honors as none under Knighthood is allowed.... I really thought that Lord Sidmouth had conceded to me my request because I stated in my letter that the office was a Knight Service and his Lordship says in reply that I may be "publically recognised as Usher of the White Rod according to the request contained in your letter" which I imagined embraced all.³⁴

Two years later Patrick Walker received his knighthood and full citation as Gentleman Usher of the White Rod and His Majesty's Hereditary Usher for Scotland.³⁵

The acquisition of Insignia, however, proved to be the real test of Patrick Walker's determination and refusal to give up. A Bill of Discovery and Delivery filed against Sir James Cockburn for the recovery of the Insignia served only to reveal

³⁰ Ibid., 16 June, 12 November 1806.

³¹ Ibid., 27 June 1812.

³² Ibid.

³³ *Morning Chronicle*, 17 July 1812.

³⁴ NRS, GD51/6/18822/1, 10 August 1812.

³⁵ *Caledonian Mercury* 1 August 1814.

that it was 'mutilated and pledged by the deceased Sir James Cockburn'.³⁶ Walker therefore dramatically appealed to Lord Spencer, Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department as 'for want of Insignia' he had been prevented from officiating 'and of course deprived of many of his rights and Privileges, not only in England but in Scotland also'.³⁷ More urgently, he was bound to attend the forthcoming election of 16 Peers for Scotland but he could not officiate or appear without his Badge of Office.

And what is still worse is that as the Election of the Peers takes place in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, he may even be excluded or turned out of the Palace being without his Insignia, though he is himself the Principal Officer of the Palace attendant on that occasion.

His request for an order to the Officers of the Wardrobe and Jewel Office to issue the proper Regalia went unheeded. The election of Peers had, of course, taken place for nearly 100 years without the presence of the Usher of the White Rod, regulated as it was by an Act of 1 April 1708 which required the Lord Clerk Register or two Clerks of Session to attend such meetings, to ask the votes and return the names of the Peers chosen.³⁸ Presumably Patrick thought he should be ushering them to their places but he had to wait until 1820 for that honour.³⁹

Following his presentation at Court in 1812, Walker wrote to Lord Sidmouth requesting the necessary warrant for the issue of 'Insignia and Robes' as he had 'now been recognised and acknowledged to be His Majesty's Gentleman Usher of the White Rod'.⁴⁰ In an ensuing meeting on 21 August, Lord Sidmouth evidently raised the point that the issue of the trappings of office would be a waste of government expenditure should the office then be resold. On the following day Walker penned a lengthy response to the Secretary of State's arguments, 'the force of which I must candidly admit and confess did not occur to me'. In the unlikely event of a sale—his purchase being only the third since 1370—he would bind himself and his successors:

not to apply for new Insignia except in the like circumstances with the other similar offices that are not hereditary and that if either I or my successors shall sell or alienate the office they shall be bound to deliver over such Insignia.... to such purchaser or Assignee....⁴¹

A year later, however, Lord Sidmouth received another letter requesting 'the necessary authority to receive the Insignia of my Office' and in November a further request for whatever was necessary 'for directing the Wardrobe and Jewel Office' to that effect.⁴²

The conferring of a knighthood does not seem to have speeded the workings of bureaucracy, as demonstrated by a letter from T. B. Nash to Sir Patrick Walker on 23 September 1816, informing him that 'no letter has yet been received by this office

³⁶ LO, 20 October 1806.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ William Robertson, (ed.), *Proceedings Relating to the Peerage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1790), pp. 16, 18.

³⁹ WT, *Minutes of a Meeting of the Peers of Scotland*, 11 April 1820.

⁴⁰ LO, MS46, 17 August 1812.

⁴¹ Ibid., 22 August 1812.

⁴² Ibid., 3 August, 14 November 1813.

from Lord Sidmouth' and requesting to be reminded of what was to be furnished.⁴³ More correspondence followed before letters dated 30 April 1817, informed the Usher 'that the longlooked for authority for providing the Insignia' had arrived.⁴⁴ The Usher of the White Rod wrote confidently to Dr Leach of the British Museum:

Many of the rights have been lost to this office by neglect of its possessors and advantages taken of it by I am sorry to say some of my countrymen.... I am now endeavouring to reclaim the rights of the office in which I have met with most encouraging success and within these days have received a warrant for an Issue of Insignia.⁴⁵

Walker also thanked John Spottiswoode for forwarding papers 'connected with the White Rod' remarking that 'If chance had led to an earlier discovery of them it would have saved me a good deal of trouble but they will still be of considerable use'.⁴⁶ By October the Insignia was 'complete' and Sir Patrick invited to collect it from the Lord Chamberlain's Office.⁴⁷ But the Insignia saga had a few more years to run.

Following the accession of George IV who became king in 1820, the Usher of the White Rod produced an outpouring of 'humble' petitions for a place in the ensuing coronation. These included an aggrieved request for 'the Robe and Insignia of his office' which had not been ordered to be got ready:

along with those for the other officers who are to attend the Coronation although his office in all respects is analogous to the Black Rod and gives him a like high precedence in the Procession.⁴⁸

Against the official line of no precedent, Sir Patrick directed a series of explanations relating to the position of his predecessor in office and craved:

That the Robe and Insignia of his Office be issued to him almost as a matter of course, because on the one hand he cannot appear without them and on the other it cannot be intended to except him from the ordinary usage observed in regard to similar offices and so burden him with an addition to the expense he must necessarily incur in the performance of his duty at the Coronation.⁴⁹

Lord Sidmouth remained adamant; he was not going to issue anything without proof of this having previously occurred for a Coronation after the Union. A final plea to the King and Council for new Insignia, in common with the other Officers attending the Coronation—'the Petitioner cannot imagine it is intended to make him a solitary exception'—failed also. Sir Patrick Walker, therefore, walked in the Coronation procession of 19 July 1821 wearing his 1817 Insignia but dressed splendidly at his own expense. He recycled his 'superb jacket of crimson and gold' for the entry of His Majesty into Edinburgh on 15 August 1822, but the effects of king's visit provided ammunition for continued attempts to acquire the Insignia which he maintained should have been provided for the Coronation.⁵⁰

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid; WT, 30 April 1817.

⁴⁵ WT, *Letter to Dr Leach*, 2 May 1817.

⁴⁶ NLS, MS/10273/155, 20 June 1817.

⁴⁷ Ibid., *Letter from Mr Martin to Sir Patrick Walker*, 8 October 1817.

⁴⁸ LO, MS46, *Memorial to the Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Sidmouth*, 7 July 1820.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Robert Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822), p. 93.



Sir Patrick's jacket, on loan to National Museums of Scotland

On 14 May 1825, Sir Patrick wrote from 47 Marlborough Street London to the Lord Chamberlain's Office:

You must be aware how necessary it is that an Issue should be made to me my whole Official equipment having been so much injured during his Majesty's visit to Scotland as to make them unfit to appear again.⁵¹

The Lord Chamberlain, of course, required confirmation of Sir Patrick's attendance at the Coronation, his entitlement to Insignia and whether it was a 'Personal Requisite for which compensation in money can be properly granted'.⁵² On the back of the letter inviting him to visit, Sir Patrick wrote 'Called Treasury wished to know if I would take compensation in money Refused'.⁵³ His determination paid off and £145 was allocated for the provision of Insignia.⁵⁴ Mr Martin, who by this time had become quite acquainted with Sir Patrick and other members of the Walker family, wrote on 19 August with instructions:

Messrs Rundell Bridge and Co have received directions, accordingly it is necessary that you should send me a receipt to the following effect signed by yourself as Usher of the White Rod "(date the day you write it) Received from the Office of the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household a Rod, part silver part gold, arms of Scotland and chased, a gold enamelled Badge, a gold chain collar, 3 roses and Gold Thistle in the centre Morocco cases for Do (ditto) Provided for me as Gentleman Usher and White Rod on Acct of the Coronation of His Majesty King George IV" This receipt shall be secured in the proper Book and will be a favourable Precedent for you. The Fees are the same amount as when your former Insignia was delivered which I will deduct from your Fees of Honor if you please or you can pay them in any other way more agreeable to yourself.⁵⁵

The cost of the Insignia was entered (below that of the Black Rod) in the *Retailed Account* of expenses occurred for the Coronation of 1821; £77 for the White Rod, £26 10s for the chain and £41 10s for the gold badge.⁵⁶

⁵¹ WT, *Letter to Mr T. B. Mash*, 14 May 1825.

⁵² *Ibid.*, *W. S. R. Lushington to the Lord Chamberlain*, 31 May 1825.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, *Mr Martin to Sir Patrick Walker*, 1 June 1825.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, *Certified Copy Letter Mr George Harrison*, 8 July 1825.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *Mr William Martin to Sir Patrick Walker*, 19 August 1825.

⁵⁶ WT, *Certified Excerpt from the Lord Chamberlain's Department Retailed Acct*, 19 July 1821.



Insignia of the White Rod, Walker Trust

Sadly for Sir Patrick he did not receive the opportunity to bear the symbols of his office—or to ask for new ones—at the next coronation. William IV determined on a pared down ceremony. Having travelled ‘to London to perform the duties of his office at the august Ceremony’, Walker produced a memorial for the Coronation Committee in which he recited the now familiar history of his office but added a nationalist strand to his arguments against his exclusion from the ceremony.⁵⁷ The White Rod bearing the Unicorn of Scotland represented that part of the United Kingdom.



Unicorn Detail of the White Rod

The Memorialist cannot believe that it is proposed to restrict the Ceremony to that of an English Coronation but it must come to be such if Scotland is precluded from partaking in it, which it virtually is, if the Memorialist is not allowed to exercise the right of his office.... At his late Majesty’s Coronation the Memorialist was placed near to the Royal Personage and was directed to give the signal to the Peers as the Crown was placed on His Majesty’s brow and did so accordingly.

The Memorialist is called upon to make this claim upon public and National grounds and he prays that justice may be done to that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, by permitting him to attend his place at the approaching Coronation....⁵⁸

⁵⁷ LO, MS46, 17 August 1831.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

The reply, however, stated that the abridged ceremonial did not include several officers and others who had officiated at the last coronation. 'His Majesty has been pleased to dispense with your services at the present Coronation' but 'all the rights to which you may be entitled are preserved inviolate for all future occasions'.⁵⁹ True to form Sir Patrick then petitioned the King on 3 and 5 September, clutching at the straw that perhaps the intention had been to exempt him from the peril of a journey from Edinburgh and reiterating that his office 'is of a Public and National character' and not just personal.⁶⁰ He argued in vain but might have been comforted by the similar exclusion from the Coronation of the Lord Lyon King of Arms, although the High Constables of Scotland and Ireland and the Captain of the Archer-Guard of Scotland were present.⁶¹ The Duke of Sussex's Librarian at Kensington Palace sympathised.

I feel as angry as any Scotchman about this neglect of ancient right, but you have at least the satisfaction of reflecting that you have done your duty in this matter.⁶²

It is interesting to observe how Patrick Walker created and developed a role for himself as Usher of the White Rod during the years after the purchase of the office in 1805. Once the legal niceties of receiving sasine and a charter of confirmation were completed, but more especially following his acceptance at Court in 1812 and knighthood in 1814, he reclaimed or invented rights for his office which did not always go unchallenged. When, on 27 June 1818, he received a questionnaire from the Parliamentary Commissioners into the Courts of Justice in Scotland, his answers far exceeded the scope of the questions.⁶³ He told the Commissioners that he had 'spared no pains to investigate the rights of this ancient office' which he was 'most anxious to re-establish and restore to all its former consequence'.⁶⁴ Indeed he did expend considerable energy and time in searching what was accessible and known at that period. The conclusions he drew, however, are somewhat simplistic and he amalgamated duties and timescales with consummate ease in his zeal to demonstrate the longevity of his post as 'one of the most ancient offices of Scotland'.

Walker, for example, stated that the person holding his office in earlier Scots Parliaments was addressed as Mr Doorward or Durward and in later ones as Mr Usheare; and that the office had a salary of five pounds at the time of Malcolm Canmore. Malcolm Canmore, however, died in 1093, nearly 150 years before any probable colloquium or parliament emerged (1235) or official register of Parliamentary Acts (1466).⁶⁵ The salary to which Sir Patrick referred appeared in the *Leges Malcolmi Mackenneth*, a fourteenth-century treatise which reflected payments in the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland to the durwards of the kitchen, king's chamber

⁵⁹ WT, *Letter from C. Grenville to Sir Patrick Walker*, undated.

⁶⁰ WT, *Petition of Sir Patrick Walker*, 3, 5 September 1831.

⁶¹ *Bulletins of State Intelligence from the London Gazette* (London, 1831), pp. 359-398.

⁶² EUSC, Gen.1982/85.

⁶³ LO, M46, 27 June, 27 July 1818. For a parliamentary debate on the reports see <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1824/mar/30/courts-of-justice-in-scotland>>.

⁶⁴ LO, M46.

⁶⁵ University of St Andrews, *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, <<http://www.rps.ac.uk>>.

and king's hall.⁶⁶ Similarly, he claimed that he was 'generally speaking supposed to be attending the Sovereign'; and that his predecessors accompanied the king on visits abroad, citing the occasion of King Alexander II's journey to York in 1220. This reference was to the presence of Thomas Hostiarius, one of the 'barons' who witnessed the marriage agreement between the King of Scotland and Joanna, eldest sister of Henry III of England.⁶⁷ Thomas Durward was named in three charters as 'hostiario meo' but appeared at the king's court less frequently than other household knights.⁶⁸ His sons Colin and Alan likewise had the description of 'doorward' (Durward) but there is no evidence of either acting as royal doorwards.⁶⁹ Alan became justiciar but spent much time in England where he held land and performed duties for Henry III, being named 'Doreward' or 'l'Ussir' (Usher) in the texts but without any reference to a Scottish office.⁷⁰ There is no record of Alan's male descendants holding office in the household of the king of Scotland and there seems to have been a trend towards elective rather than hereditary court offices. A treatise of 1292 described the duties of the Ushers of Offices in the Scottish King's Household including 24 doorwards who guarded the body of the king under the command of a Constable. It fell to the Marshall to organise the hall and the diners, after the tables had been set 'by the discretion of the Steward and Constable'.⁷¹

Another claim made by Sir Patrick in his questionnaire response related to his required attendance at all public displays of the Regalia of Scotland; though he gives no reason for his assertion. Earlier in the year he had been thwarted in his attempt to be present at the opening of the sealed chest containing the 'Honours' held in Edinburgh Castle since 1707. He had written hastily from Drumsheugh on 25 January 1818 to Alexander McConnochie, the Lord Advocate, to ask if 'you still have time to consider of what I write about the Regalia' and pleading, among several tortuous arguments, that 'the effects of my not being there.... would be hurtful but that would require a long letter to explain'.⁷² If his inclusion proved to be impossible, however:

I still think the only remedy is what I formerly mentioned to make me the bearer of the Report to London and this at all events I think would be proper whether it be considered by the analogy in other State Matters by right of office which makes the Usher the usual bearer of State communications regarding all the Honours that either flow from the Crown or belong to the Crown itself.⁷³

The Lord Advocate's response was copied to the Principal Clerk of Session in a private letter which informed him:

⁶⁶ Archibald Duncan, 'The Laws of Malcolm MacKenneth', in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds) *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community*, (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 238-273.

⁶⁷ Joseph Bain, ed., *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 1, (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 135.

⁶⁸ Matthew H. Hammond, 'Hostiarii Regis Scotie: the Durward Family in the thirteenth century' in Steve Boardman and Alasdair Ross (eds) *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland c. 1200-1500*, (Dublin, 2003), p. 120.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷⁰ *CDS*, pp. 293, 301, 380, 388, 389, 402, 438, 456, 489, 495.

⁷¹ Mary Bateson, 'The Scottish King's Household c. 1292' in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, vol. II (Edinburgh, 1904), pp. 39-40. Walker would not have known of this document.

⁷² NAS, SP12/3/7.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

I have a written letter from Sir Patrick which as I presume was wished I enclose for your instruction and amusement. Being the third I have been honoured with I felt myself under a sort of obligation to give him a fair answer to put an end to the business and that I also inclose. Keep both for me as from these auspicious beginnings I foresee that the White Rod will in all probability be to me an instrument of infliction.⁷⁴

McConnochie made it witheringly clear that the Prince Regent had appointed a number of Commissioners by name with specific powers and instructions; the Usher of the White Rod had no claim to be present 'as a matter of right', nor had the Commission any authority to include him.

It is, in short, a special Commission for a special purpose having nothing to do with matters of ceremonial or the rights or privileges of any individual whatever.⁷⁵

Moreover, he judged the grounds for Sir Patrick's claim to be:

utterly untenable as they would lead to the consequence that the King could grant no commission for any state purpose at which the Usher of the White Rod might not upon the same principle insist upon being present.... As to carrying the Report to London I presume the Commissioners will follow the precedent upon the last occasion of a similar Commission being granted and will transmit their Report either to the Lord Register or myself to be laid before the Secretary of State. In fact upon this subject they have no alternative from the terms of the warrant.⁷⁶

On the opening of the box on 4 February 1818, however, the Commissioners discovered along with the Crown, Sceptre and Sword, a silver rod of office.⁷⁷ This occasioned a 'Humble Petition and Memorial' from the Usher of the White Rod to the Prince Regent himself.⁷⁸ Sir Patrick had no doubts as to the rod being the 'Ancient White Rod of Scotland that was always carried by the Usher when attending the Regalia'.⁷⁹ He produced another convoluted argument based on the position of his predecessor Sir Archibald Cockburn, in the 1685 procession at the opening of Parliament, to demonstrate that the Regalia 'were virtually under the charge' of the Usher.⁸⁰ He concluded that as the Cockburns had fled the country to escape their debtors, the White Rod must have been conveyed to the Castle by Exchequer officers and placed in the box for protection in 1707. Unfortunately for Sir Patrick, the experts deemed the silver rod or mace to be that of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.⁸¹ Recent research attributes provenance to the King's Commissioner.⁸²

Walker received a further setback in 1821 in a reply to his memorial 'praying allowance of the salary stated to have been formerly attached' to his office; the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury 'cannot feel justified in recommending his

⁷⁴ Ibid., 30 January 1818.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 February 1818, *Scotsman*, 7 February 1818 and various English newspapers including *The Times*, 10 February 1818.

⁷⁸ LO, M46, 12 March 1818.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Bannatyne Club, *Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1829); Alexander J. S. Brook, 'Technical Description of the Regalia of Scotland' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* vol. 24 (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 115-118.

⁸² I am obliged to Henry Steuart Fotheringham for this information.

Majesty's compliance with the prayer of your application'.⁸³ Sir Patrick had enclosed a 'hastily drawn up' memorial in a letter to Viscount Lord Melville two years earlier, 'which I do feel makes a very strong case for the allowance of £250 for attending the Commissioner'.⁸⁴ He surmised that he would incur a considerable expense 'in the first year of reviving this duty', namely accompanying the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and he requested an advance sum 'out of the dormant bypast years allowance to enable me to give attendance in May for which I require some time to prepare'.⁸⁵ This was all in accordance with his assertion in his response to the 1818 questionnaire, that his predecessors prior to the Union, were allowed £250 to defray the charges of Usher and Attendants when in attendance on his Majesty's Commissioner and 'when that allowance is restored my attendance will of course be given'.⁸⁶ Allowance or no, the press reported Sir Patrick Walker's presence among those accompanying the Commissioner in May 1819 and in subsequent years.⁸⁷ His memorial to the Treasury had been referred to the Scottish Court of Exchequer on both 12 May and 7 December 1819 and again read on 31 January 1821.⁸⁸ Further correspondence ensued between the Exchequer and Mr Lushington of the Treasury in 1822 and finally in 1823 the Scottish Exchequer appears to have agreed to pay salaries of £250 each to both Sir Patrick as King's Usher and James Gibson as Heritable Usher of the Exchequer.⁸⁹

The Usher's claim to attend the election of the 16 Scottish Peers to the House of Lords did meet with success. The minutes of a meeting of the Peers of Scotland held at Edinburgh on 11 April 1820, recorded that:

The Peers be attended at all their Meetings by the proper and constitutional Officer of the Peerage of Scotland namely the Usher of the White Rod to whom they may give such instructions as circumstances require and that he do take charge of all the arrangements and give what directions he may deem requisite to the comfort and accommodation of the Peers.... The Usher of the White Rod be directed to report the Form and Ceremonial to be followed on all occasions when the Peers assemble for electing Parliamentary representatives. The Usher of the White Rod to inquire into and report on the Fees which Elected Peers have been called on to pay on their Elections....⁹⁰

At the same meeting the Peers also instructed Sir Patrick to report on the possible restoration of the Chapel Royal as a venue for such events. This was a project dear to his heart, bound up as it was with his pursuit of claiming attendance on all the solemnities of the Order of the Thistle. As he had explained in his questionnaire answers, these had seldom taken place in Scotland since the Union:

in consequence of the fall of the roof of the Chapel of Holyrood House joined to neglect and other causes. This has enabled another innovation to creep in by the creation of a new office of an Usher resident in England—not a Scotsman—who never was and who never may be in Scotland and nevertheless is placed on the Establishment and paid by the Exchequer of Scotland a salary of £100 per annum for services to the Order of the Thistle supposed to be

⁸³ WT, *Letter from W. S. R. Lushington to Sir Patrick Walker*, 5 March 1821.

⁸⁴ NRS, GD51/5/691, 6 March 1819.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ LO, M46.

⁸⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 20 May 1819, 18 May 1820, 23 May 1835.

⁸⁸ NRS, E30519, E305/20.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, E305/22, 10, 12 February 1823.

⁹⁰ WT, *Extract from the Minutes of a Meeting of the Peers of Scotland*, 11 April 1820.

performed in Scotland and which I, as the National Officer am bound by my Charter to perform.... and which I am most ready to attend to without the special salary.⁹¹

In Sir Patrick's view the neglect of duty by his predecessors had enabled the creation of the office of Usher of the Green Rod to attend the Order of the Thistle, established by James III and VII in 1687, with the nave of Holyrood Abbey adapted as the Royal and Thistle Chapel. He busied himself with gathering the necessary information, petitioning the Barons of the Exchequer on 15 January 1821 to authorise His Majesty's Architect to survey the Chapel Royal and make plans and rough estimates of probable expense. These he had been ordered to show to the King and the Duke of Clarence at Carlton House 'in the ensuing spring'.⁹² The Barons advised him to apply to the Treasury.⁹³

The report to the Peers is interesting for its duality—an appeal to both Scots national identity and to a sense of 'Britishness'—to say nothing of self-interest. In common with many myths created at this time, there is much use of the word 'ancient' in connection with the Order of the Thistle, although there is no evidence to support the assertion that James' creation was a revival of an earlier order.⁹⁴ Sir Patrick, unsurprisingly in view of his commission, also firmly demonstrated his support of the established order:

Whether it is considered on the ground of the respect that is due to persons of their exalted rank, or of its political consequences it is highly necessary to give every appearance of state and ceremony to the meetings of the Peers. Indeed it is a duty your Lordships owe to yourselves and the public, not to omit anything that can mar the superiority of an assemblage of the nobility over every other meeting in order to impress upon the mob of the people a due feeling of the distinction of ranks.⁹⁵

Currently the Peers met in the Picture Gallery of Holyroodhouse, but if the Chapel Royal were restored:

a just degree of importance would be given to the proceedings as the Peers might then assemble in his Grace the Keeper's apartments and proceed through the picture gallery into the Chapel Royal by the eastern, or what is called Queen Mary's entry and hold the election under the banners of the Knights of the most ancient and most noble Order of the Thistle.... For who is he that does not feel proud in the remembrance of those chivalrous deeds that maintained the independence of Scotland and repelled invaders? And what could be more pleasing to our gracious King and to the Government – or what could be more grateful to a gallant nation – and what so appropriate to cherish the recollection of the glorious achievements performed in our own times, as the restoration of the Chapel of the Order of the Thistle.

He conceded that expense might be an issue but that the Chapels of the Orders of England were kept in perfect order; and, clearly ignoring the fact that an Edinburgh mob had ransacked the Chapel Royal in 1688, that the articles of Union entitled the people of Scotland to the preservation 'of this monument of their nation's glory'.

To obtain such a boon must increase the ardour and attachment of a brave and loyal people to their beloved sovereign; and the Peers would deservedly command additional regard and

⁹¹ LO, M46.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ NRS, E305/20, 18 January, 1821.

⁹⁴ Katie Stevenson, 'The Union, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was there an Order of Chivalry in late Medieval Scotland?', *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 83 (2004), pp.3-22.

⁹⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 20 September 1821.

respect from the people, by becoming the medium of restoring to Scotland such a gratifying memorial of former times.⁹⁶

The petition for the restoration of the Chapel Royal concluded that holding the election of Peers there:

will add much to the comfort of the Peers, and will be an everlasting proof to the people of Scotland of the high sense your Majesty entertains of their meritorious services in the late war, and their devotion in defence of the rights of the British Empire.⁹⁷

Not every Peer concurred with the tenor of either the Report or the Petition. When Sir Patrick wrote to the Earl of Morton on 20 November 1821 to ask for his signature 'where the name is pencilled', Morton expressed some doubts 'respecting the propriety of the petitions being presented in its present form'.⁹⁸ He requested a delay of a few days but had not returned the papers by 6 December when Walker wrote again expressing anxiety 'as there is so little time to lose that I fear they will have to be dispatched without the signatures of several Peers'.⁹⁹ The Earl, however, refused to comply. The Report went much further than their Lordships' instructions warranted; it contained matter of which he could not approve; that a Petition ordered by a meeting of Peers ought to have been submitted to a similar meeting to revision and approbation previous to its being circulated; and not least, as it was 'a foul copy, blotted and underlined, it cannot be presented to the King and must be written fairly out, previous to its being signed for presentation'.¹⁰⁰

Sir Patrick was upset, but as the Earl of Rosebery had also expressed concerns, he had to backtrack and saved face by asserting that:

It is perfectly competent for any two Peers to make alterations on the "Proposed Address" at least to withdrawing certain expressions but it would be impossible to add without consulting the whole again. I have enclosed another copy to suggest your alterations upon as we must keep the present one as it is—I have proposed to Lord Rosebery a Meeting with your Lordship to consider the alterations.... it will be proper to circulate what we have in the meantime to those Peers who are expecting it and I shall mention when sending it that probably some words may be withdrawn, therefore the sooner I have the paper returned the better.¹⁰¹

He concluded in characteristic style with the assertion that:

It is a business that has cost me much time and trouble and some expense and can personally do me no benefit whatever my conduct being activated upon the consideration of doing good to my country and what is for the credit of the Peers and I have felt exceedingly hurt to find a sentiment of distrust in me drop from your Lordship when you said you would neither sign the papers nor return them to me.¹⁰²

Morton responded mildly:

You may rest assured that nothing was further from my thoughts than to say anything disrespectful to you which might hurt your feelings, but I felt merely justified in preventing further circulation for the purpose of obtaining signatures until the noble Lords who object to it

⁹⁶ Ibid. Inappropriate repairs to the Abbey in 1768 caused the roof to collapse leaving the Chapel Royal in ruins.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ NRS, GD150/2386, 20 and 21 November 1821.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 6 December 1821.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 8 December 1821.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 13 December 1821.

¹⁰² Ibid.

should have an opportunity of calling the attention of the Peers to their objections.... The meeting on 26th is to be at one o'clock when I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you there.¹⁰³

Nonetheless his comments, written against the printed Minutes of 11 April 1820 and the subsequent Report and Petition, raised valid questions and pointed direct criticism. He queried the section of the Minute which declared that the Usher of the White Rod be directed to report the Form and Ceremonial, by asking if this did not 'belong to the departments of the Lyon King at Arms and heralds'.¹⁰⁴ He wondered if it were 'quite decorous in the Usher of the White Rod to teach the Peers their duty'; and if the Chapel Royal or any other place appropriate to public worship ought to become the scene of the discussions of a contested election. Beside some of Sir Patrick's more purple prose passages, Morton commented caustically that:

no observations on economy or interpretation of the articles of Union seem to be called for either by the subject under consideration or the instructions given by the Peers.... Is it decorous for Scots Peers in presenting the King to pay such compliments to the Scots and of course to themselves?

More importantly he was unhappy that the duty of drafting the Petition:

should have been delegated to Sir Patrick Walker White Rod. The House of Lords never delegate the Duty of preparing an Address to the King, to the Black Rod.... they appoint a committee of the Lords for that purpose when the address is not moved in the first place in the House.... The Peers ought to state their own grievance and desirably in their own names and concisely. It seems disrespectful to the King to refer His Majesty to the report of their officer.

For Rosebery, however, the crux of the matter remained not the place where the elections should take place—'Banners overhead and a procession preceded by White Rod'—but rather the lack of procedure, authority and order at those elections. Such issues had been left undecided by the Union and he doubted if the Royal prerogative were competent to adjust them or whether the intervention of Parliament or solely the House of Lords might be requisite.

There is no record of the meeting called for 26 December, or indication of text alterations, but it seems as if a decision was made to consult the absent Peers concerning the delay of the presentation of the Petition until the King's proposed visit to Scotland. Certainly a communication from Sir Patrick to Morton on 4 January 1822, enclosed letters for him to sign and forward to Lords Rosebery and Torphichen, with apologies for the delay; 'the Printers have all been whiskyfying'. A number of Peers, in a subsequent series of letters to the Earl of Morton dating from January to March, concurred with the proposal for delay, with the exception of the Earl of Aberdeen who saw no reason for postponing the proceedings.¹⁰⁵ No petition, however, was presented. On 12 September 1822 the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that plans and estimates for work at Holyrood were being prepared. In fact, as early as 1815 the King's architect Robert Reid had submitted a report to the Barons of the Exchequer concerning the Abbey Church. He considered and made

¹⁰³ Ibid., 20 December 1821.

¹⁰⁴ All quotations in this paragraph are NRS, GD150/2386.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 18 February 1822.

recommendations regarding two options, namely its conservation as a ruin or thorough repair and reroofing, but he thought the latter would be too expensive.¹⁰⁶ A further report in September 1822, following instructions by the Surveyor General of the Board of Works, included an estimate of £24,755 for repairs to the Palace of Holyroodhouse but excluded the restoration of the Chapel Royal.¹⁰⁷ The King subsequently approved the estimate with the money being paid in annual instalments. The hope expressed by *The Scotsman* that the ‘four thousand pounds a-year to be expended on the long-neglected palace of Holyrood-House’ might be ‘the prelude to improvements on a much more expensive scale’, proved to be in vain. Sir Patrick achieved neither the honour of attending the Knights of the Thistle nor saw the rebuilding of their Chapel.¹⁰⁸

Only the newspaper accounts of 1820 mention the White Rod by name as attending the Peers at their election, but his presence was noted in subsequent years at post election ‘sumptuous’ dinners.¹⁰⁹ He certainly tried unsuccessfully in 1821 and 1824 to claim for ‘some small Expenses as incurred in his official Capacity’.¹¹⁰ Their Lordships appear to have recognised him as being the conduit of certain official communications. Sir Patrick presented petitions on behalf of the Duke of Argyle, Hereditary Master of the Household in Scotland—to offer to the King the first gold cup at the Coronation dinner—and for the tutors of the infant Heritable Grand Carver Sir John Carmichael Anstruther.¹¹¹ He worded the memo for the *Gazette*, sent to the Depute Earl Marshall on 23 July 1821:

The Duke of Argyle as Grand Master of the Household of Scotland preceded by White Rod and assisted by him as a Master of the Household, kneeling presented a Gold Cup containing wine and His Majesty having drank thereof returned the Cup to him for his fee.¹¹²

His text or role may, however, have been edited, as there is no mention of him in the accounts of the banquet ceremonial; although in the assembling of the participants for the Westminster Abbey coronation, he stood in the space below the bar of the House of Lords next to the hated Green Rod beside whom he processed.¹¹³ The Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh similarly authorised Sir Patrick to present their petition to appear at the coronation. His own request, however, to assist in ‘bearing the Sword to the High Constable’, as Sir William Cockburn had done in 1651, seems to have been rejected.¹¹⁴ Another petition presented to the King by the Gentleman Usher, ‘acting Chamberlain of the Household of Scotland’, resulted in

¹⁰⁶ NRS, E342/15, 18 December 1815.

¹⁰⁷ NRS, E342/3, 7 September 1822, 22 March 1823.

¹⁰⁸ NRS, E342/15; *Scotsman*, 22 May 1824. The Thistle Chapel was created in St Giles’ Cathedral in 1911.

¹⁰⁹ For example, *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 April 1820, *Scotsman*, 11 February 1835.

¹¹⁰ NRS, E305/21, 24 November 1821; E305/23, 20 January 1824.

¹¹¹ LO, M46.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Robert Huish, *An Authentic History of the Coronation of his Majesty King George the Fourth* (London, 1821), pp. 263, 199.

¹¹⁴ LO, M46. 26 June 1820. Sir Patrick omitted to say that Cockburn delivered the sword to the Lyon King of Arms who gave it to the Lord Great Constable. See Robert Dowglas, *The Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland acted and done at Scone 1651* (Aberdeen, 1651), p. 70.

success. The Society of Solicitors' application for a warrant to allow them to wear robes when practising before the Courts of Law in Scotland was granted on 1 April 1822.¹¹⁵

When George III died in 1820, Sir Patrick thought it appropriate to send out black-edged mourning letters:

Sir Patrick Walker Heritable Usher to His Majesty and Usher of the White Rod announces the demise of King George III at Windsor at 35 minutes past 8 o'clock PM on Saturday the 29th Ultimo¹¹⁶

Such public service as he saw it, incurred expenditure which 'would not be proper' to burden him with even 'although the amount of the whole be trifling'.¹¹⁷ In his Treasury petition requesting that the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland be authorised to reimburse him, he cited the purchase of an engraved plate for the notification to the Peers, printed instructions and assistants' expenses. In particular he highlighted being:

officially called upon to take charge of the arrangements and conduct the Ceremonial of Proclaiming His Majesty King George IV at Edinburgh which he did in a manner which gave satisfaction to the officers of State and the other high authorities in Scotland.¹¹⁸

What he meant was that he marshalled and walked in the procession; the Lord Provost and Heralds read the Proclamation from the balcony in front of the Royal Exchange and the latter proclaimed the 'style and title of His Majesty King George the Fourth' three times.¹¹⁹ According to protocol Sir Patrick was out of order here as Lyon had charge of proclamations, as he made very clear in 1830 prior to the Proclamation of King William IV. On 29 June, James Tytler of Woodhouselee, Deputy Lord Lyon, King at Arms, appeared in the Council Chamber and stated:

that he had accidentally learnt that the Lord Provost and Magistrates, after consulting with the Officers of State, the heads of the Supreme Courts.... and with Sir Patrick Walker, Knight, Gentleman Usher of the White Rod, had adopted the Programme prepared by the said Sir Patrick Walker, for the Procession at proclaiming his late Most Gracious Majesty with some slight variations for the regulation of the Procession, to take place for the Proclamation of His Most Gracious Majesty King William the Fourth, and that without any reference to, or consultation with the Lord Lyon, or his Depute, upon the subject. The said James Tytler thereupon Protested, that it was the proper province of the Lord Lyon, King at Arms, or his Lordship's Depute, and not the province of the Usher of the White Rod, to regulate and adjust the ceremonial of all public processions of the nature of the procession in question. That the Lord Lyon, or his Lordship's Depute, ought to have been consulted and ought to have framed, or at least authorised, the Programme for the said processions, both on the occasion of the Proclamation of His late Majesty and on the present occasion. And therefore, although the said Lyon Depute did not wish now to interfere in any way which might occasion inconvenience in the adoption of the measures necessary to be taken, He solemnly protested that, the Rights of the Lord Lyon should not be held to have been relinquished or impaired by his, on this occasion, acquiescing in the adjustment which had taken place.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ LO, M46; *Scots Magazine*, February 1825.

¹¹⁶ WT, 3 February 1820.

¹¹⁷ LO, M46, 2 July 1821.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ *Caledonian Mercury and Scotsman*, 5 February 1820.

¹²⁰ LO, *Precedency Book*, 30 June 1830. I am indebted to Mrs Elizabeth Rhodes, Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records for this quotation.

Sir Patrick and his 'assistant', therefore, marshalled the procession and Sir Patrick administered the oaths of loyalty to the Royal Company of Archers in his capacity as 'chief officer of the Chamberlain's department of the King's Household in Scotland'.¹²¹ The *Caledonian Mercury* account reads as if White Rod had issued a press release, as he is the only participant who is personally named and described as wearing his mantle, collar and badge. *The Scotsman* merely noted the presence of the Gentleman Usher.¹²² 'Jem and I acted our parts on the top of a shed, beside the fountain-well, with great satisfaction to ourselves and the public', wrote Tytler to his wife:

and Sir Patrick Walker, with an old table-cloth round his shoulders, and a cocked hat that seemed to have been purloined from a scare-crow, led the procession, strutting before the Justice clerk and Lord Cringeltie, who looked very like Noodle and Doodle in the procession in Tom Thumb.¹²³

When, however, Victoria came to be proclaimed on 26 June 1837, protocol prevailed and the 'Gentleman Usher in his Mantle, collar and badge' merely processed; the marshalling being conducted by Marchmont Herald assisted by Kintyre Pursuivant.¹²⁴



Sir Patrick Walker wearing his insignia of Usher of the White Rod.

¹²¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 July 1830.

¹²² *Scotsman*, 1 July 1830.

¹²³ John William Burgon, *The portrait of a Christian gentleman: a memoir of Patrick Fraser Tytler, author of the "History of Scotland"* (London, 1859), p. 207.

¹²⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*.

He might not have had regalia in which to process, for after the 1830 ceremony, Sir Patrick left 'his splendid and valuable costume' and his rod of office in the charge of one of the door-keepers of the Parliament House who locked them in a cupboard.¹²⁵ Next morning the cupboard was bare, the lock having been broken. A search ensued during which 'officers of the police spent the whole day in a fruitless search through every den of thieves and receptacle of stolen goods in Edinburgh'.¹²⁶ Before descriptions of the stolen articles were sent to London, Dublin, Liverpool and Glasgow, however, 'a more minute search' revealed the missing articles stuffed in a chimney in the lobby of Parliament House and they were 'restored to their owner, not much the better for their night's endurance'.¹²⁷

Sir Patrick's claims to the duties of organising ceremonial parades were sufficiently publicised for his help to be enlisted in the celebrations surrounding the opening of Leith Docks in 1826. The Town Council applied to him to arrange a plan of procession for printing and circulation and toasted his efforts during the dinner after the ceremony.¹²⁸ Similarly in 1829, he marshalled schoolboys, teachers and illustrious persons for the procession from the High School in the Old Town to the new building on the Calton Hill.¹²⁹ He also warranted a mention, possibly satirical, in *Blackwood's Magazine* in a tongue-in-cheek letter to James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who was advised to 'cultivate an easy manner and dignified demeanour like the Usher of the White Rod'.¹³⁰ All this, however, pales in the light of the zeal, time and effort he devoted to the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822.

The monarch's visit to Dublin in August 1821 sparked intense speculation that he would similarly honour the Scottish capital and rumours abounded. Sir Patrick rushed into action, writing on 24 October to Viscount Melville:

I have twice visited the Palace of Holyroodhouse.... It is in much better order than you imagined but as it will require a good deal of painting the smell of which is peculiarly offensive to the King, it becomes necessary both on that account and in justice to the holders of apartments who fall to be removed to enter upon the consideration of the business as soon as may be. I am continuing my searches in the Records at the periods of Royal visits and have found many curious documents, but as those are not as full as could be wished and owing to the novelty of the situation the arrangements will require all the time that can possibly be afforded.¹³¹

Melville's response barely concealed his mild irritation. He regretted the trouble taken but:

I have already visited the apartments there with the Lord Advocate..... if his Majesty shall determine to visit Edinburgh, either next year, or at any future period, I shall presume that the necessary Directions will be sent from the proper Departments to the Barons of the Exchequer in due time to make the necessary preparations at Holyrood in the event of his determining to take up his residence there.¹³²

¹²⁵ *Standard*, 8 July 1830.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12, 17 August 1826.

¹²⁹ William Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 231.

¹³⁰ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. xvi (Edinburgh, 1824), p. 89.

¹³¹ NRS, GD51/5/124.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 26 October 1821.

Sir Patrick ignored the implied reprimand and pressed on with his searches of the records and advocacy of early preparations. His activity did not go unnoticed. In an article on how the town should be decorated for a royal visit, *Blackwood's Magazine* pronounced scathingly:

Let Sir Patrick Walker marshal as he may the decorated orders and ranks of nobility and knighthood and Sir John Sinclair get all the Highlanders, in all their tartans that the mountains of the North may send forth....

but a procession of the 'honest trades and crafts of Edinburgh' would be preferable.¹³³

A letter to Sir Patrick from the antiquary Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe may date from this period as it is in response to his query about King James VI's visit to Edinburgh in 1617. The document in question described his Majesty's entrance through the West Port where 'the Provost, the four bailies, the hail counsel of the toune, with a hundred honest men were all assembled'. The king received a purse containing 500 'double angels laid in a silver basin'. Sharpe feared:

that we cannot receive his present Majesty at all in the old guise – for though we may muster 500 double angels, how are we nowadays to collect 100 *honest men*!¹³⁴

If, however, the date of the letter is 1825, it probably relates to subsequent research described below. One outcome of the early inquiry into royal visits resulted in the publication of *Documents relative to the reception at Edinburgh of the kings and queens of Scotland. A.D. M.D.LXI.-A.D. M.DC.L*, edited by Sir Patrick Walker, to coincide with the King's visit.¹³⁵ Another was the role played by the Royal Company of Archers when the king finally arrived.

The Archers had been formed as a private archery club in 1676 but received a royal charter in 1713. Sir Patrick, 'an energetic and useful member', realised the 'expediency of the Company tendering their services to the king' as 'body-guard to his royal person'.¹³⁶ He did, however, clarify to his fellow members that:

the only foundation for this idea seems to be the address, which, it is said, St Clair of Roslin used to make to each member on his admission: 2 By signing the laws of the Royal Company of Archers you engage to be faithful to your country; for we are not a private Company, as some people imagine, but constituted by royal charter his Majesty's First Regiment of Guards in Scotland; and if the king should ever come to Edinburgh, it is our duty to take charge of his royal person from Inchbankland Brae on the east, to Cramond Bridge on the west. But besides being the body-guards of the king, the Company is the only thing now remaining in Scotland which properly commemorates the many noble deeds performed by our ancestors by aid of the bow. It ought therefore to be the pride and ambition of every true Scotsman to be a member of it.¹³⁷

¹³³ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, November 1821.

¹³⁴ Alexander Allardyce and W. K. Riland Bedford (eds) *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 342-3. The editors date the letter as 1825. An angel is a gold coin worth about 11s at the time of James VI and I.

¹³⁵ See the advertisements in *The Edinburgh Observer*, 20, 22 July, 10, 14 August and *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 July 1822.

¹³⁶ James Balfour Paul, *The History of the Royal Company of Archers the Queen's Body-Guard for Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 142.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

Although the charter in favour of the Company contained no such privilege, it was thought highly conducive to the Archers to offer themselves in the capacity of a royal guard. In consequence, therefore, of Sir Patrick Walker's exertions, a memorial was prepared and forwarded to London by the Earl of Hopetoun.¹³⁸ Although official confirmation of the acceptance of the offer did not arrive until 11 August 1822, preparations had already been made.

We understand that the dress of the Royal Archers will be most beautiful; the general outline of it is proposed to be a tartan surtout, reaching nearly to the knees, with sleeves slashed with green, tartan trews and stockings, and black rosettes in the shoes: a white satin bow-case across the body, a Robin-Hood's belt, and a cap with a eagle's feather and white gloves, reaching halfway up the arm and ruffs round the neck.¹³⁹

The organisation of ceremonial for the processions during the King's visit proved less straightforward and again demonstrates the role that White Rod claimed for himself. As with Proclamations, Lyon should have undertaken this duty. However, one of the Committees tasked with the details of the preparations for the Reception of His Majesty 'applied to the Usher of the White Rod, instead of the Lord Lyon, to draw up a Ceremonial for His Majesty's Public entry' and 'that Officer drew up a Ceremonial accordingly which was approved of by Three of the Officers of State and published in the Gazette'.¹⁴⁰ A certain amount of face-saving ensued following Lyon's protest. A subsequent order from their Lordships, 'in consequence of the necessity of making some alterations upon the Ceremonial previously ordered', directed:

the Lord Lyon or his Deputy, with the assistance of the Usher of the White Rod forthwith to prepare for our consideration ceremonial to be observed at the public Entry of His Most Excellent Majesty King George the Fourth into his city of Edinburgh.¹⁴¹

Consequently the Usher did not process to the Castle to receive the Honours of Scotland which were the responsibility of the Knight Marischal, the Duke of Hamilton. Before the closed gates of the Castle the herald sounded the trumpet and proclaimed:

The King's Knight Marischal comes to receive the regalia which are deposited within your castle; and he demands admission in the name of the king.¹⁴²

Crown, Sceptre and Sword were transported via the Mound, Prince Street, Regent Bridge and the New Road to Holyroodhouse where the Usher of the White Rod and other officers of the Palace received them.

When the King did enter the city Sir Patrick played his part with dramatic flourish. George IV sailed into the Port of Leith on 14 August 1822 but torrential rain delayed his disembarkation until the next day. Following the Royal Landing—captured in oils by Alexander Carse, with Royal Archers to the fore—the Royal Procession, with Sir Patrick riding in front of the Lord Lyon Depute, progressed along Leith Walk to the temporary ceremonial triumphal arch erected at Picardy Place to

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹³⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 3 August 1822.

¹⁴⁰ LO, *Precedency Book*. *Gazette* entry was 7 August 1822.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* Subsequent *Gazette* entries were 10 and 14 August.

¹⁴² *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 August 1822; Mudie, *Historical Account*, p. 46.

mark the supposed entrance to the city. Over the centre of this waved the Union Jack with the City of Edinburgh flag on one side and the 'old blue blanket of the trades' on the other.¹⁴³ Here the Magistrates of the city awaited their sovereign.

Participants in the procession were appropriately attired but:

The White Rod's dress was the most splendid, beyond comparison, of any that graced the ceremony. He wore the superb jacket of crimson and gold which he had used at the coronation, which was concealed, in good measure, by a splendid mantle of white satin, lined throughout with crimson, and fastened with a cord of gold and crimson. His lower vestments were of crimson and he had on brown boots adorned with gold tassels and fringe and a black velvet Spanish cap looped with gold and a black feather. His horse was almost covered with a scarlet shabrack edged with white lace, and adorned at the corners with silver thistles. The bridle was of white satin with crimson rosettes. On each side of him rode assistants in plain blue surtouts, lined with white silk and having white silk sashes edged with gold ruffs, Spanish caps and brown boots, blue saddle cloths with white edging and white rosettes on the bridles and white rein.¹⁴⁴

There was no precedent for what followed, but nonetheless:

When the Procession had proceeded a short way up Leith Walk, the White Rod, supported by Marchmont and Islay Heralds, preceded by two state trumpeters, and attended by two Pursuivants, advanced to give a summons to the city in time to prevent the procession being stopped until the barrier was opened. When within sixty or seventy yards of the barrier, a flourish of trumpets was given—a second at about thirty yards distant and a third when they reached the barrier—Marchmont Herald was here directed to summon the city which he did by giving three knocks on the barrier.¹⁴⁵

After a formal exchange between the Herald and the 'Chamberlain of the city' who 'keeps the keys', the Herald presented himself to the Lord Provost and declared:

My Lord – I have the honour of announcing to your Lordship the very near approach of our most gracious sovereign King to visit his most loyal and ancient capital of Scotland, and I am commanded to request admittance to the city for himself and retinue.

The Lord Provost expressed his readiness to comply with the demand and immediately ordered the gates to be thrown open to admit the King. The Usher of the White Rod took off his hat, and made his obeisance.¹⁴⁶

A short ceremony of the presentation and return of the keys ensued, then the cavalcade progressed, amid cheering crowds to the Palace of Holyroodhouse where its Hereditary Keeper, the Duke of Hamilton, received the King and where the Usher of the White Rod, among others, 'had the honour of kissing hands'.¹⁴⁷

Sir Patrick received his share of the king in the days that followed. On 17 August his Majesty held his first levee at Holyroodhouse where, in the entré room the White Rod assembled along with the Dukes of Hamilton and Argyle, the Earl of Errol, Marquise of Lothian, Law Lords and other dignitaries. Amongst 1200 to 2000 others (estimates vary), he was presented to the King. A press debacle ensued, however, concerning the publication of the names of those presented. On 15 August the Lord

¹⁴³ *Scotsman*, 17 August 1822.

¹⁴⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 August 1822. This is a fuller account than that of 15 August.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* *Scotsman* 17 August 1822, *Morning Chronicle*, 19 August 1822. Robert Mudie in his *Historical Account*, *The Times*, 19 August, *Norfolk Telegraph*, 21 August and *Ipswich Journal*, 24 August, say that the Depute Lyon King at Arms and the Usher of the White Rod preceded by two Heralds galloped to the gate and after a flourish of trumpets, the Usher knocked three times at the gate. The *Scotsman* and *Caledonian Mercury* accounts seem more plausible, being more ceremonial with an appropriate role allocated to the Herald.

¹⁴⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 August 1822.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Chamberlain's Office had issued instructions to those attending the levee and the subsequent drawing-room (for ladies) to prepare a card on which was to be written their name and that of the person presenting them. According to Thomas Allan, proprietor of the *Caledonian Mercury*:

These cards are preserved as the only authentic record of the Court proceedings, and it was understood that all newspaper reporters were to have equal access to them. This arrangement was frustrated by Sir Patrick Walker, who having some concern with a newspaper, got hold of the bag containing the list of names and carried it off, on an express understanding however, that he was to communicate with the other newspapers. We applied to Sir Patrick on Saturday night, when he informed us that we might either have the list of names on paying clerks' fees or that we might have access to them on Sunday at two o'clock in the afternoon. We of course agreed to pay any fees he might chuse to exact, that being no object, and requested the list to be sent without delay. It was sent, but certainly not without delay.... and then in such an inaccurate state as to require much time to correct it. From this statement the public will observe, that, in place of having to deal with the official gentlemen of the Court, who have an interest in forwarding our arrangements, we are placed, by this conduct of Sir Patrick's, at the mercy of a rival newspaper....¹⁴⁸

A furious Sir Patrick co-proprietor of the *Observer* (previously named the *Correspondent* and subject of a dispute between owners and editor) immediately dashed off a letter to the *Caledonian Mercury* indicating that because of his great anxiety to put all the Monday newspapers on an equal footing:

even before the cards were examined, I sent a circular note to the different editors, to say that clerks should either be employed at their expense to copy them, or in their option, they might get access to the cards to copy them in their own way; and when I found the number so enormous, I sent them a second circular to say so, and I requested them to send what aid they respectively could to copy them, and to send early.

No person was sent by the Mercury, but two came from the Courant and two from the Observer; and I am sure that all of these persons will testify the great anxiety and trouble I took to put all of them on an equality. So much so, indeed, that as no one paper could overtake the whole, each of these two agreed to take part, under the express understanding that they were to communicate the respective parts to each other, and that both should likewise communicate to the Mercury.

I could not do more, and without touching upon other parts of the notice, which may be subject of other proceedings, I conclude by remarking, that it would have been much more creditable to have attributed the delay of the publication to its true cause, for which the immense list of presentations which would have sufficiently excused you, than to have taken the course you have chosen to adopt.¹⁴⁹

The *Caledonian Mercury* responded to the effect that the cards had been removed from Holyrood without previous communication or indication of location; that the reporter had gone to Drumsheugh but had been told by Sir Patrick that a copy would be sent to the *Mercury*; and that the second circular had not been received.

A similar complaint of the *Edinburgh Courant* also included the implication that Walker had extracted fees, thus prompting the editor of the *Observer* to print a lengthy defence:

All this sounds very badly indeed and seems as if Sir Patrick had wished to exact fees for his own proper use: it appears to be written with a view to leading the public to think so, and no doubt many persons not acquainted with the character of Sir Patrick Walker may have been deceived did the simple Courant expect that Sir Patrick should be at the expense of hiring

¹⁴⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 August 1822.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 24 August 1822. The letter was dated 21 August.

people to copy the cards for its use? Though, bye the bye, Sir Patrick did actually procure a very great number of them to be copied for the Courant, without even demanding or expecting, or receiving a single farthing; and in so far as putting the Courant at the mercy of a rival newspaper, actually by his attention to the interests of the Courant, prevented that rival newspaper from being published till four hours after its usual time; and furnished the Courant with a complete copy of the names before the Observer.¹⁵⁰

No doubt wishing to continue the impression of impartiality, Sir Patrick then wrote to the editor of the *Observer* requesting:

that you will not use my name in any discussions with the Courant and other papers, because the falsehood contained in the statement has been sufficiently established by themselves in their subsequent publications and the question of their malicious purpose may have to be judged elsewhere.¹⁵¹

In the meantime, two of the White Rod's sisters, Barbara and Mary were presented to the King by the Countess of Moray at the drawing-room held on 20 August, though their dresses did not warrant a description.¹⁵²

Two days later White Rod himself took his place in the King's procession from the Palace up the Canongate and High Street to the Castle, the relentless rain making the pace rather quicker than had been intended. Again Sir Patrick and his two assistants preceded the Lord Lyon King at Arms and his two grooms, but no role seems to have been allocated to him in the Castle keys ceremony. Thereafter he is not mentioned in the remainder of the festivities mounted in the King's honour. An anonymous letter to the editor of the *Scotsman* published on 31 August, however, attributed him with having 'laboured so much to purchase notoriety' and alleged:

he also carried off the tickets of admission to the Peers' Ball and did not give them up until a order came, signed by the Marquis of Queensberry and the Earls of Leven and Lauderdale commanding him to restore what he had so improperly possessed himself of. The consequence, as I have heard, was, that he received an intimation that his Majesty had no further occasion for his services in Scotland.¹⁵³

The author of this was a self-confessed supporter of Mr William Watson with whom Sir Patrick was in dispute over the *Correspondent/Observer* newspaper and there is no mention of the above in any other paper. The *Morning Post* of the previous day had published the *Report by Sir Patrick Walker Usher of the White Rod* on the restoration of the Chapel Royal; while an announcement on 31 August in the *Caledonian Mercury* informed readers that:

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to command Sir Patrick Walker to publish an account of the Royal Progresses, Coronations and other ceremonials to be extracted from the public records.¹⁵⁴

A week later, the *Scotsman*, in criticising Sir Walter Scott's role in the king's visit, commented that:

it might do very well for the other knight Sir Patrick Walker (White Rod) who scrambled while in his robe of office with the Edinburgh reporters for the presentation cards at the levee, to

¹⁵⁰ *Observer*, 30 August 1822.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 31 August 1822.

¹⁵² *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 August 1822; Mudie, *Historical Account*, p. 170.

¹⁵³ *Scotsman*.

¹⁵⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*.

insist upon having his full share allotted to him in these matters, for they befit the man and his office.....¹⁵⁵

but there was no suggestion of services being dispensed with; doubtless wishful thinking on the part of the letter-writer.

In fact there are number of accounts of Sir Patrick undertaking what he considered to be his duties as White Rod during the 1820s and 1830s. He received a black-edged invitation, presumably in his official capacity, to attend the Funeral and Internment of the 'Right Honorable Lady Anne Macdonald of Clanronald' in the Chapel Royal in April 1824; coaches 'in attendance in front of Register House at half after one o'clock'.¹⁵⁶ The occasion of the exhumation of the Duchess de Gramont to France required full-scale ceremonial. The Duchess had died in 1803 while sharing the exile of members of the French Royal Family at Holyroodhouse. The removal of her remains from the Chapel Royal and the procession to Newhaven for embarkation to France was attended by a full range of dignitaries including the Lord Provost and Magistrates, the Lord Advocate, Lord Chief Baron and the Usher of the White Rod.¹⁵⁷ When in Paris, Sir Patrick followed this up with a visit to St Cloud, as commanded by Charles X, details of which were reported at a meeting of the Edinburgh Town Council on 25 October 1826. His Majesty apparently made many inquiries about the City and its extension since his sojourn there and:

in taking leave of Sir Patrick, had desired him to wait upon the Lord Provost, and to assure him and the Magistracy and citizens in general, that he still remembered with gratitude the many kindnesses he had experienced during his long residence in Edinburgh.¹⁵⁸

Four years later an ousted Charles X was back in Holyrood following the 1830 July French revolution. An intriguing letter to Sir Patrick dated Thursday 2 June, must be from 1831 as the French family left Edinburgh on 18 September 1832. Count O'Hegerty:

has the Honour to inform Sir Patrick Walker that he submitted to His Majesty his obliging offer, for which his Majesty ordered me to thank him. Count O'Hegerty and a few others of the king's attendants will accept the offer of Sir Patrick, and will be tomorrow at Eleven o'clock in the Gallery, according to directions.¹⁵⁹

Although he did not process at the Coronation of William IV, the Usher of the White Rod was confirmed in his office and was soon in action accompanying a deputation from the University of Edinburgh to the King and presenting an address to his Majesty on their behalf on 4 August 1830. Afterwards he introduced the Deputation to the Queen in her drawing room, announcing them severally by name.¹⁶⁰ His presence as the King's Usher for Scotland and Usher of the White Rod was noted at a levee on 17 August 1831; and on returning from abroad in 1834, the

¹⁵⁵ 7 Sept 1822.

¹⁵⁶ EUSC, Gen.2042/28.

¹⁵⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 October 1825; *Morning Chronicle*, 28 October 1825.

¹⁵⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26 October 1826; *Glasgow Herald*, 27 October 1826. As the exiled Comte d'Artois he had been given refuge in Holyroodhouse in 1796.

¹⁵⁹ EUSC, Gen.2042/27-31/132. According to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 148, p. 203, O'Hegerty was the Master of the King's Horse.

¹⁶⁰ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*; *Morning Post*, 5 Aug 1830.

Duke of Argyle presented him to the King in that that role and as a Royal Archer.¹⁶¹ Further appearances at Court occurred in May 1836 and April 1837 at a levee and Queen's birthday celebration respectively; and he attended the new monarch's first levee in July 1837.¹⁶² He had not long, however, to serve Queen Victoria. His last press notice as White Rod was his death announcement:

Sir Patrick Walker her Majesty's heritable chief Usher of the White Rod for Scotland died on Tuesday at Drumsheugh after a short but painful illness.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ *Times*, *Morning Post*; *London Standard*, 18 August 1831; *Caledonian Mercury*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Times*, 24, 28, 31 July 1834.

¹⁶² *Times* 12 May 1836, 20 April 1837; *Morning Chronicle*, 20 July 1837.

¹⁶³ *Hampshire Advertiser*, *Morning Post*, 9 October 1837; *Newcastle Courant* 13 October 1837.

5. Other Public Service

From 1792-7, 1798-1801 and 1803-15 Britain warred with France. As a means of strengthening defences against possible French invasion the Scottish Militia Act of 1797 empowered the Lord Lieutenants of Scotland to raise and command militia regiments for home defence in each of the areas under their jurisdiction; and thereby muster a Scottish total of 6,000 men selected by ballot, though volunteering was permissible. The act stipulated annual training, a five years' fixed term of compulsory service, military discipline, allowances for dependents, arrangements for substitutes or the payment of a £10 penalty and categories of exemption. The arbitrariness of the ballot system and the disruption of working and family lives occasioned widespread opposition and a high proportion of the men who attested for militia service were substitutes.¹ Patrick Walker certainly did not pay for a substitute, having, according to his Masonic eulogy, volunteered his name for the Horse and Artillery Corp.² This may have been the Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry or the Edinburgh Yeomanry Cavalry raised in 1797. Both merged with the Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons in 1800 to form the Royal Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry of which Walter Scott was quartermaster. On 21 January 1805, however, as a Major of the West Regiment of the Midlothian Volunteers Walker wrote from Drumsheugh to the Duke of Buccleuch with suggestions as to how his Grace should deal with volunteer commissions—recommendations which appear to have been accepted.³

Apparently acting in some form of administrative as well as military capacity, Patrick took his duties very seriously, apologising to the Duke through his secretary Mr Cuthill, for not having reported to him 'having been confined since friday last by a severe cold'; and requesting the Duke's presence at the Regimental review at Dalmahoy as 'it would be doubly gratifying to both Officers and Men'.⁴ In April, in inimitable style he informed Cuthill that he had written to Mr Nassell about increasing the allowance per man from 6s 8d to 12s as had been granted to the Roxburghshire Corps but he had not received a satisfactory answer.

Any claim which we can make must be done through his Grace the duke of Buccleuch as His Majesty's Lieutenant for the County. As the Metropolitan County and a Maritime County I think the two Mid Lothian Regiments are entitled to everything which can be granted to any County Corps whatever.

Perhaps this might also be a good time to try the Secretary of State for a permanent allowance for Drummers, for the more the Regiments advance in Discipline so much more is the want of them felt.... If it is necessary to present any Memorial on these points to his Grace I shall immediately draw it up on behalf of both Regiments.⁵

¹ A protest disturbance in Tranent resulted in 12 people being killed.

² Laurie, p. 225.

³ NRS, GD224/676/11(1-2). In 1803 the City of Edinburgh appointed the Duke of Buccleuch Colonel of its Second and Royal Leith Regiments. Buccleuch was Lord Lieutenant of Midlothian and East Lothian from 1794-1812. Alexander Murdoch, 'Scott, Henry, third duke of Buccleuch and fifth duke of Queensberry (1746–1812)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24875>>[7 Oct 2013].

⁴ *Ibid.*, (3), 26 March 1805.

⁵ *Ibid.*, (4), 19 April 1805.

Walker followed this with a succession of letters throughout the summer of 1805 concerning the cost of 'Great Coats' and 'accoutrements', the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, alterations in the constitution of the Western Regiment 'which I am convinced your Grace will at once see the propriety of' and proposed appointments including that of the Reverend David Dicks of St Cuthbert's Parish as chaplain.⁶ Regarding the Duke's inspection of the regiment, he suggested 5 August or any day after 'because the May harvest will be over, Turnip dressed and Barley Harvest not commenced'.⁷ Wishing to go to the country for a few days he asked Cuthill on 7 September, when he would hear about his suggestions of 30 May 'which will only cost the Government the pay of two sergeants'; followed on 19 September with the request for knee caps and several small things which 'we cannot go into Quarters without'.⁸

By 1809 Patrick Walker had been promoted to Second Lieutenant-Colonel.⁹ In May the third regiment of Mid Lothian local militia under his command marched into Edinburgh 'to commence their drills for 20 days' and were quartered in the suburbs.¹⁰ Before the 1811 period of training and exercise, Walker wrote to the Duke of Bucceluch with recommendations for promotions which he requested the Duke to approve 'at your earliest conveniency so they may rank on the Establishment' and thereby entitle the recipients to increased pay.¹¹ A further letter informed his Grace of the arrangements he had made 'under the permission granted by Geo 3 cap 25' with 'the Sergeants and Drummers of the 3rd or Western Regiment Mid Lothian Local Militia' whereby:

they have agreed to serve on reduced pay on the terms prescribed by the Act... five Sergeants at 1s 6d Four Sergeants at 7½d and three Sergeants at 8d per day which just exhausts the Government allowance of 12s per day for eight sergeants. Nine Drummers agreed to serve at 4d per day which in like manner exhausts the Government rate as allowed for three Drummers. The remainder of the Drummers are maintained at the same rate of 4d per day at the private expense of the Officers and therefore no communication I presume falls to be made regarding them.

I have to request that your Grace will have the goodness to approve of this arrangement with your earliest conveniency and also obtain the Approbation of the Secretary of State in terms of the said Act and that the approbation may bear the date from 4 March.¹²

At the same time Patrick had to provide the Duke with information regarding the 'negligence and misconduct' of the Quarter Master.¹³ A Board of Enquiry had met at Coates in January and February of the previous year when a list of failures to follow procedures came to light including the fact that the Quarter Master kept 'no books or letters whatever' despite being warned repeatedly by Lieutenant Colonel Walker to do so.¹⁴ Walker wrote to the Duke from Drumsheugh on 11 April 1811 informing him

⁶ Ibid., (5-8), 3, 7, 30 May, 15 June, 13, 16, 27 July, 3 August 1805. Ibid., (14), 29 September 1805.

⁷ Ibid., (9), 19 July 1805.

⁸ Ibid., (13).

⁹ *London Gazette*, 24 December 1808; *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 January, 25 May 1809.

¹⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 3 May 1810.

¹¹ NRS, GD224/423/16 (2), 15 April 1811.

¹² Ibid., (3).

¹³ Ibid., (3), *Letter from Lord Primrose*, 7 April 1811.

¹⁴ Ibid., (6).

that he would be copying and sending the relevant documents for the Duke so he could form an opinion upon his case 'which I dare say will be soon done, for after all the cautions he has got his conduct continues in the same stile(sic) of neglect'.¹⁵ The Quarter Master was dismissed. A few months later the county Justices of the Peace tried a local militiaman charged by Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Walker with having failed to attend the training and exercise of the Third Mid Lothian regiment. The prisoner, in terms of the military laws, was convicted of being a deserter and found liable to the statutory penalty of £10 sterling or imprisonment for six months.¹⁶ The last press notice of Walker in his military capacity marked his presentation at Court, cited above, on 17 July 1812.

He was present, however, at a meeting chaired by the Lord Provost, of Noblemen, Gentlemen, Merchants, Bankers, Traders and other inhabitants of Edinburgh, Leith and vicinity held within Parliament House on 11 January 1813. Participants passed resolutions commending 'the distinguished valour and patriotism evinced by the Russians in repelling the late atrocious and unprovoked invasion of the French'; they commiserated the sufferings of the inhabitants of Russia 'to whose memorable and patriotic sacrifices of private property, the glorious issue of the late campaign may partly be attributed'; and appointed a committee to raise subscriptions, to help alleviate these sufferings, 'the nature and extent of which, the subjects of these happy realms can scarcely form any adequate idea'.¹⁷ Patrick Walker Esq. Advocate contributed five guineas. Further, the masonic eulogy after his death, says that having obtained passports, 'he presented himself on the field at Waterloo and entered Paris with the Allied Armies'.¹⁸ In the camp of 'Chicky' in July 1815 Walker observed the good temper and docility of a Spanish horse ridden by a friend, a captain in the Rifle Brigade, and later supplied an anecdote of its behaviour for naturalist Thomas Brown.¹⁹

In addition to his civil defence duties Patrick Walker served as a Commissioner of Supply. First established in Scotland in 1667 to collect the cess or land tax, the Commissioners of Supply became responsible for various assessed taxes such as those on windows and horses; issues concerning roads and bridges and in some counties, for taxes levied for prisons, asylums and county buildings. They constituted a committee of substantial landowners in each county, defined after the Union as those possessing property, superiority or liferent of lands with a minimum annual value of £100 Scots; a medium thereby for the views and concerns of landowners. The Commissioners (who appointed a Collector of Supply to oversee the tax collecting) became an important institution of local government until abolished in 1889. Thus at a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply concerning the assessed tax act for the county of Edinburgh in January 1813, Patrick Walker

¹⁵ Ibid., (1).

¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury, Aberdeen Journal*, 10 July 1811.

¹⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 January 1813.

¹⁸ Lawrie, p. 225.

¹⁹ Thomas Brown, *Biographical Sketches and authentic anecdotes of horses and the allied species* (Edinburgh, 1830), p. 463; *The Sportsman*, vol. 1 (London, 1836), p. 176. 'Chicky' may be a misprint for Issy or Clichy.

Esq. was one of the gentlemen elected to carry the act into execution for the St Cuthbert and Extended Royalty Districts.²⁰

The spheres of operation of the Commissioners of Supply and their interests can be gauged from accounts of Walker's involvement. As early as 1800 Patrick Walker of Meadowflatt attended a general meeting of the County of Mid-lothian where restrictions on the use of corn and consumption of wheaten bread were discussed.²¹ Both father and son attended a meeting of 'Noblemen, Freeholders, JPs, Commissioners of Supply and Heritors of this County' held in the Court of Exchequer on 24 Jan 1814 to advocate an alteration in the Corn laws involving a sufficient duty on the import of foreign grain to encourage the growth of corn at home, thereby ensuring a steady supply of grain at moderate prices with a fair profit for the farmer.²² In the following year they disapproved of certain clauses in the amended parliamentary bill for introducing Trial by Jury in Civil Causes into Scotland as a means of countering the difficulties experienced by the House of Lords in dealing with questions of fact raised in Scottish appeals.²³ The bill, they asserted, was different from its predecessor 'without any notice to the people of this country of the intended alterations and in direct opposition to the opinions of the Faculty of Advocates'. Particular attention was drawn to the provision that only two of the three Commissioners to try cases before a jury were to be Senators of the College of Justice while the third 'may be an English barrister with no knowledge of the principles of the law of Scotland'; and unanimity of jury verdict preferred to a majority.²⁴ The Jury Trials (Scotland) Act conceded the first but not the second of these.²⁵

The County meeting on 20 May 1816 in connection with the building of the new jail on the Calton Hill occasioned controversy, in which, apart from implied suggestions of irregular procedure, the issue of perceived governmental centralisation emerged. For the purpose of building a new county jail the gentlemen of the county of Edinburgh had agreed to assess themselves to the amount of £9,000, later increased to £20,000, to be raised by the imposition of a five years' assessment; the fifth year not to be demanded unless deemed necessary by the appointed committee. The bill brought before the House of Commons, however, contain a clause vesting power in the Parliamentary Commissioners appointed under the proposed act to levy the fifth year's assessment without consulting the County. Sir John Dalrymple told the meeting:

²⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 January 1813.

²¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 December 1800, 5 January 1801. William Walker had evidently bought Meadowflatt and Dishieflatt for Patrick although the documents are dated 1808 and 1816.

²² *Ibid.*, 27 January 1814.

²³ Civil jury trial was an English institution alien to the existing Scottish legal tradition. For an account of the reform of the Court of Session see Nicholas Phillipson, *The Scottish Whigs and the Reform of the Court of Session* (Edinburgh, 1990).

²⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 March 1815.

²⁵ 55.Geo.III.c.42. John Erskine, *The Principles of the Law of Scotland: in the Order of Sir G. Mackenzie's Institutions*, 12th edition (Edinburgh, 1827), pp.580-4; Allan Maconochie, *Trial by Jury: Considerations on the introduction in civil causes into Scotland*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh, 1815). In 1830 the Jury Court was absorbed into the Court of Session.

Had it not been that a clause was introduced in the bill affecting the interests of Sir Patrick Walker, we should never have heard of it till we discovered ourselves to be under the control of a kind of Parliament composed certainly of very respectable individuals but who have no concern or interest in the business, nor should we have heard of it till we found ourselves deprived of all power.... we must be better judges of our own concerns than our Sheriffs or our great public offices can possibly be.²⁶

Sir Patrick on his part stated that as he had been the cause of bringing the bill into notice:

it was proper to remind the meeting he had done so without reflecting against any individual whatever, and disclaimed his intention of doing so now. He got by accident a glimpse at the bill, in which he at once saw his patrimonial rights were affected, and with much difficulty, he succeeded in procuring a copy of it, which he produced to the meeting of the 30th of April, because on looking at it with more attention, he found it contained several improper enactments, especially some that deeply affected the two districts of roads on which he was a trustee. But still he thought the county must probably have approved of them when he was abroad. But on mentioning them to those who should have known them officially they declared their total ignorance of such clauses.²⁷

Sir Patrick warned that as the bill had already passed the House of Commons, they would either have to accept it as it was or petition to have the House of Lords reject it. He continued in full flow:

Lord Hermand had termed this fighting about straws and struggling about etiquette. What! Were our best rights and constitutional privileges no better than straws or points of etiquette? Were we to sit in patience and hear such doctrines? Were the Commissioners of Supply, who by the Constitution have the management of taxation and money bills, to be at once supplanted by the creation of Jail Commissioners? If such an indecorous and radical infringement of our rights was once permitted, it is impossible to say to what extent such infringements would be carried, yet this was attempted by this bill, and his Lordship called it mere straws and etiquette!....

In concluding he (Walker) should mention that in consequence of the duty he had performed to himself and to the county by bringing the bill before them, he had received an intimation that his patrimonial interests would not be so well attended to when the middle district clause was renewed in the turnpike bill, as intended to be brought on next year, as they would have been on this. These sorts of threats would not deter him from doing his duty, and if such is attempted he knows he will procure the support of the county to protect him.²⁸

The County resolved to send a petition to Lord Melville but in vain, as the bill had passed the House of Lords by the time he received it.²⁹

Further County meetings later in the year dealt with grain distillation, legal and illegal. In October the members who included both Patrick and his father, discussed 'the pernicious practice of smuggling and illicit distillation'.³⁰ Unsurprisingly considering the views expressed in his 1797 journal, Patrick concurred with his colleagues in pledging themselves both as individuals and Magistrates to 'put an end to such illicit practices as being most destructive to the habits and morals of the people'.³¹ A debate took place in December over the proposal to petition the Prince Regent for a cessation of the distillation of spirits from grain due to the deplorably

²⁶ Ibid., 23 May 1816; *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, June 1816.

²⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 June 1816; *Scots Magazine*, July 1816.

³⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 October 1816.

³¹ Ibid.

deficient grain crop and the failure of the potato harvest; conditions which had extended over Europe thereby rendering relief by importation impossible. Sir Patrick argued in favour of the utmost frugality and economy in the use of grain; that the prohibition should be general or not at all; and reckoned from various calculations that the current supply of grain at ordinary consumption would last 10 months. Consequently the 850,000 quarters annually consumed by the distillers became an essential requisite as food for the inhabitants. He recommended that 'the most public and most dignified mode for this metropolitan county to follow was, to go to the foot of the throne, and disclaiming all individual considerations, tell the plain truth, that famine stared us in the face'.³²

On 12 January 1818 a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply attended by Walker, discussed the report on the proposed Parliamentary bill for the care of 'Pauper Lunatics' and again exhibited a resistance to centralisation. While they approved of the recommended erection of District Lunatic Asylums and urged the obligation to construct these to be compulsory on the counties and not optional, they advocated the appointment of District, not Parliamentary Commissioners, to undertake this; and they suggested building in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Inverness with a specified expense proportioned between the landowners, house owners and occupiers and annual running costs met by the county not the parish rate. The meeting requested George Clerk the Member of Parliament for the County to press for these amendments to the bill or to vote against it.³³ A subsequent meeting in March, however, heard that the third version of the Asylum Bill had not incorporated the crucial amendments and indeed had allocated to Government Commissioners powers of arranging 'internal economies of asylums' when finished.³⁴ Consequently it was resolved to petition against the bill passing through any further stages in the current session.

As one of the Road Trustees of the County of Edinburgh Sir Patrick attended a meeting on 16 November 1819 to discuss the appointment of Captain Shaw as surveyor-general of roads 'as soon as he was deemed qualified for the undertaking by Mr McAdam'; a letter from the Lord Advocate having recommended a trial period of two years.³⁵ Following a motion by Walker that the Lord Advocate be authorised to make suitable arrangements with Colonel Shaw and subsequent discussion, the meeting agreed on a two years' appointment. On the same day, in the Court of Supply, Sir Patrick in nationalist and philanthropic vein drew attention to two enactments of the last session of Parliament regarding the poor laws, not merely as they affected the rights and interests of Scotland but as 'they exposed the unfortunate poor of Scotland who happened to reside in England to great hardships and cruelties'.³⁶ He quoted the example of a Scot who had resided and worked in 'Shiels' for 47 years, but who when he became unable to work and therefore a

³² *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 December 1816.

³³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 January 1818.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 March 1818.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 March 1819.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22 March 1819. He referred to Acts 59 Geo III cap 12. 33d.sec and 59 Geo III 50.

burden on the poor rates, was 'trundled in a cart with 13 others to Berwick bridge and there sent upon the wild world to beg, steal or starve'.³⁷ 'Is Scotland', he asked, 'to give the benefit of settlement by a three years' residence to an Englishman when England, after receiving the labours of an honest Scotchman for 47 years can be guilty of such an act of removal?'³⁸ A committee was named to report and communicate with other counties as a result.

In 1810 the City of Edinburgh rebuilt Leith Walk and to recoup the great expense, erected a toll, the renewal of which constituted a parliamentary bill in 1822. Sir Patrick seconded the resolutions proposed to a meeting of parties interested in opposing the bill in the Waterloo Tavern in April 1822. The most important of these declared that the bill 'for more effectively repairing and maintaining the district of roads in the County of Edinburgh, termed the Leith Walk District' seemed to have been initiated principally 'for the purpose of relieving the Magistrates of Edinburgh from the obligation incumbent upon them of supplying part of the funds towards the future repair of the roads...'³⁹ For the purpose of presenting petitions to both Houses of Parliament the meeting elected a committee of twelve, including Sir Patrick, to procure subscriptions. In the event the toll remained until its abolition on 25 May 1836 when Leith Walk District merged with the Middle District of Roads of which Walker was a convener.⁴⁰

Walker as one of the Cramond District Road trustees would have been involved with the arrangements for a new bridge over the river Almond; attending the laying of the foundation stone on 30 May 1822. In company with the Lords Provost of Edinburgh and Linlithgow, Sir William Fettes, Andrew Rutherford Esq. and 'a distinguished party of ladies', he witnessed the ceremony performed by the Right Worshipful Brother James Joseph Hope-Vere of Craigiehall where upwards of 700 of the brethren had earlier assembled.⁴¹ On the completion of the new crossing, Lord Rosebery requested 'the favour of Sir Patrick Walker's Company at Dalmeny House on Tuesday the 28th inst at half past 1.o'clock previous to going to the Cramond Bridge'.⁴² The procession from Dalmeny consisted of 'twelve carriages and several equestrians' who traversed the bridge and 'that portion of the new line of road towards Edinburgh which has been finished'.⁴³ The Cramond trustees then departed for Edinburgh while those of Linlithgow returned across the bridge.⁴⁴

During the last two years of Walker's life a new Middle District Road Trust for Edinburgh and Leith was established by Act of Parliament.⁴⁵ Leith managed its own streets under the Lord Provost of Leith as convener while Sir Patrick and Bailie

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Scotsman*, 20 April 1822.

⁴⁰ 5th and 6th William IV. Cap.68.

⁴¹ Laurie, p. 193; *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 June 1822.

⁴² EUSC, Gen1983/72-3, no.166.

⁴³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 October 1824.

⁴⁴ Ibid. During the return journey one of the workmen was run over by a carriage but this did not deter 100 others who had worked on the bridge from having a dinner at Dalmeny.

⁴⁵ 4&5 Will.4. c.lxxviii. The Middle District covered 11 miles from the great cross roads leading to and round Edinburgh; Leith Walk dealt with 3 miles from Edinburgh to the Walk of Leith.

Macfarlan convened the other two districts. A meeting on 21 January 1836 heard a report recommending that no improvements be entered into that year with the exception of the entrance to Teviot Row which had been under discussion since 1802. Sir Patrick, though willing to support this motion on the grounds of its urgency, would only do so if the means were available but not if it meant borrowing money; a practice he declared to be 'bad even in country districts'; and the meeting adjourned without a decision.⁴⁶ Work eventually commenced in July.⁴⁷ In December he called attention to the state of the Mound 'of which the inhabitants justly complained' and about which he had written to the Commissioners of Improvement in April, as the Middle District Trustees did not want to be blamed for 'the almost impassable state of the Mound in dirty weather', but he had not received an answer.⁴⁸ Two months later he replied to a letter of complaint about the disgraceful state of the street leading from Queen Street by Heriot Row to Howe Street. Neither the Magistrates nor the Middle Road Trust had responsibility as the burden lay on Heriot's Hospital and the proprietors of Queen Street Gardens.⁴⁹

Public service for Patrick Walker also entailed serving as a Justice of the Peace for the county of Midlothian. On 10 July 1810 both he and his father took an oath to:

enquire the truth more fully according to the Law and Custom of the Land of all and all manor of Felonies or Capital Crimes Poysonings, Inchantments Sorceries Art Magic Trespass Forestalings Reagrtings Ingrossings and Exhortations whatsoever and of all singular other Crimes and offences of which the Justices of our Peace may or ought lawfully to inquire.... and also of all Victuallers and all and singular other Persons who in abuse of weights or measures or in selling victuals against the form of ordinances and statues

as well as dealing with misdemeanours of Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Stewards, Constables, Keepers of Gaols and other officers.⁵⁰ In the years before his knighthood in 1814, Patrick appeared in the sederunts as Patrick Walker Advocate or 'of Meadowflat'; thereafter as Sir Patrick Walker of Meadowflat and following the death of Mr Walker of Coates, sometimes 'of Coats'.⁵¹ The Justices dealt routinely with various issues such as applications from friendly or benefit societies for ratification of their rules.⁵² Thus on 19 November 1810 the Walkers and colleagues heard petitions from the societies of *Edinburgh Carpenters and Joiners*, *Edinburgh Clock and Watchmakers*, *Caledonian Journeymen Millwrights*, *Hunter Square Friendly Society* and the

⁴⁶ *The Scotsman*, 20 January 1836; *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 January 1836.

⁴⁷ *The Scotsman*, 6 July 1836.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 14 December 1836. In 1826 Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe had appealed to Walker's good taste which he said was well known, in order to tackle the problem of the Mound. See Allardyce and Bedford, *Letters*, p. 358.

⁴⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 February 1837.

⁵⁰ NRS, JP4/1/1, *Commissions of the Peace for the County of Edinburgh 1810*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, JP4/2/2, *Minutes of the Meetings of the Justices of the Peace of the County of Midlothian 1810-1827*.

⁵² By subscribing to a friendly or benefit society people could protect themselves against loss of earnings through sickness and save for funeral costs and widows' annuities. Under the Friendly Societies Act 1793, 33 Geo.iii,c.54, societies were required to register their rules with local magistrates, although many did not.

Laudable Society of Ploughman and Carters in and about Libberton.⁵³ Appeals by and against friendly societies were also heard by the Justices; Sir Patrick dealing with the appeal of the *Caledonian Gardeners Society* on 1 May 1820 against Bell Findlayson widow of Robert Findlayson late member of the society. The appeal was refused on 21 November.⁵⁴

A constant stream of petitions from men seeking employment as a Constable of Court or as a County Constable formed part of the regular business—for example, that of Alexander Ross out-pensioner in Edinburgh on 8 July 1816 or Adam Godie shoemaker on 6 March 1821—and Walker administered the oaths of loyalty to two Extraordinary Constables for the Parish of Duddingston on 17 December 1819. He had earlier been one of a committee formed to investigate the behaviour of the Constables of Court as a consequence of complaints against them.⁵⁵ On 2 October 1821 the Justices had to declare there were no vacancies for constables and three years later Sir Patrick successfully proposed that in future no petitions should be considered until a month after application and that applications should be posted in 'some conspicuous place in the Clerk's office and in the Court Room with a notification to the Constables and others to offer any objections they may have'.⁵⁶

The Quarter Session Minutes record Sir Patrick's involvement in a variety of revenue issues; for example, an appeal by Hutchison Dunbar cloth merchant of the South Bridge against a fine of 15s 6d for selling a hat without a stamp (4 March 1811); or the unsuccessful petition of John Lang horse dealer and farmer at Colinton Mains against John Mills officer of the Post Horse duties (27 March 1830).⁵⁷ The newspapers reported some cases such as the discovery by Excise Officers of four boxes containing 727 lbs of black tea adulterated with sloe and ash leaves, 'secreted in a cellar in Byers's close' in 1819.⁵⁸ Sir Patrick, Sheriff Duff and William MacFarlane Esq convicted Archibald Fraser of:

committing a fraud on the revenue and acting as agent in a traffic that was of the most hazardous nature to the lives and health of the lower class of people who chiefly use the coarser tea.⁵⁹

This being the first case of its kind, they sentenced him to a less severe penalty of £50 or six months in the Bridewell prison and ordered the tea to be destroyed. Sitting in the Excise Justice of Peace Court in the County Hall in 1825, Walker and MacFarlane with James Balfour imposed a fine of £15 in a case concerning the seizure of six reams of paper sent by a paper maker to a book binder in wrappers different from those proscribed by law, thereby avoiding paying the relevant duty.⁶⁰

⁵³ NRS, JP4/2/2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 July 1817.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1824.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; NAS, JP4/2/4, 1827-1838.

⁵⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 August 1819.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany*, August 1825.

The Scotsman considered a case heard in the Court of Excise in November 1830 to be so unusual as to warrant as full an account as space allowed.⁶¹ The Sheriff Substitute and three Justices including Sir Patrick heard a prosecution arising from the refusal of a trader to exhibit his licence to an officer of the Excise. During the course of the trial it emerged that the officer, Mr Blackburne, most respectable but new to Edinburgh and unknown to the defendant Mr Stewart, had met a notorious informer (Turner) and a keeper of an infamous house (Purvis) in Stewart's shop. Before departing the officer had legally asked to see the trader's licence, but the latter, suspicious and agitated lest his reputation be sullied by the presence of unsavoury characters, refused. A fracas ensued resulting in the officer being taken to the police office where he was committed before being released by a magistrate. In giving his opinion, with which his colleagues agreed, Sir Patrick stated that:

he was at all times anxious to support the revenue when there appeared to be an intention to commit fraud ; but here there was an appearance of a wish to entrap the trader which he could not countenance.⁶²

He asked why the officer did not ask Stewart for his licence when he went into the shop and in the case of refusal, inform him that the law required him to produce it:

but here he goes with two well known characters; and after drinking so much ale and whisky in the forenoon, which was not likely to improve his intellect, asks for the license as he returned through the shop. The character of Purvis had been particularly spoken to by the witnesses, and respecting Turner, the informer, the Bench knew him perfectly. If Blackburn was treated with disrespect, he must blame himself for being in such company; and Stewart was entitled to believe him of the same description as his companions.⁶³

When the Court unanimously dismissed the case Mr Kerr 'in a low voice' stated that if the proceedings of the Board of Excise were going to be treated in this manner 'it would be needless of him to bring any more actions before the Court'. Sir Patrick immediately responded by remarking that:

if the Board of Excise lent themselves to harsh and oppressive proceedings against fair traders and unoffending individuals, they must just be disappointed like other people, and take their share of the odium which is attached to such proceedings.

This announcement was received with a tremendous cheer, which was instantly checked by Mr Sheriff Tait.⁶⁴

At a meeting of the Justices on 6 March 1827, Sir Patrick raised the subject of various encroachments on the rights of the Justices of the Peace Clerk, in particular, a practice which 'had crept in of late' for the Solicitor of the Excise 'to extract the Decrets in Revenue cases which he considered by no means proper' as this power belonged to the Clerk of Court.⁶⁵ Walker's colleagues appointed him as convener of an inquiry into the Clerk's rights. The Revenue Acts of 1827 (7&8 Geo IV cap 53), however, aroused Walker's particular ire as he considered it to be impossible for the Justices to perform their duties as previously, having been placed directly under the

⁶¹ 7 November 1830. The *Caledonian Mercury* account is briefer.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ NRS, JP4/2/2

control of the Commissioners of Excise and obliged 'to hold meetings whenever these gentlemen chose to call them to do so'.⁶⁶ He told a County meeting on 1 May 1828 that by far the 'most obnoxious part was the utterly ruinous fines imposed' and 'though he had to speak respectfully of the legislature', he considered these statutes 'the most oppressive and injurious that had ever been enacted'.⁶⁷ He quoted the example of candle-making in the agricultural areas where it had been the practice for 'the peasantry and shepherds' to make their own candles, declare the amount made at 'a sort of a monthly' Excise court and pay duty accordingly; not strictly legal but the mode of practice until the passing of the statutes by which:

poor people for having made a *couple of candles* were subjected to a mitigated penalty of £25. A representation of one case was made to the Commissioners of Excise who limited the penalty to £7 10s but that sum he considered equally ruinous to the individual as £25. The Justices would best protect the revenue by freeing people from oppression.⁶⁸

He suggested that a letter be sent to a committee already in existence on the excise laws and this was agreed. Sir Patrick convened this committee whose report he laid before the Justices on 30 May. They approved the recommendation for the country to unite 'in using their best exertions to obtain a repeal of the Act' and ordered the committee to communicate with other counties.⁶⁹

Another committee of which Walker was a member in the years 1825-7 and 1834-6, investigated weights and measures the accuracy of which was essential for fair trading. On 16 December 1825 the committee opined that the trial and adjustment of weights and measures should take place in Edinburgh and designated 'the apartment below the ground floor lighted from the East and adjoining the Sheriff Record Rooms' as a suitable space for this.⁷⁰ Subsequent reports received approval on 5 February and 6 March 1827. Sir Patrick presided over a Justice of Peace Court which dealt with deficient measures in March 1830 when it appeared that, 'rapid as the "march of intellect" may be among the inhabitants at large' it was fully equalled by 'the "march of roguery" among a certain class of dealers in Leith and in this city'.⁷¹ Mr Myrtle, Inspector of Weights and Measures, laid 36 cases of deficient weights before the Court. Sir Patrick commented that:

the deficiency of a single dram in a 2 ounce weight might appear of little consequence, but it was to be recollected, that if the small weights were deficient, the offence was the more serious, certainly not in a legal, but a moral point of view because the poor purchased their articles in small quantities, and hence the loss fell exclusively on the class who were least able to bear it.⁷²

On 30 September 1834 a further committee including Sir Patrick was established to consider the recent Act of Parliament concerning weights and measures and on 14 April 1836 it recommended that inspectors should be instructed to examine 'all weights steel yards and other weighing machines' used within the county. Inspectors

⁶⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ NRS, JP4/2/4.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, JP4/2/2, 16 December 1825, 7 March 1826.

⁷¹ *The Scotsman*, 13 March 1830.

⁷² *Ibid.*

would receive one third of the fee levied on defaulters and their assistants 4s for each day.⁷³

The issuing of licences or certificates to sell ale occupied much of the Justices' time, as witness 1830, when Walker and colleagues attended a total of 8 sessions in May alone to hear applications and appeals against refusals.⁷⁴ An incident in May 1826 is interesting for the way in which it illustrates both Sir Patrick's protection of any role he embraced and the less than circumspect oratorical style he often adopted when advocating a course of action he supported. The minute of the County meeting of 1 May 1826 which heard the report of the Committee on Ale Licences recorded the actions to be taken but gave no details of the discussion which *The Scotsman* subsequently reported at some length. A minute had been submitted to the Committee proposing an experiment for a year whereby the Magistrates should grant certificates (licences) within the bounds of police and the Justices of Peace for outside this jurisdiction. Sir Patrick regretted that he could not agree with this 'report, minute, or whatever it was called' as it was not by any authorised committee of Justices; and last year there had been an arrangement between a committee of Justices and the Magistrates for granting licences, but 'the Magistrates had broken faith in a most improper manner' resulting in those in the country part of the city receiving different treatment from those in the city itself.⁷⁵ Consequently 'a number of poor dealers were cruelly harassed by persecutions' while the 'odium of fining them' fell to the Justices; and 'he knew that the Magistrates of the city were not very nice' (particular) about the persons who received licences; a 'blackguard house' being licensed by the Magistrates of the city and not by the Justices.⁷⁶ He cited at least 500 cases before the Justices in which 'it appeared the Magistrates had extorted *double the fee* allowed to be charged by act of Parliament' for the certificates and if therefore they could not properly conduct the bounds they already possessed, 'it would be improper to give them more'.⁷⁷ The meeting approved his motion to approve the report 'negating the proposed experiment' and appoint a committee to inquire into the bounds of the royalty.⁷⁸

At a Town Council meeting, however, Bailie Bonar called the attention of the Magistrates and Council to a report of a speech 'said to have been made by Sir Patrick Walker at a meeting of the Justices of Peace' which had considered a report about the agreement for the granting of ale licences.⁷⁹ In 'animadverting upon this arrangement which, it would seem had not met with the views of Sir Patrick', Bonar stated that 'the most unmeasured abuse had been heaped upon the Magistrates of the city', as Walker alleged:

that the parties interested were incapacitated either as being revenue officers which he calls Sir Henry Jardine (King's Remembrancer) or as spirit dealers, as he terms the Committee of

⁷³ NRS, JP4/2/4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 5, 7, 11, 19, 22, 28, 31 May 1830.

⁷⁵ *The Scotsman*, 3 May 1826.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 May 1826; *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 May 1826.

the Magistrates.... that the Magistrates had broken faith in a most improper manner; an allegation, if true, certainly affecting the parties who so conducted themselves, but if without foundation, affecting only the individual who made it. The Magistrates of last year utterly disclaim any breach of faith in the matter alluded to and they refer to the Sheriff of the county upon the subject.⁸⁰

With regard to the statement describing the Magistrates as not being 'very nice' about the people who received licences, Bonnar stated that the person allegedly referred to by Sir Patrick had references from a church elder, a Commissioner of the Police and a Justice of the Peace. Lastly he refuted the accusation that the Magistrates extorted double the fee for granting certificates; for although at one period they had 'found it necessary to lay a certain description of persons applying for licences under caution', this fee was authorised and no additional fee was ever charged and the practice given up some years earlier. Bonnar did not intend to propose any motion but thought it right that 'statements of this kind affecting the character and usefulness of the Magistrates should not be passed over in silence, from whatever quarter the same may come'.⁸¹

Sir Patrick rose to respond at a County meeting on 16 May when he complained of some observations which had lately appeared in certain of the Edinburgh newspapers by authority 'as he supposed and believed' of the Magistrates of the City of Edinburgh, 'or at least by one of their number' as to what he had expressed at the last meeting on the subject of ale licences.⁸² About to illustrate his reasons of complaint, he was interrupted by Mr Gibson Craig on account of there being no regular motion on the subject before the meeting and that therefore they should proceed with the business of the day. The minutes recorded approval of this. *The Scotsman*, however, asserted that Sir Patrick in alluding to the statement in the Town Council's report regarding ale licences:

believed words had been put into Mr Bonnar's mouth which he never uttered for the channel through which these reports reached the newspapers was notorious. He thought the Magistrates had been guilty of a breach of faith but he held documents in his hand to prove that his statements were correct and those of Mr Bonnar erroneous. Mr Gibson Craig and Mr Borthwick, advocate, deprecated this discussion. Sir Patrick was, however, allowed to proceed; and stated that, after the Magistrates had intimated that they would grant certificates within the legal term they had in fact granted them all the year over, and thus one part of the town was ruled by one law, and one by another, and many poor persons had been heavily fined.⁸³

By way of explanation the Sheriff stated that the irregularities which had occurred arose from the implementation of a new act under which the magistrates mistakenly considered that they were entitled to grant certificates. As they had acted by legal advice, they were not chargeable with breach of faith and it was 'only an experiment for a year'.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² NRS, JP4/2/2.

⁸³ *Scotsman*, 17 May 1826.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

In October 1831 a keelman in Sunderland died from cholera vibrio, then generally named as cholera morbus. This strain of the disease originated in India in 1817 and travelled to Europe via south Russia. An Act of Parliament of 1825 enabled the Privy Council to initiate quarantine measures on shipping while limiting delays to commercial life. News of the arrival of cholera in Riga in mid-1831 resulted in the imposition of a quarantine on all ships arriving in Britain from Russia but the anti-quarantine lobby was strong, medical opinion divided on the causes of contagion and the quarantine policy failed. The first central Board of Health set up by the Privy Council in June, advised on the creation of a network of local boards of health. The Board (replaced in November by another) issued three circulars (20 October, 14 November and 13 December 1831) the first of which urged vigilance and warned against smugglers from Europe visiting the small fishing villages along the coast. In the absence of an appropriate administrative authority the Board looked to the magistrates and clergy to assist in a range of measures to deal with cholera outbreaks.⁸⁵

The Edinburgh County Justices met on 17 November to consider the 'proper precautionary measures' being taken 'to preserve the health' of the inhabitants of Fisherrow, Inveresk, Musselburgh, Ratho and Kirknewton by 'paying every attention to cleanliness and ventilation'; thereby subscribing to the theory that poisonous 'miasma' caused by bad smells and bad air created the disease. Areas of Edinburgh became the responsibility of specified Justices, with Sir Patrick Walker and Andrew Grey Esq. of Snipe being named for Fountainbridge, Stockbridge and the Water of Leith.⁸⁶ Cholera arrived in Haddington on 17 December 1831, followed quickly by Tranent; with reports of outbreaks in Prestonpans and Cockenzie on 20 and 24 January 1832. In Musselburgh 447 cases resulted in 202 deaths mostly concentrated among the 1,500 people of Fisherrow.⁸⁷ The Privy Council of 14 January 1832 instituted a Board of Health for Edinburgh and policemen were stationed at all entrances to the city to 'prevent the approach of vagrants', potential carriers of infection, but in vain.⁸⁸ 'The cholera has, at last, we are sorry to say it, fairly made its lodgement in Edinburgh' announced the *Caledonian Mercury* on 28 January; both casualties being in the West Bow. At an Improvements Commission meeting on 13 February 1832, Sir Patrick on behalf of the Board of Health requested authority to construct a temporary hospital for cholera patients at Livingston's Yards, the property of the Commissioners. This was agreed on condition that the Board of Health bore the cost of building and maintenance.⁸⁹

The lack of effective authority to raise local finance to meet the cost of dealing with the epidemic, resulted in the Cholera Act of February 1832 whereby two privy counsellors were enabled to renew or revoke the rules and regulations for preventing the spreading of contagion, for providing relief for the sick and speedy burial of the

⁸⁵ R. J. Morris, *Cholera, 1832 the social response to an epidemic* (London, 1976), pp. 23-35.

⁸⁶ NRS, JP4/2/4.

⁸⁷ Morris, pp. 64-5.

⁸⁸ *Scotsman*, 27 January 1832.

⁸⁹ ECA, SL 63/1/1B, *Edinburgh Improvement Act, Book No. 2, Minutes 1831-4*, 13 February 1832.

fatalities. As Scotland had no regular poor rate system, a second Act specified the raising of money by the rate used to finance road making.⁹⁰ On 7 March 1832, however, the Edinburgh County Cholera Committee attended by Walker considered the assessment arrangements of the recent act to be deficient with regard to recouping expenses and recommended that the Magistrates should have the power to levy inhabitants to cover the costs incurred by the cholera epidemic.⁹¹ In spite of some scattered outbreaks in 1833, the epidemic had declined by the end of the year and newspapers ceased to carry detailed accounts of outbreaks and fatalities. On 8 December 1832 the *Caledonian Mercury* reckoned that in Edinburgh there had been a total of 1802 cases and 1063 deaths.

From 1825 onwards Sir Patrick found himself increasingly involved in what were termed 'City Improvements'. By this period the growing suburbs to the north, south and west of the Old Town had limited means of communication with each other. New Town inhabitants could use one vehicular roadway to the south via the North and South Bridges, but no direct route existed to connect the Old Town with the district on the west.⁹² Western access to the livestock and grain markets in the Grassmarket was via the congested West Port and connection with the Lawnmarket area of the upper High Street limited to the precipitous West Bow. Several plans for improving the situation had already appeared before 1824 when three schemes for providing a western approach to the Old Town, by Thomas Hamilton, Thomas Leslie and Robert Stevenson respectively, became public and caused controversy. Interests in the southern districts of George Square, Lochrin and Lauriston, however, successfully pressed for the inclusion of a new approach from the south which was then planned by chosen architects Hamilton and Burn. The plans had their supporters and detractors many of whom who had vested property interests; and antiquarian issues also emerged in proposals for demolitions, lowering the level of the High Street and renovating St Giles Cathedral.⁹³

New Town householders held a meeting in Smart's Rooms, Thistle Street on 30 March 1825 when the key issue of cost emerged as outlined by Mr Graham Dalryell. He decried the proposed expenditure of £350,000 'to be lavished in a desperate attempt at renovating the older parts of the city, now falling to a natural and irresistible decay: and chiefly at the cost of the inhabitants of the newer' who would be expected to contribute £80,000 by compulsory assessment.⁹⁴ Dalryell advocated the levying of contributions according to ability to pay; or alternatively, for those who stood to gain most to bear the greatest burden. The example of the Leith Walk toll was quoted as a warning that the assessment might well be prolonged beyond the 12 years' period stated in the proposed compulsory assessment bill. The planned access to the south by a deep cut or incision from the Earthen Mound to the

⁹⁰ Morris, pp. 72-3.

⁹¹ NRS, JP4/2/4.

⁹² David Robertson, 'George IV Bridge and the West Approach', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. XVIII (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 80.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-7 for a summary of the plans.

⁹⁴ NLS, M3/2844, *Edinburgh Compulsory Assessment Bill: Meeting of Householders of the New Town* (Edinburgh, 1825), p. 2.

middle of the Lawnmarket appeared questionable in point of taste and of limited use as access from the New Town already existed via the Bridges and Lothian Road. 'Those who chiefly benefited were a few opulent Proprietors of land on the south of the Meadows by whom this whole expedient was set going December last'.⁹⁵ As for repairs to St Giles, the Magistrates could use the several thousands a year raised from seat rents to pay for these.

Sir Patrick made a substantial contribution to the proceedings, rising to state as one of those who was 'supposed would be benefitted by the proposed alterations—for improvements they were not—that they met with his decided disapprobation'.⁹⁶ He owned property in the Lawnmarket but denied that he or the public could derive any benefit from the proposed western approach. Having attended a meeting of respectable gentlemen at the Lord Provost's house, he had viewed drawings and plans 'of fairy temples, with splendid columns, got up with stage-effect, rivalling even the wonders of Aladin himself', but which 'never could exist except in the brain of an architect'.⁹⁷ Moreover, he felt that the Lawnmarket alterations would destroy the finest remains of the ancient city; and the western approach would expose to view the barracks, 'the worst feature of the Castle' while concealing the greatest beauty, the 'precipitous rock to the south' and the Grassmarket, one of the most interesting parts of the Old Town.⁹⁸ With regard to assessment he quoted the example of the duty of 2d imposed on the inhabitants for every pint of ale brewed in the city which was put on before the Union to help the 'Gude Town' out of debt and which they were still paying!⁹⁹

On 20 August 1825 the Lord Provost called a meeting in the Council Chamber to discuss bringing an appropriate bill before the House of Commons. Sir Patrick Walker, considering himself called upon:

as being one of those who had opposed the bill formerly, stated that he still saw many objectionable points in the proposed improvements. With respect to the plans he had scarcely seen them and had never studied them. But he could assure the Committee that if he were convinced that the proposed amendments could be carried through with advantage to the city and in a constitutional manner, he for one would certainly withdraw his objections.¹⁰⁰

Consequently he was appointed one of a committee to cooperate with the Lord Provost; James Gibson Craig, Henry Cockburn, William Burn and Thomas Hamilton being among the others.

Architects Hamilton and Burn produced plans for a route running from the Mound to the west of James' and Milne's Courts to join the High Street and form a square. They specified the rebuilding of Castlehill with the southern approach curving round the Lawnmarket to link with Bristo Street. The scheme involved the lowering of the High Street and the cutting of the Castle Bank, but due to opposition in Edinburgh and London the Parliamentary bill failed. The Improvements Committee

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 September 1825.

continued, however, and submitted three further proposals involving the lowering of the High Street around the County Buildings and St Giles; an opening in the Castlehill and straightening of the north side; and the formation of a street from the head of the West Bow along the south back of the Castle to communicate with the western districts. Proposals for a southern approach were omitted and the plans submitted for consultation with the 30 city wards and advertisement in the press. Unsurprisingly no consensus emerged and the city divided into factions of interests but the supporters of the improvements persuaded the Lord Provost to call a public meeting in the New Kirk Aisle of St Giles on 18 December 1826. At this the Provost proposed to proceed with a Parliamentary bill for both south and west approaches and for the levelling of the High Street on condition of being relieved of the whole expense; to include a clause prohibiting building in East Princess Street Gardens and to refuse a similar clause for the Meadows.

During the course of the debate Sir Patrick Walker 'rose for the purpose of restoring unanimity and to prevent the necessity of a division'.¹⁰¹ Though he disapproved of some parts of the plan he favoured a western approach especially for a southern and Grassmarket communication and the opening of the Castlehill. His own interest preferred the line along the Castle Bank but 'in point of utility and effect it was most objectionable'.¹⁰² He advised a little caution and more time to ensure success and the removal of opposition; and counselled against levying an assessment as a means of meeting costs. The meeting agreed that a bill be reintroduced into Parliament under the direction of a Committee named by the Town Council.

Subsequently, as one of the appointed Commissioners Walker supported, on 12 February 1827, Henry Cockburn's addition to the 47th clause in the bill prohibiting the Magistrates from building on their property in front of Princes Street; and two days later approved of the proposal to open up a communication from the east end of the Grassmarket should this be found practicable.¹⁰³ The compulsory assessments on proprietors and tenants proposed in the bill, however, constituted the real stumbling-block. On 8 March 1827 Sir Patrick attended a public meeting of Proprietors and Tenants of Houses and Shops within the Bounds of Police, in Bridges Rooms Thistle Street. Attendees expressed opposition to the bill on the grounds that the inhabitants of one district would pay for the improvement of other parts of the town.¹⁰⁴ To the sub-committee of the Improvements Commissioners, however, Sir Patrick, a 'friend to the improvements generally' but not to some of the details of assessment, suggested a solution which he believed 'would improve the bill, and tend decidedly to disarm opposition'.¹⁰⁵ Quoting the South Bridge Acts he proposed that as some, if not all, of the improvements might pay for themselves and perhaps yield a profit, the assessment should be made yearly according to whether

¹⁰¹ *Scotsman*, 20 December 1826.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 February 1827; *Scotsman*, 14 February 1826.

¹⁰⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 19, 21 March 1827.

or not this was the case and that no further assessment be levied unless a deficiency appeared. Being a member of the opposition committee Walker proposed the same to its members with the effect of dividing them but ultimately 'they refused to listen to any method of arrangement, or to any suggestion even of their own friends'.¹⁰⁶ *The Scotsman* declared the debt of the public to Sir Patrick for his idea which from its healing nature would most likely be the means of saving expense and trouble to all. On 31 March the paper reported that clauses on the principles suggested by Sir Patrick Walker had been agreed; everyone seeming willing to leave the opponents to themselves, having 'enough to do in begging subscriptions to their petition'. The *Caledonian Mercury* had no doubt that 'what has taken place will finally put an end to the attempted opposition for though *all* the opponents may not imitate the candour of Sir Patrick, many of them will'.¹⁰⁷

The Parliamentary Committee which examined the bill in May 1827 insisted on the insertion of a clause forbidding the Town Council from building on any part of the Meadows or Bruntsfield Links and the Edinburgh Improvements Bill received Royal Assent on 14 June 1827. The Act authorised the formation of the West approach and the erection of the King's Bridge (the Lawnmarket approach being named Johnston Terrace in 1852); the construction of the south approach roadway in line with Bank Street (George IV Bridge); the improvement of the West Bow; alterations of the levels of the High Street; widening of Castlehill and Bank Street; and the repair of St Giles Church. Building in Princes Street Gardens east of the Mound was prohibited with the exception of a theatre proposed for the site where the Scott Monument now stands. The Act entrusted the execution of the measures to 82 Commissioners who included Sir Patrick Walker and they first met on 9 July 1827.¹⁰⁸ A following meeting on 21 July appointed five sub-committees to deal with assessment, plans and works, audit, finance and law with Walker a member of the first two.¹⁰⁹ The Commissioners arranged the date for the laying of the foundation stones of the new bridges for 15 August, the anniversary of George IV's arrival in the city.¹¹⁰ Sir Patrick duly attended the illustrious ceremony and the celebratory dinner in the Waterloo Tavern.¹¹¹

The implementation of the improvements for which £80,000 was borrowed from four banking institutions, took several years and generated much argument and discussion. In March 1828 the Finance Committee recommended to the general meeting of Commissioners that the building of both west and south bridges be commenced as soon as the requisite estimates and purchases could be prepared. Sir Patrick could not agree with either the report or with any proposition he had heard.

They seem to have forgotten the improvement of the High Street altogether and he considered it as a highly important feature in the improvements. The lowering of High Street

¹⁰⁶ *Scotsman*, 21 March 1827.

¹⁰⁷ 22 March 1827.

¹⁰⁸ *Scotsman*, 11 July 1827; *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 July 1827.

¹⁰⁹ ECA, SL63/1/1A, *Edinburgh Improvement Act 1827 Book No. 1, Minutes 1827-31*.

¹¹⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 July 1827.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 16 August 1827; *Scotsman*, 18 August 1827.

was considered a necessary preliminary to the whole. It was also important at present as it would provide immediate work to the unemployed labourers and would be the best pledge they could give to the public of their being in earnest with the improvements.¹¹²

The Lord Provost, Walter Brown, however, felt that it was not necessary at this time for the other work and the levels might be materially affected by them. Gibson Craig proposed a motion, seconded by Walker, to have the lowering of the High Street remitted to the Plans and Works Committee with powers to proceed when appropriate.

The construction of the western and southern approaches necessitated the purchase of property—value of which had to be established by the Assessments Committee—through which the thoroughfares would be driven. Sir Patrick participated in this work which included hearing appeals and in the sub-committee charged with the re-siting of the Charity Workhouse.¹¹³ He counselled against taking any more land than was needed for the roadways as that meant ‘entering into a speculation of very problematic kind indeed’ as he knew from his ‘good deal of experience in the management of the feuing of a small property’.¹¹⁴ Notwithstanding his warning ‘that the risk on the present state of building was such that no men acting for the public ought to enter into’ the Commissioners agreed to buy the whole of Mr Combe’s property on the south side of King’s Stables.¹¹⁵ By 1830, however, it appeared that the Improvements project had a deficit of £120,000 due to the acquisition of such land and buildings at inflated prices for which no return could be expected for some years. Raising more money meant the preparation of another Parliamentary bill to authorise an additional or continued assessment with a reduction in the number of Improvement Commissioners who would be elected annually. At a meeting of Commissioners on 2 February 1831 Sir Patrick voted for Mr Grubb’s motion that an application to bring a new bill to Parliament should be dependent on the approval of the majority of the city’s inhabitants. On the defeat of the motion he dissented from the decision to petition the House of Commons to amend the Improvement Act of 1827 and with 13 others, signed a list of reasons for dissent presented to a subsequent meeting on 2 March.¹¹⁶ Their objections included the need for agreement by a majority of inhabitants; that any measure which required a new assessment and a longer time-scale violated the virtual compact with the citizens implied in the present act; and that people with a financial interest in the Improvements had voted. A consultation with the Police Wards again produced a range of conflicting reports in April.

In June Sir Patrick chaired a meeting in the Rose Street Chapel, of delegates from the Police Wards and others paying the improvement tax to consider a course of action. In grandiose style he stated that they had been called together to deliberate on a subject of great importance to themselves to the City of Edinburgh,

¹¹² *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 March 1828.

¹¹³ ECA, SL63/1/1A, *Edinburgh Improvement Act Minutes*, 8 June 1829.

¹¹⁴ *Scotsman*, 9 July 1828.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ ECA, SL63/1/1A, *Edinburgh Improvement Act Minutes*.

‘and indeed to the empire’.¹¹⁷ Trusting to the statements of engineers, architects and business men, they had already subscribed a large sum on the understanding that no more would be required, but ‘owing either to the fallacy of the estimates, or the gross mismanagement of the commissioners’, another heavy assessment was required.¹¹⁸ Several Commissioners had at the outset predicted what would happen but:

the gentlemen who drove the measures declared that they had taken the best advice, that the calculations and estimates were all correct, and that it was *utterly ridiculous* to apprehend that £70,000 would not be the maximum sum that would be exacted from the citizens. (Applause) Now the advocates of the new bill endeavoured to turn their own arguments against the opponents of the new assessment. They had said that the great cause of the failure was a reduction in the rents; and this had been urged at the time, but the advocates of the project had answered, ‘O we are buyers not sellers, and have nothing to fear on that ground’. There was not one of the Commissioners who was not directly or indirectly interested in these improvements. They had attributed the deficiency to a falling off in the assessment, but he had the documents and could prove that they had calculated at first on £5,000 and they had received £8,000. They might turn and twist the facts to suit their own purpose but this would be at once admitted by all who had clean hands and clear hearts.... He hoped the gentlemen would excuse him from taking up so much of their time, and they would now hear the report.¹¹⁹

The new bill proposed an additional levy of at least £169,000 in addition to prolonging the existing assessment of 1% on landlords and ½% on tenants for six years after the expiry of the act. After lengthy debate the meeting appointed a committee to meet with the Commissioners about the possibility of modifying the bill before petitioning against it in Parliament. At a meeting on 2 July chaired by Sir Patrick the committee recommended acceptance of the bill but the attendees voted for opposition which proved fruitless.¹²⁰

At the last meeting of the Commissioners under the first Act they heard of an advertisement entitled ‘Improvements’ published in the *Courant* newspaper relating to an account for professional fees to Mr Douglas which had been dropped on the street by a porter, picked up by an unknown porter and published in the paper by a body styling itself ‘the Inhabitants Committee’. In response to the question of authorisation Sir Patrick declared the publication to be ‘a breach of all faith, of all common honesty and honour’.¹²¹ As chairman of the original inhabitants committee—composed of gentlemen who ‘did all things fairly’—he felt very strongly on the subject as a reflection on him. He could, however:

take it upon him to say that the original committee neither individually or collectively, could ever have been guilty of such an act. They would have felt bound by every tie of honour and honesty to have returned such a document, had it fallen into *their hands* through similar means to its rightful owner. (Hear, hear) And no person claimed the character of a gentleman would have acted *otherwise*. (Cheers)¹²²

¹¹⁷ *Scotsman*, 22 June 1831.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2 July 1831; *Caledonian Mercury* 3 July 1831.

¹²¹ *Scotsman*, 19 November 1831.

¹²² *Ibid.*

The *Caledonian Mercury* reported the Commissioners' obligation to Sir Patrick for 'his candid and manly statement' from which it appeared that a 'self-appointed junta' had taken a name to which they were not entitled having not been appointed by the Rose Street meeting.¹²³ Mr Grubb (opponent of improvement), however, thought it to be of not much consequence how the document was given to the public as it was a public document and its contents accurate.

Several days later under the new Improvements Act, 3360 citizens voted for 44 Improvements Commissioners to complete the Improvements of the city, with Sir Patrick Walker chosen to represent St George's District, 30 and 8 of the Wards of Police.¹²⁴ Early in the new year he tabled resolutions calling for rigid economy to be observed in the execution of work which should not be undertaken until a full statement of finance had been produced; and that lines and levels at extreme points be fixed to enable correct estimates and contracts.¹²⁵ Subsequently he was appointed to sub-committees to examine the open areas under the arches of George IV Bridge; to report on the sites of churches in the West Bow and to convene a committee which examined the state of the Plans and Works – and he reported with approval on 13 February.¹²⁶

Commission meetings continued to be protracted affairs with much argument about the pace and financing of the building works; but sometimes leavened with humour not recorded in the minutes. Laughter ensued when Mr Hunter informed colleagues that if they wished to learn what character they had from the press he would read a portion from the paper he held in his hand. He could not make it out, handed it to Mr Graham Dalyell and:

was sitting down, when Sir Patrick Walker remarked, that the description must have been very affecting, so completely to have overcome Mr Hunter's feelings. The members whose risible faculties seemed completely roused, burst into roars of laughter, when Mr G Dalyell read a passage from a Saturday paper on the refusal of the Banks to deal with the present Commission. Mr Hunter, good humouredly, joined in the laugh, and for once the Commission was unanimous.¹²⁷

When, however, the Finance Committee proposed in April that two members be deputed to go to London to negotiate a loan from the Government to enable the works to continue, Walker ridiculed the idea. He declared it unlikely that the government would give money to a body, 'the members of which, were, day by day declaring that their affairs were in a state of bankruptcy'; and he was proved correct.¹²⁸ Yet when the Commissioners heard of the refusal of the Exchequer Loan Committee in July he supported the despatch of the Commission Clerk Mr Bridges to London to aid the Lord Provost in an application to the Treasury.¹²⁹ Lord Provost John Learmonth reported in August, the fruitless exertions of himself and Mr Bridges,

¹²³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 November 1831.

¹²⁴ *Scotsman*, 23 November 1831; ECA, SL63/1/1B, *Edinburgh Improvement Act, Book No. 2, Minutes 1831-4*, 6 December 1831.

¹²⁵ ECA, *Minutes*, 12 January 1832.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 30 January, 13 February 1832.

¹²⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 March 1832.

¹²⁸ *Scotsman*, 11 April 1832.

¹²⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 July 1832.

solicitor, in London towards obtaining a Government loan.¹³⁰ Success in achieving a loan came in the following year when the meeting of the Commissioners, chaired by Sir Patrick received a favourable report on transactions in London in June; and in August he commended the zeal and ability of Messrs Bell and Bridges and successfully moved that the deed of agreement be signed forthwith.¹³¹

By 1832, however, relations with Thomas Hamilton the architect had deteriorated and a strong lobby advocated replacing him. In February the Commission instructed Walker as Convener of the Plans and Works Committee to assess the situation and in March he reported verbally that Mr Hamilton should be called upon to submit detailed accounts along with his plans and surveys and proposals for future payments, should the connection with him be continued.¹³² Sir Patrick's written report, approved on 19 March, recommended that all plans and relevant documentation should be lodged with the Commission. He seconded a motion that Mr Hamilton should for the present be continued as Architect but this was defeated in favour of one to appoint Mr James Jardine Engineer. Walker (who chaired the latter part of the meeting) and six colleagues tabled Reasons of Dissent from this decision at the meeting on 26 March which also heard Mr Jardine's letter of acceptance and one from Mr Hamilton stating that he had not received an official letter but had read the news of the new appointment in the press.¹³³

Hamilton complained of the manner in which comments on his accounts had been communicated to the newspapers without him having the opportunity to rebut or explain; and the issue of his retention of the plans and report on the finishing of George IV Bridge continued throughout the year.¹³⁴ In June Sir Patrick indicated Mr Hamilton's willingness to resume his duties as architect with regard to the latter only but the Commission preferred to have Mr Jardine report.¹³⁵ *The Scotsman*, a supporter of the Improvements, castigated the majority of Commissioners for the 'unmeasured abuse' heaped upon the architect who still refused to give up his plans.¹³⁶ The Commissioners for their part instructed Mr Jardine to report on George IV Bridge 'in the best manner he can'.¹³⁷ Meanwhile Sir Patrick in conference with Mr Jardine, had to supervise the creation of a temporary safe passage by Libberton Wynd and Merchant Court; the enclosure of the Arches under the Bridge and to deal with the inflated estimate for 'curbstones'.¹³⁸

The first election of Commissioners under the amended Improvement Act on 19 November resulted in the re-election of Sir Patrick Walker for the St George's District. As Convener of a Special Committee on organising the business of the new Commission, he recommended successfully that the five existing committees—

¹³⁰ *Scotsman*, 29 August 1832.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 5 June, 5 August 1833; ECA, SL63/1/1B, 3 August 1833.

¹³² ECA, SL63/1/1B, 27 February, 5 March 1832.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 26 March.

¹³⁴ *Scotsman*, 11 April 1832.

¹³⁵ ECA, SL63/1/1B, 18 June 1832.

¹³⁶ *Scotsman*, 29 September 1832.

¹³⁷ ECA, SL63/1/1B, 1 November 1832.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 17 November 1832.

Assessment, Plans and Works, Finance, Law and Scrutiny—be retained but that various sub-committees should merge with them. He continued as Convener of Plans and Works and as a member of the Scrutiny Committee; reporting in January that Mr Hamilton would deliver his plans if given a receipt and allowed access to them.¹³⁹ Supervision of work undertaken by Walker in the ensuing weeks included the completion of the stair leading from the Grassmarket to the west approach; and he entered into negotiations with the West Kirk (St Cuthbert's) over the proposed alterations at the junction of Castle Terrace and Lothian Road.¹⁴⁰

In March Sir James Gibson Craig declared that while he had no objection to Mr Jardine (who had not yet given his report on the state of George IV Bridge) as an engineer, the completion of the Improvements required the services of an architect; a view concurred with by Sir Patrick.¹⁴¹ The latter chaired an April meeting which heard letters of application from George Smith and Messrs Dickson but which appointed a committee, including Sir Patrick, to meet with Mr Hamilton to discuss the terms on which he would act as architect.¹⁴² Two weeks later Mr Jardine resigned though the Commission did not confirm Mr Hamilton's re-appointment until August.¹⁴³ At the meeting on 21 August Sir Patrick reported on a number of issues including the 'puddling' in the middle of the incomplete south bridge and its partial metalling, the drain and roadway at Lothian Road and the non-payment of wages to several poor labourers by the contractor. The purchase of property at the head of West Bow merited the plaudits of the Commission, 'being very sensible of the valuable services of Sir Patrick Walker as convener of the Purchasing Committee'.¹⁴⁴

With the re-instatement of Hamilton the issue of the line of George IV Bridge became urgent. The architect did not favour alignment with the south part of Bank Street but proposed an eastern line which involved the demolition of the County Hall and its re-siting at the head of the West Bow. In spite of the supposed expense Walker supported the report advocating the removal of the County Hall as being a great improvement both in terms of architectural beauty and for entrance from the new approach; a view supported by Gibson Craig.¹⁴⁵ When the re-election of Commissioners fell due in November 1833 *The Scotsman* reported its incredulity of rumours of intentions to oppose the return of, among others, Sir James Gibson Craig and Sir Patrick Walker; and its disbelief that any large proportion of citizens could be guilty of the 'ingratitude and ignorance such conduct could display'.¹⁴⁶ The newspaper attributed to them and other influential gentlemen, the removal of the city from 'the disgraceful situation into which it was placed by the incapacity and misrule of the Commissioners'; and it urged its readers to keep out the '*incapables*' of the previous year and '*to turn out* those who though allied with them in hostility to the

¹³⁹ Ibid., 28 November 1832, 10, 12 January 1833.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 7, 18 March 1833.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 25 March 1833; *Caledonian Mercury*, 9, 28 March 1833.

¹⁴² ECA, SL63/1/1B, 1 April 1833; *Caledonian Mercury*, *Scotsman*, 3 April 1833.

¹⁴³ ECA, SL63/1/1B, 15 April, 3 August 1833.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 21 August 1833.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 3 September 1833; *Scotsman*, 4 September 1833.

¹⁴⁶ *Scotsman*, 16 November 1833.

improvements, have yet unfortunately contrived to get a voice in their management'.¹⁴⁷ Walker and Gibson were both re-elected.¹⁴⁸

Hamilton resigned in 1834 when the Commissioners finally decided against his scheme, as did Gibson Craig.¹⁴⁹ Sir Patrick had pre-empted them several months earlier. He last attended a Commission meeting on 3 September 1833, although subsequently appointed Convener of the Plans and Works Committee following re-election as a Commissioner in November.¹⁵⁰ At the Commission meeting on 7 March 1834, the Clerk read a letter from Mr Alexander Goldie WS on behalf of Sir Patrick Walker which indicated the uncertainty of his returning to Edinburgh for some months:

so as to be able to attend to his duty as a Commissioner under the Improvements Act and as it was understood at the time of his election that if at the end of three months he should write that he was not to return immediately to Edinburgh that he should resign the situation so as another might be chosen to attend to the interests of the ward at this important period.¹⁵¹

Sir James Gibson Craig proposed a motion accepting the resignation but at the same time expressing regret and a hope that Sir Patrick would speedily return and resume his duties 'at this Board where he has always been an active and most useful member'.¹⁵² Mr John Learmonth became the new Commissioner following an election on 20 March and although Walker had returned from abroad by August, Learmonth continued to represent St George's District after the elections of November 1834.

When work on the levying of the High Street eventually began Sir Patrick, now unencumbered by being a Commissioner, saw the opportunity for individual property improvement this presented. As proprietor of Byres Close he attended a meeting of fellow property owners on the north side of the High Street to consider having a drain formed from the corner of Bank Street to the North Bridge to carry off the surface water from the street. Although the work would cost £200 Walker suggested that for little extra cost a larger scheme could yield greater benefits. The meeting appointed him convener of a committee to carry out the plan.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 20 November 1833; *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 November 1833.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 13 July 1834.

¹⁵⁰ ECA, SL63/1/1B, 3 September, 25 November 1833.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 7 March 1834.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 April 1835.

6. Political Issues

In a public 'conservative' meeting in 1832 over war with Holland, Sir Patrick declared that if the issue had been a party question 'he would not have been present'.¹ This was a fair indication of his lack of direct involvement in party politics but of his support of the Tory party and the conservative approach in general. Both he and his brother George attested to their father's friendship with Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, Secretary of State, Minister for War, First Lord of the Admiralty and Tory political manager of Scotland.² Both looked to his son Robert Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville for support. Sir Patrick was naive enough to declare publicly that because of the early friendship between his father and the late Lord Melville he was accustomed:

before he knew what politics were (does he yet know?) to think that everything was right on the side Lord Melville espoused; and since then he had constantly adhered to that party....not because he always thought them right, but because he found their opponents never right ..³

He was pilloried as a result:

this thorough-going Usher of the White Rod for Scotland joins a party in ignorance of politics generally, as well of the principles it professes—adheres to it, because his father was the friend of the late Lord Melville, and because that noble person, like the King, could do no wrong—remains steadfast in his allegiance, although the said party was sometimes wrong, consoling himself with the idea, that those who supported the opposite of wrong could not possibly be right—and finally, proclaims his merits as a staunch believer of this new doctrine in the face of the county of Edinburgh.⁴

The occasion for this 'history of the origin and progress of his political opinions which is not a little curious in a psychological point of view' was the election of the Member of Parliament for the county of Edinburgh in 1829.⁵

Sir George Clerk represented Edinburghshire (as opposed to the City of Edinburgh) from 1811-1832 and from 1835-7.⁶ Neither Patrick nor William Walker were listed among the freeholders who voted for him or for his opponent Sir John Dalrymple in 1812, but Sir Patrick supported Clerk in 1818. Having been successfully re-elected in 1819, 1820 and 1826, Sir George had to stand again in 1829 following a reconstitution of the Admiralty where he held a post. By this time the issue of Catholic emancipation had engaged the attention of the country as in a *volte face*, the Tory government, headed by the Duke of Wellington and Robert Peel, proposed to reduce or remove many of the legal restrictions on Roman Catholics; and for this they received the support of the Whig party. Clerk had for some time, favoured concessions as a measure of conciliation towards Ireland and as a means of strengthening the prosperity of the United Kingdom. At the Edinburgh County

¹ *Scotsman*, 24 November 1832. See below for details.

² For example, WT, *Letter from George Walker to Henry Dundas*, 24 July, 1799.

³ *The Times*, 2 March 1829. The bracketed question was that of the newspaper.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume1790-1820>>[12 November 2013]; *ibid* 1820-1832.

election meeting on 23 February, however, Mr Aitchison, younger of Drumore and Sir Patrick Walker stated their withdrawal of support from Clerk. Walker felt it would be inconsistent to vote for Sir George 'who supported Catholic emancipation, whilst he would probably sign a petition against it'.⁷ Now that the party had 'declared themselves favourable to measures fraught with the most *imminent danger to the country*', he considered himself 'at perfect liberty to take what course he judged fit, and to declare his hostility to unqualified catholic emancipation'.⁸ He questioned the secrecy on the part of Wellington as being appropriate conduct for a Minister which:

went to prevent the sentiments of Scotland, generally, from being listened to. The Scotch were a prudent, considerate people, and had delayed to take up this matter, waiting with patience until they should be told how *their religion and the constitution was to be protected*. But no,—not one word of explanation had escaped. From all this it appeared to be a device to prevent the *voice of the nation* from being heard. His Grace was acting upon military principles; and as soon as his plans were matured, Catholic emancipation would be carried, like an enemy's fortress, by assault; and the effects of this *coup de main* would be decisive, and that too before the voice of Scotland could be heard.⁹

As he could not support one who favoured contrary principles, Sir Patrick regretted his inability to vote for Sir George on this occasion.

Both the *Caledonian Mercury* and *The Times* which repeated the former's report ridiculed Sir Patrick's attitude and congratulated the Tory freeholders 'on the notable achievement they performed in getting up a little debate among themselves without the aid of their liberal antagonists'.¹⁰ Repeatedly miscalling him as Sir Peter, the *Caledonian Mercury* asked:

Did he not lately state or declare that he had been badgered, nay almost bullied, into giving a pledge that he would support the Ultra Tories upon this occasion? and has he not once at least threatened that he would cut his party dead unless they came forward to support a certain highly-respectable Journal in which he is *understood* to have an interest?

No doubt mindful of previous newspaper feuding, the paper stated it did not positively 'assert that these things are so' but merely 'asked a civil question' and wondered how he could answer it satisfactorily to his friends.¹¹ The report concluded gleefully that Mr Walker Drummond had expressed surprise at the objections to Sir George's public conduct as the protesters had repeatedly voted for him before, although they knew his sentiments and votes on the Roman Catholic question.

Here was a thwack on the jole with a vengeance. The historiographer of his own opinions rose, as we understand, to explain, but some gentlemen calling out "spoke, spoke", and "question", he resumed his seat; and the world is consequently left in ignorance as to the answer he would have given, if he could, to this awkward and embarrassing attack on his political inconsistency.¹²

In a letter to his son-in-law J. G. Lockhart, Sir Walter Scott informed him that:

The Edinburgh cry is led by no less men than Lord Macdonald (of whom I know nothing) Sir Patrick Walker God bless the mark and for thirdsmen your conscientious friend Forsyth and

⁷ *Scotsman*, 25 February 1829.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26 February, 1829; *The Times*, 2 March 1829.

¹¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26 February, 1829.

¹² *Ibid.*

that humourous tub of tripes Peter Robertson who are all zealous protestants. In that troupe so headed I will not ride.¹³

The *Edinburgh Evening Post*, however, expressed gratification 'that Edinburgh is at length resolved to bestir herself in the great national question of Catholic emancipation'.¹⁴ In a private meeting in the Waterloo Hotel, a 'most respectable' attendance chaired by Sir Patrick and supported by Lord McDonald, approved the motion 'That no further political power should be granted to Roman Catholics nor admission into either house of parliament'.¹⁵ The Lord Provost of Edinburgh:

was respectfully requested to call a meeting on an early occasion for petitioning the legislature on this vitally important subject; and from what we know of the sentiments of Scotland, we doubt not, it will meet with the unanimous support of our fellow citizens.¹⁶

Other newspapers took a different stance. Unsurprisingly the *Caledonian Mercury* poured scorn on the proceedings viewing the choice of chairman as 'a happy one':

as Sir Patrick has lately publically announced that he became a politician in his youth before he knew what politics meant, he must now, in his riper years, be supposed to have acquired more enlightened views than ever fell to the lot of Burke, Fox, Pitt or Canning, and better than can possibly be expected from such noodles as Mr Peel and the Duke of Wellington. As soon as Sir Patrick was firmly seated, Mr Robertson observed, that as the present was a private meeting (like a dinner party) no discussion would be permitted, and that if there were any gentlemen present who had not been invited, it was expected they would withdraw. On this announcement five gentlemen immediately left the room and others preparing to follow, Mr Robertson apparently afraid that he and the worthy Knight would be left alone, requested that such gentlemen as were friendly to the object of the meeting but who had not received cards of invitation, would remain.¹⁷

The Scotsman, though described in the meeting as having 'always been an advocate for Catholic emancipation', gave a more straightforward account and subsequently published the letter to the Lord Provost, signed by Patrick Walker, Macdonald, T. S. Jones and 43 other Clergy and Laity along with the Lord Provost's reply in which he concurred with the views expressed, but declined to call a public meeting, deeming it 'inexpedient'.¹⁸ The newspaper also published a statement surely bearing signs of Sir Patrick's style, which expressed a determination to petition both Houses of Parliament against 'the obnoxious measures now in progress'; and indicating the availability for signing of the petitions which set forth:

the evil, idolatrous and unaltered character of Popery and its hostility to religious and civil liberty and allegiance, and therefore protesting against the admission of its Professors into the Legislature or Government as being subversive of the PROTESTANT CONSTITUTION established in 1688—a direct violation of the TREATY OF UNION between Scotland and England and a measure fraught with danger to all our Institutions, sacred and civil. The inhabitants of Edinburgh are invited, as they value the Protestant Church and Constitution, under which they have enjoyed so many blessings, and as they revere the

¹³ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. XI, 5 March, 1829.
<www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/etexts/letters11.PDF>.

¹⁴ Published in *The Standard*, 3 March 1829.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ 2 March 1829; *The Times*, 5 March 1829, *Aberdeen Journal* 11 March 1829.

¹⁸ *Scotsman*, 7 March 1829; 'The Scottish Protestant' in *The True and Only True Description and View of the Catholic Question* (London, 1829), pp. 76-80.

memory of their ancestors through whose sufferings they were secured to them, to come forward speedily and to do what they can, ere it be too late, to prevent the threatened destruction of the Institutions.¹⁹

Recent research has estimated that the majority opinion in Scotland concurred with Walker's opposition to alleviation for the Catholic community, but nonetheless the Act received Royal Assent on 13 April 1829.²⁰

One successful campaign in which Sir Patrick participated concerned a perceived undermining of Scottish banking. In 1826 following the failure of 60 banks in England but only two in Scotland, the Government proposed to forbid the circulation of notes under £5. The threat to £1 notes aroused widespread Scottish criticism and Sir Walter Scott in the guise of Malachi Malagruther wrote a series of letters to the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* in defence of Scottish banking.²¹ Scott attended a meeting chaired by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh in the Waterloo Hotel on 3 March 1826 when his literary skills were likened to 'the fiery cross flying through our glens and mountains, to rouse the dormant spirit of Scotland'.²² In his introductory speech the Lord Provost gave an exposition of the 'principles and practices of Scottish Banking Establishments' during which he attributed the prosperity of the country, especially its commerce and manufactures, mainly to that system and 'the liberality and prudence of the Bankers acting upon it'.²³ The meeting resolved to petition both branches of the Legislature against any alteration in that system with regard to the circulation of notes under £5; and appointed a committee of 21 gentlemen, including Sir Patrick Walker, to collate various papers which had already been published in support. Success ensued when a Parliamentary committee of inquiry vindicated the Scottish banking system and permitted Scottish banks to keep note issues.²⁴

What Sir Patrick thought of the first Reform Act of 1832 is as yet undiscovered. His name is absent from the petition against parliamentary reform presented by Sir George Clerk in the House of Commons in 1831.²⁵ When, however, the Government concluded a treaty with France in October 1832 to enforce acceptance of Belgium independence on the Dutch King William, he rose to new heights of eloquence. Addressing a packed meeting of merchants, bankers and other inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith (who paid 1s to attend), Sir Patrick told them that the steps taken against Holland 'were the most outrageous and disgraceful that had ever occurred in the history of the world', so infamous that 'the very stones of the streets upon which he trod seemed to rise up and call upon him to join his

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ian A. Muirhead, 'Catholic Emancipation: Scottish Reactions in 1829' in *Innes Review*, vol. 24 (Spring 1973), pp. 26-42. 10 Geo IV, c.8.

²¹ 22 February, 1, 8 March 1826.

²² *Scotsman*, 4 March 1826.

²³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 March 1826.

²⁴ 7 Geo IV. C.67.

²⁵ *Scotsman*, 6 April 1831. Names included W. Blackwood, Gilbert Innes of Stow, W. Trotter, James Tytler, C. S. Kirkpatrick and Robert Stevenson (grandfather of R.L Stevenson and friend of Sir Patrick.)

fellow-citizens, and raise his voice against the measures adopted against the oldest and best ally of the country'.²⁶ He deemed it a serious matter to go to war requiring 'strong aggression in our trade', or an 'insult to our national honour and flag'; and even then it was not on 'every occasion that the cruel measure of an embargo was excusable (Cheers)'.²⁷ War entailed additional taxes which would fall on the people.

It was easy for a minister, surrounded with every comfort, to sit in his closet, and cause the sword to be drawn, but when it may be returned to the scabbard, or *what horrors were to follow*, no human foresight could conjecture.²⁸

Sir Patrick concluded by moving that an address be made to his Majesty embodying the resolutions of the meeting; and this was agreed. In the event Britain did not participate in military action which fell to the French and Belgians.

The abolition of the annuity tax levied on all citizens to pay the stipends of established Kirk ministers greatly exercised Edinburgh inhabitants in June 1833. Sir Patrick was asked to chair a large public meeting called by over 250 citizens for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to abolish the tax and equalise all 'just and necessary local assessments'.²⁹ He introduced the business by indicating his willingness at all times to make himself useful to his fellow citizens and received cheers for his statement that 'however ill qualified, no one, he was sure, could be more anxious than he was to do his best'.³⁰ Confident that most of the audience had already read the report of the Inhabitants Committee, he commented that among all matters in which he had participated in the city, the subject of the annuity tax was one he had never entered, nor until he read the said report could he have anticipated the facts which had been elicited. In spite of the subsequent oratory, resolutions and petition, 'his best' proved not good enough at this time and the annuity tax remained until its abolition in 1860.

In July Walker, most likely in his capacity as Justice of the Peace, attended a meeting in the Council Chambers to discuss prisons and prison discipline. The main issue involved the dilemma faced by judges in cases involving young offenders who might be orphans or have profligate parents.

The child has never enjoyed the advantage of a moral training—he is shut up in confinement for a few days—but when he goes out there is no parent to reclaim him, and there are no lawful means by which he can gain a livelihood. If such a young offender is thrown into jail, such is frequently the want of accommodation that he is associated with those older and more hardened, and leaves his pace of imprisonment more knowing and more skilful in the art of crime.³¹

The assembled gentlemen heard that the Government was investigating the subject and had sent a Commissioner to the United States to inquire into the reported success of prisons on the reformatory principle there. Consequently they appointed a Committee for the purpose of obtaining full information on the state of prisons

²⁶ *Aberdeen Journal*, 28 November 1832; *Scotsman*, 29 November 1832.

²⁷ *Scotsman*, 29 November 1832.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 22 June 1833.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 July 1833.

throughout Scotland; of diffusing the data collected and of interesting official persons in the subject.³² Practical measures to tackle the problem of children's crime and vagrancy by providing early education and training were not taken until the late 1840s with the establishment of the first of the 'ragged' or industrial schools by Dr Guthrie on Castlehill.

In 1834 Walker again supported the candidacy of Sir George Clerk 'in the event of a Dissolution of Parliament', as:

we know of no one to whom from integrity, talents, experience in public life and acquaintance with local interests, the Representation of the county can be so advantageously entrusted as to you.³³

On 7 January 1835 he chaired a meeting in Bread Street Chapel of Edinburgh electors who heard the views of Tory candidates Lord Ramsay and Mr Learmonth.³⁴ In the ensuing general election Sir George Clerk for the county defeated Sir James Gibson Clark by 31 votes amid accusations of bribery from reformers, but the 'Reform' candidates Sir John Campbell and Mr Abercromby triumphed in the city.³⁵ In spite of defeat 500-600 supporters, including Sir Patrick, honoured Ramsay and Learmonth with a dinner in the Assembly Rooms.³⁶ Walker subsequently sent an account of the evening to the Duke of Gordon who responded with thanks for 'the Paper containing the speeches at my friend Lord Ramsay's dinner, I have read them with very great pleasure. What a moment of deep interest the present is to Britons from the Crown to the Cottager'.³⁷

A bill brought into Parliament by the Edinburgh Water Company empowering them to increase the assessment on inhabitants from 10d to 1s per pound and to charge 5s per annum on the houses of the poorer classes, greatly enraged inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith a few months later. They met in the Waterloo Assembly Rooms on 17 April to hear Mr R. W. Jameson, Convener of the Joint Committee of Public Bodies, declare that the bill 'for liberality of extortion, he must say, was peculiarly their own'.³⁸ He sketched a history of the circumstances of the formation of the water company which he declared had been established as much for the public benefit as for the shareholders. The speculation, however, had proved so successful that a rival company was projected in 1826, resulting in a compromise whereby the new competitor agreed to abandon the scheme and allow the existing operators to purchase the springs on the north side of the Pentland Hills on condition that they be bound to a maximum interest of 6½% on their shares. The Company now had a monopoly but the value of shares in joint stock companies had fallen. He asked if the meeting had 'ever heard before of an application to Parliament to protect

³² For contemporary attitudes to Scottish prisons see Joy Cameron, *Prisons and Punishment in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 44-67.

³³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 December 1834.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 January 1835.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 January 1835.

³⁶ *Scotsman*, 14 February 1835, *Spectator*, 21 February 1835.

³⁷ EUSC, 674/25, *Letter from the Duke of Gordon to Sir Patrick Walker*, 14 February, 1835.

³⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, *Scotsman*, 18 April 1835.

individuals from the consequence of their gambling speculations :(Hear Hear)'.³⁹ Very objectionable were the proposed charges which proportionally would be more oppressive to poor householders than the levy on wealthier families.

Sir Patrick, as one of the original projectors of the rival company, gave a lengthy explanation of his involvement as a proprietor of the present Water Company, being one of the original twelve individuals who subscribed to its erection entirely on public grounds without any thought of receiving even the capital he embarked. Some of the provisions of the original bill proved to be offensive, particularly the power of refusing water to individuals along the fronts of whose houses the pipes were laid. Thus he took an active part in projecting a rival company and he confirmed Mr Jameson's account of the compromise by which the existing Water Company was allowed to purchase Pentland springs. The Water Company 'claimed credit for the low rate of their duties' but if any credit were due it was to the exertions of the rival Company and to 'the liberality of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who, in 1817, made over to the Company property of the value of £80,000 at the nominal valuation of £30,000 under a solemn engagement that the Company was to provide water for the poor gratis (Cheers)'.⁴⁰ He thought it impossible that Parliament should 'listen for a moment to their present exorbitant claims'.⁴¹

A newspaper advertisement a few days later took Sir Patrick to task by referring to the speaker who had mentioned that the Water Company claimed credit for low rates but that it 'had escaped the gentleman to mention' that the rival Company proposed to draw the very same dividend of 6½% for which the present Company stipulated and 'on which account so much clamour has been excited'.⁴² The writer criticised the mode in which the statement had been made, suggesting that it might be supposed that 'the Company had broken faith with the Magistrates by not supplying the poor with water gratis'; and pointing out gratuitously that the poor or any inhabitant could have as much water as they pleased from the 29 or 30 public wells 'without paying *one farthing*'.⁴³ Sir Patrick's faith in Parliament, moreover, proved ill-founded as the bill was passed on 4 June.⁴⁴

On 12 April 1837 a parliamentary bill 'for the better regulation of Municipal Corporations in Scotland' occasioned a meeting of heritors and ratepayers of the parish of St Cuthberts in the West Kirk. Chaired by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, the attendees included celebrated portrait painter Henry Raeburn of St Bernard's, John Learmonth, James Walker of Dalry and Sir Patrick Walker. The bill proposed to dismember the parish by uniting the greater part of its area and above nine-tenths of its population to the neighbouring city of Edinburgh and this although it is well known that the affairs of the city of Edinburgh are in a state of bankruptcy and the proposal of union with the city made so recently as last year was decidedly *vetoed* by this parish: on which occasion the framers of the bill expressly agreed to except Edinburgh and its suburbs from the General

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² *Scotsman*, 22 April 1835.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 10 June 1835.

Municipal Bill for Scotland and no change whatever has taken place since then to warrant any departure from that arrangement.⁴⁵

Sir Patrick argued that even if the question of the City's insolvency could be removed, the Heritors and Ratepayers of St Cuthbert's would derive no substantial benefits or advantages whatever from a municipal union with Edinburgh. The only right or privilege would be that of voting for, and of being elected as, a member of the Town Council of Edinburgh and thus of 'being *honoured* with a share of the responsibility of collecting the City's annual revenue and meeting the City's annual obligations'.⁴⁶ He pointed out that other advantages mentioned in the bill, namely those of police, water, gas, paving and cleaning had already been extended to all the populous districts of their parish.

A decision to petition Parliament necessitated the formation of a committee to which Sir Patrick was elected; and this group subsequently received a letter from Sir John Campbell indicating that Edinburgh would be exempted from the bill on the condition that a separate bill for the City would be brought forward.⁴⁷ In September, however, Baillie Campbell who had met with members of Parliament, stated that no bill on the subject of union between the City and St Cuthbert's was yet prepared to be brought into Parliament; nor would there be one until the interested parties took action. Both the Speaker and Attorney-General had declared a refusal to introduce any bill which did not keep the districts to be annexed entirely free from the City's debts and placed in equality as regards civil rights and municipal boundaries.⁴⁸ Thus it appears that the final petition with which Sir Patrick concerned himself proved temporarily successful.

⁴⁵ *Scotsman, Caledonian Mercury*, 13 April 1837.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Scotsman*, 3 May 1837; *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 May 1837.

⁴⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 28 September 1837.

7. Patrick Walker as Naturalist

In his account of his trip to Arran in 1797 Patrick Walker set forth something of his philosophy:

It is impossible for any man with his Eyes open, not to see and view with astonishment, the great works of Nature and not to think of that all powerful hand which formed them.... may I ask, from what has a belief in a God arisen? from what has Religion risen and on what does it rest. The short answer is Nature. Religion rests upon, and owes its rise to the investigation of Nature but for which we would be as savages; and unworthy of the benefits arising from it.... What would this Country have been but for the Naturalist. Our ships would not now plough distant seas and pour in riches on our shores, had not the Naturalist discovered the properties of the Magnet, and by the Rudder imitated the Tail of the Glede....the more we investigate nature, the more perfect does she always seem..... any imperfection which may appear is caused not from a want on her part, but is owing entirely to the ignorance of Man and his own imperfect ideas.¹

An interest in natural history seems to have been a lifelong pursuit and he obliged Thomas Brown with an anecdotal example of the memory of a horse which originated from his childhood. He related that 'when a boy at school, I had a fine spirited Highland pony, which had been bred and reared upon Drumchary, the property of my late worthy and gallant friend, General Stewart of Garth'.² Several years after the pony had been brought to Edinburgh, Walker rode him to Perthshire in company with several gentlemen and they decided to test the animal's memory by allowing it to take the lead.

Suddenly he paused and turning quickly to the right trotted down a furrow, through a potato field that led directly to the ford which he crossed in the same decided manner, and piloted the rest of the way to Drumchary. During my stay there, I might add, that the pony got out of the stable one night, and was found next day pasturing among the mosses where he had been bred.³

If the pony was brought to Coates, purchased by William Walker in December 1786, Patrick probably began riding it sometime after his seventh birthday. He was twenty when he travelled to Arran.

As seen earlier, the journal he wrote encompassed a range of topics but his focus on the natural environment, the fauna and flora encountered there and the weather predominated. Volume 3 included an appendix on the zoology of Arran categorised under quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, fish, crustacean, vermes and shells; and he demonstrated throughout the journal, knowledge of the work of Carl Linnaeus, Swedish botanist, physician and zoologist. While climbing Glendoy Walker captured a snake which he deposited in whisky; and in Glen Rosa he saw the *Turdus Torquatus* of Linnaeus (sic) and shot several stock doves. He had no success, however, in procuring a pair of large eagles, 'for when I approached them, they either hovered over me, or seating themselves on a conspicuous point of the Rock looked down with disdain upon me and my useless attempts'.⁴ Collecting specimens

¹ Walker, *Tour*, vol. III, pp. 113-122.

² Brown, *Biographical Sketches*, p. 430; *Popular Natural History and Characteristics of animals* (London, undated), pp. 24-5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Walker, *Tour*, vol. I, pp. 116-117.

appears to have been a key aim of the expedition and he spent an entire morning preserving a water ouzel from the Water of Glencloy and a heath hen 'which was knocked down with a sickle among the Gooseberries in the garden'; as well as arranging fossils.⁵

Walker failed in his attempt to buy crystals from an old shepherd chewing tobacco as:

I never have met with such a cunning dog: he showed himself to be no stranger to the failings of men, by the different plans he attempted to draw from us a little money and engaged in a strong degree that characteristic of the Country namely never to give a direct answer: he shewed that he had acquired his Policy not from the theory but practice and shewed that it is not in the Courts alone where cunning and deceit prevail.⁶

En route for Newton Point, 'scrambling upon hands and feet with no small degree of danger', he observed heaps of blocks of breccia, but confessed to being disappointed when he arrived, though 'it certainly is a beautiful place'.⁷ The description in Mr Pennant's book had raised in him the highest expectations but he felt that the author 'has given rather what it ought to be, or what he expected it to be in the course of a few years, than what it really is'.⁸ Patrick attributed the lack of improvement of the beauty spot to the landowner, the dissolute 8th Duke of Hamilton:

who would rather see some new guard in boxing, than the greatest improvement upon his Estates which is beneath his attention, and would ten times rather see a well fought Boxing Match betwixt Humphries and Mendoza, or some such vagabonds, who are a disgrace to human nature, than the finest views in the world, for his views are confined to a clinched fist or a Knockerdown.⁹

The route to Newton Point involved walking for 13 hours but when they arrived at the inn they were told the distance covered only amounted to 16 miles which Walker reckoned must 'undoubtedly be Arran miles'.¹⁰ The landlady prided herself that her family were not Arran people; her husband being 'a weel learned Man, though I say'd it misel'.¹¹ The landlord who seemed equally garrulous, took the opportunity to demonstrate his superior knowledge and education:

by talking of minereology, and used all the technical terms, he stalked about with one hand in his breeches and the other on his breast in a most pedantic manner while he often repeated the names of Marble, Spars, Granites, Schystus, Quartz, Porphiry, Lenie Slate, Iron and Coal as often as possible and the Rustics sat gaping and wondering at the profundity of his knowledge. He soon informed us he was a poet too and his verses were admired by the country people, with whom for want of others he was often obliged to associate and to whom he repeated them. He said he was "quite happy" when a stranger came of any education at all with whom he could talk, for these "ignorant uninformed vulgar" (as he called them), knew nothing, so that he considered himself "as absolutely lost for want of company".¹²

⁵ Ibid., pp. 146-7.

⁶ Walker, *Tour*, vol. 2, pp.12-13.

⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 20-1.

¹² Ibid., pp. 22-3.

In his own words, 'a Son of the Muses', he informed the party that he had drained and cultivated a swamp and that 'where late the Toad and all her Tadpole train, Now from the Furrow springs the fertile grain'; but he had been plagued with the wetness of the season due to the south wind 'with his hoary wings'.¹³ 'With such lines', commented Patrick, 'were we incessantly plagued'.¹⁴ As the landlord had informed them that the minister detested nature, they did not attend the church service. Walker declared it needless to describe such a 'despicable narrow character', the punishment being instead, 'to let him "On the Globes surface creep, a grovelling worm!"; and they walked up some of the hills rather than listen to a 'haranguing canting Hypocrite'.¹⁵ The party, however, encountered flocks of biting insects which Patrick did not spend any time examining due to the bites sustained, similar to those sometimes met with in Perthshire.

A subsequent episode in the narrative involved a viper (*Coluber Berus*) which lay basking in the sun.

I immediately clapped the butt end of my Gun upon him which enraged him very much and he twisted and hissed horribly and made many fruitless attempts to wound with his envenomed tooth and at length as he was to all appearances dead, I wrapped him in my handkerchief and put him in my pocket.¹⁶

Walker then proceeded to catch several lizards but when about to place them in his pocket, he discovered the viper to be alive. His guide advised him to follow the example of the eagles by hanging the viper by its tail and to jerking him when he turned; and this treatment proved successful.

From Lochranza the party travelled to Skiskine where they judged the inn to be the most comfortable on the island; and where they saw the remains of a 20 feet long basking shark or sail fish the liver of which had been removed to make oil. Patrick measured the King's Cave with its wall drawings of men, dogs and deer and various other caves and stone circles but did not believe some areas to be as old as claimed. Birds he observed included the turnstone, sea lark or ring dotterel, sea pie, redshank curlew, green plover and godwit; and at King's Cross he spent some time preserving specimens he had killed as well as examining a large red-coloured sandstone which he reckoned had been carried from the Brodick shore and not thrown from the summit of Goatfield by a race of giants as supposed by the natives. A sail to Bute yielded information on fishing for basking sharks for their oil for which the Board of Trustees offered a premium as an incentive; and from thence to Greenock where he fished and caught a conger eel about three feet long.

Walker returned home via Glasgow, Airdrie and Uphall, confessing in the journal that the zoology of Arran 'was not near so extensive as I first expected' and thinking 'it extraordinary' that the inhabitants 'have not emigrated'.¹⁷ Concluding the record of his tour with a general account of Arran he ended in philosophical vein.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.31. In Genesis, Book 1 of the Bible the serpent is condemned to crawl.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁷ NLS, MS.205.3, Walker, *Tour*, vol. 3, pp. 112, 58.

Is it not astonishing that in this enlightened Age Men should be found who not only contemn Nature's works, but those who conxiously tracce out her works? Incredible as this may seem, true it is, that such there are, not only in this sequestered spot, but in the heart of Cities, and not only among those of an ignorant and illiterate Professing, but also among those of a Literate. Such are undeserving of those Powers and pleasures which have been lavished on Man.... The clergyman at Loch Ranza, a Contemner both of Nature and her Admirer. What a Hypocrite must he be who at one time loads Nature, her Works and admirers alternately with approbious Epithets and at the next moment ascends the Pulpit, launching forth a few Cant Phrases, in praise of that God who is in fact Nature, and whom so shortly he hath despised.... The Inhabitants of this Island are as narrow and illiberal minded as their learned Pastor and those who investigate nature are looked upon them to be Idiots, Madmen and Asses and here for the first time I considered it an honour to be called either.¹⁸

George Walker did not display the level of interest in nature as his brother. Writing from London in 1805 he assured Patrick he had sent off the gun stocks and locks three month earlier but:

There is also a Cockatoo—but I know not how to send it. I took it for a Cock but to my surprise it yesterday laid an Egg which I have preserved for you. She is very dirty from the smoke.¹⁹

Where, in the earlier period, Patrick kept his specimens is unknown, possibly in one of the offices at Coates as Patrick Neill's 1808 paper on fishes referred to a short sunfish caught near the mouth of the Almond river in the autumn of 1800 and 'still preserved in the museum of Patrick Walker at Coats'.²⁰ Following his father's property purchase in 1801, Patrick certainly maintained a museum at Drumsheugh, located in the offices and garden area beside the coach house, washing house, larder and dairy.²¹ On 12 January 1808 he attended a meeting in the College Museum Edinburgh, organised by Robert Jamieson, Professor of Natural History, in company with William Wright MD, FRS, Rev Thomas Macnight, DD, FRS, John Barclay, MD, FRS, Thomas Thomson, MD, FRS, Colonel Stewart Murray Fullerton of Barton-holm, Charles Anderson, FRCS and Patrick Neill, FRSE.²² The assembled gentlemen resolved to:

associate themselves into a Society for the purpose of promoting the study of Natural History; and in honour of the illustrious Werner of Frieberg, to assume the name of The Wernerian Natural History Society.²³

Jamieson remained as President until his death in 1854; the last meeting of the society being on 16 April 1858. Walker served as Treasurer annually until 1817 when he became a Vice-President. In 1821 he retired from that role according to the rotation regulation, becoming one of two new Counsellors in 1831 and Vice President again for 1834-5. Over the years local and European members of the Society included the anatomist Dr Knox, Robert Stevenson, James Watt and King

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 113-114, 115-116.

¹⁹ WT, *Letter from George Walker to Patrick Walker*, 17 July, 1805.

²⁰ *Memoirs of the Wernerian Natural History Society*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1811), p. 546; John Stark, *A Picture of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1821), p. 388.

²¹ WT, *Inventory*, 15 March 1870.

²² EUSC, Dc.2.55, *Minutes of the Wernerian Society*, vol. 1, 12 January, 1808.

²³ Ibid; *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 December 1808; *Scots Magazine*, December 1808. Jamieson had studied under the geologist Abraham Gottlob Werner at the Mining Academy in Freiberg, Saxony. Werner's stratification of the Earth's crust was named 'Neptunism'.

Leopold I of Belgium. John James Audubon, author of *American Birds*, gave a demonstration during his visit to Edinburgh in 1826. He recalled exhibiting his drawings every day to those who came to see them. 'I had many noblemen, among whom I especially liked Sir Patrick Walker and his lady'.²⁴

The first meeting authorised Patrick to apply to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh for a Town Charter or Seal of Cause and this he speedily accomplished by 20 January 1808; receiving the thanks of the society on 2 March for his attention to this business, the cost of which amounted to 12 guineas. In May he 'laid before the Society a list of Birds found in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh with observations on the rare or disputed species'; and agreed for the paper to be published, although it does not appear in the *Memoirs*.²⁵ The paper on fishes referenced above and read on 16 July also mentioned a very fine specimen of opah or kingfish 'taken off Cramond and now in the museum of Patrick Walker Esq of this Society'; along with a saury-pike 18 inches long.²⁶ A year later Walker himself read an account of a number of old and young eels which had lived for fourteen years in a subterraneous pool at the bottom of an old quarry at Drumsheugh, which had been filled up and its surface ploughed and cropped for about a dozen years past.²⁷ At the December meeting in 1815 Sir Patrick proposed George Home Falconer as an ordinary member of the Society which, by this time, had a curator of the collection and library. With an entrance fee of three guineas and an annual subscription of one guinea, this was an elite organisation to which Mr Patrick Syme had gained free admittance on his appointment as 'Painter of objects in Natural History to the Society'.²⁸

John James Audubon in his journal entry for 16 December 1826 described his experience of a Wernerian Society meeting.

Mr. Lizars joined me, and we all entered the room of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh! The room is a plain one; two tables, one fireplace, many long benches or seats, and a chair for the president were all the furniture I saw, except a stuffed sword-fish, which lay on one of the tables for examination that day. Many persons were already present, and I unrolled the drawing of the Buzzard for them to see. Professor Jameson came in, and the meeting began. My paper on the Buzzard was the first thing, read by Patrick Neill,—not very well, as my writing was not easy reading for him. Professor Jameson then rose, and gave quite a eulogy upon it, my works, and lastly—myself. I then had the thanks of the society, and showed them my manner of putting up my specimens for drawing birds, etc.; this they thought uncommonly ingenious. Professor Jameson then offered me as an honorary member, when arose a great clapping of hands and stamping of feet, as a mark of approbation. Then Professor Jameson desired that the usual law requiring a delay of some months between the nomination and the election be laid aside on this occasion; and again the same acclamations took place, and it was decided I should be elected at the next meeting; after which the meeting was ended, I having promised to read a paper on the habits of the Alligator at the following assembly of the society.²⁹

²⁴ Journal entry for 19 November 1826 in Maria Audubon, ed., *Audubon and his Journals*, vol. 1 (New York, 1899). The lady was most likely his sister Barbara.

²⁵ EUSC, Dc.2.55, 14 May 1808.

²⁶ *Memoirs*, vol.1, pp. 526, 543.

²⁷ EUSC, Dc.2.55, 13 May 1809; *Scots Magazine*, May 1809.

²⁸ EUSC, 9 December 1809.

²⁹ *Audubon*, pp.186-7.

In its monthly memorandum on Natural History, the *Scots Magazine* of November 1814 informed readers that the large shrike or butcher bird (*Lanius excubitor*), one of the rarest of the British birds of prey had recently been frequently sighted around Edinburgh in pursuit of small birds 'by that diligent observer of nature, Sir Patrick Walker'.³⁰ Three months later the magazine reported that on the 10th of the month at Drumsheugh the blackbird was recording in an under-voice and by the 17th he was in full note. At the same time the bullfinch and the chaffinch began to sing.

It is remarked by Sir Patrick Walker, that not only chaffinches (or shilfas), but gold-finches (gold-spinks) are yearly increasing in numbers in this neighbourhood. They should be carefully protected by gentlemen possessed of extensive shrubberies. The gold-finch in particular, has been very scarce since the great frost of 1795.³¹

One particular blackbird achieved a degree of fame among naturalists. In notes written by Captain Brown in 1834 for *The Natural History of Selbourne*, he related that a few years earlier on the grounds of Drumsheugh there had been a beautifully mottled blackbird which became so tame that it fed along with the domestic fowls. It continued at Drumsheugh for some years until it:

was shot by a gentleman from a back window in Melville Street, who had not heard of it, and supposed it a bird of some very uncommon species. It is now in the museum of Sir Patrick.³²

This anecdote also made its way into the *Magazine of natural history*.³³ Brown made drawings of the three stages of plumage of the Paradise or Whidah Bunting procured by Sir Patrick in 1827; and gave an illustrated lecture on the bird's habits to the Royal Physical Society on 27 June 1829, an account being published in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science* and illustrations reproduced some years later in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural History and the Physical Sciences*.³⁴ Brown added similar information to Goldsmith's *History of the Earth and Animated Nature*.³⁵ In his book on popular natural history he recounted another Drumsheugh episode concerning an English terrier belonging to Sir Patrick who was summoned one morning by the dog with gestures indicative that he should follow it.

It led him to a large chest filled with pieces of old wood, which it seemed to solicit should be removed; when this was done, a large rat appeared, on which the dog instantly sprung. On another very similar occasion, the rat had gone off, but after testifying its disappointment, it suddenly dashed up a ladder placed against an outhouse, and caught the hapless fugitive in a spout.³⁶

Walker himself exhibited a specimen of a small mouse-like quadruped showing some of the characteristics of the genus *Arctormys* or Marmot at a meeting

³⁰ *Scots Magazine*, November 1814.

³¹ *Ibid.*, February 1815.

³² Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Shelborne*, (London, 1834), pp.36-37n.

³³ J. C. Loudon, *The Magazine of natural history and journal of zoology, botany, mineralogy, geology and meteorology*, vol. 7 (London, 1834), p. 597.

³⁴ *Edinburgh Literary Journal: Or, Weekly Register of Criticism*, 27 June 1829; *Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science*, 1 December 1829; *Edinburgh Journal of Natural History and of the Physical Sciences*, 13 March 1836.

³⁵ Oliver Goldsmith, ed., Thomas Brown, *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, vol. 3 (Glasgow, 1832), p. 284.

³⁶ Thomas Brown, *Popular Natural History and characteristics of animals* (London, undated), p. 221.

of the Wernerian Society on 7 March 1835. Along with several others it had been taken at Drumsheugh, having probably been disturbed in their retreats by 'the extensive building operations going on in that neighbourhood' and apparently the first time such an animal had been found in Britain.³⁷ After a period of apparent inactivity—as far as being recorded in the minutes as contributing specimens or observations—Walker played an active role in the last two years of his life. He laid before the meeting on 21 March a collection of specimens of various fine marbles from the quarries near Barèges in the Pyrenees accompanied with the local names. According to the *Caledonian Mercury* he wanted to show that they could be used by marble cutters in this country, as he reckoned transportation from their place of location to Bordeaux for shipment could be achieved via canal and river. 'The worth of the rough blocks is trifling'; and being cut by saw mills he proposed that they should be squared for the double purpose of being ascertained to be sound and 'to avoid the heavy expense of importing useless matter which is very generally the case when bought in the rough'.³⁸ He had obtained estimates of the rate at which they could be delivered at Bordeaux to enable the marble cutters to get the same on commission.

On 21 November 1835 Sir Patrick chaired the Society's meeting at which he displayed a specimen of the moth *Phalaena* (*Geometra*) *papilionoria*, new to Scotland, taken in the summer near Inverary. He commented on its geographical distribution in England and in Europe and where it was found in great abundance. In December he focused on the destructive habits of certain insects observed by him boring into the wood in pine forests in the Highlands of Scotland.³⁹ At the beginning of 1836 the Wernerian Society Council decided that, with regard to the prizes offered for papers and in the absence of a proper competition, the honorary premiums should be shared among five members, including Sir Patrick Walker for his paper on the Fishes of the Forth District.⁴⁰ At that meeting Walker read notices regarding the occurrence near Edinburgh of several native birds generally considered as extremely rare, particularly the *Motacilla neglecta* first observed by him on the banks of the Water of Leith in 1804 (but referred to by him as the *Motacilla flava* until he became acquainted with Gould's observations). The Redstart (*Sylvia Phoenicurus*) was frequently to be seen; the Dusky Glebe had been shot at Lochend and the Little Bittern (*Ardea minuta*) killed in Tynningham woods near Dunbar. He produced the Dusky Glebe specimen at the meeting on 6 February.

Sir Patrick retired as Vice President of the Society (again by rotation) at the meeting on 3 December. Natural history seems to have been a lifelong interest and his collection provided a rich source for fellow enthusiasts such as J. O. Westwood who contributed descriptions of several new species of exotic coleopterous insects including 'a new species of paussus from the collections of Sir Patrick Walker and

³⁷ *Memoirs*, vol. 2, 7 March 1835.

³⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 April 1835.

³⁹ *Memoirs*, vol. 2, 19 December 1835.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 9 January 1836.

Messrs Norris and Hooker'.⁴¹ After Walker's death in October 1837 he was referred to in a *History of British Butterflies* as having captured specimens of the Arran Argus, a very rare butterfly, near Brodrick Castle on Arran; and Henry Cockburn, mourning the loss of old and respectable trees in Moray Place declared:

It was with the greatest difficulty that Sir Patrick Walker, the superior of the ground, succeeded in rescuing the row in front of Coates Crescent from the unhallowed axes of the very vassals. It cost him years of what was called obstinacy.⁴²

Newspaper advertisements placed by Messrs J.L. and S. Stevens on 7 May 1839 announced that:

they will sell by auction at their Great Room 28 King Street Covent-garden this day May 7 at twelve the very valuable collection of British and Foreign Insects and several mahogany cabinets corked and glazed, the property of the late Sir Patrick Walker deceased, member of the Linnaean, Entomological and other scientific societies. This collection abounds in rarities and especially deserves the attention of entomologists. Now on view; catalogues on application to Messrs JC and S Stevens.⁴³

When, following the death of Mary Walker on 4 March 1870, an inventory of Drumsheugh came to be compiled, the house contained six cases of stuffed birds and lots of shells. All that remained in Sir Patrick's museum was a quantity of lumber in baskets, cages and boxes, an old bookcase, a cabinet, a large lot of cut soap, about 150 barrels and 'volumes of old books'.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres*, 17 June 1837.

⁴² F. O. Morris, *History of British Butterflies*, (London, 1854), p. 53; Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time* (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 281. The first edition of *Memorials* was 1856. The *Scotsman* of 20 October 1823, commented that the fine row of trees screened the houses of Coates Crescent from the road and gave the 'pleasure of a country retirement'. 23 trees were removed from Coates Crescent in 2012 as part of the tram works.

⁴³ *Morning Chronicle, Morning Post*, 23 April 1839. Sir Patrick was listed as a subscriber to John Curtis, *British Entomology* vol. IV (London, 1827).

⁴⁴ WT, *Inventory*, 15 March 1870.

8. Sir Patrick as a Society Member

Given his natural history interests and his strong views on the physical and human conditions on the Isle of Arran, it is not surprising that Patrick subscribed to the Royal Highland Society. This organisation was formally constituted on 11 January 1785 as the Highland Society of Edinburgh and received a Royal Charter on 17 May 1787. A new Charter of Incorporation in 1834 renamed the society as the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.¹ The original members wished firstly to inquire into the current state of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and the condition of their inhabitants; and secondly to inquire into the best means of effecting improvement by establishing towns and villages, facilitating communication, advancing agriculture, extending fisheries, introducing trades and manufactures, lobbying the Government and preserving the language, poetry and music of the Highlands. Premiums in money, medals and prizes provided incentives for improvements. Thus Robert Gordon of Clashnoire won eight guineas for 'bringing into tillage an improved crop of potatoes'; and Rev. Alexander Downie minister of Lochalsh, ten guineas for best bull.²

In 1813 Captain Manby Inspector of British Coasts submitted to the Society his drawings and description of his plan for saving the lives of shipwrecked persons; with an additional notice of his method of 'affording assistance to persons liable to perish from breaking ice'.³ Admiral Fraser, Sir A. Muir Mackenzie and Patrick Walker all addressed the meeting on the subject, following which the Directors were instructed to receive further information. At the Anniversary meeting of 1816, Walker himself became an Ordinary Director of the Society, a position in which he continued the following year, from 1819-1822 and again from 1831-1833.⁴ In that role he and fellow directors in 1832 took a 'lively interest in the progress of the examinations' of students of the Veterinary School which the *Caledonian Mercury* described as 'an important department of the Highland Society of Scotland'; and heard tribute paid to the teaching of Mr Dick.⁵

Celebratory dinners always followed anniversary meetings and Sir Patrick is recorded as having attended several of these; from a dinner at Oman's in 1817 to the Waterloo Tavern in 1825 and the Hopetoun Rooms in 1833.⁶ Dinners also accompanied the annual shows, following their institution in 1822 when the Society organised a modest event at the back of Queensberry House in Canongate on 26

¹ Alexander Ramsay, *History of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1879), pp. 45, 47, 220.

² *Aberdeen Journal*, 17 February 1800; *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 February 1800.

³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 16 January 1813. Manby also addressed the Edinburgh Skating Club—see below.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13 January 1816; *Scots Magazine*; *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 January 1817, 21 January 1819, 15 January 1820, 15 January 1821, 12 January 1822, 15 January 1831, 14 January 1832, 10 January 1833.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 April 1832. William Dick founded the School of Veterinary Studies in 1823 in Clyde Street. A new building in 1833 cost £2,500 mostly paid for by Dick with a contribution of £50 from the Highland Society towards equipping the lecture theatre and museum.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 January 1816; *Scotsman*, 15 January 1825, 14 January 1826, 12, 16 January 1833; *Morning Post*, 22 January 1833, *Aberdeen Journal*, *Newcastle Courant*, 26 January 1833.

December.⁷ From 1826 shows took place in other areas of Scotland such as Glasgow in 1826, Perth 1829, Dumfries 1830; and in 1832 Sir Patrick Walker was observed in the show yard in Kelso.⁸ When the Society made a second visit to Perth on 7 October 1836 the entrance money amounted to £225 10s 6d, nearly double that raised in 1829; and the dinner following the show attracted an attendance of 1160 persons to the Riding Room of the Barracks.⁹ Sir Patrick attended in company with the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Sir John Campbell and numerous eminent gentlemen above whom was suspended:

the device of a plough in brilliant gas jets, with the Crown above it and the letters WR with the words *Speed the Plough* in large gold letters on a crimson ground behind.¹⁰

They dined on 96 soups, 40 roasts of beef, similar numbers of roasts of mutton and rounds of ham and tongue, four score of fowls, 14 haunches of venison, three dozen turkeys, and eight dozen puddings; a total of 820 dishes.¹¹

In 1809 a meeting of 17 gentlemen—including Patrick Neill secretary of the Wernerian Society—in the Royal College of Physicians resulted in the establishment of the Caledonian Horticultural Society for the ‘encouragement and improvement of the best fruit, the most choice flowers and most useful culinary vegetables’. The Society admitted skilled professionals, amateurs, nurserymen and professional gardeners and activities focused on blending theory with practice; medals and certificates being awarded and shows held. Against the background of war with France which prohibited the importation of French wines, in 1810 several medals were awarded to ‘Ladies for their excellence in the preparation of Currant wine’. This beverage being produced from the fruit abundantly growing in every part of the British Isles, aided by the sugar ‘furnished from our plantations in the West Indies’ was well calculated to cheer the well-being of the healthy and alleviate ‘the distress of many when subjected to disease’.¹² Mrs Walker of Drumsheugh won second prize for her white currant wine the sample of which was marked ‘On n’est jamais trop vieux pour apprendre’; and as requested, submitted an account of her method.¹³

One Scotch pint of currant juice; one Scotch pint and a half of water; three pounds of sugar, half lump sugar and half soft sugar. Mix them together in a tub, then fill your barrel. What is over, keep for filling up, as it works over; but it is better not to fill up more than twice. When done working, add one Scotch pint of aquavitaie or brandy, to twenty pints of the fermented liquor. The wine sent is flavoured with a small quantity of clary wine, the growth and manufacture of Drumsheugh.¹⁴

In 1814 Patrick’s mother received two prizes—for Clary Wine and for Wine from mixed Fruits—and Walker seems to have joined the society in that year, if not

⁷ Ramsay, *History*, p. 161.

⁸ *Morning Post*, 10 October 1832.

⁹ Ramsay, *History*, p. 242.

¹⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 October 1836; *Scotsman* 12 October 1836; *Aberdeen Journal*, 19 Oct 1836; *Ipswich Journal* 22 October 1836.

¹¹ Ramsay, *History*, p. 242.

¹² *Memoirs of the Caledonian Horticultural Society*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1814), pp. 41-2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 214. One is never too old to learn.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 215. Clary sage, *salvia sclarea*. See appendix for clary wine. 1 Scotch pint is 1.6961 litres.

earlier.¹⁵ In 1823 the Society leased 10 acres of land for the creation of a garden for the demonstration of plant varieties and methods of cultivation; and where new plants from other countries could be tested in local conditions. By the end of the decade annual shows took place there. In 1833, along with around 2000 'fashionables and amateurs' including the Countesses of Caithness and Hopetoun, Lord Torphichen, Professor Jameson and several legal luminaries and agricultural improvers, Sir Patrick attended the Horticultural Promenade Exhibition and Prize Show in the Experimental Garden.¹⁶ The collection of plants was more extensive and varied than on any previous occasion, bands of the Enniskillen dragoons and the 82nd regiment played some of their finest pieces rivalling with 'the native warblers, particularly the thrush and the blackbird which were nothing daunted by their more scientific and martial competitors'.¹⁷

Another 'improving society' which attracted Sir Patrick's membership grew out of a newspaper advertisement placed on 5 February 1820 announcing the establishment of a Highland Club in Edinburgh.¹⁸ The committee included his friend David Stewart of Garth and the initial aims seem to have been the provision of accommodation to a limited number of members 'having exclusively in view the interests of the Highlands'; and to aid communication among them when in Edinburgh.¹⁹ In 1825 the Highland Club was formally instituted for:

the Preservation and Encouragement of Manly National Games and Exercises and the Preservation of the Gaelic Language and of Ancient Poetry and Music of the Highlands and Borders of Scotland.²⁰

The Highland sports as specified consisted of Club and Ball, Putting Stone, Throwing the Hammer, Leaping, Wrestling, Broad Sword, Foot-race, Highland Reel, Sword-Dance and Sack Race. The Club aimed also to promote Gaelic Literature in such a way 'as may be considered most useful'; to found a Bursary in the University of Edinburgh for the benefit of students from the Highlands; to provide support or education for 'Poor Orphan Children' and the 'Relief of Aged Persons' considered to be worthy 'objects of charity'.²¹ Office bearers besides the Patron and President comprised six Vice-Presidents, 20 Extraordinary and 15 Ordinary Directors, a Treasurer, Secretary, Chaplain and a salaried Bard, Piper and Officer. The Rules fixed the annual general meeting for Old Handsel Monday or the first Monday after 12 January on which day the game of club and ball and other 'ancient games of Scotland' were to be played, followed by a dinner or convivial meeting; and anyone who felt 'well-disposed to promote the interest of the Club' could join on nomination

¹⁵ Ibid., vol.3 (Edinburgh, 1825), pp. 31, 9. According to the *Caledonian Mercury* of 18 September 1815 Mrs Walker won in that year.

¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury, Scotsman*, 8 June 1833.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ NLS, Dep.268, Acc.15, *Rules of the Highland Club of Scotland 1825*, p. 1.

²¹ Ibid.

by two members and payment of one guinea entrance money and half a guinea annually.²²

Sir Patrick's name does not appear among the office bearers elected at the inaugural general meeting of 24 May 1825, but the list of attendees at the general meeting of the Club on 15 January 1827 included the Duke of Argyle as President and Sir Patrick Walker, White Rod of Scotland, David Stewart of Garth and Sir Adam Fergusson, Deputy Keeper of the Regalia as Extraordinary Directors. Earlier in the month in Burntsfield Park (sic), competitors vied for prizes awarded for the sports of club and ball, putter of stone, sledge-hammer and foot race.²³ Attendees at the 1828 annual dinner witnessed a *coup de theatre* during Mr Bowie's Education Committee report :

the sliding doors which inclose the western division of the Hopetoun Rooms were thrown back, and displayed the very interesting spectacle of the children educated by the Society, drawn up in order, and attended by many of their parents.—The children who were all neatly dressed in their holiday suits, were then marched round the tables preceded by the Officer of the club and the piper playing a pibroch; after which they were conducted to another room where Mr Cockburn liberally supplied them with refreshments. The whole scene had a most exhilarating effect, and spoke powerfully to the feelings of the company, as was amply evinced by a collection in aid of the Education Fund which immediately followed....²⁴

The account of the speeches and toasts lauding the virtues of the Highlands and the Gaelic language aroused the ire of a *Caledonian Mercury* reader who, writing to the newspaper under the name of 'Genuine Unadulterated Goth', dismissed it all as 'a compound of nonsense, blarney and humbug'; declaring the Editor to have been 'inoculated with the *rabies Celtica*'.²⁵ Notwithstanding such criticism the Highland Club continued to grow and following Stewart's appointment as Governor of St Lucia, Walker and his fellow members gave a public dinner in his honour in the British Hotel in September of that year.²⁶ In addition to the January games the Club organised an annual summer excursion to the island of Inchkeith for gymnastic exhibitions, games and prize-shooting.

Judging by the proportions of his White Rod ceremonial costume, Walker cannot have qualified for membership of the Six Feet Club instituted in 1826 for the practice and encouragement of gymnastic exercises and games among men of that stature or above. He appears, however, to have supported the activities of the Club. Following the summer meeting on 26 May 1827 at Hunter's Tryst where members competed for prizes awarded for Quoits, Putting the Stone and Steeple Chase, he attended the dinner in the Waterloo Hotel where, along with Professor Wilson and 'other gentlemen of eminence', he contributed to 'the social happiness of the meeting'.²⁷ In the following year the Gentlemen of the Six Feet Club volunteered successfully to become a guard of honour to the Lord High Constable of Scotland; and having elected Sir Walter Scott an honorary member, they named him umpire

²² Ibid.

²³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 20 January 1827.

²⁴ Ibid., 7 January 1828; *Morning Chronicle*, 9 January 1828.

²⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 January 1828.

²⁶ *Morning Chronicle*, 18 September 1828. Stewart died in 1829.

²⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 May 1827.

and referee for life.²⁸ In 1831 the Club held its athletic sports in a field near Canonmills despite a covering of snow. Sir Patrick and Professor Wilson attended the dinner and sat on either side of Captain Bell.²⁹

The Minutes of the Edinburgh Skating Club, on the other hand, record that Sir Patrick Walker was admitted a member of that society on 22 December 1814, along with Sir George Clerk of Pennycuick (sic), Sir Robert Keith Dick of Prestonfield, Gabriel Hamilton Dundas of Duddingston and Lieutenant Dugald Little Gilmour of the 95th Regiment.³⁰ The Club skated on Duddingston Loch and at the previous meeting the members had discussed the provision of complete apparatus for preventing accidents; 'in general the ladder with the noose ropes and grappling rod of Capt Manby was agreed upon'.³¹ An entry fee of three guineas and an annual subscription of half a guinea guaranteed the Skating Club an exclusive membership but for how long Walker remained in the Club is unknown; the word 'resigned' is written beside his name but no date given.³²

Duddingston Loch also provided the location for the Duddingston Curling Society which shared with the skaters the safety equipment of ladders and ropes; the Skating Society having undertaken to procure the items which were to be kept at Duddingston under the management of the Curling Society's officer 'from the beginning to the end of the frost'.³³ The Duddingston Curling Society instituted in 1795, seems to have attracted a high number of the legal profession; on one occasion numbering 29 advocates, 22 writers to the signet and 9 writers among 70 new members admitted.³⁴ Sir Patrick's membership was ratified by the General Meeting of 13 December 1815 along with that of 17 others including Sir Alexander Muir Mackenzie, Sir Alexander Macdonald Lochhead, John Clerk Maxwell and Lieutenant Colonel White; although the minutes record that they had been 'admitted some time ago'.³⁵ At that meeting, members agreed to raise the entry fee from one guinea to three.

A great fall of snow on 22 December 1815 and very strong ice enabled a keen contest for the gold medal played for, and won by Mr James Millar on 25 December.³⁶ According to rule 9 of the Resolutions and Regulations, each member had to supply two curling stones or pay 5s in lieu of the same; and rule 11 stipulated that any member who absented himself from the Anniversary Dinner and from Duddingston Loch in a winter where there may be 20 curling days 'shall have his

²⁸ Ibid., 17 July 1828.

²⁹ *Scotsman*, 23 November 1831.

³⁰ NLS, MSS24641, *Minutes of the Skating Club*.

³¹ Ibid., 10 December 1810. This, presumably, was the equipment of which details were submitted to the Highland Society as cited above.

³² *The Edinburgh Skating Club* (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 11.

³³ NRS, GD266/123/1, *Record of the Minutes of the Duddingston Curling Society*, 8 December 1813, 14 December 1814.

³⁴ John Ker, *History of Curling* (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 144; NRS, *Minutes*, 10 December 1823.

³⁵ NRS, *Minutes*.

³⁶ Members agreed on 8 December 1809 that a prize medal should be played for annually.

Name expunged from the Minute Book of the Club'.³⁷ Presumably Sir Patrick complied and he certainly attended the annual meeting and dinner in McEwen's Tavern, Royal Exchange on 11 December 1816 when the company heard and received 'with unbounded applause', a duet composed by Mr Boswell and a poem written by Mr James Millar. Walker's name, however, is absent from any subsequent meetings.³⁸ It does appear in the annual list of members until 14 December 1822 but after that date the minutes omit the list. There is no record of how active a role he played nor did he win the medal.

Archery, on the other hand, was a sport in which he attained distinction. As cited above, Walker played a role in having the Royal Company of Archers designated as the King's Bodyguard in Scotland at the time of the Royal Visit of 1822. He had been admitted as a member on 12 July 1806 and with the exception of a Dr Lowison in 1720-2, was the only Archer to have won the Musselburgh Arrow three times in succession (1816-1818).³⁹ The Musselburgh Arrow, the most ancient prize shot for by the Royal Company, has badges of the winners attached to it and the annual muster on the Musselburgh links attracted a large attendance of members. The *Caledonian Mercury* reported Sir Patrick's victories in 1817 and 1818, remarking on the latter occasion that he 'had received the prize for three years running'.⁴⁰ In 1817 also he won the Royal or King's Prize, the most valuable of those shot for by the Royal Company.⁴¹ The award of £20 however, came with the stipulation that before the winner received the money he had to purchase a piece of plate, engraved with the royal arms and his personal motto and device, to the value of at least £20.

Both Selkirk and Peebles also owned silver arrows awarded as prizes for archery competitions. The revival of the Selkirk competition in 1818 and rediscovery or retrieval of the arrow were achieved largely through the efforts of Sir Walter Scott and Sir Patrick Walker.⁴² A repeat of the event in 1823 followed the next day by the contest in Peebles, inspired journalists to poetic raptures.

The shooting ground, studded with Archers in their full attire, surrounded by lofty hills, and in the bosom of a beautifully wooded country through which the mighty Tweed sweeps its way, presented a scene worthy of a Nasmyth's pencil....The Company marched through the town with all the pomp and circumstance of contest; and the prize was gained by SIR PATRICK WALKER.⁴³

The inventory of Drumsheugh house compiled after Miss Mary Walker's death in 1870, listed three silver plate trays, one large, one small and one oval, all described as 'Archers'.

³⁷ NLS, RB.el.1, *Rules in Curling to be observed by the Duddingston Curling Society* (Edinburgh, 1804).

³⁸ NRS, *Minutes*.

³⁹ Paul, *Royal Company of Archers*, pp. 375, 307.

⁴⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 July 1817, 1 August 1818. The 1817 competition seems to have taken place on the race course.

⁴¹ Paul, pp. 329, 331; *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 July 1817.

⁴² Paul, p. 348.

⁴³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 September 1823; *Morning Chronicle*, 9 September 1823.

Sir Walter Scott, in an undated letter from Castle Street to Sir Patrick, supplied him with information about archery and archers with various relevant references. Whether Walker's inquiry was in connection with the Royal Company of Archers or related to his entitlement as Usher to two archers is unstated. According to the writer Scotland was not famous for archery and he quoted both Falkirk and Bannockburn as the two incidents when Scots archers distinguished themselves.

I believe the highland bow to have been a very different and inferior weapon to that of England. It was short slackly strung and carried but a little way. The arrow had long thin barbed heads. I can show you one—Arrows were used in Numerous wars by the western islanders—I think the best appearance of the bow in Scotland as a military weapon will be found to occur about 1700 when the grenadier company of the Royal Scots then commanded by the Earl of Orkney beat up for recruits in the streets of Perth....These things occurred to me on looking at your note—with time if I have it I could find some trifles to your purpose in the notes to the Lord of the Isles.⁴⁴

Another of Scott's letters on the subject of archery, however, perhaps sheds more light though hardly complimentary to Sir Patrick whom he miscalls Peter.⁴⁵ James Boswell, second son of the biographer of Dr Johnston and brother of Sir Alexander, poet of the Duddingston Curling Club had written on behalf of a friend to Scott who replied on 25 April 1818 from Abbotsford. Scott reiterated his belief that Scotland was very inferior to England in archery having no yeomen properly so called, yet 'in ancient times the sagittarii of Selkirkshire are celebrated even by the English historians' who described their prowess at Falkirk.⁴⁶ Most of the Scottish burghs, he thought, had silver arrows or similar prizes frequently shot for by the neighbouring gentlemen such as the one preserved at Selkirk and another, he believed, at Peebles but the exercise was out of fashion. The principal society or company was that of the Royal Archers in Edinburgh:

and no less a person than Sir Peter Walker (ask your brother about him) is to give their annals to the world. He is (to use the orthography of old Logan) a fowl, which he explained by saying it was the civilest way of caa'ing a man a guse..... Archery was much in fashion about 1790-1, but the raising of the volunteer force interfered with the exercise, and it is only now practised by a few amateurs. They have, of late, however, made progresses to Peebles, to shoot for the arrow there, and I remember, at the request of said Sir Peter, applying to the magistrates of Selkirk for permission for them to shoot for the Selkirk arrow, which had not been the object of competition for a hundred years. But I rather think the match was laid aside.⁴⁷

The Royal Company did shoot for the Selkirk Arrow in 1818, members being given the freedom of the burgh at the subsequent dinner, but due to rain the match at Peebles was postponed to the following week. Scott himself joined the Company in 1821 and in 1823 enjoyed 'the festive board' provided after the Selkirk shooting match in company with the Magistrates and several gentlemen from the

⁴⁴ NLS, Acc 12773.

⁴⁵ Or it might be a misreading by the transcriber of 'Pat' the abbreviation of Patrick commonly used by Walker.

⁴⁶ George Willis, *Willis's Current Notes* (London, 1853), p. 20.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Here Scott does not seem to have a favourable opinion of Walker, but did he know that the Royal Company of Archers competed for the Goose Prize each October, the winner being declared 'Captain of the Goose' for the year? See Paul, pp. 312-313. The list of winners, however, does not include Patrick Walker.

neighbourhood who devoted ‘the afternoon to mirth and happiness’, aided by the supply of a ‘riddle of claret’.⁴⁸



Musselburgh, Peebles and Selkirk Silver Arrows

In March 1811 the *Scots Magazine* informed its readers of a plan to establish an Astronomical Institution of Edinburgh with the object of enabling the student ‘to acquire complete information on the subject’; and to ‘furnish philosophers with the means of investigation and discovery’. The magazine added that ‘considering the celebrity of Edinburgh as a seat of learning’ it seemed ‘wonderful that no institution of this nature should have yet been undertaken’.⁴⁹ The Institution had a tripartite arrangement with the first department consisting of a scientific observatory furnished with the finest instruments and under the protection of the University as administered by the Professors of Astronomy, Natural Philosophy and Mathematics as ex officio directors. The second department—a ‘Popular Observatory’—contained instruments ‘capable of blending instruction with amusement’; while the third was described as a ‘Physical Cabinet fitted up with meteorological and other instruments, books, globes etc for the use of the Proprietors and Subscribers’.⁵⁰ Instruments which could only be used in the open air would be let out to the subscribers ‘having the use of an extensive apparatus for making experiments in chemistry and natural philosophy’.⁵¹ A subscription of 50 guineas entitled a donor to two transferable tickets of admission to the second and third departments as well as being an extraordinary director for life. A contribution of 25 guineas guaranteed one ticket and the title of proprietor but both categories allowed shares to be transferred. Patrick Walker subscribed £26 5s along with Mr Stevenson civil engineer, Alexander Nasmyth, Gilbert Innes of Stow and other gentlemen. A third category of five guineas annually attracted William Trotter, Mr Blackwood and Mr Bonnar, City Surveyor who gained entrance to the second Department and who would become proprietors after paying a total of £12 in subscriptions. Walker may have had use of the apparatus mentioned above as a

⁴⁸ *Scotsman*, 6 September 1823. A riddle of claret comprised a magnum of 2 quarts and 12 quart bottles.

⁴⁹ *Scots Magazine*, 11 March 1811.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*; *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 April 1812.

⁵¹ *Scots Magazine*, 11 March 1811.

letter to him from Lord Ancram, dated 3 February 1813, stated 'I was sorry to be prevented from attending the Experiments this morning'.⁵²

The first report of Directors of the Institution appeared in 1814 when it appeared that insufficient funds had been raised to date to build a new Observatory. The Old Tower would be repaired in the meantime with accommodation for a keeper added and the manufacture of great instruments commissioned; a mural circle five feet in diameter at 600 guineas and an astronomical circle of three feet at 400 guineas. Apparata for the Speculum and Lens for the Camera Obscura was lacking but the Institution had purchased others items including an achromatic telescope (four feet long), two hand telescopes and a set of rain gauges; and it received gifts of a reflecting telescope (two feet long), an Azimuth compass and a solar and lucernal microscope.⁵³ When the foundation stone of the new Observatory came to be laid on 25 April 1818, without any masonic display or public attendance, the names of office bearers and proprietors engraved on the platinum plate included that of Sir Patrick Walker. The *Caledonian Mercury* commented:

In other countries, scientific establishments, in general, partake of public patronage; and observatories, in general, have been usually the peculiar objects of munificence among Princes. Here, unaided by any public grant and without the means even of compensating the valuable time bestowed by the observer, this Institution is rising so rapidly in the estimation of the public, that it is hoped the private subscriptions of individuals will remove all difficulties and the innate love of science among our countrymen will soon enable the Institution to place its establishment on as respectable footing as any in Europe.⁵⁴

The title of 'Royal' bestowed on the Observatory in 1822 as a result of the visit of George IV did not elicit funding and the purchase of instruments and employment of an observer had to wait until a government grant enabled these in the 1830s. The Institution ceased in 1847.

In addition to his natural history and scientific interests Patrick Walker also devoted time to antiquarian pursuits and on December 1813 he became an Ordinary member or Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries along with Thomas Allan, Banker and Peter Hill, Bookseller.⁵⁵ Founded in 1780 by David Steuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, the Society stipulated that applicants had to be recommended by three members and elected by ballot, following which they paid three guineas admission and one guinea annually; a principal object of the organisation being 'the ancient compared with the modern state of the kingdom'.⁵⁶ Although he remained a member throughout his life, Walker did not hold office or contribute any papers but he did donate a copy of his publication *Documents relative to the Reception of Kings and Queens at Edinburgh* to the society on 13 February 1825; and through his agency Mr Alexander Forrester presented 'a very fine ancient Spear Head of Brass, in excellent

⁵² EUSC, Gen 1995/49.

⁵³ *Scots Magazine*, July 1814.

⁵⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 April 1818.

⁵⁵ *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. III (Edinburgh 1831), p. 9. The *Caledonian Mercury*, and *Scots Magazine* report this on 12 December 1814 and January 1815 respectively.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. I (Edinburgh 1792), pp. xv-xvi.

preservation' found in a moss six feet below the surface in the parish of Linton.⁵⁷ Most likely the 'pair of Halberts of elegant form' presented by Miss Walker of Drumsheugh to the Society's museum in 1843, had been obtained by her brother.⁵⁸ He certainly did undertake collecting artefacts such as armour, some of which he loaned to the Royal St Crispin Society in 1820 for their King Crispin procession; and to the Assembly Rooms in 1836 for the Celtic Fancy Ball when 'between the pillars were hung suits of armour (from the collections we believe of Sir Patrick Walker and Mr Mercer)'.⁵⁹ In an undated letter to Alexander Macdonald, joint curator of the Society of Antiquaries' museum, Mary Walker informed him that 'Mr Tait sent today for the armour and the only thing he kept was some of Watt's Pikes and I send a note of them'.⁶⁰ These could have been the halberds noted above. Robert Watt, former government spy turned revolutionary conspirator, had amassed a collection of weapons as a prelude to seizing Edinburgh Castle but he was arrested on charges of high treason and executed on 15 October 1794. According to James Grant, in 1841 Miss Walker donated to the Museum a pair of handcuffs used to secure Watt while a prisoner in the Castle.⁶¹ Grant also noted the Walker family's possession of a skull from Holyrood Abbey with

a hole in the top of the cranium, which served most probably for securing a crucifix and over the brow was traced in antique characters *Memento mori*. This solitary relic of the furniture of the abbey was procured by the late Sir Patrick Walker.⁶²

It would seem highly likely that Sir Patrick's lengthy trip abroad in 1833- 4 which, as seen earlier, necessitated his resignation as an Improvements Commissioner, included antiquarian pursuits. A letter from numismatist and antiquary John Brodrigg Bergne to him in October 1833 included the 'letters of Introduction, as I promised this morning when I had the pleasure of seeing you'.⁶³ Such letters would ensure contact with relevant persons in the places he visited.

Rebuilt into the west wall of the mansion house of East Coates by Sir Patrick is a lintel from Sir John Byres' town residence bearing the legend 'Blissit be God in all his gifties'.⁶⁴ Other stones and lintels featuring inscriptions and initials and some fragments of sculpture from a building in the Cowgate are also set into the walls. Whether Walker was responsible is not clear but such action would have been in keeping with the antiquarian fashion of the period as witness Sir Walter Scott and Abbotsford to where the door of the Edinburgh Tolbooth was transported. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe who also had an interest in preserving old buildings and sculptured stones, corresponded with Sir Patrick over carved stone at Deanhaugh House, the property of Henry Raeburn at Stockbridge. The most interesting stones

⁵⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 April 1830. On 19 Dec 1835 the newspaper noted Sir Patrick's presence when the Antiquaries dined together in Hopetoun Rooms.

⁵⁸ *Synopsis of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 130.

⁵⁹ *Scotsman*, 30 January 1836.

⁶⁰ NLS, MS/3134/90.

⁶¹ James Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 238.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 44.

⁶³ EUSC, Gen.2042/20. Bergne was the founder and treasurer of the Numismatic Society 1843-57.

⁶⁴ Grant, vol. II, p. 116.

had come from the Cross of Edinburgh and were built into the walls of the tower and covered with ivy.

It is probable that the tower will speedily be pulled down; but at all events, I daresay Mr Raeburn, who is a very liberal-minded person would allow these stones to be picked out of the building. There are also some niches and a holy water cistern.⁶⁵

The editors of Sharpe's letters date this to 1826 which is when St Bernard's House was demolished. Youngson, however, claims that Raeburn presented the medallions and the bowl of the fountain to Walter Scott in 1822 and he had them installed in the courtyard at Abbotsford.⁶⁶

Sharpe and Walker also collaborated over the subject of the restoration of Holyroodhouse. Writing in January 1826 Sharpe described his horror and surprise that the 'persons entrusted with the reparation of the Palace are swerving from the old plan of the building as well as from the express desire of his Majesty'.⁶⁷ Along the top of the wall on the back part of the Palace had been erected 'a sort of cornice' which projected beyond and over the slates of the roof, thus depriving the building of its 'resemblance to the old French palaces, one of its most valuable attributes' and defeating 'his Majesty's most laudable intention of restoring not altering the said venerable pile'.⁶⁸ He added caustically that the back part already looked as if it had been transferred thitherto from the Mound or Murray Park. The campaigning efforts against 'the abomination' succeeded, as described in a letter of 5 March 1826 to Lady Gwydr in London.

At the sight of this I began to skirl up the first outcry and was joined by Sir Patrick Walker and one or two more. So, after a world of writing and scolding, the Barons of the Exchequer and the King's wise architect have given way, and the cornice hath melted like snow off a dike.⁶⁹

As seen earlier with regard to his office of Usher and the affairs of the Royal Company of Archers, Sir Patrick's antiquarian interests extended to archival research and manuscript collection. The preface to the 1815 edition of *Fragmenta Antiquitas or Ancient Tenures of Land and Jocular Customs of Manors* drew the attention of the reader to 'some interesting particulars kindly furnished by Sir Patrick Walker, his Majesty's Gentleman Usher of the White Rod'.⁷⁰ Commenting on the section regarding the serjeanty of Mayford where the owner had to serve the king with an Esquire (servientem) with a haubergeon and a lance for 40 days at his own cost, Walker reasoned:

I do not think servientem is an esquire, for he is a person at arms, and of a well-established name, besides, the haubergeon and lance are not the arms of an esquire, but of a lower person. If he was to bear a lance merely for another, I would begin to doubt, because that is one of the duties of an esquire, but it is to serve in the field so accoutred, not as carrying the arms of another, but his own, with which he is to fight. May it not mean a vassal holding his

⁶⁵ Allardyce and Bedford, *Letters*, pp. 357-8.

⁶⁶ A. J. Youngson, *The Companion Guide to Edinburgh and the Borders* (Bury St Edmunds, 2001), p. 347.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁷⁰ Thomas Bount, enlarged and corrected by Josiah Beckwith, *Fragmenta Antiquitatis or Ancient Tenures of Land and Jocular Customs of Manors* (London, 1815), p. XIII.

lands for a certain service performed by his lord? I do not think *serviens* implies a menial, but one rank below an esquire, one who had some one between him and the King bound to follow his lord to the field, or to perform other service for the protection given by his patron. Perhaps a yeoman. I remember to have seen an old drawing of an archer, attended or accompanied by a man in a hauberk, with a cap of the same, and a lance in his hand. Indeed, they always appear to have gone on service together, the lanceman being to support the archer, who was in a manner defenceless if closed upon. Hence *serviens*, as being in aid and support of the archer may properly enough apply. I am confirmed in this, by the grant of my office of gentleman usher of the white rod, which I hold “cum duobus armigeris, duobus arc tentibus cum suis equis et servis administrandis sibi in dicto officio”. The hauberk and the name are both Norman.⁷¹

A letter from Sir Patrick in 1823 refers to having acquired in Milan a copy of the fragments of Cicero’s Orations in two unbound parts or numbers ‘of a sort of Royal octavo’.⁷² Also in that year at a meeting of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons on 6 May, Dr Pitcairne presented a letter from Sir Patrick Walker with a manuscript catalogue of the books and ‘other curiosities gifted by sundry persons to the Royal Society of Chirurgeons at Edinburgh’ from 1697-1730.⁷³ The President was authorised to thank him for ‘his very curious present’ and Messrs Pitcairne, Maclagen and Turner were appointed to examine the book and compare with the old college minutes.⁷⁴

In his advertisement at the beginning of *Documents relative to the reception at Edinburgh of the kings and queens of Scotland* Walker stated that:

A desire of becoming acquainted with the rights and privileges of the Officers of the Scottish Household, and among those, of the Usher of the White Rod, first prompted a research into the ancient Records of Scotland, and the collection of a great mass of old documents. These, relative to the Coronations, *Ridings* of Parliament, Visits, Progresses, Marriages and Baptisms of our Scottish Kings, present a lively picture of the ancient manners, customs and ceremonies of our forefathers and tend to elucidate the remote history of this ancient kingdom. It has been thought advisable to publish extracts from some of the most curious and valuable of these documents.... To render the work complete, assistance has been asked, and kindly granted, by many of the most learned Antiquaries of our island and documents have been examined in various parts of Scotland.⁷⁵

Walker attempted no analysis of his collection which ranged from Queen Mary’s reception in 1561 to Charles I’s welcome of 1650, but he did add extra material in several footnotes. The copy held by the New York Public Library bears the inscription in Sir Patrick’s handwriting; ‘To William Woods Esq with the best wishes of his friend Pat^k Walker’.⁷⁶ This may be the gentleman who was appointed by the King in 1832 as Officer of Arms attendant upon the Knights Commanders and Companions of the Bath.⁷⁷

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-9. A haulberk or haulbergon is a mail shirt.

⁷² EUSC, La.II.509 1414, *Letter to A. Steele*, 7 April 1823.

⁷³ Quoted from Violet Tamsey and D. E. C. Mekie, *The Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1978), <http://www.museum.rcsed.ac.uk/media/4361/museums_history.pdf>

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Walker, *Documents*, p. vi. See above for Sharpe’s comments on the reception of the king in 1617.

⁷⁶ <<http://www.books.google.co.uk/books?id=hO8HAAAQAAJ&pg=PP14&lpg=PP14&dq=documents+relating+to+the+reception+of+kings>>.

⁷⁷ *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 36 (London, 1832), p. 228.

Walker was an early member of the Maitland Club, another society with limited membership, founded in Glasgow in March 1828 with the object of printing ‘works illustrative of the Antiquities, History and Literature of Scotland’.⁷⁸ He gained admission after ballot on 30 December 1828 and paid three guineas annually for the privilege. Henry Cockburn had been admitted earlier in the month and Sir Walter Scott followed in March 1829.⁷⁹ Rule XIII of the Club stipulated that should any member undertake to print a work at his own expense—the number of copies not to exceed 96—he would be furnished with the requisite paper for printing and receive one copy personally. Courtesy of Sir Patrick, 82 copies of *Letters to King James the Sixth* were printed and circulated on 11 April 1835.⁸⁰ The volume contained 35 lithographic letters in facsimile from the originals in the Advocates Library written to King James from Queen Anne, Prince Henry, Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, her husband Frederick, King of Bohemia and their son Prince Frederick Henry. Alexander Macdonald Esq supervised the preparation but Walker supplied the substantial introductory notice giving the historical background and context of the letters which he felt exhibited ‘in their genuine colours the character and habits of that monarch within his own private and domestic circle, in contradistinction to what is better known of his public and political life’.⁸¹ Sir Patrick clearly felt a need to champion James VI whom he felt had not been:

very fairly dealt with by various writers, and latterly Sir Walter Scott has contributed the aid of his able pen in turning him into ridicule for failings that belonged to the ignorance or superstitions of the times, and did not attach to him personally.⁸²

Losing no opportunity to criticise Queen Elizabeth of England, he drew both on secondary and primary sources for his commentary, quoting extensively from Hume’s *History of England* and Sir James Melville’s *Memoirs* as well as from the books of sederunt of the Lords of Council and Session, contemporary letters, poems and financial accounts. Walker’s literary style in his essay exhibited little of the flamboyant expression of some of his letters or verbal outpourings, but he could not resist commenting:

The prejudices of the English against the Scotch were very great at that time, (as in truth they are at the present day), which gave rise to many very gross and scurrilous publications, quite unworthy of notice

with the exception of a poem published by Ritson in his *North Country Chorister* which he considered to be a ‘fair and clever pasquinade, as to entitle it to notice here’.⁸³

Bonny Scot, we all witness can,
That England hath made thee a gentleman....
Thy shoes on thy feet, when thou camest from plough,

⁷⁸ *Catalogue of the Works printed for the Maitland Club with Lists of the Members and rules of the Club* (Glasgow 1836), appendix. The club was named in honour of Scottish writer Sir Richard Maitland (1496-1586).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

⁸¹ Maitland Club, *Letters to King James the Sixth* (Edinburgh, 1835), p. i.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. ii.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. li.

Were made of the hide of an old Scot's cow,
But now they are turned to a rare Spanish leather
And decked with roses altogether....⁸⁴

Sir Patrick informed his readers that he had found it difficult 'to confine the introduction to shorter bounds' due to the 'vast quantity of curious matter, printed and unprinted, that has come into my view in this investigation'.⁸⁵ He had, therefore to omit a great deal of material and concluded his account with the King's Progress in 1617 to Scotland where, 'by the introduction of Parish Schools and Parish Registers' he conveyed, in Walker's opinion, 'the greatest obligation a country ever lay under to a Sovereign'.⁸⁶

Sir Patrick is not listed among the members of the Bannatyne Club founded on 7 February 1823 by Sir Walter Scott and other eminent gentlemen in imitation of the Roxburghe Club, an exclusive bibliophilic and publishing society dating to 1812 to which Scott had been elected in 1822. As with the later Maitland Club, the Bannatyne Club, dissolved in 1861, existed for 'the printing and publication of works illustrative of the history, literature and antiquities of Scotland'.⁸⁷ Founder members included Lords Bannatyne and Eldin, James Ballantyne, Archibald Constable, Robert Dundas, Henry Cockburn and James Skene. Walker was, however, an original member of the Abbotsford Club established in Edinburgh in 1833 by William Barclay Turnbull for the commemoration of Sir Walter Scott and the printing of miscellaneous pieces, illustrative of history, literature and antiquities. His name is listed in published manuscripts of the club until February 1837, a few months before his death but he did not edit or fund any volumes. The *Morning Chronicle* judged the Abbotsford Club as setting 'an admirable precedent to societies of the same kind' of which the three in Scotland—Bannatyne, Maitland and Abbotsford—'have performed most useful services to literature in printing and publishing works of great value that would probably never otherwise have seen the light'.⁸⁸ The newspaper noted that the rules of the club limited the membership to 50 among whom they observed the names of John Hope Esq., the President, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Jeffrey and Sir Patrick Walker.

In May 1837 Sir Patrick attended the anniversary dinner of the Literary Fund held in the Freemason's Tavern in London. Founded in 1790 'to relieve authors in distress', an early beneficiary was the poet Coleridge.⁸⁹ Charles Dickens also attended the 1837 dinner; had a toast proposed to him as 'a rising author of the day'

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. liii.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Charles Sanford Terry, *A Catalogue of the Publications of the Scottish Historical Kindred Clubs and Societies 1780-1908* (Glasgow, 1909), p. 26. The name commemorated George Bannatyne (1545-1608), an Edinburgh merchant who compiled an anthology of Scottish poems—the Bannatyne Manuscript.

⁸⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, 18 August 1837.

⁸⁹ Jane Adam Smith, *The Royal Literary Fund: A Short History*, <http://www.rlf.org.uk/documents/RLFshorthistory_000.pdf>.

and he contributed 10 guineas subscription to the fund.⁹⁰ As Walker's name is absent from the conscription list and as it did not appear in accounts of the dinners of previous years, he probably attended as a guest or in an official capacity.

One other society to which Sir Patrick gained admittance was the Pitt Club. The Pitt Club originated in London in 1793 'for the purpose of endeavouring to counteract the principles disseminated by the partisans of the French Revolution'; with the first meetings held on the birthdays of the King and Queen.⁹¹ After William Pitt's resignation from leading the government in 1801 caused by the King's refusal to sanction Catholic emancipation, the members of this association met on the anniversaries of Pitt's birthday until 1808, when a new Club was established to perpetuate his principles and memory. Pitt had died in 1806. At the first dinner on 28 May 1808 members toasted 'the President of the Pitt Club of Scotland and also that of Wales'.⁹² This implies a much earlier foundation of a Scottish club than usually cited. The *New Monthly Magazine*, for example, described a meeting held in Edinburgh on 12 April 1814, chaired by the Duke of Athol and addressed by Alexander Maconochie, Solicitor-General of Scotland when attendees resolved to form immediately an association to be known as the Pitt Club of Scotland.⁹³ According to the *Caledonian Mercury* the Pitt Club of Scotland held its first public dinner in May 1814 in Edinburgh's Assembly Rooms when 500 noblemen and gentlemen dined under the presidency of the Duke of Buccleuch.⁹⁴

Sir Patrick Walker advocate became a member of the Club on 3 February 1815 along with the Earl of Morton, Sir Robert Dick of Prestonfield and Lieutenant Colonel Wright of the Royal Artillery. He attended the dinner two days later.⁹⁵ A new member had to be elected by ballot with three quarters of a minimum of 20 members voting in his favour; the admission fee being three guineas for the first year and two for the second with the option of becoming a life member by paying 10 guineas within 18 months of admission. The Club celebrated the birthday of Mr Pitt publicly in Edinburgh every three years with intervening years being marked privately by the members.⁹⁶ The ethos of the celebratory dinner was captured at length in the press. Following the meal in the Assembly Rooms provided by Mr Fortune for the 350 male attendees, the cloth was removed at 7.00 pm and the singing of *Non Nobis Domine* in full chorus ensued. After this a programme of toasts—the King, the Memory of the Right Honourable William Pitt, the memory of Lord Melville, the two Houses of Parliament, Lord Castlereagh, the Lord Chief Baron, Walter Scott, among many others—mixed with songs and fiddle music played by Niel Gow provided the evening's entertainment. The music complemented the toasts; for example 'See the

⁹⁰ *Morning Post*, 4 May 1837; *John Bull*, 8 May 1837.

⁹¹ S. Allan Garnett, 'Pitt Clubs and their Badges', *Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society*, 1927-8, pp. 281-3. The paper has been published separately.
<http://www.britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/pdfs/1927_BNJ_19_12.pdf>.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 5, January-June 1816, p. 433.

⁹⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 May 1814.

⁹⁵ NRS, GD113/5/283, *Papers of Gilbert Innes*; *Caledonian Mercury* 4, 6 February 1815.

⁹⁶ NRS, GD113/5/149, *Rules of the Pitt Club of Scotland*.

Conquering Hero' for the Duke of Wellington and 'The Pilot that weathr'd the Storm' for Pitt. The ubiquitous Mr Boswell composed a song for the occasion which no doubt summarised the sentiments of the company.

The blood that flows warm in each vein
For Liberty still shall beat high;
Our birthright we'll proudly maintain,
Born Freemen, we Freemen shall die.

The tyrant may scowl o'er his slave,
Who, hating, yet trembles in awe;
But a Briton, free loyal and brave,
Loves his King who but rules by the law.

That falsrie which ages have rear'd,
What traitor shall now undermine;
When Phrenzy broke loose and was fear'd,
To chain her, O Pitt, it was thine....⁹⁷

The Scotsman following its creation in 1817 as a radical newspaper, poured scorn on such occasions but the Pitt Club continued to hold similar events annually. A satirical anonymous poem of 1817 giving an account of the triennial dinner summed up the Whig view of the Pitt Club member and supporter of the Tory administration under Lord Liverpool.

A man who is, what every man should be,
Famed for his principles of loyalty;
Who firmly thinks, what all men, I aver,
Should make their creed, that Government can't err;
Who never reads the Opposition speeches,
Nor books or pamphlets of a dangerous kind;
Nothing, in short that glosses o'er, or teaches
Thoughts or opinions that might draw the mind
From virtue's path, or (God forbid) might win it
From those bright principles which reign within it.
And without hesitation I can say,
That I consider this the safest way,
For every man who would not wish to swerve
From principles he glories to preserve.
There's nothing like a firm aversion
To everything like innovation....
Altho' they tell us that we should get rid
Of some abuse which they hold up to view,
We should jog on as our fathers did;
For tho' the thing may possibly be true,
'Tis' better certainly, and safer too,
'T' have no concern with anything that's new.⁹⁸

For how long Sir Patrick continued his membership is unknown and his name is not mentioned in press reports. Members cancelled the dinner planned for May 1826 and instead donated £100 in aid of the subscription for the relief of distressed

⁹⁷ Ibid., 6 February 1815. Napoleon had still to be defeated finally as he escaped from Elbe in March 1815.

⁹⁸ NLS, LC.548, *The Pitt Club of Scotland* (London, 1817), pp. 45-6.

manufactures and other workmen in Scotland.⁹⁹ By this time enthusiasm had waned and 'what is now called a Pitt Club' commented the *Edinburgh Review*, 'often signifies little else than a knot of narrow-minded persons who are banded together by a fixed determination to oppose the principles of Mr Pitt, upon the greatest point on which he ever thought and acted for himself'.¹⁰⁰ By the 1830s the club had dissolved leaving its fund of £1000 to institute a prize.¹⁰¹

The Royal Landing Club was founded in 1823 to commemorate the arrival of King George IV at Leith on 15 August 1822 and seems to have emulated the Pitt Club in its demonstrations of loyalty at its annual dinners given in the Leith Assembly Rooms. In 1825 Sir Patrick Walker's presence was noted as one of the right hand supporters of the chairman Baillie Auld; the left hand supporters included Viscount Lord Melville. Post-prandial proceedings commenced with the singing of Non Nobis Domine followed by a succession of loyal toasts and speeches including one to Sir Patrick Walker and the members of his Majesty's household. In returning thanks Sir Patrick said 'it had been his endeavour to do whatever was in his power on the occasion which had been referred to, and no man could do more than his utmost'.¹⁰² The 1826 dinner took place after the procession and ceremony occasioned by the driving of the first pile for the new Leith Pier. Walker took his place as a left hand supporter of the chair and received a toast with thanks for his admirable arrangements for the procession 'by which such excellent order had been preserved'.¹⁰³ In reply he observed that Leith and Edinburgh, 'as appeared from their records, had frequently differed' but they had always prospered and 'if differences be essential to our prosperity by all means let us have them'.¹⁰⁴

Sir Patrick appears to have an interest in supporting the furtherance of the Fine Arts in Scotland, though it is unclear whether he was associated with the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland (1819-1830) or the Scottish Academy founded in 1826 and incorporated in 1838. A letter of 16 February 1831 from Le Duc de Blacas, a member of the exiled French King Charles X's suite of French emigrés lodged in Holyroodhouse, thanked 'Monsieur le Chevalier Patrick Walker' for his kind invitation to the King on behalf of 'la Société des artistes d'Écosse' but regrettably had to refuse this offer as 'Monsieur le Comte de Ponthieu' never went out.¹⁰⁵ The invitation might have been for the opening of the 5th annual exhibition of the Scottish Academy on 19 February 1831; certainly le Duc d'Angoulême, the King's son, and other members of the French suite visited the Scottish Academy in January 1832.¹⁰⁶ Sir Patrick, as cited above, had met Charles X

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22, 27 May 1826. Mrs Walker of Coates gave five guineas according to the list of subscribers published in the *Scotsman*, 25 June 1826.

¹⁰⁰ *Edinburgh Review*, June 1827. The reference was to Catholic Emancipation.

¹⁰¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 April 1838.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 18 August 1825; *Scotsman*, 17 August 1825; *Scots Magazine*, August 1825. The reference was to the King's visit.

¹⁰³ *Scotsman*, 16 August 1826; *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 August 1826.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ EUSC, Gen 1995/10. Le Comte de Ponthieu was the title adopted by Charles X following his abdication and flight from France in 1830.

¹⁰⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 January 1832.

on several occasions and could have been acting here in his official capacity as Usher.

The Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland, founded in 1833-34 and incorporated in 1848, originated in a suggestion of the artist David Octavius Hill with support from the sculptor John Steell and Sheriff Glassford Bell. For an annual subscription of one guinea each subscriber received an engraving or set of engravings for that year. The directors used remaining funds to purchase pictures from the exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy and distributed them by ballot among the subscribers.¹⁰⁷ This had been decided at the general meeting on 9 March 1836 when members resolved to authorise the Committee of management to extend a portion of the fund at their disposal on engraving a popular picture to be selected from those 'now exhibiting'; and one or more copies of the engraving would be received by each member in addition to his balloted chance of the large amount of paintings purchased by the Committee.¹⁰⁸ Following the allocation of engravings the plate would be destroyed thus ensuring every subscriber of 'a certain return for his money'.¹⁰⁹

Sir Patrick is not listed as being part of the Committee. In October 1836, however, his name appeared among those of a number of gentlemen interested in 'the progress of the FINE ARTS in this City' who 'having been anxious that a POPULAR COURSE OF LECTURES should be delivered here on this very interesting and important subject during the ensuing Winter', had persuaded Mr H. Glassford Bell to deliver such a course in rooms at the Royal Institution.¹¹⁰ The programme consisted of 16 afternoon lectures of one hour given twice weekly at a cost of one guinea for a gentleman's ticket and half a guinea for a lady's. Walker's colleagues on the organising committee comprised John Steell, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Lieutenant General Ainslie, William Gibson-Craig, Thomas Allan and John Learmonth.¹¹¹

Earlier in the year a letter to the *Caledonian Mercury* expressed misgivings about the operation of the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts. The writer thought that the organisation should be giving some substantial support and confidence chiefly to 'the needy, though gifted artist' rather than to the established artist 'who has deservedly gained a name and who can (comparatively speaking) commend a price whenever he chooses'.¹¹² Quoting the statement of purchases for the previous year he suggested that the patronage would be stretched much further by purchasing 'good standard pictures' at the fair prices of £10 to £30 rather than spending a sum of £160 or £60 for one picture, thereby producing much greater benefit to the numerous artists as well as giving the subscribers 'more than a double chance of obtaining a good picture'.¹¹³ The Association appears to have ignored this

¹⁰⁷ Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland Its Origin and Progress* (Edinburgh, 1889), p. 371.

¹⁰⁸ *Scotsman*, 12 March 1836.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 October 1836.

¹¹¹ Ainslie was an avid coin collector.

¹¹² *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 January 1836.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

suggestion but 12 or 15 subscribers withdrew before the general meeting on 21 May.¹¹⁴

The rift in the organisation became apparent in March 1837 when a notice appeared in *The Scotsman* expressing the very general disappointment at the plan adopted by the Committee of Management 'which debars the prizholder from all choice in the selection of the picture, or other work of art, to which he is justly entitled, whilst it excludes the great body of Artists from even a chance of sale of their works'.¹¹⁵ The dissenters proposed a New Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts on the liberal plan adopted at Manchester and elsewhere, with a one guinea subscription. Total annual subscriptions were to be divided into various sums allocated to members by ballot and each holder of a prize would exercise his individual judgment in the purchase of a picture, the price of which had to include the amount of the prize, from the exhibition of the Scottish Academy. The advertisement declared that 'all sums collected for the present year will be lodged in the National Bank of Scotland in the name of Sir Patrick Walker, Treasurer to the Association'.¹¹⁶ The original Association, taking comfort in rising numbers, responded at the general meeting in May that its constitution 'was the best they could make it' and it had no intention of having 'a money lottery' and allowing 'each individual to choose a picture for himself'.¹¹⁷ Some members asserted the impracticability of personal choice for subscribers from afar; thus ignoring, or being unaware of, the New Association's plan to accommodate this.¹¹⁸

On 24 June the New Association re-advertised and was endorsed by a *Scotsman* article enumerating the advantages such as management economy which allowed, as nearly as possible, the whole sum to be divided into prizes with the artist receiving the full value without heavy deductions. The artist could now rely on his own talents for distinction and reward 'instead of stooping to pay court to a self-selected Committee of Management in order to propitiate a selection in his favour'.¹¹⁹ In addition, for the convenience of subscribers residing at a distance, a committee of men of acknowledged taste would select for and comply with the wishes of the prizholder. The newspaper concluded:

The sole object of this Association is to direct public encouragement into a channel which cannot be turned into partial or selfish purposes, but which shall do the greatest possible good to the arts and at the same time, equal justice to both artists and subscribers.¹²⁰

The New Association grew from 340 members in 1827-8 to 1290 in 1842 in which year it changed its name to the Art Union of Scotland.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 28 May 1836.

¹¹⁵ *Scotsman*, 8 March 1837.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 22 May 1837.

¹¹⁸ See below.

¹¹⁹ *Scotsman*, 26 June 1837.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Brydall, *Art*, p. 373. The Art Union had ceased to exist by 1889.

9. Sir Patrick as Director and Shareholder

On 3 January 1825 the examination of pupils of the Scottish Military Academy took place before a 'numerous and respectable assembly of their friends and of military gentlemen'.¹ Spectators witnessed military exercises with the infantry broadsword, sticks, cavalry sword, small sword and firelock and saw specimens of fortification drawings and mathematical calculations. Pupils also demonstrated gymnastics on the large and improved systems lately adopted in England with some additions by Captain Scott the superintendent; and another display of Captain Scott's pupils' prowess took place in June in the Caledonian Theatre.² In July Captain Scott died.³ Nine days after his funeral a large number of gentlemen 'desirous of promoting a Military Academy in Edinburgh, on the basis of the establishment formed by the late Captain Scott', met in the Waterloo Rooms under the chairmanship of Lord Robert Kerr.⁴ Before proceeding to the business in hand, Kerr informed the assembly that Captain Scott who had established a military academy under many disadvantages, had left an aged mother and orphan for whom provision should be made in the forming of a new establishment; a suggestion which met with applause.

The duty of moving the resolutions before the meeting fell to Sir Patrick Walker who observed that having a civilian undertake this was an additional compliment to those heroes who had so nobly fought the country's battles 'to win for us those blessings of peace we now enjoy'.⁵ Praising the merits of Captain Scott with whom he was not personally acquainted, Walker then warmed to his subject and continued in his customary flamboyant style of historical editing:

It was a somewhat singular circumstance that no military school should have been established in this part of the United Kingdom, which stood in the situation of being the only spot of civilized Europe which had not been compelled to acknowledge a foreign yoke; for although our English neighbours marked their march in Scotland by devastation, they never did by conquest. In former days, the bravery of the man and the strength of the arm decided the battle; and so famed were the Scots, that wherever the banner of the White Cross floated, was the path of victory and of fame.⁶

He conceded, however, that in the present era military success depended on the skills of the officers and even in times of peace it was necessary to study the art of war and imbue the minds of the youthful aspirants to fame with the relevant knowledge. Military schools had first been established in France before being introduced into England.

Why, he would ask, had they not been formed in Scotland? It would perhaps be difficult to answer that question; but Captain Scott had the merit of making the first experiment, and his success, under all disadvantages, proved that such an establishment, if properly conducted, would succeed on a much larger scale. Indeed it was hard that gentlemen, who wished to

¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 January 1825.

² *Ibid.*, 20 June 1825. Scott, formerly of the 91st Regiment, had been an Adjutant at Waterloo.

³ *Ibid.*, 14 July 1825.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 July 1825. *The Scotsman* of the same date carries a briefer account of the meeting.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

prepare their sons for a military profession, should be compelled to send them to England for want of a seminary in Scotland.⁷

The resolutions to establish a Military Academy, appoint a Committee to produce a plan for the establishment, secure premises and advertise for a superintendent, were passed and Sir Patrick became a member of the Committee of 23 gentlemen who included Lord Kerr as chairman, the Lord Provost, Sir Henry Jardine, Principal Baird, William Trotter of Balindean, Robert Dundas of Arniston and several military officers including David Stewart of Garth.

By 22 August when the prospectus of the new Scottish Military Academy appeared in the press, the Committee had grown to 65 with the Marquises of Queensberry and Lothian, the Earls of Elgin, Rosebery and Fife, Sir George Clerk and the Rectors of the High School and Academy added. Sir Patrick worked on the subcommittee dealing with subscriptions and donations and assessing applications for the 300 shares priced at £10 each and limited to no more than 10 per subscriber.⁸ In September Mitchell Patison the Secretary inserted a notice in the press advertising a public meeting of subscribers on 29 September and advising that requests for shares could still be sent to 16 St James Square.⁹ At the meeting the Chairman, Lord Kerr, proposed that Sir Patrick Walker 'who, his Lordship observed, had in the handsomest manner offered his services as Honorary Secretary', should read the Report of the Committee; and this he did to unanimous approval.¹⁰ The meeting agreed to establish a new academy of around 250 pupils at a cost of £3000; heard that applications for the post of superintendent had been received and that the appointment of teachers would be progressed as a matter of urgency.¹¹ The Chairman acknowledged the services of Mr Patison on whose premises the Academy would in the meantime be taught and who would continue as Acting Secretary with Walker as Honorary Secretary, Ordinary Director and Trustee.

Sir Patrick soon had the honour of receiving a letter from the Duke of Gordon recommending Mr Baird as Landscape Painter to the Scottish Military and Naval Academy. He replied tactfully but firmly from Drumsheugh on 19 October 1825:

At present we are proceeding with a little of our National prudence anxious to establish everything on a broad basis but fearful of venturing too far and getting beyond our depth. For this season we have an apology to the public by blaming the want of accommodation for our not attempting to do as much as we could wish. The Directors have not taken Mr Baird's application into consideration and I should think it probable that they will delay to do so both for the reason before mentioned and because the Superintendent will amongst with his Military Drawing, probably teach as much of Landscape Drawing as in the infant state of the Establishment may be requisite. This is merely my own impression and I have mentioned so to Mr Baird and have been thus full in my communication because I know your Grace is anxious for our success.¹²

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 22 August 1825.

⁹ Ibid., 23 September 1825; *Aberdeen Journal*, 28 September 1825.

¹⁰ *Scotsman*, 1 October 1825.

¹¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 October 1825. It was agreed to omit the word gymnastic from the title which became The Scottish Military and Naval Academy but at some point subsequently military was placed after naval.

¹² NRS, GD44/43.362/35.

Within a few weeks the Academy opened to receive 40 students, followed by the appointments of teachers of Oriental Languages and Mathematics; and in December the Directors intimated the removal to 85 George Street for the opening of classes on 3 January.¹³ The curriculum comprised military exercises, fortification, military drawing, surveying and levelling, landscape and perspective drawing taught by Major Downes; Mathematics (George Lees AM), French (Monsieur Surene), Hindostanee (sic) and Persian (Mr James Noble), History and Geography (Rev. James Chapman), Fencing and Modern Sword Exercise (Signor Fancalanza). A temporary setback occurred in March when the smack *Delight* sank with the firearms commissioned for the Academy; for while the contractor bore the loss, half of the pupils still remained without weapons.¹⁴ With Major Downes as superintendent, the Directors appointed three more teachers in May—of Italian, Spanish and German—and added gymnastics to the subjects taught.¹⁵ John Wilson, author under the name of Christopher North of an article on gymnastics in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, commented:

I understand the system has been brought into play at Heriot's Hospital.... and next year it is to be introduced into the New Academy. I hope the High School will follow the example—for what other recreation is at once so joyous and so useful? The credit of establishing the system in Scotland will then be due to that excellent nobleman and soldier, Lord Robert Kerr, and my worthy friend Sir Patrick Walker, whose zeal and knowledge in everything they have done about the Military Academy, is above all praise.¹⁶

Walker continued as an Ordinary Director and Trustee but at the general meeting in November 1826 was designated as Secretary with Murray Pringle the Assistant Secretary and Clerk.¹⁷ Early in the New Year the Directors with Sir Henry Jardine as spokesman, made a successful application to the Highland Society for a share of the fund for the support of younger sons of Highland gentlemen intended for the Royal Navy.¹⁸ Preceded by a lecture on fortification by the Superintendent Major Downes, the display of military exercises and gymnastics followed the annual examinations in August; and at a similar occasion in the following year, Sir Patrick Walker, Major Downes and other Directors were thanked for their help in submitting the full progress report.¹⁹ The Academy attracted the services of Mr Rowland to teach fencing and modern sword exercise; a shrewd publicity move as his public demonstrations proved hugely popular throughout the 1830s. Walker attended one of these on 28 April 1829 along with the *Scotsman* reporter who complained of the persistence of the bonnet-wearing ladies in the second row in standing up as they obscured his view.²⁰ In the following year at a display of fencing for which Sir Patrick again presented the prizes, the pupils also demonstrated gymnastics. Echoing Christopher North's sentiments, the *Scotsman* wished to see gymnastics prevail

¹³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 10, 17 November, 29 December 1825.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1826; *Glasgow Herald*, 11 March 1826; *Morning Post*, 23 March 1826.

¹⁵ Article from the *Edinburgh Advertiser* published in the *Glasgow Herald*, 4 August 1826.

¹⁶ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, November 1826.

¹⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 November 1826; *Glasgow Herald*, 1 December 1826.

¹⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 January 1827.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 August 1827; 9 August 1828.

²⁰ *Scotsman*, 29 April 1829.

more in society as they 'strengthen the muscles and improve respiratory functions and circulation of the fluids'.²¹

Signs that the Academy's affairs might not be free from problems emerged early in 1832 when both the *Scotsman* and *Caledonian Mercury* reported in March that the Masters of the Scottish Military and Naval Academy had given a dinner in the British Hotel to Captain John Orr, Superintendent and a 'high and well merited eulogium on him for the many excellent and judicial arrangements he had introduced since he filled the office of Superintendent'.²² The *Scotsman* commented favourably on the regularity lately introduced into the Academy and attested to the attainments of the teachers. In May, however, the *Caledonian Mercury* mounted a one-sided crusade on behalf of the public who, it asserted:

have a right to know the truth, and the whole truth in order that means be taken to remedy the evils which have brought the institution to its present melancholy condition, and that a highly honourable and praiseworthy attempt to establish a national military school in Scotland may not altogether be defeated.²³

The Academy, it claimed, was 'going to the wall, if it be not gone already'.²⁴ These dramatic statements among many others, had as their basis a printed letter to the subscribers of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy (sic) on the Management of that Institution by Major Downes the late Superintendent, 'which makes disclosures at once painful and humiliating' and which the journalist summarised as:

mismanagement on the part of the Directors, insubordination on the part of the students, caballing among the masters, and worse than all, the adoption of a system of education at once vicious in principle and imperfect in its details (by which) the Academy, considered as a military school, has been utterly ruined; and the only man connected with it who, by his scientific acquirements and his military experience, was fitted to raise it to the rank we fondly hoped it would one day attain as a national establishment for the education of such of our youth as were destined for the profession of arms, has been driven from it by a series of ill usage and petty annoyances, which reflect but small credit on those who either sanctioned or tolerated them.²⁵

The newspaper wondered how the Academy could prosper with a majority of civilian Directors and those from the Military having entered service before regular military education was ever considered. Not one of them had read, or at least understood, any scientific treatise on military operations.

Major Downes in his letter as quoted in the article, had refrained from polemic but stated the facts as he saw them; namely that he had been recruited by Major-General Stewart of Garth at the Horse Guards as he had served abroad with him and had been employed at the Royal Military College. Following an interview by the Directors he was appointed as Superintendent after six months' probation; having previously visited all military establishments in England and the Naval College at Portsmouth in preparation. The Elder Street Hall, James Square lane, in which the Academy started belonged to the acting secretary who, it was said, was anxious to

²¹ Ibid., 24 April 1830.

²² *Scotsman*, 21 March 1832; *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 March 1832.

²³ Ibid., 12 May 1832.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

sell his premises to the Directors, but due to Downes' exertions suitable premises were obtained in George Street where the Major commenced his duties with great vigour and activity. He soon found, however, that the Directors interfered both on the matter of uniforms and on the enforcement of discipline; and he cited an example of not being supported by the Directors over an issue regarding the wearing of caps; being reprimanded instead for having spoken harshly to one of the pupils who had subsequently left the Academy. He alleged that as a result of not having any authority the students took greater liberties and indulged in harassing passers-by, annoying the neighbours, idling and smoking cigars. Not only did the Directors fail to back him but they ordered the installation of a ginger beer shop in the Academy; the public exhibitions of gymnastics being thought to cover every defect.

On 1 October 1831 Downes discovered that during his absence on vacation his name had been erased from the head of the Academy Prospectus; and that Captain John Orr of the Edinburgh Militia had been appointed as Superintendent by a private committee of four who had settled the affairs for the Directors without their knowledge of the circumstances. The Major remonstrated but the Honorary Secretary (Sir Patrick) said:

the only thing that could be done was to insert a paragraph in the papers stating how much the Directors were satisfied with my conduct as superintendent, ever since the formation of the institution; but that, owing to the urgent duties of instructing three of the principal classes in the Academy, and finding it impossible to attend to the military detail and interior economy of it, I had RESIGNED the situation of superintendent.²⁶

The *Caledonian Mercury* reporter apparently made no attempt to contact the Academy for comment. Instead an anonymous well-wisher and subscriber took up the cudgels on its behalf and conducted a war of letters to the Editor with Major Downes whose pamphlet, he said, abounded in 'assertations unfounded and defamatory'.²⁷ The well-wisher proceeded to answer and demolish the allegations and those which followed in further letters from the Major in which he called on Lord Robert Kerr and Sir Patrick Walker to corroborate his statement.

Both these gentlemen told me that my name was erased from the head of the Academy prospectus without their *knowledge*.... that they were *never consulted* about it and they thought the business had been conducted in a very *indelicate and improper manner*.²⁸

The facts, however, were that Major Downes alone among the Masters had failed to abide by the Academy rules or furnish reports of his pupils' progress over whom he exercised no discipline. In June 1831 a general meeting of the Directors unanimously agreed on the necessity of having a new Superintendent due to the incompetency of Major Downes; discussed the suitability of Captain Orr; agreed to appoint him if he would accept and nominated a committee to proceed with this. The Major remained in his teaching post.

Sir Patrick placed the following notice in the *Scotsman* of 8 October 1831.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 21 May 1832.

²⁸ Ibid., 28 May 1832.

Major Downes having retired from the situation of Military Supervisor of the Academy in consequence of his arduous duties as a Teacher in three of the principal branches of study rendering it impossible for him to attend to the detail and interior economy of the Establishment, the Directors take this opportunity of publically expressing their entire satisfaction with the manner in which Major Downes has discharged his various duties ever since the commencement of the Academy.²⁹

Captain Orr undertook the role of Superintendent in October 1831 and ‘by his judicious suggestions and unremitting attention’ placed the Academy upon a footing that ‘cannot fail to raise it to a higher degree of prosperity that it has ever yet attained’—with the exception of Major Downes’ classes—for he continued ‘to treat with contempt every order issued and every rule laid down’.³⁰ Following the Directors’ ultimatum Downes resigned and issued the pamphlet of accusation and the ensuing letters to the *Caledonian Mercury*, the last of which stated that he had written to Sir Patrick Walker proposing that the matter be submitted to the decision of one of the principal military officers in Edinburgh.³¹ The Academy Directors, however, issued their own report to the subscribers, a copy of which reached the editor of the *Caledonian Mercury* who had earlier realised the mistake of taking a one-sided approach. The newspaper acknowledged that the Directors had examined the Major’s averments in detail and refuted them one by one with evidence furnished for the most part by the Major himself and from the records of the Institution ‘of which he could not possibly be ignorant’; and promised it would be ‘more cautious hereafter in trusting to military evidence and military statements’.³² The *Scotsman* printed a coda to the affair on 21 July 1831 when it gave an account of a presentation to Major Downes by senior students who had lately attended his classes. The ‘large and valuable silver snuff box richly embossed with appropriate military devices’ bore the inscription ‘This will testify outwardly, as strongly as the conscience does within’.³³

Both newspapers continued to report the annual examinations of the Academy with those of July 1833 demonstrating a great improvement in all branches. The Directors had been fortunate indeed in obtaining the services of Captain Orr who was ‘so singularly well qualified for the delicate and difficult situation in which he is placed’.³⁴ By this time the Institution had moved to ‘a suite of spacious and elegant new buildings’ in Lothian Road.³⁵ Sir Patrick maintained his support of the Academy, making his last appearance at the annual meeting and competition of Mr Roland’s pupils on 10 April 1837 when he presented medals and made an appropriate speech.³⁶ With Prince Albert as a later patron, Captain Orr remained as Superintendent until, and following, its enlargement and renaming as the Scottish

²⁹ *Scotsman* 8 October 1831.

³⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 May 1832.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 11 Jun 1832.

³² *Ibid.*, 21 June 1832. A copy of the Directors’ Report exists but is at present unlocated.

³³ *Scotsman*, 21 July 1832.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 27 July 1833.

³⁵ Robert Chambers, *The Gazetteer of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 379.

³⁶ *Scotsman, Caledonian Mercury*, 10 April 1837.

Institute for Civil, Commercial and Military Education in 1859, but after the mid 1860s this establishment ceased to exist.³⁷

Sir Patrick's participation in the public outcry over the Water Company's Parliamentary bill of 1835 has already been described. His involvement in the creation of the rival Edinburgh and Leith Water Company dates to 1824 and originated in the problems encountered by builders due to the refusal of the Water Company to supply the grounds of Coates, Drumsheugh, the Earl of Moray's feu and others. In his address to a meeting held in the Royal Exchange Coffeehouse chaired by Deacon Thin, Walker provided a historical summary of how water had been distributed to the citizens under the authority of the Magistrates who had been responsible for laying the main or service pipes. The Water Company had latterly taken over and for a considerable time followed the same procedures. 'The proper duties of a water company', he maintained, 'must be to provide the public with a constant supply of that necessity of life, water' and this could only be done by the distribution pipes laid by the Company as authorised by Act of Parliament.³⁸ As early as 1819 he had negotiated with the Water Company over the laying of pipes in the streets on the grounds of Coates with the result that the builders of properties there had laid several service pipes under the directions of the Company with the understanding that the latter would reimburse the builders. The Water Company, however, subsequently declined to pay and while some individuals had raised actions in the Court of Session, others deemed it necessary to call a general meeting of builders, correspond with the Water Company and draw up a report to be laid before the current meeting. Following the agreement that the report be approved and published under the supervision of a committee, thanks were given to Sir Patrick for the 'trouble he had taken'.³⁹

He then chaired a second meeting with the object of devising measures for 'the additional comfort of the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood by procuring a plentiful supply of water at an easier and cheaper rate than hitherto obtained'.⁴⁰ Walker cited the example of the London Thames Water Company, an advertisement for which had been given to him by a friend; and he read a draft prospectus for the formation of a new company with a capital of £150,000, divided into shares of £26 and managed by a Governor, Deputy Governor, Directors and Extraordinary Directors. Discussion took place about the inclusion of Leith and Sir Patrick said he had been in communication with the Magistrates but that consultation with the citizens would take some time. Both he and Mr Ballantyne, agent for the Earl of Moray, thought such matters of detail would be best left to a committee who would report to a general meeting of subscribers. Before the end of the meeting £50,000 had been subscribed.

³⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 July 1859, 11 September 1863; *Aberdeen Journal*, 7 September 1859; *Scotsman*, 8 December 1859.

³⁸ *Scotsman*, 17 November 1824. An Act of Parliament incorporated the Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company on 2 July 1819. See James Colston, *The Edinburgh and District Water Supply* (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 35-8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Mr Robert Stevenson, Civil Engineer, produced a preliminary report for the Committee, notwithstanding his view that 'the celerity with which it now seems necessary to carry forward public measures may perhaps be considered as an evil incident to the present times', as it precluded the undertaking of a more complex survey.⁴¹ Sir Patrick duly presented the report to a meeting of the shareholders of the Edinburgh and Leith Water Company, chaired by the Earl of Moray on 21 January 1825; and he was elected as an Ordinary Director along with fourteen others including Henry Raeburn. The Earl of Moray became President and the Extraordinary Directors included the Magistrates of Leith.⁴² The new Company applied to Parliament for an Act to enable them to carry out their intentions but the old Company lobbied against it and the bill was lost by a narrow majority. Stevenson, although he had not intended taking any notice of 'the calumnies, misrepresentations and personalities directed against himself to which the Old Water Company have of late descended', felt compelled to pen a memo to rebut the charges made by Mr Gibson Craig who came forward as 'the organ of the Old Company'.⁴³ Taking each in turn he had no difficulty in dismissing them and ended by declaring that while he was prepared to believe that Mr Gibson Craig had been misinformed or uninformed, 'it will on all hands be allowed to be unusual for one professional man to drag forward another under such circumstances'.⁴⁴ He concluded by reminding Mr Gibson Craig of the common adage of his brethren; 'He who is my client today may tomorrow be his'.⁴⁵

According to the *Address by the Interim Company of the Edinburgh and Leith Water Company to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith*, which reads as if penned largely, if not wholly, by Sir Patrick, important consequences followed. The Edinburgh Joint Stock Company withdrew its Sheriff Court defences and consented to undertake the expenses of laying the new pipes as well as paying the pursuers' litigation expenses; and it announced its intention to apply to Parliament for a new statute to enlarge its powers to enable the supply of water to Leith.⁴⁶ In the meantime the new Company had purchased the Listonshiells springs from Sir Robert Liston who had been informed of its scheme by Walker. Liston wrote to James Gibson on 16 April 1825 indicating:

I used a short time ago in conversation with Sir Patrick Walker such language as gave him good reason to think that they were sure of my concurrence provided they made me what I should consider as an adequate compensation; so that I do not conceive that I am at the present moment at liberty to take any measure that would disappoint their expectation.⁴⁷

Subsequently the new Water Company signed an agreement with him.⁴⁸

⁴¹ NLS, Acc.4215/4 vol. 72, *Papers of Robert Stevenson Engineers*, 15 January 1825.

⁴² *Scotsman*, 22 January 1825.

⁴³ NLS, Acc. 4215/4 vol.72, undated.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Scotsman*, 30 November 1825.

⁴⁷ NLS, MS.5682/85.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 April 1825.

Perceiving, however, that it might be unnecessary to persist with a rival establishment as the creation of extra stock by the old Company would 'have the effect of admitting a greater number of citizens into a share of the management of the water to be supplied to Leith and the suburbs of Edinburgh', the new Company made several proposals to their rival, the principal object of which was:

to obtain protection to themselves and other inhabitants against the unlimited power of expenditure to the extent of five per cent on the rental of the city and suburbs which the Old Company have obtained and propose to extend to Leith and at the same time to compel the Company to give that publicity to their proceedings which is always necessary to the ends of justice.⁴⁹

Should the proposals be accepted—and these included the transfer of the Liston springs—the new Company would dissolve its partnership. The Directors of the Joint Stock Company had no objection to acquiring the Liston springs, although the price of £2500 was £500 greater than the purchase price, but they declined the other proposals.

A meeting of the subscribers to the Edinburgh and Leith Water Company on 3 August 1825 heard of the abortive negotiations and agreed that a new Company be immediately formed under the same name, rules and regulations as before; a Prospectus be framed and the public invited to join. An interim Committee of 16 including Sir Patrick, Henry Raeburn and James Gillespie Graham received authority to advertise in newspapers, receive subscriptions, appoint a Clerk, Surveyors or Engineers and consider any future response from the Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company.⁵⁰ The latter published a pamphlet in response to the new Company's publicity but by November all negotiations had ceased and both Companies prepared to seek Parliamentary sanction. Apart from the emphasis on an ability to supply pure spring water rather than that from ponds, burns and rivulets, the main emphasis of the new Company's rhetoric lay in its assertion that its rival had a monopoly and power which could easily be concentrated in a few hands; 'a junto of capitalists with an eye fixed coolly and unfeelingly on their own interest' who 'take their stand on the place of private property and disregard the grumbling of the public'. The time had come for 'making a stand' and to the:

increasing capital of Scotland, it is still more an act of justice and of enlightened policy, that the efforts of more associations than one should be directed towards supplying its inhabitants with an article of the first necessity, both abundantly and cheaply. This can only be accomplished by creating competition and by the downfall of monopoly.⁵¹

Early in the New Year, however, the Lord Provost worked to effect a compromise between the two companies and eventually by April the old Company had agreed to pay their rival £3000 as well as purchasing the Liston springs.⁵² The Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company's bill received royal assent on 26 May 1826, thus maintaining its monopoly.

⁴⁹ *Scotsman*, 30 November 1825.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, 10 August 1825.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3 December 1825.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 8 February, 15 April 1826.

In the Edinburgh and Leith Water Company's *Address to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith*, a diatribe was launched against the Joint Stock Company over the difficulties encountered during the great fire of 15-17 November 1824 which killed 13 people and destroyed the Tron Kirk steeple, the offices of the Courant newspaper and many homes in the Old Town. The Company did transmit water but:

everybody knows that it was by the pulling down of a great tenement, and not by their water, that the public buildings were saved. It flowed along the streets and was set down to extinguishing the embers in the ruins—so far they are entitled to credit. It was not their fault that there existed no engines to use the water properly: but it was the fault of the Company that they had not complied with the terms of the statute in placing fire-plugs in the streets, to render efficient the engines such as there were therefore the water was wasted and the greatest inconvenience experienced in working the engines. Still however water was furnished, but the Company ought not to brag of having done, at the expense of the inhabitants what their statute enjoins.⁵³

Combating fire appears to have been another of Sir Patrick's interests. On 17 February 1813 he wrote to the Directors and Managers of the Edinburgh Insurance Companies against fire and the agents in Edinburgh of those belonging to other places on the subject of the deficiencies of fire engines. Having taken 'an active part in endeavouring to arrest the progress of the late destructive fire at Bishop's Land, High Street', he became aware of the 'total absence of combined and corrective aid' in dealing with such emergencies; and therefore he put forward a number of observations and suggestions for remedies.⁵⁴

He identified the main problem as arising from the various fire insurance companies having their own engines, thus creating 'a degree of jealousy among the men who work them' which seemed to 'increase with the fury of the flames' so that at the moment when success depended on cooperation, they were at their 'most discordant'.⁵⁵ The prospect of a premium doubtless provided an added incentive but resulted in too many engines competing for an insufficient water supply. Walker advocated the amalgamation of company engines into one body organised on military principles:

a Regiment, as it were, would be formed of Firemen, and the men, as in companies, would be attached to different engines which would, like them be numbered. Men would be classed according to their individual qualifications under intelligent men as commissioned officers. This would enable working an engine with all the regularity of a piece of artillery and men could be easily detached on particular services such as to strengthen the operation of a particular engine.⁵⁶

Carrying water in buckets by hand caused much waste which could be eradicated by the firemen combining their pipes and joining them to the fire cock which was often beyond the reach of an individual engine. Walker identified the lack of ladders and sufficient elevation for directing the flow of water as another problem which might be overcome by supplying a few long ladders at public expense and maintaining at least three ladders of moderate but equal length as part of the stores of each engine.

⁵³ *Scotsman*, 3 December 1825.

⁵⁴ *Scots Magazine*, January 1814.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Three ladders locked into each other—as soldiers did with muskets and ramrods—would form a stage secured at the bottom with short pikes to prevent slipping on the causeway; and he made some further suggestions for supporting and directing the flow of the water pipe.

In addressing his letter to fire insurance companies Patrick reckoned that they might be the most likely to act upon his proposals; and he offered them ‘all the aid in my power in bringing an arrangement of such importance to perfection’ while suggesting that a committee be formed as doubtless many other people would have useful contributions to make.⁵⁷ When publishing Walker’s letter nearly a year later, the *Scots Magazine* commented that although a committee had been appointed, the journal had not heard of any effectual reform being attempted; and a letter to the *Scotsman* in 1830 referred to Sir Patrick’s suggestions as never having been acted upon.⁵⁸ Following its account of the Great Fire of 1824, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, with ‘hands free from the blisters occasioned by working the crazy fire-engines’, but tongue firmly in cheek, declined to believe the opinion of some pious old ladies that nothing else (namely divine retribution in the form of fire) could have been expected from having the Music Festival on the week previous to the Sacramental Sabbath.⁵⁹ ‘And we should have much hesitation in believing, that the destruction of the Water Company’s office arose from their taking undue advantage in the matter of water, (as Sir Patrick Walker alleges), of their fellow citizens’.⁶⁰ The magazine’s confidence, however, that general good came from calamities was justified in that James Braidwood who had distinguished himself in fighting the fire, was able to establish probably the first municipal fire brigade in the world. The Magistrates consulted with the Fire Insurance Companies and agreed to subscribe £1400 to form a fire establishment with an annual expenditure of £500 to which six fire insurance companies such as the Caledonian and Hercules contributed £200 and others like the Beacon £20 annually, although the latter reduced its contribution to £5 in the second year.⁶¹ Braidwood used an extract from Sir Patrick’s 1813 letter to demonstrate that the need for a uniform fire brigade had been advocated much earlier.⁶²

Following his failure to have his fire-fighting proposals adopted, Sir Patrick had been elected as a new Ordinary Director of the Hercules Fire Insurance Company at the general meeting of proprietors held in Royal Exchange Rooms on 21 Feb 1815.⁶³ The first Hercules Fire Insurance Company was established in 1809 with an office in New Buildings, North Bridge Street and capital of £750,000 held in

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Scotsman*, 13 January 1830.

⁵⁹ *Blackwood’s Magazine*, December 1824.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ James Braidwood, *On the Construction of Fire Engines and Apparatus: the Training of Firemen and the Method of Proceeding in Cases of Fire* (Edinburgh, 1830), pp. 111, 120.

⁶² Ibid., p. 133.

⁶³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 February 1815. William Walker was an Extraordinary Director of the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Society according to the Society’s advertisement of 30 January 1806.

shares of £100 each.⁶⁴ By 1828 the company offered insurance against loss or damage by fire on buildings, farming stock, shipping and all other property. It also transacted life and survivorship insurance and by 1834 was known as the Hercules Insurance Company of Scotland. In the following years, the company shifted its business focus and by 1846 was listed purely as a fire insurer.⁶⁵ Walker continued as a Director for the rest of his life.⁶⁶ The Hercules as well as the Friendly, Caledonian, North British and Sun fire offices suffered losses due to the 1824 fire but the directors of the Beacon Insurance office at North Bridge Buildings, who had earlier subscribed £20 towards a Fire Engine Establishment, held an extraordinary meeting and voted that £50 be sent immediately to the Lord Provost to be employed at his lordship's discretion towards the relief of fire sufferers.⁶⁷ Sir Patrick was also a director of this company, though for how long is as yet to be ascertained, but he clearly maintained an interest in the principles of insurance throughout his business career.⁶⁸ As early as 1810 he had written to Robert Dundas regarding the creation of a Marine Insurance Company to be established in Edinburgh.⁶⁹ In February a petition had been successfully presented to Parliament from several merchants of the City of London regarding the introduction of a Bill to incorporate a Marine Insurance Company; and a lively debate ensued.⁷⁰ Patrick informed Dundas that he had talked with many principal merchants and underwriters who thought that:

without regard to the proposed London Marine Insurance Society presently depending in Parliament, whether it be successful or not, that it would be highly beneficial to Scotland in every point of view that such a Society should be established in Edinburgh....You will observe that a Society in Scotland would have additional individual benefits over those in London. This arises from the practice here of Cash Accounts with Bankers by which interest is received for any sum and for however so short a time it may be deposited in the hands of a Banker which not being the case in London, is consequently an additional encouragement and profit to a Society in Edinburgh. I have not heard the sentiment of the Glasgow People, as it would be imprudent to make the plan too Public yet—but I can have no doubt of their hearty concurrence.... though they would of course prefer the establishment to be fixed there.⁷¹

In the event the Marine Insurance Company Bill was narrowly defeated due to the efforts of independent Member of Parliament Joseph Marryat an underwriter at Lloyd's who would have lost its virtual monopoly if the bill had succeeded.⁷² Nothing seems to have come of Patrick's first venture into insurance.

In March 1817 the *Prospectus of the Edinburgh Gas Light Company* announced:

⁶⁴ Stark, *A Picture of Edinburgh*, p. 167.

⁶⁵ Acquired by the Scottish Union Insurance Company in 1849 the company merged with the Scottish National Insurance Company in 1877 to form the Scottish Union and National Insurance Company until bought by the Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Ltd in 1959. The Aviva archive contains records relating to the running of the Hercules Fire Insurance Company between 1834 and 1849.

⁶⁶ See, for example, *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 February 1822, 22 February 1832, 18 February 1836.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 18 November 1824.

⁶⁸ For example, *Examiner*, 21 March 1824; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 24 March 1824; *Morning Chronicle*, 5, 12 April 1824; *Aberdeen Journal*, 7 April 1824, 11 February 1827.

⁶⁹ NLS, MS1054/69.

⁷⁰ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 14 February 1810; *Morning Post*, 15 February 1810.

⁷¹ NLS, 1054/69.

⁷² <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/men/7> July 2014]>.

The use of Gas, or Inflammable Air from coal, as a substitute for oil or tallow, in lighting streets, warehouses, shops, Manufactories, Public Offices, and Dwelling-Houses, is now completely established in London and elsewhere in England; and from its economy, safety, and brilliancy, bids fair, in a great measure, to supersede every other mode of lighting: That the Metropolis of Scotland should participate in the advantages of so valuable a discovery, appeared most desirable to several Gentlemen, who after corresponding with professional men, acquiring the necessary information, and ascertaining the Capital requisite for such an undertaking, have associated themselves under the name of the Edinburgh Gas Light Company.⁷³

The necessary capital of £20,000 would be raised by 800 shares priced at £25 each with additional capital achieved when necessary by the creation of new stock. According to the Act of Parliament of 23 May 1818, Sir Patrick added this project to his portfolio of directorships as his name appeared alongside those of Lord Gray, William Dundas, Henry Jardine and others as Extraordinary Directors; with gentlemen such as the Edinburgh Lord Provost Kincaid Mackenzie, Sir John Marjoribanks and William Trotter as Ordinary Directors tasked with the management of the company.⁷⁴ The office-bearers were to remain in post until the General Meeting of the Company scheduled for 3 June 1819. For how long Sir Patrick acted as an Extraordinary Director is as yet unknown but his name did not appear among those elected in 1823 or 1825.⁷⁵ The company achieved the lighting of the Theatre Royal by the end of the year and Stark writing in 1821, calculated that on the completion of the work—12 miles of pipes having been laid to date—the provision of gas would equate to the light of one million candles.⁷⁶ The enterprise attracted controversy with the *Scotsman*, for example, questioning the advisability of the monopoly aspect and the concentration of power in Directors, seven of whom were members of, or connected to, the Town Council.⁷⁷ In 1823 a rival company in the form of the Edinburgh Oil Gas Company under the chairmanship of Sir Walter Scott championed the advantages of oil over coal gas production in terms of cost and production of waste.⁷⁸ The two companies amalgamated in 1829 to form the Union Gas Light Company of Edinburgh.⁷⁹

⁷³ ECA, AccN 244, *Prospectus of the Edinburgh Gas Light Company*, March 1817.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, *Act of Parliament*, 23 May 1818.

⁷⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 Jun 1823, 23 June 1825.

⁷⁶ Stark, *Picture of Edinburgh*, p. 361.

⁷⁷ *Scotsman*, 28 March, 18 April 1818; 6, 27 October 1821. The newspaper cited the by-passing of the Water Company in order to grant the Gas Light Company access to water in 1818.

⁷⁸ ECA, AccN 244, *Prospectus of the Edinburgh Oil Gas Company*, 1823.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, *Statement to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh*, 14 April 1828; *Report by the Sub-Committee of Directors of the Edinburgh Oil Gas Company*, 13 July 1829; *Circular*, 18 July 1829. The Edinburgh and Leith Gas Company was also formed in 1823.

11. Sir Patrick as Freemason

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries freemasonry constituted the largest and most publicly prominent of the new 'quasi-secret, pseudo-mystical organisations' which had burgeoned since the late seventeenth century.¹ The real origins of modern freemasonry lie in Scotland around 1600 in the system of lodges created by stonemasons with rituals and secrets blending medieval mythology with Renaissance and seventeenth-century history.² In 1736 when a federal body, the Grand Lodge of Scotland was instituted, there were six lodges in existence in Edinburgh including Leith Kilwinning, some members of which successfully petitioned to establish a new lodge named Lodge St David No. 37 in 1756.³ Lodge St David counted both Sir Walter Scott and his father as members and on 29 November 1813 Patrick Walker was initiated; being appointed as Depute-Master on 27 December.⁴ He occupied the Chair as Right Worshipful Master in 1816 and 1817, and was again re-elected in 1822, 1824, and 1836-37. In this last session Sir Patrick chaired the annual dinner of the lodge held in the Menzies Hotel 3 Waterloo Place when the brethren spent the evening in Masonic harmony encouraged by many loyal and appropriate speeches, toasts and sentimental songs rendered by Mr Jackson and a glee party from the Choral Society.⁵ According to the Minutes of the Celtic Lodge Edinburgh and Leith No. 291 (previously 295), Sir Patrick Walker Knight Usher of the White Rod for his Majesty in Scotland solemnly constituted the Lodge Celtic in May 1821.⁶

On 28 January 1817 a London crowd mobbed the coach of the Prince Regent as he returned from opening Parliament and either a stone or a bullet broke the window glass. This prompted a surge of loyal addresses. Upon the motion of Sir Patrick Walker the Grand Lodge of Scotland 'unanimously voted that an humble and respectful Address should be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent upon the recent gross and outrageous attack upon his sacred duties'.⁷ (Members of the County of Edinburgh sederunt which also included Walker followed suit.⁸) By 1836 Walker had become Junior Grand Warden in the Grand Lodge. Within a Masonic lodge the third principal officer is the Junior Warden who is charged with the supervision of the Lodge while it is engaged in meals or other social events; an appropriate office for Sir Patrick, given his ceremonial experience.

On 23 February 1836 the Grand Lodge visited the Theatre Royal accompanied by all the 'pomp and circumstance' of masonic rites; and preceded by

¹ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800* (Oxford, 2000), p. 76.

² David Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members* (Aberdeen, 1989); *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge, 2005).

³ A. M. MacKay, *Notes on the History of Lodge Saint David, Edinburgh No. 36*, <<http://www.saintdavi36.com/History11.htm>>. The lodge number became 32 in 1816 and 36 in 1836. James Gibson Craig was Right Worshipful Master for 1789-90 and 1791.

⁴ Laurie, *The History of free Masonry*, p. 226.

⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 March 1836.

⁶ <<http://www.thecelticlodge.org/extract-of-minutes>>.

⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, 13 February 1817.

⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 February 1817.

a dinner for 40 including Lord Ramsay Depute Grand Master, the Lord Provost and Sir Patrick Walker in the large room of the Waterloo Hotel.⁹ A band of the 5th dragoon guards preceded the torchlight procession of the various lodges with the brethren dressed in full costume and insignia. Mr Murray of the Theatre Royal had erected a box near the back of the pit for Lord Ramsay who sat in the chair of state placed in the centre with the Edinburgh lodges occupying the front boxes and most of the pit. A 'brilliant assemblage of ladies' filled both dress and upper circle boxes but many more people failed to gain entry.¹⁰ The curtain rose on the full company of actors who sang 'God Save the King' with two additional masonic stanzas written for the occasion and accompanied by two instrumental bands positioned on the stage.

The Grand Masonic Festival held on 30 November 1836 and which celebrated the centenary of the establishment of the Grand Lodge, was an equally splendid occasion. In the morning, 'according to ancient custom' the elections took place; King William IV as patron, Lord Ramsay as Grand Master, Viscount Stormont as Grand Master Depute and Sir Patrick Walker as Junior Grand Warden among others.¹¹ In the evening most of the Edinburgh lodges and deputations from those around Scotland such as Perth, Stirling and Lanark, assembled in the area of the Royal Exchange before walking to the Waterloo Hotel. A dense crowd witnessed the torchlight procession of 1000 brethren—many of whom wore the commemorative medal—which extended from the top to the foot of the North Bridge where a brilliantly lit shield hung in front of the Theatre. Several private bands and those of the 9th Lancers and 42nd Royal Highlanders played the Masonic anthem and a strong body of day police preceded the march. Walker and other eminent officials provided the support for the chair Lord Ramsay who presided over the evening's entertainment of 'masonic harmony and order'.¹²

Freemasons progress through three degrees; Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master Mason. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, other degrees such as those of the Royal Arch and Knights Templars were worked in assemblies separate from the lodges. In December 1778 brethren from Perth and Scoon (sic) Lodge had introduced the Holy Royal Arch into Edinburgh by conferring on the office-bearers of St Stephen's Lodge Edinburgh the Degrees of Excellent and Super-Excellent Masons, Arch and Royal Arch Masons and Knights of Malta (Templars).¹³ The Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter and the Edinburgh Encampment of Knights Templars became separate establishments in 1815. Freemasonry was largely exempt from the 1799 Unlawful Society Act (39 Geo. III c. 79) but lodges had to make annual returns to the Justices of the Peace regarding the name, place, time of meetings and names of members. On 19 February 1817 the Principal and one of the Chiefs of Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter appeared before Sir Patrick Walker,

⁹ Ibid., 25 February 1836. There is a briefer account in the *Scotsman*, 24 February 1836.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 1 December 1836; Laurie, *The History of Freemasonry*, p. 220.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ William Albert Davis, *The History of the Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter No. 1* (Edinburgh, 1911), p.5.

took the Oath of Qualification prescribed by the Act and subsequently lodged the relevant documents with the Justice of Peace Clerk. On 16 June 1817 Sir Patrick Walker was Exalted into the Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter No.1.

At this period much discussion took place as to whether the Grand Lodge of Scotland might take the Royal Arch Degree under its sanction or whether a Supreme Grand Chapter of the Order for Scotland should be established. The latter solution prevailed and Walker was one of three representatives of the Edinburgh Chapter appointed on 13 August 1817 to attend the Erection Meeting of this body. Subsequently he witnessed the consecration of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter for Scotland on 28 August 1817 in St John's Chapel where 34 Scottish local chapters assembled. The ceremony was performed with 'Corn, Wine and Oil according to Ancient Custom' and the Chapter 'proclaimed in the East, North, South and West'.¹⁴ In the elections which followed Sir Patrick became Second Grand Principal; Sir William Drummond of Logiealmond being First Grand Principal and George Douglass of Arbeadie Third. The band of the Scots Greys played the anthem and an organ and vocal band performed the processional march.¹⁵ The Edinburgh Chapter procured the Regalia for the Supreme Chapter at a cost of £96 (later refunded) and musical and vocal entertainment constituted the rest of the proceedings. The Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland re-elected Sir Patrick as second most Excellent Grand Principal in 1818 and 1819; and as First Grand Principal he became the supreme head of the Royal Arch Masons of Scotland for the years 1822-4.¹⁶ In this capacity he sent representatives to be present at the consecration of the Sir William Wallace Royal Arch Chapel of Auchtermuchty on 25 August 1823.¹⁷

Walker was instrumental in the presentation of addresses to members of the Royal Family from the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland. Following the death of Princess Charlotte daughter of the Prince Regent on 6 November 1817, he signed addresses to her father the Prince Regent and to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg her husband on 17 December 1817. Both documents were transmitted by him, the first being presented by Viscount Sidmouth and the second by Sir Robert Gardiner. In the address to the Prince Regent the Supreme Chapter begged leave to approach:

with sorrowful hearts, to weigh our united griefs with those of the nation at large, and to offer our humble, but sincere condolence, on the melancholy calamity, with which, for reasons inscrutable to man, it has been the will of the Great Architect of the Universe, to visit your Royal House, that has overwhelmed the whole British Empire with the deepest distress.¹⁸

The address to Prince Leopold expressed condolences on 'the great domestic and national calamity'.¹⁹ Sir Patrick transmitted another address (presented by Viscount Sidmouth) following the death of Queen Charlotte on 17 November 1818. A Grand

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 38; *Observer*, 13 September 1817.

¹⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 September 1817, *Morning Chronicle*, 7 November 1817.

¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26 March 1818, 27 March 1819; MacKay, *Lodge Saint David*.

¹⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 August 1823.

¹⁸ *London Gazette*, 3 January 1818.

¹⁹ Ibid., 14 March 1818.

Quarterly Convocation assembled at Edinburgh on 16 December expressed condolences at this melancholy event, yet:

We have observed with admiration the filial conduct of your Royal Highness at the couch of a dying Parent, the recollection of which cannot fail to sooth the sorrows of your Royal Highness under your present affliction.²⁰

As well as his duties in the Supreme Royal Arch Chapter Sir Patrick participated in the activities of the Edinburgh Chapter as, when at the Annual Meeting of 23 September 1818, he headed a deputation from the newly chartered Naval and Military Chapter (24 December 1817) and lodged a certified list of office bearers the majority of whom were in the services.²¹ In 1820 the Edinburgh Chapter presented an Address of Condolence to King George IV on the death of his father George III, while also taking the opportunity of expressing congratulations on his accession and:

how deeply we feel the high distinction with which Free Masonry and the Masonic Bodies in the land have been Honoured by the countenance of the Princes of your Illustrious House and we hail with enthusiasm the Accession of your Majesty to the Throne of these Kingdoms under whose Royal Patronage and fostering protection the Masonic Crafts have so distinguishably flourished and prospered.²²

At their meeting of 25 September the Companions heard Viscount Sidmouth's reply of 7 April to Sir Patrick Walker in which he informed them that the King had received the address 'in the most gracious manner'.²³ In common with many other bodies during the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in August 1822, the Chapter's loyal Address of 24 August 1822 ignored the inconveniences of Jacobite history by placing an emphasis on constitutional monarchy with the King cast as tartan chieftain.

Your Majesty's gracious visit to your Scottish subjects affords them the high gratification of testifying personally to your Majesty as their Constitutional Sovereign, and the lineal representative of their ancient line of Kings, the attachment and devotion for their Monarchs for which the Scots in every period of their history have been distinguished. In some less favoured Countries, all orders of Freemasonry are persecuted but in your Majesty's dominions the higher as well as the lower orders of the Craft feel the most lively gratitude. Animated with the warmest attachment to your Majesty's Sacred Person and Family we yield to none of your lieges in highly appreciating the invaluable blessings we in common with all classes of your subjects have enjoyed under your Majesty's paternal sway, and the British Constitution during the eventful period you have held the reins of Government, relying with perfect confidence that we shall continue to possess those Blessings during your Reign, and that your Majesty will transmit unimpaired to posterity all our Civil and relegeous (sic) Rights and Liberties.

Our fervent prayer to the Almighty Architect of the Universe is, that the Crown and Throne of your Ancestors may long be filled by your Majesty, and that your Reign over a Free, Loyal, and Relegeous People may be always happy and prosperous.²⁴

Walker in his capacity as Most Excellent Grand Principal Z of the Supreme Grand Arch Chapter honoured his local Chapter with an official visit on 10 December

²⁰ Ibid., 26 January 1819.

²¹ Ibid., p. 43.

²² Davis, *History of the Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter*, p. 179. George IV's brothers the Dukes of York, Gloucester and Cumberland were freemasons.

²³ Ibid., p. 49.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 179-80.

1827; and in 1833 he supported the chair at the annual celebration of the Vernal Equinox held on 22 March in the Turf Hotel Princes Street.²⁵ Before their excellent supper the Companions heard a Lecture on the Mysteries of the Order and received the 'usual Annual Deputation from Chapter Naval and Military' headed by Companion Sir Patrick Walker.²⁶ At his last celebration of the Vernal Equinox on 22 March 1837, on this occasion in the Royal Exchange Coffee-house, Walker supported James Graham of Leitchtown in the chair and enjoyed an evening 'spent in that harmonious and truly masonic manner for which Royal Arch masonry is distinguished'.²⁷ Although not mentioned in his funeral oration Sir Patrick seems to have been part of the Knights Templars who were granted a charter by the Duke of Kent their Patron Protector on 19 June 1811 whereby they became a regular Conclave of Knights Templars and Knights of St John of Jerusalem.²⁸ In 1828 they adopted chivalric costume and forms but suffered dissention in the period 1830-5. A committee of 10 gentlemen framed new regulations and in January 1836 Admiral Sir David Milne was elected Grand Master, Lord Ramsay Depute and Sir Patrick Walker Grand Constable.²⁹ The Knights Templars attended the last of the season's Assemblies in their splendid costumes which 'gave somewhat of a novel and rather grotesque appearance to the company' in the Assembly Rooms in George Street.³⁰ *The Scotsman*, however, did not record Sir Patrick's attendance at the event.

On 31 October 1837 Lodge Edinburgh St David held a Grand Funeral Lodge of Master Masons in the Freemasons Hall in memory of Sir Patrick Walker, Worshipful Master of the Lodge and Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland. Nearly 300 brethren in deep mourning with weepers and white gloves attended in full Masonic clothing, including Lord Ramsay, Grand Master Mason for Scotland and other office-bearers of the Grand Lodge and deputations from many lodges in Edinburgh and neighbourhood. As part of the service a choral band sang anthems with piano accompaniment and a military band played several solemn airs. The well composed eulogy, given by the Worshipful Substitute Master of the Lodge with great feeling and effect, paid tribute to Walker's virtues as a mason, his public spiritedness and his private merits; and in an Apprentice Lodge opened afterwards Lord Ramsay and others of the Grand Lodge testified in their speeches to the loss they sustained as masons by Sir Patrick's death.

A funeral Lodge is not common. Never did we see a more respectable meeting within the Freemasons Hall, nor did we see one conducted with greater good taste or feeling, as everyone present seemed to be animated with one desire – that of showing how much they respected and lamented their late master and brother, Sir Patrick Walker.³¹

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 69.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69; *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 April 1833.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 March 1837.

²⁸ James Burnes, *Sketch of the history of the Knights Templars* (Edinburgh, 1840), p. 73.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 January 1836.

³⁰ *Scotsman*, 16 April 1836. Two earlier advertisements of 9 and 13 April had publicised the appearance of the Knights Templars and there was consequently a good attendance at the event.

³¹ Account from the *Observer*, printed in the *Caledonian Mercury* 4 November 1837. Laurie in *History of Freemasonry* gives a full account of the oration on pages 223-7.

12. Civic Events and Social Celebrations

Sir Patrick's involvement in civic events and public and private social gatherings has been seen with regard to his role as Usher and in his capacity as a member of a variety of societies and institutions. In the absence of personal papers, some idea of the range of his engagements can only be glimpsed from his appearances in newspaper and journal accounts and the rare mention in private letters such as the note he wrote to Robert Stevenson one Sunday. He confessed that he had forgotten he had to attend the Justice of Peace Court on the following day 'which will interfere with our walk but Tuesday I hope will not be interfered with—Colonel Wright has come to breakfast with us this morning and volunteers to accompany us'.¹ Social interaction with the Listons of Millburn Towers seems to have been revived from an earlier connection.

My Mother has frequently spoken of Lady Liston as an early friend of hers.—She is unfortunately now blind from Cataract and has been for several years but still to use her own words "she would like to see Lady Liston".²

A breakfast date was eventually arranged a few months later.³ A letter from Sir Robert Liston to Walker on 1 January 1830 referred to the latter's 'hospitable board' from which Liston had to excuse himself as:

ever since I accepted your obliging invitation for the fifth of this month I have been confined to the house with a bad cold, and I am now assured that it will not be safe for me to go abroad of an evening for some time to come.⁴

Another letter from Liston, the year undated, informed Sir Patrick that his 'wife is always much gratified by the remembrance of an old friend and will take an early opportunity of calling on your mother'.⁵

On 20 September 1817 following the election of the City's Magistrates, an elegant entertainment was given in the afternoon at Oman's by the Town Council and the invited guests included Walker in company with the Earl of Glasgow, Viscount Melville, the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Advocate and a range of gentlemen, naval and military officers, bankers, merchants and 'many most respectable inhabitants'.⁶ This appears to have been a regular event as, for example, in October 1831 when Walker attended a dinner held by the Lord Provost in the Waterloo Rooms after the election of magistrates.⁷ Two months later, as a guest he appeared at the dinner given by the Heritors and Office-bearers of Wester Portsburgh to old and new magistrates.⁸ Sir Patrick enjoyed the hospitality of the Society of High Constables of Edinburgh on at least two occasions. Formed in 1611

¹ EUSC, Gen 1429/5 no. 3, *Letter to Robert Stevenson Esq*, undated.

² NLS, MS/5671/137, 13 November 1824.

³ *Ibid*, MS.5682/85, 25 March 1825.

⁴ EUSC, Gen 1995/46, *Letter to Sir Patrick Walker*, 1 January 1830.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Gen 1995/74, *Letter to Sir Patrick Walker*, 30 November. This must have been written before Lady Liston's death c. 1830.

⁶ *Edinburgh Observer: Or Town and Country Magazine*, 11 October 1817; *Blackwood's Magazine*, October 1817.

⁷ *Scotsman*, 5 October 1831.

⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26 December 1831.

as a force for keeping the peace and carrying out various municipal activities, after the creation of a Police Force in 1805 the Society's functions gradually became ceremonial.⁹ In Walker's lifetime the City Magistrates elected the High Constables who held an annual election dinner such as that of June 1830 when Sir Patrick was the left hand supporter of the Moderator with the Lord Provost as right hand supporter. Following loyal toasts to the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Errol, the Duke of Buccleuch and others, the chairman 'eulogised Sir Patrick Walker for the great interest he took in the excise cases and the salutary reforms he had brought about did him great honour'.¹⁰ Walker was a guest in 1837 at a 'splendid and sumptuous dinner' and again received a toast during an evening of 'great sociability and happiness' lasting until a late hour.¹¹

As seen earlier Sir Patrick claimed an official role for himself in accompanying the monarch's representative, the Lord High Commissioner, at the annual General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; for example attending a levee held by His Grace the Earl of Morton in the Merchants Hall in May 1824 prior to the procession to the High Church for the service before the opening of the Assembly.¹² In 1835, however, Lord Belhaven the Commissioner presided over a levee at Holyroodhouse in celebration of the King's birthday on 28 May when the Royal Standard was hoisted on the Castle and 'the St George ensign floated all day on the Nelson Monument'.¹³ A Guard of honour from the 71st Highland light infantry with band and colours greeted the arrival of the guests, following which his Grace proceeded in state to the Assembly by the Caltonhill, North Bridge and High Street accompanied by Dragoon Guards, Police in uniform, Ancient Scottish Yeomen of the Guard and Herald Trumpeters, the City Regalia, carriages containing the Magistrates of Edinburgh and others bearing Pages and Gentlemen in Waiting. In a carriage immediately preceding that of the Commissioner sat Sir Patrick Walker in his state dress as Heritable Chief Usher.

In August 1819 Prince Leopold honoured Edinburgh with his arrival at the London Hotel St Andrew's Street. He and his suite had journeyed in a travelling chariot and barouche, escorted by a party of the 10th Hussars and they entered the city by the new road along the Calton Hill; the first time, according to the *Scotsman*, that a carriage had passed along the road.¹⁴ After being welcomed by the Lord Provost, the latter accompanied the Prince, along with Sir Patrick as Usher of the White Rod, to visit the Castle, inspect the troops and view the Regalia before proceeding to Parliament House and the College.¹⁵ Walker attended the private dinner given by the Prince in his hotel before an evening visit to the theatre where a special box had been decorated for the party with scarlet cloth and draperies in rich

⁹ For a nineteenth-century account see James D. Marwick, *Sketch of the History of the High Constables of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1865).

¹⁰ *Scotsman*, 26 June 1830.

¹¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 February, 1837.

¹² *Ibid.*, 22 May 1824.

¹³ *Scotsman*, *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 May 1835.

¹⁴ *Scotsman*, 21 August 1819.

¹⁵ *Times*, 24 August 1919.

silk with gold fringes.¹⁶ The entire theatre cast sang the National Anthem with an extra verse praising his Highness. On his return from visiting the Duke of Montrose and touring Scotland, Prince Leopold stayed at Oman's Hotel where the Lord Provost, Sir Patrick and others again dined with him. Another visit to the theatre ensued where the party enjoyed performances of *She Stoops to Conquer* and the farce of *The Spoiled Child*.¹⁷

As well as having subscribed to shares in the new Edinburgh Academy in 1822, Sir Patrick took an interest in the proposals for the building of a new High School to replace the one he had attended in the Old Town.¹⁸ The laying of the foundation stone of the school to be established on the Calton Hill to plans of Thomas Hamilton, was a splendid affair attended by dignitaries and members of the Grand Lodge and other masonic lodges who performed the relevant ceremonies on 28 July 1825. At the public dinner held afterwards in the Waterloo Hotel the toast 'Sir Patrick Walker was given from the chair with thanks for the trouble he had taken in making the arrangements for the ceremony this day, and was received with much applause'.¹⁹ Money for the building had yet to be raised as the Lord Provost explained to a numerous meeting of inhabitants held in the City Chambers on 2 December 1825. He estimated around £17,000 would be required—perhaps £20,000—towards which £7,000- £8,000 might be realised from the sale of the old building and land; and the Magistrates intended to contribute £2,000 from the funds of the town. That left £10,000 to be collected from personal subscriptions. The meeting elected the customary committee to cooperate with the Lord Provost and Magistrates in promoting subscriptions for the undertaking; Sir Patrick Walker being one of the lords and gentlemen chosen.²⁰ At the opening of the High School nearly four years later Walker marshalled the procession from the old school to the new and at the celebratory dinner, proposed the toast 'All the Universities of Scotland, drank with cordial applause'.²¹

When the steam ship *Royal Victoria* built by Messrs Menzies and Son was launched on 2 December 1834, Leith 'teemed with life for three hours' prior to the ceremony; the greatest concourse of people in the port since the landing of George IV in 1824.²² Sir Patrick witnessed the naming ceremony performed by Miss Robinson daughter of John Robinson, Secretary of the Royal Society and president of the shipping company who had commissioned the vessel, the largest ever built in Leith, registering about 600 tons and 170 feet in length. Miss Walker accompanied her brother to the launch of a greater steam ship in 1837. Built by Menzies for the General Steam Navigation Company and apparently the largest ever constructed in Scotland, Lady Clark of Penicuik named the vessel *Leith* while a brass band played

¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 August 1819; *Scotsman*, 21 August 1819; *Morning Chronicle*, 24 August 1819.

¹⁷ *Scotsman*, 25 September 1819; *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 September 1819.

¹⁸ *Edinburgh Observer*, 22 June 1822.

¹⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 July 1825.

²⁰ *Scotsman*, 10 December 1825; *Caledonian Mercury*, 3, 5 December 1825.

²¹ *Scotsman*, 24 June 1829.

²² *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 December 1834.

Rule Britannia. With cabins fitted up by Messrs Bruce, upholstery by Messrs Trotter and carpeting by Messrs Whytock, the ship registered at 760 tons and had a deck 210 feet in length.²³ After the ceremony, again witnessed by the largest crowd since the Royal visit, 200-300 guests partook of a splendid collation in one of Messrs Menzies' upper work rooms. With little evidence available it is difficult to determine how often Barbara Walker (as eldest unmarried sister she was designated Miss Walker) attended events like this. References such as the notice on 16 June 1825, that Sir Patrick Walker Usher of the White Rod and Miss Walker had departed London for Edinburgh, are few.²⁴

In 1754 the medieval bombard gun known as Mons Meg was shipped to London where it languished in the Tower. Due to the efforts of the Society of Antiquaries, on 9 March 1829 'this ponderous mass of antiquarian ordnance' returned to 'our venerable fortress with all honours'.²⁵ Days before the event Sir Patrick visited Sir Walter Scott to propose 'that some benefit society which he patronises should attend upon Mons Megg'.²⁶ Scott did not think that the Celtic Society would approve. Mons Meg arrived in Leith via the steamship *City of Edinburgh* and, escorted by contingents of 3rd Dragoon Guards, Royal Artillery, 78th Highlanders and members of the Celtic Society, the ordnance was drawn by ten horses decked with ribbons and evergreens to the Castle via Leith Walk, York Place, St Andrew Square and North Bridge. Two boys dressed in tartan and carrying broadswords rode the lead horses and the party arrived at the Castle gate to the tunes of a band playing *Highland Laddie* quickly followed by *God Save the King*. They proceeded to the Argyle Battery for the placing of Mons Meg in front of the main guardhouse. Nearly two years after, on the anniversary of the ratification of the Treaty of Union, Sir Patrick attended the elevation of Mons Meg upon her new carriage in the Duke of York's battery.²⁷ The benefit society to which Scott alluded was probably the Caledonian Youths Friendly Society the public soiree of which Walker chaired on 30 November 1836 when he 'delivered an eloquent address on the subject of friendly societies'.²⁸ On this occasion the hospitality consisted of entertainment, tea, coffee and fruit in abundance rather than the sumptuous dinners to which he was accustomed.

One of these celebratory dinners took place in the Hopetoun Rooms Queen Street on 1 April 1833 on the occasion of Alexander Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Captain and Chief of Clanchattan being served heir to his father the late Honourable Angus Mackintosh, Captain of Clanchattan, a coalition of clans occupying the central Highlands. At 6.00 o'clock 'the piper, in full Highland costume, paraded in front of the hotel summoning the company to assemble, by playing "the Gathering of the Clans"'.²⁹ Henry Cockburn, Solicitor-General who had officiated as Chancellor of the

²³ Ibid., 8 April 1837.

²⁴ *Morning Post*, 16 June 1825.

²⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 March 1829.

²⁶ Anderson (ed.) *Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, p. 593.

²⁷ *Scotsman*, 19 January 1837.

²⁸ Ibid., 1 December 1836.

²⁹ Ibid., 3 April 1833.

Jury, took the chair, giving the after dinner toast by drinking 'a flowing bumper to the long life and happiness of Mackintosh'.³⁰ Walker and fellow guests like Sir Thomas Dick Lauder drank numerous pledges given in Gaelic and English and heard the piobrachd *Cumhadh mhic an' Arisaig* rendered in memory of the late Chief.

The new Assembly Rooms, opened in George Street in 1787, provided the venue for balls which Sir Patrick attended as part of the winter social season. Subscribers could attend two assemblies weekly; one for cards, the other, the more popular, for dancing. In addition, grand balls in connection with societies, institutions or for charity took place in this purpose-built venue which perhaps, by 1826, lagged behind current trends. The *Caledonian Mercury* expressed surprise in February 1826 on the occasion of the Yeomanry Ball, at the lack of gaslight as both the Hopetoun Rooms and the British Hotel had installed this facility. Several attendees in consequence had their clothes destroyed by dripping wax.³¹ That apart, the event organised by the Edinburgh Troop of Mid Lothian Yeomanry and attended by many of the distinguished of the nobility and gentry, including Sir Patrick Walker, from almost every county in Scotland, proved highly successful. Greens and 'exotics of the rarest kind' ornamented the staircases; the entrance room was fitted up as a tent with a military band concealed behind the drapery; more tents at the end of the ballroom contained refreshments including a profusion of champagne and foreign wines served by 'neatly dressed shepherdesses'; and the country dances, waltzes, quadrilles and reels lasted until past six o'clock the following morning.³² Supper had to be served four times due to the large number present.

Fancy balls proved to be popular throughout the nineteenth century although not all the participants dressed in costume. Both Sir Patrick and the Misses Walker attended the ball given in March 1829, but what they wore remains unknown. Mr Kirkpatrick Sharpe, however, sported an 'uncommonly correct' costume of a nobleman of the reign of Henry VIII and other outfits described included those of Nell Gwynn, Charles I, Lady Jane Grey, several Spanish ladies, an Archeress, Robinson Crusoe and a British sailor.³³ Walker appears to have resorted to his uniform of the Royal Archers on several occasions as, for example, at the Celtic Fancy Ball in early February 1835 when many of the ladies wore wreaths à la Rein and the Countess of Morton received a special mention for her rich satin dress and 'Circassian turban of blue aerophane crepe richly trimmed with silver and two esprits'.³⁴ Later that month Sir Patrick and Miss Walker patronised a ball organised to raise money for the Royal Infirmary. On this occasion the pillars of the lobbies in the Assembly Rooms were festooned with evergreens but the ballroom remained free from 'any meretricious

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 February 1826.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 21 March 1829.

³⁴ *Scotsman*, 4 February 1835. The ladies wore flowers in their hair; aerophane is fine silk gauze and the two esprits were probably dove brooches.

ornaments and was better without them like Thomson's pastoral beauty—"when unadorned, it is adorned the most".³⁵

The Aberdeen Musical Festival of 1834 began and ended with a ball in the County Rooms the latter of which Sir Patrick attended, though whether he was present at the concerts went unrecorded.³⁶ He must also at least have subscribed to the season at the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms as he was observed among the company at the 8th Assembly for the season according to the *Caledonian Mercury* of 21 March 1836. He acted as a steward for two charity events in 1837; the first being to raise money to aid expatriated Polish refugees not assisted by the Government.³⁷ Stewards were required to be present at the Assembly Rooms on specified days and times in order to issue tickets of one guinea for gentlemen and half a guinea for ladies. Despite the prevailing influenza epidemic, upwards of 500 people attended the event for which there had been no needless expenditure on decoration though the reporter hinted to the proprietor of the Rooms that 'additional comfort would be afforded by having the supper room carpeted'.³⁸ Epidemic notwithstanding, 800 ladies and gentlemen appeared at the Grand Fancy Ball in March in aid of the Royal Infirmary with Miss Walker of Drumsheugh robed in a splendid scarlet Lyons velvet dress, blood mantilla and sabots, headdress hat and feathers; and Miss Mary Walker in a rich white figured satin ball dress, headdress, hat and diamonds. Sir Patrick wore his uniform of the Royal Archers.³⁹ A fortnight later another well-attended Grand Dress Ball for which Walker acted as steward raised money for the relief of destitution in the Highlands and Islands; and following this Sir Patrick departed for London to attend one of the last of the King's levees.⁴⁰



Court Dress Shoes of the Usher of the White Rod, Walker Trust

³⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 28 February 1835. The journalist quotes from *The Seasons*, by James Thomson, Scottish poet and playwright, author of *The Seasons*, the words of *Rule Britannia* and focus of an annual celebration by the members of Edinburgh's *Cape Club* 1764-1843.

³⁶ *Morning Post*, 9 October 1834.

³⁷ Following the expulsion of Poles from Saxony in 1833 and Cracow in 1837 the British government reluctantly allocated money for the support of a number who came to Britain but the bulk of the finance came privately.

³⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 28 January, 18 February 1837; *Scotsman*, 18 February 1837.

³⁹ *Caledonia Mercury*, 4 March 1837.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, 11, 18 March 1837; *Morning Post*, 20 April 1837. William IV died on 20 June 1837.

13. Sir Patrick as Litigant

Sir Patrick's protracted litigation over the office of Deputy Usher of the Exchequer constituted one of a variety of law suits where he appeared as litigant rather than advocate or magistrate. Actions mainly concerned reclamation of debts, newspaper rights, the affair of the Melville Monument, land and buildings but two cases involved the financial affairs of deceased persons. The first (with the very Rev. Dr George Baird Principal of the University of Edinburgh as a fellow trust disponent) related to the settlement of debts in connection with the estate of Dr John Walker, minister of the gospel at Colinton and Professor of Natural History in the University.¹ The second was an action raised by Walker, his sisters and Sir James Wellwood Moncrieff of Tulliebole as trustee of the deceased Rev. Patrick Maxwell of the parish of Kilbarchan against Francis Charles Scott in the service of the Honourable East India Company.² As Patrick Maxwell had died in 1806 this case may have related to business of William Walker, as following his death in 1817, pursuit of debts owed to him seems to have been undertaken by Sir Patrick on behalf of himself and his sisters Barbara and Mary as executors, though unsuccessfully in the case of James McNair. McNair was one of the distillers who had authorised William Walker to act for them in London in 1785. McNair's Company had been dissolved in 1792 and although other members of the trade eventually settled with William Walker in 1804, McNair did not. Sir Patrick instituted proceedings—still being heard in 1833—against James McNair and Company and James McNair as an individual but the defendant pleaded that even if originally liable he ceased to be so at the dissolution of the company.³

In 1818 Patrick, Lillias, Barbara and Mary Walker, 'children of the deceased William Walker of the Exchequer Edinburgh', initiated an action against John Geddes of the 'Vereville Glassworks Company near Glasgow'.⁴ As no decision appears in the Court of Session Minute Books the case may have been settled out of court. In 1823 the Walkers also claimed bills of costs owed to their father by a number of individuals in an action raised against Robert Hutton, writer in Dunfermline (for £28 3s 8d) and William Butcher 'now Surveyor of Taxes in the County of Forfar' (£41 1s 4d and £107 19s 4).⁵ Other debtors were distillers and a distiller's executrix. On 19 February 1824 Lord Galloway allowed the decrees against the defenders to go out and be extracted *ad Interum* (in the meantime).⁶ Similarly in 1825 the Walkers pursued the Duke of Queensberry's executors for fees owed to their father who had been employed by the late James Earl of Hopetoun and the late William Duke of Queensberry to attend

¹ NAS, CS17/1/49, 9 March 1830; CS17/1/50, 16 February 1831.

² NAS, CS17/1/55, 9 July 1836.

³ J. W. Dickson et al, *The Scottish Jurist* vol. IV (Edinburgh 1833), pp. 506-9; NAS, *Minute-Books of the Court of Session*, CS17/1/43, , 13 January, 22 May 1824; CS17/1/44, 17 December 1824, 11 March 1825; CS17/1/45, 12 November 1825; CS17/1/46, 9 February 1827; CS17/1/50, 11 March, 24 May 1831; CS17/1/, 25 May 1833.

⁴ *Ibid.*, CS17/1/37, 8 July 1818; CS17/1/38, 10 March, 18 May, 24 June 1819; CS17/1/39, 16 November 1819

⁵ NAS, CS17/1/43, 15, 27 January 1824.

⁶ NAS, CS228/W/7/2.

to their interests in certain proceedings directed against them in the Court of Exchequer concerning the duties payable on lead exported from their mines. The account accumulated between 6 January 1808 and 9 April 1813 amounted to £611 3s 11d of which £100 had been paid in 1810.⁷ The Walkers won their case and expenses.

One case which did not reach a conclusion until 1836 concerned an agreement William Walker had made in 1816 to take William Coates Campbell as an apprentice. Instead of the stipulated apprentice fee of £150, Walker accepted in lieu an obligatory letter postponing payment for two years with interest. Sir Patrick does not appear to have pursued this case until 1834. Campbell had continued as an apprentice until Mr Walker's death on 16 November 1817 when he abandoned the profession without paying the fee or interest. In his defence Campbell argued that Mr Walker's infirmity and very advanced age of eighty rendered him unable to attend to such little business as there was and it had been agreed between them as a co-partnership that Campbell would have half of all Mr Walker's profits and emoluments including the £50 salary and £200 compensation paid annually. Campbell, however, received nothing nor any recompense for the sacrifices he made in devoting himself to Mr Walker's practise including going to London on one occasion. The pursuers denied any suggestion of their father's infirmity or lack of business but some compromise must have been discussed as Campbell wrote to William Goldie the Walkers' solicitor offering payment of £65 for the apprentice fee and payment of expenses. The Court judgement ruled out expenses for either party but ordered payment by the defender of £65 plus interest from 3 February 1816.⁸

In 1825 Sir Patrick and William Cuthbertson successfully claimed that they should be ranked numbers one and two in an action against the trustees of Colin Stevenson, an Islay merchant and trader to Newfoundland who had been declared insolvent in August 1817. It is unclear whether Walker claimed on behalf of himself or a Mrs Catherine Campbell, but either way the Court awarded £151 3s with interest from 18 September 1820.⁹ He certainly acted for himself in the case of Monypenny versus the Earl of Buchan which lasted from March 1833 to 11 July 1835 and which involved several creditors and an annuity arrangement made by the previous Earl.¹⁰ Apparently Sir Patrick and John Morrison WS, in advancing money for the purchase of the rank of ensign and an outfit for Lord Cardross the Earl's elder son, had received promissory notes from both. Partial payment had been made but a balance of £220 remained outstanding which the Court ruled they were entitled to claim.¹¹ In the last months of his life Walker successfully repelled claims for liability in a complicated case in which he had acted as testator and cautioner (witnessing and acting as security). Due to the incompetence or dubious practice of the defender the

⁷ NAS, CS17/1/44, 4, 11 March 1825; CS44/79/19.

⁸ NAS, CS228/W/9/35; CS17/1/55, 14 November 1835, 13 January 1836.

⁹ NAS, CS44/83/27.

¹⁰ NAS, CS17/1/50, 7 March 1833; CS17/1/53, 21 December 1833.

¹¹ NAS, CS46/1833/3/156; Patrick Shaw (ed.), *Cases decided in the Court of Session November 12 1834- 30 September 1835*, vol. XIII (Edinburgh, 1835), pp. 1112-1116.

Court of Session upheld the decision whereby Sir Patrick was released from liability and awarded expenses, although his sisters had to pursue the case after his death.¹²

From 1811-1815 William Watson established and ran the *Correspondent* newspaper which he recommenced in 1818 under the title of *The New Correspondent*.¹³ Whether Sir Patrick became a co-proprietor at this time is uncertain but in June 1822 the *Scotsman* reported that 'a difference having taken place' among the proprietors of the *Edinburgh Correspondent*, Mr Watson had applied by Bill of Suspension and Interdict for an injunction against Sir Patrick Walker, Alexander Robertson WS and Michael Anderson printer who had, without Mr Watson's consent, proceeded to publish *The Correspondent*.¹⁴ Although the defenders contended that 'Edinburgh' had been omitted from the title and that a different printer and editor produced the paper, the Court granted the interdict and passed the bill. Mr Anderson then published under the title of the *Edinburgh Observer* resulting in the petition and complaint of Mr Watson to the Court of breach of interdict by Sir Patrick and his partners. Although the *Scotsman* understood that the differences had been settled, it reported in February 1823 that the issue was again before the Court.¹⁵ Some agreement must have been reached as Michael Anderson carried on publishing the *Edinburgh Observer* from Mound Place throughout the 1820s and 1830s and Sir Patrick continued as a proprietor until shortly before his death.¹⁶

As proprietor he defended another lawsuit in 1835-6 involving a claim against him for £2,650 with interest at 5% from 15 May 1833.¹⁷ The case gives an insight into how the affairs of the newspaper company were run with Walker and Robertson supplying the funds, partly as capital and partly raised on their bonds, Robertson acting as agent and managing the Company details and Mr Dalgleish Scott superintending the books. In 1829 Mr A. Kenney remitted to Robertson a sum of £8,000 to be invested in Scotland on his behalf. On 18 May 1829 a bill by Sir Patrick and Robertson for £2,649 fell due at one of the Edinburgh banks. Robertson out of Kenney's remittance supplied Scott with the funds to meet the bill; the details being entered in the cash-book of the *Observer*. Mr Scott wrote to Kenney on 18 May 1829 informing him of the transaction and Robertson endorsed this. Regular entries of interest payments by Robertson were charged to the newspaper's account from 11 November 1829 to 15 May 1833.

¹² NAS, CS17/1/54, 20 May, 18 June 1835; CS17/1/56, 9 March 1837; W. H. Dunbar (ed.), *Scottish Jurist*, vol. IX (Edinburgh 1837), pp. 279-283. WT, Interim Decree of Declarator Sir Patrick Walker against Charles Campbell Stewart, 2 March 1835, Decree of Declarator and for Expenses Sir Patrick Walker and Alex Goldie WS his agent against James John Fraser WS 9 March 1837, Order of 8 March 1839 Fraser v Misses Walker on Appeal.

¹³ *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, January-June 1838, p. 566. The writer uses 'New' rather than 'Edinburgh'.

¹⁴ *Scotsman*, 1 June 1822; *Glasgow Herald*, 3 June 1822.

¹⁵ *Scotsman*, 19 February 1823.

¹⁶ NLS, *Scottish Book Trade Index; Fraser's Magazine*, p. 567.

¹⁷ NAS, 17/1/55, 26 February, 20 May 1835; W. H. Dunbar (ed.), *The Scottish Jurist*, vol. viii (Edinburgh, 1836), pp.354-6.

On this latter date, however, Mr Robertson conveyed to Sir Patrick his whole interest in the *Observer*, the debts of which amounted to £18,400, around £2,800 of which consisted of advances made by Robertson and £4,150 of money borrowed from his clients and applied in paying the debts of the concern. Walker agreed to hold Robertson's debt fixed at a maximum sum of £6,400. When Kenney sued Sir Patrick and Robertson for recovery of his loan Walker argued that no obligations were granted to third parties for loans on behalf of the firm without being signed by both partners; he had not been a party to the loan and had no knowledge of it; and Scott had no authority to grant obligations binding on the firm. He refused to honour the pursuer's bill for an amount similar to the sum alleged to have been received by the *Observer* Company and stated that in the agreement whereby Robertson gave up his share in the Company, it was not to be inferred that Sir Patrick was bound for the whole debt. Kenney argued that Walker as one of the proprietors of the *Edinburgh Observer* newspaper, was liable and the Lord Ordinary agreed with him. When Sir Patrick reclaimed, the Court of Session judges upheld the decision; the Lord President expressing scepticism that the defender never saw or looked at the books of his cashier; 'he ought to have seen them and he was bound to inspect them'.¹⁸ Miss Philadelphia Robertson residing in Portobello also seems to have made a successful claim against Walker and Robertson as co-partners of the newspaper.¹⁹

The most colourful of Walker's law suits has become a foundation authority for the application of the concept of good faith to pre-contractual negotiations.²⁰ The judgement came as a consequence of the affair of the Melville Monument. Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, had during his career held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty in which position he had rendered considerable services to the Navy; and the movement for the erection of a public monument to him originated among naval officers.²¹ A committee appointed in 1817 attempted to decide on a design and location (to be visible from ships in the Forth) with various sites considered and rejected; namely Calton Hill (the preference but objected to by the Astronomical Institution), the centre of St Andrew Square, head of Leith Walk, George Street, Leith Docks, north end of the Mound in Princes Street, various sites in Queen Street, Salisbury Crags, Castlehill and lastly Corstorphine Hill. After two years, according to Sir Patrick:

Some of the Members spoke to me upon the subject, and it was urged, that I would confer the greatest favour upon the Committee and the friends of Lord Melville, if I could relieve them from their difficulties, by finding a scite(sic) for it in connection with the new buildings at Coats.... knowing the early and long friendship that had subsisted between the late Lord Melville and my father, I, at once said, that the subscribers should not be in difficulty about a situation for it, whilst the son of his early friend had the power to bestow one.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

¹⁹ NAS, CS17/1/54, 24 January 1835; CS17/1/55, 6 July, 18 November 1836.

²⁰ Hector Lord MacQueen, 'Good Faith in the Scots law of contract: an undisclosed principle?' in A. D. M. Forte (ed.), *Good Faith in Contract and Property Law* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 26-7, 153-5.

²¹ Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh, 2004).

²² NLS, 3.2844(15), Sir Patrick Walker, *To the Subscribers to the Melville Monument* (Edinburgh, 1821), p. 2.

Walker suggested two sites—the pleasure ground in front of Coates Crescent or the point where Melville Street and the street from the centre of the crescent intersected—and he explained the advantages and disadvantages of both sites. Melville Street became the choice because of its ‘superior sea effect’, provided that some alterations could be made to the street feuing plan.²³ Mr Robert Brown (surveyor at Coates) accordingly made the adjustments in March 1819 and Walker submitted them to the members of the Committee and their legal advisor the Lord Advocate in April. Subsequently many subscribers and others visited the spot in Melville Street where the proposed site had been marked out. A subsequent curtailing of the site proved necessary for Walker’s interest to enable the planned neighbouring houses to have proper backgrounds and stables; and Mr Burn the Committee’s architect marked this on the plan which the Committee approved. Sir Patrick had to obtain the consent of the feuars to these alterations and to produce a larger ground plan for what was to be named ‘Melville Forum’. As the site of the monument stood at the intersection of two great drains, these had to be turned round to allow a solid foundation; work begun in mid January 1820, continued until June and supervised by Sir Patrick.

At this time, however, second thoughts about the site seem to have emerged as Walker discovered when he attended a meeting of the Committee at Oman’s Tavern on 9 February 1820. ‘To my astonishment’ the Lord Advocate, Sir William Rae, endeavoured to persuade the meeting ‘to disregard the virtual contract which had been entered into between your Committee and me’.²⁴ Vice-Admiral Sir William Hope (Convener), however, said

that they considered themselves bound in honour to me, whether I had writings or not; that I had feued upon the faith of the bargain: that the Monument was a purely naval one unconnected with the city, and they could not accept pecuniary assistance from any other source without destroying its naval character.²⁵

On the next day the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that the Melville Monument was to be placed in Sir Patrick Walker’s grounds in Melville Street, at no great distance from St George’s Church although the Lord Advocate was extremely desirous of having it placed on the Mound or in St Andrew Square.²⁶ This unleashed a degree of public protest with a letter from ‘Atticus’ judging it ‘manifestly inconsiderate to place a public monument in the grounds of a private gentleman at the every extremity of the town and far removed from all the places of public resort’.²⁷ *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* printed a substantial plea to Sir Patrick Walker:

Being confident that the motives which led this gentleman to make this offer, were of the most disinterested kind; and that if it can be shown, that the proposed edifice, as an object of public ornament, would be thrown away in that situation, he would be the first to relinquish the plan.²⁸

²³ *Ibid.*, p.4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, *Glasgow Herald*, 11 February 1820; *Morning Post*, 18 February 1820.

²⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 February 1820.

²⁸ *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1820.

The writer continued by maintaining that an edifice for public adornment should be in a prominent situation as near as possible to the city centre and not in Melville Street where the view of it from the principal streets of the New Town would be obscured by St George's Church. Further, as Melville Street was unlikely to be finished for many years the monument would be 'surrounded by rubbish and masons' sheds and stone quarries among half finished streets and empty houses'.²⁹

The *Caledonian Mercury* contributed further by observing that future generations might wonder why the City of Edinburgh, so long represented by Henry Dundas, could not find a corner in which to build his monument; and that it gave much satisfaction 'to a certain class of politicians in this city' that the naval gentlemen were determined to place Lord Melville's monument beyond the royalty which might bear 'something like a reproach on the character on which it was the object of so many personal to bestow a flattering testimony of their regard'.³⁰ Ten days later the newspaper, without comment, published a satirical verse for the sepulture of the Melville Monument .

The brave sons of Neptune resolv'd they would rear
A pillar the noblest, that graces old Rome,
In memory of Melville, to Scotland so dear,
To embellish romantic Dunedin, his home.
But alas! How the project is like to be bungled
By freaks of Committees, sans eyes and sans taste;
A nook out of town for *concealment* they've singled,
And Whigs cry, Retirement for Tories is best!³¹

Although the subscribers had asked Sir Patrick to arrange for the laying of the foundation stone on 18 February, from a reading of Sir Patrick's address, Mr Linning the Committee's secretary undertook what appears to have been a campaign of delaying tactics and a search for a way out. A series of letters over the granting of title to the ground and its maintenance led to misunderstandings and stoppage of work although the foundations had been dug, stones, lime and sand laid down and the turning of the drain almost completed. Mr Linning seems to have been somewhat uncomplimentary to Walker at the meeting of the Committee on 29 April but nonetheless the Members unanimously agreed to continue the agreement with him 'provided the right to the *area* or piece of ground can be adjusted in such a manner as shall be satisfactory to, and approved of, by the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General' as legal advisers to the Committee.³² Everything therefore appeared satisfactory and Admiral Otway asked Sir Patrick to assist the contractor with water supply, masons' shades and materials.

Months of delay ensued with adjustments to the land charter and arrangements for the foundation stone-laying being made before, to Walker's surprise, he discovered on 19 January 1821, 'that secret plans and meetings had

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 February 1820.

³¹ Ibid., 25 May 1820.

³² Walker, *To the Subscribers to the Melville Monument*, p. 19.

been going on during the interval, totally unknown to me' which involved negotiations with the proprietors of St Andrew's Square.³³ The Minute contained:

a vindication of the conduct of Mr Linning, written, I suppose, by himself and there were passages which contained indistinct half-expressed insinuations against me.... in short, it was a case, not to complete a transaction agreed upon between parties, but one *contrived* with a view to *break it off*.³⁴

The Lord Advocate had expressed an opinion that it would be better to erect the Monument within the Royalty under the care of the Magistrates and that the Committee could change the site without occurring any liability. There also seemed to be doubts as to the validity of Walker's title as superior and his apparent insistence that the conveyance of the ground and the pillar should be taken to him and his heirs.³⁵

Sir Patrick's address to the Subscribers dated 21 January 1821 at Drumsheugh, was printed with several appendices documenting the affair and included a colourful letter from him to Sir William Hope (23 April 1820) regarding the folly of Mr Linning. Walker expressed his frustration that Linning's conduct, as he saw it, had thrown discredit on all concerned and he could not understand the latter's stoppage of work 'unless some of our enemies have influenced him'.³⁶ Vexed beyond anything he could express, he would endeavour to keep his temper and conceal his feelings, being certain that Hope would see the propriety of his motives and set all matters right by issuing instructions to proceed. Walker could not, however, call upon Mr Linning, 'for as I cannot act as a hypocrite, I might treat him in a way that would make matters worse'.³⁷

On 23 January 1821 Sir Patrick received the minute of the meeting of 13 January which approved the S Andrew Square site and expressed the perfect reliance:

that independent of the legal right on the part of the Committee to change the site of the Pillar, Sir Patrick will be satisfied that the Committee would not now be justified in declining to accept of the site originally fixed upon for the Pillar in question, and to the adoption of which they are urged by the united voice, not only of the subscribers, their Constituents, but of the Public at large.³⁸

Sir Patrick was not satisfied. He sued Rear Admiral Sir David Milne and the Committee for breach of contract and damages. Milne defended on the basis that as the alleged agreement related to heritage and was not in writing, he had had *locus poenitentiae* (the opportunity of withdrawing from a projected contract before the parties are finally bound) and could not be liable. The Lord Ordinary upheld this argument but the Jury Court, while agreeing that no effectual contract had been concluded, considered that the abandonment of Coates in favour of St Andrew

³³ Ibid., p. 23.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

³⁵ W. Forbes Gray, 'The Melville Monument', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. XV, 1927, pp. 208-9. Gray's paper was based on the Committee's Minute Book and he does not seem to have read Sir Patrick's address.

³⁶ Walker, p. 18.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

³⁸ Ibid., p.18.

Square was contrary to good faith. 'The pursuer is entitled to indemnification for any actual Loss and Damage he may have sustained and for the Expenses incurred in consequence of the alteration of the scite(sic) in question'.³⁹ In spite of an original claim for £10,000, Sir Patrick settled for £158, though with legal expenses the Committee had to expend £408, the first of a series of financial disasters leading to an outstanding debt of £1,100 in 1834, not terminated until 1837. The affair still rankled with Sir Patrick in 1832 when, among others of the nobility and gentry, he received a letter regarding the raising of subscriptions for the monument to Sir Walter Scott.

I must of course subscribe upon this occasion although I have declared that in consequence of the treatment I received in regard to the Melville Monument I never would have any concern with another.⁴⁰

Walker also had recourse to the law over his relationships with builders, with the Governors of Heriot's Hospital and a neighbouring proprietor. On 10 August 1825 he entered into a contract of feu with James Buckham for the areas marked 1, 3 and 5 on the plan of the square where Melville and Walker Streets intersect—the abandoned site of the Melville Monument—for an annual rate of 20s per foot of frontage and for each house, £50 for use of or access to the common sewer and £5 5s as a proportion of the expense of making the street gratings, the surface drains and the causeway at the junction of the streets. An ornamental ground would be laid out in the centre, enclosed with a parapet wall and iron railings as directed by Sir Patrick and paid for in a rateable proportion by all the houses in the square; with James Buckham paying a rateable proportion of the expenses as ascertained by the surveyor Robert Brown. Maintenance of this pleasure ground fell annually to all the feuars including Buckham who would be exempt from the cost of 'placing a fountain or other Ornamental building within the said parapet' if Sir Patrick saw fit to do so.⁴¹ The latter was to be refunded the cost of the cross drains and cellars already dug; with the work completed for the markets of 1827. By November 1826, although great parts of the land had been dug up, little building had been done and the earth and rubbish lay heaped up in the street causing a great access nuisance to the other feuars and to Sir Patrick who took the builder to Court. Walker was ordered to produce a *Condescence* (a statement of facts), but seems to have failed to do thus providing the grounds for absolving the Defender from the conclusion of the action for which Walker was to pay expenses.⁴²

Walker, however, reclaimed and from the report of the case which the Court of Session considered on 4 June 1829, it appeared that the Lord Ordinary had previously ruled that the discrepancy existing between the extent of the feu as represented on the plan and the extent of the feu on the ground, released Buckham from his obligation to implement the missives of the feu and Sir Patrick was liable for

³⁹ NAS, CS311/1545, 12 February 1825.

⁴⁰ NLS, M/825, *Letters of nobility and gentry regarding the appeal for the Scott Monument*, 3 November 1832.

⁴¹ NAS, CS228/W/8/8, *Summons Sir Patrick Walker v James Buckham Builder Edinburgh*, 20 November 1826.

⁴² NAS CS17/1/46, 7 July 1827.

expenses. Feuars of the areas contiguous to Buckham's had encroached on his area thereby inhibiting him from excavating the foundations of the houses he was to build. Walker instituted and paid for legal proceedings against them in Buckham's name but six months later the latter who claimed ignorance of this, intimated that not being in possession of the ground feued he considered himself relieved of the contract; he received no answer. Two months later Brown, Craig and Elliot, the neighbouring feuars gave up a proportion of the land they had encroached but left Buckham short of about 94 square feet of the original plan. Sir Patrick claimed that the defender could not 'throw up his bargain on account of any trifling discrepancy' as ground was not feued as any precise measurement, feu duty being decided after building completion.⁴³ Mr Erskine had enclosed his background of land before Buckham's missives were concluded and the latter knew about the Court application in his name, provided evidence and undertook considerable excavations while legal proceedings took place. Buckham had told Walker that there was no need to answer the protest as it was intended merely to prevent the other feuars from insisting he should finish off his part of the street immediately. Six weeks later Walker offered unsuccessfully to take the feus back in return for others. In defence Buckham argued that he had been unaware of the encroachments and had not given consent to the legal proceedings instituted in his name; he had begun excavation because of the specified building completion date of Whitsunday 1827 and abandoned it when there appeared to be no end to the litigation. He had hoped to have erected the houses on the faith of obtaining the whole background. His arguments failed to convince the Court; the Lord Ordinary's Interlocutor being recalled and the case remitted to the Jury Court for settlement.

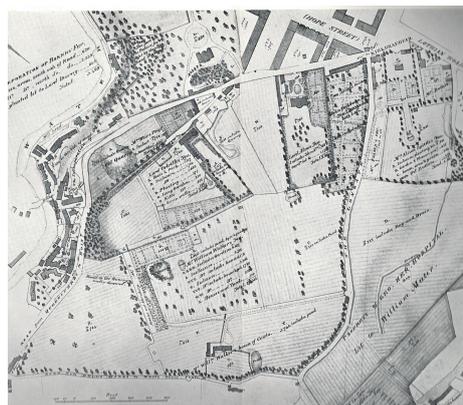
Following his contract with Buckham in August 1825, Sir Patrick sold to Robert Hutchison builder in Edinburgh an area between Melville Street and Melville Place (24 and 25 August). In the following year he successfully applied for an interdict against the builder who, in contravention of the building agreement, had proceeded 'to lay or form a roof across the sunk area in the front towards Melville Place' with the aim of finishing the work before it could be legally stopped; and who was in the process of forming and erecting a baker's oven in one of the cellars.⁴⁴ Another case arising in the same period concerned payment towards the upkeep of the Coates Crescent pleasure-grounds. William Walker when granting the first feus in Coates Crescent with an enclosed space of pleasure-ground in front, inserted a clause in the charters binding the feuars to contribute to the upkeep of the ground. After seven feus had been taken Alexander Forbes feued a building stance by which he agreed to conform to the same rule and regulations as the others. Forbes sold the house he built to Mrs Archibald Tod and Sir Patrick offered to grant her a charter in similar terms but she refused to pay the house price unless the clauses relative to the expense of keeping the pleasure-ground in order were removed. Forbes then

⁴³ George Deas and John Anderson (eds), *Cases before the Court of Session*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1829), p. 123.

⁴⁴ NAS, CS271/56792, *Bill of Suspension and Interdict*, 1826; CS271/19203, *Bond of Caution Walker v Hutchison*, 20 June 1826.

raised an action against her and Sir Patrick for the implementation of the missives.⁴⁵ The Lord Ordinary ruled that there was insufficient evidence for Walker's insistence on the clause and ordered him to grant the charter. Sir Patrick, however, petitioned the Court which, 'in respect that there is nothing unreasonable or *contra bonos* in the clause', altered the interlocutor and judged that he was entitled to have the clause inserted; and that Mrs Tod should make payment of the house price with expenses awarded to Sir Patrick.⁴⁶

In 1836 the Lord Ordinary heard the action taken by the Governors of Heriot's Hospital against Sir Patrick; a case which eventually reached the Court of Session in 1839 after his death. The issue concerned the payment of teinds (tithes in England), tenth parts of the produce of land originally paid to the Church. After the Scottish religious Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century the Crown, nobles and landowners acquired most of the Church property and accompanying teinds. In 1704 Heriot's Hospital bought the Coates lands and granted a series of feu charters throughout the eighteenth century culminating in William Walker's acquisition of all the feus. Walker's charter contained the same exemptions granted to his predecessors namely relief from paying burdens such as teinds. In 1813, however, he obtained a new charter which did not include such an exemption clause. In the Court of Session on 28 June 1839 Sir Patrick's representatives argued that the investiture of 1813 was a transaction entered into for the purpose of purchasing a freehold from Heriot's Hospital; and that it was still competent to refer to the older titles as the intention had been to continue with the relief as previously. The Court decided in favour of the Governors by ruling that the investiture of 1813 extinguished the previous and that consequently there was no entitlement to relief from payment.⁴⁷



Lands of Coates

A long-standing legal dispute successfully won by Sir Patrick originated with his father. In 1801 William Walker purchased from Lord Colville premises at Drumsheugh which consisted of two enclosures both bounded on the north by the high road from Edinburgh to Bell's Mills. The land on the other side of the road

⁴⁵ NAS, CS17/1/43, 19 June 1824; CS17/1/44, 13 November 1824, 2 February 1825.

⁴⁶ Patrick Shaw (ed.), *Cases decided in the Court of Session from May 12- July 11 1826* (Edinburgh, 1826), pp.188-9: NAS, CS17/1/45, 28 June 1826.

⁴⁷ W. H. Dunbar (ed.), *Scottish Jurist*, vol. XI (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 562-3.

belonged to Major Weir, the question being whether this road could be shut up from the public as another highway had been made to the Water of Leith. Weir contended that he had a right to the road itself by an agreement made with him in 1785 by a Mr Loch of Drylaw, Convener of the Committee of Trustees of the Cramond District. As a result of the encroachments made by the Major, William Walker raised an action against him arguing that he had purchased the property in 1801 upon the faith of the public records that the road was a public highway; and that the 1785 agreement was illegal and unsanctioned by law.

In the course of his defence Weir alleged that Walker 'having of late been infected with the general mania of feuing his ground', had discovered that his feu plan would be much more valuable if two sides of the property ran alongside the public road; and this could be obtained if the old Bell's Mills road were opened.⁴⁸ In the absence of Weir abroad 'in the service of his country', Walker petitioned to have the road re-opened.⁴⁹ Three different judgements of the Court of Session (10 January, 22 June and 10 July 1810) declared in favour of Weir but in 1817 the case was appealed to the House of Lords. The Lords found that the road in question had not been shut up by any competent authority or ownership vested in Weir and they remitted the cause to the Court of Session for review.⁵⁰ Sir Patrick then oversaw the conclusion of the affair which bound Major Weir to leave open the road and entitled Sir Patrick to remove any gate, wall or other obstruction which had been placed across the road. No damages were due to the latter because of the road closure or on account of proceedings in Court of Session or House of Lords but he was entitled to expenses of £41 10s 10d.⁵¹

The road behind Lynedoch Place was the subject of a successful action raised by the Walkers in 1835 against Peter MacGregor, merchant in Edinburgh.⁵² MacGregor had purchased the house and area numbered 23 Lynedoch Place where he had erected a stable and built a wall across the road in order to establish a court or yard – without informing Sir Patrick and his sisters. MacGregor lost his case and had to pay expenses. At the same time, Sir Patrick had recourse to the Court of Session in a case of irritancy against John Scott, tailor.⁵³ In the following year the Walkers initiated a declarator of irritancy against William Ewing residing at No 40 Melville Street.⁵⁴ Irritancy in Scots law means forfeiture and in these cases probably referred to the landlord's right to terminate a lease prematurely because of the tenant's breach of contract.⁵⁵ The issue with William Ewing, namely his non-payment

⁴⁸ NAS, CS32/3/1, *Decreet of Absolvitor and for Expenses Major James Weir v William Walker*, 10 July 1810.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Thomas S. Paton (ed.), *Reports of Cases Decided in the House of Lords, Upon Appeal from Scotland 1813-1821*, vol. VI (Edinburgh, 1856), p. 288.

⁵¹ WT, *Decreet Arbitral between Sir Patrick Walker, Major James Weir and James Locheid of Inverleith as Convener of Cramond District Roads*, 12/13 July 1820.

⁵² WT, 16 June 1835; NAS, C17/1/54, 23 June 1835; CS46/183511/15, November 1835.

⁵³ NAS, CS228/W/9/52, 27 May 1835. The outcome was not recorded.

⁵⁴ NAS, CS17/1/55, 10 March 1836.

⁵⁵ Angus McAllister, *The Scottish Law of Leases* (Hayward's Heath, 2013), p. 115; Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, 4th ed. (St Paul Minn., 1951), p. 963.

of feu duty, was not resolved until after Sir Patrick's death when the case again came before the Court of Session and Mr Goldie successfully claimed expenses on behalf of the Misses Barbara and Mary Walker.⁵⁶ Other cases usually involving reclamation of debts also occupied Sir Patrick's time and attention, or that of his agent or solicitor Mr Goldie, but although his particular tenacity in this legal arena seems part of his character many of his contemporaries also spent much time in lawsuits. Names encountered in this text—C. Kirkpatrick, James Gibson Clark, for example—appear as pursuers and defenders in the records of the Scottish Courts. The Scots were a litigious people.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ NAS, CS17/1/57, 22 November, 16 December 1837; CS46/1837/12/131.

⁵⁷ Henry Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1899), p.32; Nicholas Phillipson, *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life*, (London, 2011), p. 74.

14. Sir Patrick as Property Developer

On 23 November 1814 William Walker of Coates, 'or the love favour and affection which I have and bear to Mary Drummond my wife and my children' drew up a Disposition and Settlement in favour of them in the event of his death.¹ He made over to Sir Patrick, Lillias, Barbara and Mary Walker, to any future children and to the survivor or survivors of such of them:

equally and proportionately share and share alike and to their respective heirs and assigners under the burdens hereafter mentioned and particularly of the liferent Provisions after specified in favour of the said Mary Drummond and the other reservations.... All and sundry Lands, Heritages, Tenements, Goods, Gear, Debts, sums of money Heritable and Moveable, Principal, Interest, Penalties and Expenses, Household Furniture, Lying Money, Bank and Bankers Notes or receipts.... contained in a list or Inventory thereof already subscribed by me.....²

Mary Drummond received 'my whole household furniture of every description comprising silverplate, china, bed and table linen and all other articles of Household ware within my present dwelling house of which I have a date hereof put said Mary Drummond in full right and possession for ever and disposable by her at her pleasure as well as a free yearly annuity of £200 during her life after my decease'. George Walker the eldest son was to receive 'during all the days of his Life a free yearly annuity of £200 at four quarterly terms with power to me to increase said annuity'. George would not be able to 'sell alienate burden or affect the said annuity by any debts or deeds beyond the current year' annuity', and it was payable only to him. Under the same conditions:

as a mark of affection of a parent towards a son, whose improvident conduct, extravagance and other circumstances, besides abandoning the Profession to which he was brought up and established in which the tenderness alluded to prevents me from detailing

Walker instructed his Disponees:

as over and above the said annuity due at the time to pay to the said George Walker the sum of £200st within forty days after my decease, or as soon before or after as he shall be in a condition to receive and grant a proper acquittance to my said Disponees for the same.³

When Lillias married Lieutenant Colonel John Ainslie of Teviotgrove on 3 July 1815, William Walker amended his settlement to provide her instead with a sum of £2,000 and anything further should he think fit to do.⁴ Patrick, Barbara and Mary became the joint heirs with Lillias inheriting only in the event of their deaths.

Following the death of his father on 16 November 1817, Sir Patrick continued with the development of the lands of Coates. As seen earlier William Walker had contracted an agreement with the trustees of James Erskine, Lord Alva, in July 1808 over the use of the common sewers and with regard to a general feuing plan for their respective grounds prepared by Mr Gillespie architect. On 14 August 1809 the Erskine grounds available for feuing—now the property of James Erskine of

¹ WT, *Disposition and Settlement*, 23 November 1814, registered 28 November 1817.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Lillias was Ainslie's second wife. Ainslie died on 15 March 1817. His son William Bernard Ainslie, a Walker step-nephew, became a Walker Trustee after the death of Mary Walker in 1870.

Cambus, grandson of Lord Alva—were advertised as being behind Charlotte Square, lying between Mr Cockburn Ross's grounds and Mr Walker's.

The principal or main street (to be called Alva Street) is to enter from Queensferry Street and to be continued westwards through a street to be formed in Mr Walker's ground. The cross street (to be called Stafford Street) is to communicate with Shandwick Place on the Glasgow Road and Melville Street on Mr Walker's grounds.⁵

By October, however, there was a problem. Mr Pollock WS wrote to Patrick indicating that considerable inconvenience was being experienced in making the drains on the Erskine property due to his father's drains not being brought up to Mr Erskine's grounds. He feared the possibility of part of the Walker's low grass lands being flooded by the excess water caused by the excavations; indicated the urgency of extending Mr Walker's drain; and the withholding of the second instalment of payment until completion of this.

Acting on behalf of his father Patrick's lengthy reply contained a barely disguised threat amid an accusation of incompetence.

The water regorging on Mr Erskine's work is the natural consequence of his having dug his drain four or five feet lower than is necessary for the buildings or is required by our agreement which can only be remedied by cutting the same number of feet deeper to the westward as far as the cross drain from the Crescent which fortunately is deep enough to receive it. This additional digging may be done in the Spring when we begin to that drain and I suppose will not cost Mr Erskine above £8 or £10 of extra cutting which of course we will never pay in order to remedy Mr Erskine's blundered drain....I saw there was some mistake and informed both Mr Erskine and the work people of it, but more than this I could not take upon me to do, but this I will say that I never saw a more bungled business in every part of it....I begin to suspect your people have taken their levels from the top of the arch instead of the bottom at the drain, for the error is just about the height of the drain.... I presume you was(sic) not serious when you said Mr Erskine did not mean to open up the Cross Street for I trust our mutual benefits will induce him to do so immediately. If however he should not and if you was serious when you said so....I have only to prevent his communication with the drains on my father's grounds until the street is opened and raise the surrounding ground to the intended levels and his whole place would become little better than one of the mud ponds at Peirshill(sic) and I mention this merely for your information as to the relevant situation of the properties and to shew to you the necessity of Mr Erskine and us studying our mutual benefits, for whatsoever is beneficial to one is so to the other....I knew all along though you might not, that we had his property completely in our power and might have exacted three time the sum for the drain if we had chose but we felt that to be exhorbitant would be unjust.⁶

Walker reiterated his belief in the mutual benefits of cooperation and offered to obtain costs for the additional cutting to enable Mr Erskine's drains to correspond with those of the Mr Walker.

Mr Pollock's response was an exemplar of restrained outrage as he struggled to maintain composure.

In the conduct of the affairs of others entrusted to me I have always endeavoured to suppress my own feelings where an expression of them was not necessary to the discharge of my duty. But I confess that I have seldom, if ever, had greater difficulty in observing this rule than in the present instance.

Nevertheless he set to and addressed the points at issue reiterating both Mr Erskine's refusal to pay the second instalment of the consideration for the use of Mr

⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 August 1809. Mr Erskine Advocate was born in 1787; his father died in 1792.

⁶ NLS, MS/5086/9.

Walker's drains until these were brought up to his grounds; and his intention to open up Stafford Street immediately.

That part of your letter which reviles the execution of Mr Erskine's drain shall be communicated to Mr Erskine and Mr Gillespie the Architect employed by him who will no doubt feel obliged by your communication.⁷

Mr Pollock strongly hinted at the likelihood of legal proceedings and in due course Mr Walker received a summons to appear before the Lords of Council and Session on 28 November 1809. Some settlement must have been reached as there is no record of the case coming to court.⁸ By the time Sir Patrick concluded his agreement with James Erskine in 1822, much of Stafford Street had been built, drains made and the west division of Alva Street completed. Sir Patrick agreed to purchase the remaining areas in Stafford Street from James Erskine and part of the west of Alva Street; abandoning the plan of church and making alterations to the Meuse Lane.⁹ In 1824 he also bought from the Governors of Heriot's Hospital an angle of ground at Coates now Coates Place.

Work had begun on Coates Crescent and Melville Street in 1813 and 1814 during William Walker's lifetime, with Sir Patrick continuing the feuing and development of southern Walker Street (1822-7; northern 1827-45), Manor Place (1822-67), Melville Crescent (completed 1833) and William Street (1824-5). On 10 October 1823 an anonymous diarist noted in his journal that 'in the direct western extremity of the New Town we have Coates Crescent completed his year and several new houses built in Walker Street'.¹⁰ A few months later (22 January 1824) the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that in 1823, 373 private buildings had been erected in the city of Edinburgh and environs; 11 in Walker Street, 6 in William Street, 3 in Stafford Street, 6 in Melville Street, 4 in Coates Crescent and 2 in Melville Place.¹¹ An advertisement for a year's letting of No. 6 Coates Crescent described the property as the centre house of the eastern division, substantially and comfortably furnished with ample accommodation for a family and including:

A coach house for two carriages, roomy three stall stable, excellent wine, beer and root cellar under them: capital stone larder, milk-house, wash-house etc in back ground. Water-closets on the first and second floors, with a plentiful supply of water both from the common pipes and an inexhaustible well with a force pump.¹²

Proprietors and tenants, however, were not always prompt in settling dues. Sir Patrick wrote to Donald Horne WS on 20 January 1827 inclosing an outstanding account with Mr Henderson for No. 10 Coates Crescent possessed by Dr Brewster, inventor of the kaleidoscope and future Principal of the United College of St Salvator

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ A reference to such an agreement was made by Mr Erskine in 1825 in response to an action raised against him by Mr Conning builder in Edinburgh. See NAS, CS271/48514, *Answers for James Erskine Esq of Aberdona*, 1825.

⁹ WT, 12 June/16 November 1822; 23/31 January 1823/4 May 1824; 6/24 March 1824.

¹⁰ D. G. Moir, 'Extracts from an Edinburgh Journal 1823-1833', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XXXIX (Edinburgh, 1956), p.143.

¹¹ An account of the Edinburgh 'Improvements' was printed separately in February 1824, NLS, LC.137.

¹² *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 March 1824.

and St Leonard at St Andrews University. No feu duty had been paid since 1820 nor the share of building the parapet wall round the Pleasure Ground and the portion of surface drains and street gratings. The total sum owing amounted to £176 19s 10d. Walker hoped Horne would:

Work the Philosopher into a speedy settlement for not only will it be agreeable to me to receive the amount but also very gratifying to bring the radical to his senses—I like to see a man compelled to be honest—therefore “at him Ginger” both for Henderson’s sake and mine.¹³

The unknown diarist recorded on 30 June 1825, the building of 25 houses in Melville Street alone ‘which promises to be one of the finest in Edinburgh’; but the trade depression of the later 1820s slowed development and on 9 July 1831 he noted the progress of ‘but few private houses’.¹⁴ A joint project Sir Patrick undertook with the Governors of Heriot’s suffered from the slump. In order to extend the Walker scheme and to give Heriot’s a direct approach to their unfeued lands of Wester Coates, together they purchased four houses at the northwest of Lynedoch Place in 1825 with a view to demolishing them. This involved offering to buy No 21 from Mrs Anne Campbell who wrote to James Gillespie Graham the prospective architect, that however inconvenient personally:

I feel very unwilling to stand in the way of any improvement of Edinburgh. But as I shall be put to a considerable expense and great inconvenience in looking out for and removing to another house, unsuitable to my (say) furniture, I do not think I make an unreasonable demand when I require 250 guineas to give up my house.¹⁵

Her offer was accepted but Graham’s plan remained as that until after 1862, the Lynedoch houses being sold at a loss in 1829. Sir Patrick had had to contribute to their upkeep in the interim—wages of labourers, cost of boarding up the windows, new locks, security duties—a total of £10 18s of which Heriot’s paid £6 4s 1d. His share of the re-sale amounted to £147.¹⁶

Development also required investment in equipment which seems to have been borrowed by others. In 1824 Robert Liston requested the use of Walker’s boring machinery for the purpose of obtaining a supply of water for his farmyard at Listonshiells as he was ‘sorry the state of my cash-account does not permit me to think of entering into speculations of that nature on a larger scale’.¹⁷ Sir Patrick obliged with the caveat that the man who would be using the drills should inspect them first, one of the two sets of drills ‘being rather deficient in consequence of a miner employed by Sir Alexander Keith having lost some parts’.¹⁸ The new residents on the Coates estate, however, had to live on what continued as a building site for decades. Walker was amazed that Sir Robert had been able to find his way to

¹³ NLS, MS/14299/84.

¹⁴ Moir, ‘Extracts from an Edinburgh Journal 1823-1833’, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XXX (Edinburgh, 1959), pp. 154-5.

¹⁵ NAS, GD421/5/237, 23 December 1825.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 7 August 1828, 7 August 1829.

¹⁷ EUSC, Gen 1995/46, *To Sir Patrick Walker Drumsheugh*, 15 November undated.

¹⁸ NLS, MS/5671/137, *Sir Patrick Walker to Sir Robert Liston*, 13 November 1824.

Drumsheugh 'as the road is so much cut up with the buildings'.¹⁹ Dr Patrick Neill of the Wernerian and Caledonian Horticultural Societies recalled in 1837:

of being astonished at the noise of the explosions at Coates grounds when Sir Patrick Walker was mining a common sewer through the sandstone and coal-measures of his property in that quarter. His subterranean operations occupied between three and four years, the miners relieving each other, and working day and night. The sewer was only four feet wide and five feet in height; and of course the number of workmen was very limited.²⁰

Other hazards came from neighbouring sites such as Atholl Crescent where the workmen blasted the rock to the great annoyance and danger of the inhabitants of Coates Crescent. One mighty explosion projected some very heavy stones over the new buildings and the Glasgow road and these descended on the iron railing in front of one of the houses in Coates Crescent, tearing part of it down. As his workmen had ignored repeated warnings, the builder was summoned to the Police Court where he claimed ignorance of any mischief done or objection to the practice pursued, but promised to 'provide against any unpleasant accident in future'.²¹

The *Scotsman*, however, lavished praise on the aesthetic qualities of the new buildings in 1833.

Many individuals possessed of practical judgement in matters of business are blind to the captivating influence of beautiful forms and proportions, and of fine combinations in architecture. Such persons are contented with sober judiciousness looking buildings, and they treat effect with derision. We advocate economy as strongly as they do, but we solicit them to look at James's Square, and at the streets on Sir Patrick Walker's grounds of Coats, and consider how much of a real economy has been displayed in obtaining the beautiful elevations of the latter, and how much of the rising value of the one, and the depreciating value of the other, may fairly be attributed to their respective plans.²²

Samuel Lewis endorsed this view in 1846 when he informed readers that on the property of Sir Patrick Walker:

Some fine ranges of streets were formed in the park here, previously the seat of the Byres family, and of these, Melville-street, almost in a line with George-street, contains some very stately buildings; close to Melville-street, on the Glasgow road, are Athol and Coates crescents, facing each other with shrubberies in front and both remarkable for the beauty of their architecture.²³

The development of the Walker estate continued after Sir Patrick's death and those of his sisters who had inherited his third share as well as the property he owned as a result of separate transactions. Indeed before he embarked on his travels of 1833-4 Walker set up a trust:

considering that several houses and tenements after conveyed have been either built by me on those parts of the lands of Coates which belong jointly to me and Misses Barbara and Mary Walker with my own monies or acquired by me from builders who had no feudal title to the same and further considering that I intend leaving Edinburgh for some time....

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Dr Patrick Neill, 'Considerations regarding the Edinburgh, Leith and Newhaven Railway' quoted in *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 February 1837.

²¹ *Scotsman*, 2 February 1825.

²² Ibid., 26 January 1833.

²³ Samuel Lewis (ed.), *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. I (London, 1846), p. 373.

The properties designated comprised the corner area fronting Coates Crescent, 9 Walker Street, 25, 48, 50, 52 Melville Street, 8 and 9 Manor Place. The document was signed by Patrick, Barbara and Mary and witnessed by Neil McInnes, Coachman and William Fraser, Footman.²⁴ As cited earlier the Walker sisters continued to develop the Walker estate with the east side of Manor Place being completed in 1867 after Barbara's death. Mary Walker carried on with the construction of Chester Street which was mostly finished by the time of her death in 1870. She died in Drumsheugh House and apart from a few legacies dedicated the bulk of the estate and the income from feus to the establishment and maintenance of a Cathedral. Demolition of the Drumsheugh property followed and the houses in Drumsheugh Gardens and Drumsheugh Place erected on the site. By the end of the nineteenth century the lands of Coates and Drumsheugh—now dominated by a spire-less St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral towering over Coates House—had become part of the western New Town of Edinburgh; and the last of the development, the block of flats at the end of Rothesay Terrace, designed and built to incorporate a lift.²⁵

²⁴ WT.

²⁵ The spires were added in 1913-17.

15. The Secret Life of Sir Patrick Walker

On 25 July 1838 Elizabeth Campbell residing in Merchant Street Edinburgh, raised an action against the sisters of the deceased Sir Patrick Walker. She claimed the payment of maintenance for her son and daughter as she alleged Sir Patrick to have been their father. According to her testimony she had met Sir Patrick about 13 years previously and he had persuaded her to live 'under his care and protection' with him paying her house rent, taxes, clothing and servant's wages until his death.²⁶ From their relationship four children were born, two of whom had died but all had been acknowledged by Walker who had paid for their maintenance and education. Elizabeth Campbell sued for payments of £20 each annually for her son, born 4 January 1828 and daughter born 28 September 1834/5/6.²⁷

For their part Lillas (Mrs Ainslie), Barbara and Mary, through Mr Goldie, stated that the first they had heard of the existence of the children and their mother was 'when Sir Patrick was on his deathbed quite insensible'.²⁸ Elizabeth had obviously made approaches at this time and received the answer that if she could prove paternity and relinquished care of the children, the sisters would undertake to provide for them. She refused the offer. Subsequently on 15 March 1838, five months after Sir Patrick's death, Elizabeth Campbell married William Grant flesher (butcher); and in July the Walker sisters received their summons – and insinuated that this was because William Grant had fallen into 'circumstances of pecuniary embarrassment'.²⁹ The due process of law involved several written defences from the Walkers and replies from the solicitor representing Elizabeth and her husband. A note in the margin of one document stated that the ailment claimed for each child was 'a great deal too high', £8 or £10 being the usual sum. In the end Elizabeth lost her case and had to pay expenses of £7 11s.

William Grant died in 1840, aged 29 years and Elizabeth Campbell or Grant in 1842. They left a daughter Jessie and Elizabeth's son named William Drummond. Both went to London to reside with Elizabeth's uncle Patrick Drummond, a successful textile merchant. However the Walker sisters maintained an interest in William. Documents relating to his appointment as Ensign 89th Foot on 1 October 1847 stated him to be an orphan with his guardians named as Miss Walker and Mr Alexander Smith of York Place Edinburgh. A letter from John Phin the Walkers' solicitor after Mr Goldie, confirmed William's birth date of 4 January 1828 and that Phin acted as Trustee for him.³⁰ Barbara Walker appears to have corresponded with him and she and Mary met him in London.

William variously called himself William Henry Drummond or William Henry Murray Drummond and stated his father to have been a naval officer or an officer in

²⁶ NRS, SC39/17/859.

²⁷ The Court recorded the date in three separate documents each with 28 September but a different year each time.

²⁸ NRS, SC39/17/859.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ I am indebted to Alexander Stewart, Melbourne Australia for the information about William Drummond and his family.

the Austrian service. He bought himself out of the army in 1852 and went to New Zealand. He also may have served in the French army in Algeria. In 1856 he married Elizabeth Thomasina Briscoe in Kilkenny and they and his half sister Jessie made their homes in Australia. After the death of her sister Barbara in 1859, Mary Walker took on the responsibility of writing to William though she confessed to being very dilatory. She gave news about friends, local and national news and made comments on his letters. William and Zina (his wife's family name) had seven children and by the time of his death in 1868 he had become a warden and police magistrate. His death certificate stated his parents as William Drummond officer in the navy and Elizabeth Campbell. The cause of death was snake poisoning. William Drummond had allowed himself to be bitten by a tiger snake owned by Joseph Shires an exhibitor who made his living by selling a snake poison antidote. Drummond doubted that Shires snakes were venomous and set out to prove it but 'paid the penalty with his life'.³¹ Consequently Mary Walker amended her will and on her death in 1870, Mrs Drummond and her family inherited £3000.

³¹ *The Argus*, 4 May 1868.

15. Conclusion

On 5 October 1837 the *Caledonian Mercury* announced:

Death of Sir Patrick Walker

We regret to state that this Gentleman, her Majesty's Heritable Chief Usher of the White Rod of Scotland died on Tuesday evening at his house, Drumsheugh after a short but painful illness. Sir Patrick having for many years taken an active interest in all matters of local improvement, his demise will in many respects be a public loss. In private life he was warmhearted and ever ready to oblige and his friendships were sincere and lasting. The Honourable Knight was unmarried.¹

The Scotsman of 4 November devoted considerable space to an account of the Grand Funeral Lodge of Master Masons held to honour his memory; for the death of 'one of the greatest ornaments of the mystic tie' merited a more than usual interest. Lack of space, however, prohibited the printing of more than a summary of the oration. An extract of what was a lengthy oration appeared subsequently (printed by the Lodge) and in this Brother Macdonald paid tribute to Sir Patrick's public and private virtues. As has been seen, Walker in his addresses often highlighted his dedication to public service. Whether this was by inclination or necessity—an adoption of a role due to his failure to obtain public office or pursue a successful career as an advocate—nonetheless he embraced this persona wholeheartedly as acknowledged after his death. 'He gratuitously dedicated a large portion of the energies of a life approaching the boundaries of advanced age to the service of the public' and:

the inhabitants of Edinburgh enjoy at this moment many important immunities, comforts and conveniences for which they are indebted to the public spirit, zeal and unwearied exertions of our lamented brother.²

Sir Patrick had set an example for his brother freemasons to emulate, especially as he 'seemed to carry about with him, for daily and hourly use, the benign and philanthropic spirit of Free Masonry'. Further:

his enthusiasm in the cause of the Order never seems to have suffered the least abatement ; and, unlike many of our Brethren, who, as they advance in life recede from Masonry, his Masonic zeal seemed confirmed and increased with the growing stability of his habits and the increase of his years.³

Walker's scholarship, general information and scientific attainments particularly in Antiquities and Natural History were emphasised in the Masonic oration; as were 'the amiable natural qualities of his heart'.

His nature was gentle, modest, and unassuming. His manner affable to all, and kind and condescending to the humblest individual. Every man around him found, or might have found in him, a friend, — every Free Mason, in truth, a Brother.⁴

¹ Both the *Morning Post* and *Hampshire Chronicle* repeated the article on 9 October 1837.

² Laurie, *The History of free Masonry*, pp. 224, 226. Walker was 60 when he died so had a much shorter life than his grandfather, parents or sisters.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Given that sentiments expressed in a funeral oration usually accentuate the positive, the description of Sir Patrick does tune with the evidence. Use of the words 'zeal' and 'enthusiasm' accurately describe his predominant characteristics; energy and tenacity would be others. What are missing are a sense of his theatricality and love of ceremonial as in royal, civic and Masonic display; and the duality of his attachment to the Crown and to his native country. Particularly in his crusade to have the office of Usher of the White Rod ranked with that of Black Rod, personal ambition merged with a desire to uphold what he regarded as Scottish heritage. Yet unlike Sir Walter Scott with a Jacobite heart and Hanoverian head, Sir Patrick does not appear to have had romantic yearnings for the eighteenth-century Stuarts. He looked back to James VI and I, Mary Queen of Scots, Robert Bruce and William Wallace as his historical icons.

The funeral eulogy gave no indication either of his sense of humour which, when encountered, balances the purple prose, pomposity and impetuosity of many of his written and verbal outpourings. Walker seemed genuinely willing to help people and to invest time and effort in doing so; and however irritated or amused his contemporaries might have been by him in the early part of the nineteenth century, by the 1830s they recognised and appreciated his commitment and effort with regard to his native city. Of course according to the public morality of the time, formal obituaries made no mention of Sir Patrick's relationship with Elizabeth Campbell and the existence of their children. Such affairs, whether generally known or not, remained officially unpublicised and Sir Patrick was not unique in having a 'secret life'. His printer Michael Anderson and his friend and fellow Archer Captain John Donaldson Boswell of Wardie knew of the affair as must many others – though not his sisters according to their testimony in 1838.

Though he never achieved the professional and social status or intellectual eminence of some of his contemporaries, Walker appeared as a familiar figure in both Edinburgh and London circles in his time. In many ways he personified the attitudes and interests of the conservative Scottish professional gentleman whose acquisition of land had conferred social position and status. While never actively political, Walker adhered to Tory principles of tradition and custom, hierarchy, patriotism and localism, yet he displayed individualism in his approach and once convinced of a need for change he embraced this wholeheartedly as witness his involvement with the creation of the western approach. This attempt to reconstruct aspects of his life has revealed something of how Edinburgh operated at that period—with striking resemblances to the present day. Walker now rarely warrants a mention in accounts of the Scottish capital's history though he played his part in the improvements which have shaped today's cityscape. Scott, if he were not being ironical, changed his opinion of Sir Patrick Walker by calling him a 'second Solomon' and he certainly exhibited some wisdom in his role as a Justice of the Peace; perpetual petitioner – undoubtedly.

Appendix 1. The Legacy of the Walker Sisters

Barbara and Mary Walker first set out a Deed of Directions regarding their estates on 21 August 1850 but there were subsequent amendments and codicils in the following years. Originally their trustees were instructed that as soon as the amount deposited in the Bank of Scotland amounted to £20,000, they were to obtain a plan of a chapel fitted to contain 1500 sitters; and to set apart an area in the trust estate of Coats or Drumsheugh where it would be built. The sisters envisaged a building constructed 'in a handsome and substantial style of architecture' at the expense of around £30,000. They requested that 'from respect to the memory of our mother' that the chapel be called by the name of St Mary; and a draft constitution was to be prepared. In addition:

Out of respect to the memory of our father and also of our grandfather the Reverend George Walker of the Episcopal Chapel at Old Meldrum we direct our Trustees to pay to the Bishop of the Diocese within which the chapel is situated the sum of £50 yearly

By 1858 the sisters considered £30,000 to be inadequate and instructed their trustees to delay action until the Bank account contained that sum so that £40,000 could be allocated to the building now to be called the Cathedral Church of St Mary. An interesting stipulation was added.

Considering that certain divisions or differences of opinion at present exist in the Episcopal Church in Scotland and it being our express wish and intention that the whole estate, funds and effects provided by us for the said church shall be applied solely to the support of pure Protestant doctrines.

In the event of differences on doctrines or church governance resulting in disruption, then 'our trust funds shall belong to that division or section of the Episcopal Church which may adhere most closely to our views'. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester and the Diocese of Edinburgh were named as sole judges as to what would be appropriate.¹

Following the death of her sister on 23 March 1859, Mary Walker added further codicils during the 1860s whereby a legacy of £500 rather than an annuity was to be left to Old Meldrum Chapel; and rather than sell or dispoise the office of Heritable Usher of the White Rod, the Trustees should hold this with power to appoint a Deputy to officiate for them. By 29 February 1868 she had decided that the Church site would be at Old Coates to the west of Melville Street with no building to be connected to the church or erected near as to interfere with the architectural effect; and with no thoroughfare for carriages or horses from Melville Street on either side. Finally in the month before her death on 4 March 1870 she stipulated an open competition among four to six architects for the plan of the church. On 21 May 1874 the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury laid the foundation stone for the building designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott; the Cathedral being consecrated on 30 October 1879. The work cost £110,000.

¹ See *An Address from the College of Bishops to all Faithful Members of the Episcopal Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1850).

Appendix 2. George Walker

George Walker, elder brother of Patrick, seemed to be the proverbial black sheep of the family. From his father's brief references to him he appears to have rebelled and failed to follow the path laid down for him; and in William Walker's view he displayed improvident conduct and extravagance. The 'other circumstances' alluded to in Walker's Disposition and Settlement may have been an unsuitable marriage. George certainly mentioned his wife in a letter from Drumsheugh in 1807 to his clerk over the issue of the Deputy Usher of the Exchequer; and she had obviously not accompanied him to Scotland on that occasion when he rusticated in the Highlands for the good of his health.¹ In fact in the interim Mrs Ellen Walker had penned three letters from London (21 August, 17 September and 11 October 1807) to Mr Gilbert Innes of St Andrew Square Edinburgh requesting advice and assistance on how best to approach Mr Walker with regard to George's financial situation—'The idea of George's returning here without anything being done which must oblige us to run into debt again distresses me more than I can describe'.² Gilbert Innes of Stow was Deputy Governor of the Royal Bank of Scotland and Ellen seems to have regarded him as a friend, sending best wishes to his 'amiable daughters' in each letter.³

Innes must have given valuable advice as Ellen informed him on 17 September that:

I received a kind epistle from Mr Walker inclosing a draft for £100 which I have nearly paid away, as the receipts will show....Mr W desires me to acknowledge the receipt of his favour in my next to George. A proof that it is not known to any other part of the family. I find so many more small bills come in, that were not in my statement at first that I am shocked to death least Mr W should think that I meant to deceive him in doing which we should only involve ourselves in endless trouble. God! only knows how fervently I wish my kind husband's Return, yet unless something is got, or some business or employment, what can we do? – Again to get involved will break my heart and bring poor George to a premature grave. Oh! my Good Dear Friend if you can without intruding state this forcibly to Mr W you do not know the service you would be doing two poor Creatures that will always be grateful. Although my good man and self are but one, yet he is not acquainted with my application either to you or his Father. I should be sorry to do anything unpleasant in the least to him and although this is meant for our mutual good and satisfaction I am sure in the present instance he would not approve of it. What an awkward situation I am in.⁴

With the letter Ellen enclosed two packets for Mr Walker adding a footnote to indicate that the only part of her father-in-law's letter which hurt her referred to the payment of 'Mary's bills. This was doubting my word. It was wrong of G not to give his F my letter and all the Receipts'. Before the letter could be sent a demand for

¹ NAS, CS46/1831/5/38.

² NAS, GD113/5/457(1), 21 August 1807.

³ The wealthy Gilbert Innes also served as Treasurer of the Highland Society, as a Manager of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, as a Director of the Assembly Rooms and Treasurer of the Pitt Club as well as belonging to a number of societies. He never married but was said to have fathered over 67 children including the Burnett family of Canongate to whom Ellen referred in her letters.

⁴ NAS, GD113/5/457, 17 September 1807.

rent arrears arrived from the landlord causing Ellen to write on the top of her epistle that this was 'quite unexpected and almost deprived me of existence'.⁵

Mr Innes, however, seems to have given the packets to George which, with the landlord's deadline date for payment approaching, precipitated another letter from Ellen to Innes whom she regarded as her only friend in Edinburgh. Writing on 11 October she indicated that she had not heard from George for three weeks in spite of having written to him three times and his silence 'induces me to think he is angry with me', filling her with 'fears and anxiety'.⁶ Though 'Mr W I am full well assured is not my enemy' yet 'when my husband is surrounded by those who wish to annihilate me what may their continual insinuations effect'. Ellen thought that the 'business of the signature' in the controversy over the appointment of the Deputy Ushers of the Exchequer 'would put his Father out of temper, as they have been under the necessity of having the witness down from London to swear to his hand writing'. She regretted that Innes had give George the packets as she feared he would never show his father the receipts or give any explanation about his present situation; and 'if he returns here without getting anything done, we must again get involved and the consequence will be, it will prey on his mind and injure his health'.

Ellen referred to her husband's scheme of publishing a 'Biographical Book'; the amount of work and expense involved, the number of similar publications and the appeal 'to the taste of but few readers' rendering little likelihood of profit.

He is poor fellow, too apt to be sanguine which make the Disappointment felt the more because it was not expected. I pray God! he may not be disappointed in the present instance as it will in some degree affect his worthy Father and alter his opinion of his sons abilities! I really begin to think I am never to see him again.⁷

At some point George did return, not having shown to his father any of the documents sent by his wife so that 'Mr Walker is to this moment ignorant of what I did with the soms given and sent to me'.⁸ Nor had George written to the landlord who had given them 10 days to pay the rent arrears of £150 for 16 Craven Street. On her husband's instructions Ellen reluctantly wrote again to Innes stating that as she had received her last Christmas money in advance to pay bills she would not receive anything before June and was at a loss to know where they could borrow money.

We expect Mr Walker and his two daughters here today or tomorrow and I advise George to make it known to him at once but he says at this time his Father is so pressed for ready money it will only irritate him and perhaps make an eternal breach between them and that it will be conceived by his mother as a new debt, or one that ought to have been paid out of the money I received from Mr Walker.⁹

George had apparently conducted business since his return but not enough to pay the arrears within the specified time hence the request to Innes for a loan for a few months. Ellen asserted that they had no debts except 'about £50 for wine I laid in

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ NAS, GD113/5/457(170), 11 October 1807.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ NAS, GD113/5/457(9), 23 March 1808.

⁹ Ibid.

when there was likely to be a great advance on that article'. Her letter has 'answ. 30 March 1808' written at the bottom but no indication if the loan was granted.

In a letter to Innes dated April 1808, Ellen Walker told him that Mr Walker's daughters had been instructed before they came to Town to:

"take care and keep their Father from me as much as possible, or my fascinating wheedling would get what I pleased out of him". They have been so faithful to the trust reposed that I never had or indeed sought for more than five minutes conversation at a time with him.¹⁰

George had not paid the rent and feared to ask his father lest the influence of the rest of the family should persuade him to disinherit his eldest son. All that had been earned by him through a little Excise business from Scotland amounted to £3 4s. 'I cannot believe Mr W would be so unjust as to suffer one of his children to starve whilst all the rest are living in comfort and plenty'.¹¹ Ellen thought that it was expected that George should return to Scotland. On 5 May she asked Mr Innes to visit. 'They are pressing George on all sides to set off for Edinburgh next Saturday!!! when I shall again be left in the same state of suspense and uncertainty as last year'.¹² Ellen had not been consulted. She urged Innes to come and speak on her behalf with her husband and perhaps with Mr Walker.

George Walker did, however, return to Edinburgh, as on 11 May, in a letter inviting Mr Innes to accompany her and her niece and friends to the theatre, Ellen wrote – 'not a line from Scotland yet': though she heard from George the next day that he was well but not in good spirits.¹³ Ellen Walker must have had some money in her own right for she referred to her Trustee having given her a cheque without dating it 'so that I cannot get cash for it without sending to the City'.¹⁴ She asked Innes to deal with it for her. Marion Burnet, illegitimate daughter of Gilbert Innes, who disliked George Walker, wrote to her father to say that Walker had arrived – 'his family I am told wish of all things to keep him in Scotland and bring about a separation between him and Mrs Walker. She would be better quit of him in my opinion'.¹⁵ Some days later she despatched another letter in which she told him:

Your account of Mrs GW amused but did not surprise me, she may be very pleasant and good company for gentlemen, ladies sont toute à faite une autre chose. Her husband I dislike very much, however, as you request it, shall certainly behave extremely well to him when he calls which he has not yet had the civility to do¹⁶

The last of Ellen Walker's letters to Gilbert Innes is dated 18 June 1808 and indicates that she had heard of George's return to London.

I sent to know who had said so – and find it was you. I am all anxiety as he knows not where to find me at present I am an unprotected outcast merely on a visit, or rather intruding on the kindness of a Female Friend. I am only come to Town yesterday and if George is not come

¹⁰ NAS, GD113/5/458/180.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² NAS, GD113/5/458/163.

¹³ NAS, GD113/5/458/161.

¹⁴ NAS, GD113/5/458/160, 12 May 1808.

¹⁵ NAS, GD113/5/458/147, 17 May 1808.

¹⁶ NAS, GD113/5/458/143, 26 May 1808.

intend leaving London next Tuesday Should you pass this way I hope you will look in on a sincere friend.¹⁷

Whatever happened in the period after this, when William Walker penned his Disposition and Settlement in 1814 he made it quite clear that the allowance to be paid to George after his father's death was for him alone and would terminate when George himself died.

Six extant letters written to the Dundases by George Walker provide scanty but revealing evidence of his lack of career success. One of these he penned from Drumsheugh on 18 July 1808, making it unlikely that he had returned to London a month previously as indicated above. The only business letter is dated 17 December 1790 when the twenty years old George wrote from No 16 Surrey Street Strand, London to the Rt Hon Henry Dundas about presenting a petition to the Treasury on behalf of Messrs Cadell, partners in the Grange Company.¹⁸ The petition related to a judgement against the company in favour of the Scottish Court of Exchequer over the payment of salt duty. There is a hint of Patrick Walker's phraseology in the wording of George's letter:

I presented the Petition on their behalf to the Treasury which was of course remitted to the Commissioners in Scotland who without consulting or taking the opinion of the Lord Advocate have returned the Petition with a report very unfavourable to the Messrs Cadells and as I was given to understand that the petition would be enforced by you I have to request the favour that you will cause some application to be made to the Treasury on their behalf and if you should want any further information upon this subject I will wait upon you sending a line to me....an immediate application to the Treasury will be necessary.¹⁹

Subsequent letters sought personal patronage.

On 24 July 1799 George wrote to Dundas, now Secretary of State for War, excusing the liberty he took in addressing the Minister on the grounds of the latter's 'very great Freindship (sic) and assistance shewn to my Father Mr W Walker of the Exchequer Edinburgh'.²⁰ George provided an outline of his lack of career progress with the underlying implication that this was not his fault.

At an early period I was placed under a Gentleman in the King's Remembrancer's Office and from the large promises made by him had great hopes of succeeding according to the wishes of myself and friends but after a very long attentive service had the mortification to find my hopes were placed on a wrong foundation.²¹

Subsequently he had been acting as a solicitor or 'Scotch Agent' but due to 'the established practise of the several respectable Gentlemen in that line my employment has been very trifling and inadequate to support me among my present connections'. William Walker had advised him to seek some similar respectable position and had offered financial assistance in procuring this but George determined to try another year, without success. He therefore sought the assistance of Dundas in securing a position 'whether in this country Scotland or abroad'.²²

¹⁷ NAS, GD113/5/458/111.

¹⁸ NAS, GD51/6/878.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ NAS, GD 51/6/1367.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Seven months later Henry Dundas received another letter from George Walker on a subject he considered to be extremely interesting to his future prospects; his Scottish business in London still being scant. Ireland beckoned.

The Union with Ireland will necessarily bring a great deal of some kind of Parliamentary business from that Country. I have therefore been induced to turn my thoughts to that quarter which I believe has not occurred to any person the same line in London. I have been promised very powerful support but my success must almost wholly depend upon the event of the applications I have now very humbly to submit to you.²³

Using the example of the work undertaken by Messrs Spottiswoode and Langlands for Scottish business, Walker asked to be appointed as Solicitor for Ireland though what he probably meant was to act as Irish law and Parliamentary agent as Messrs Spottiswoode and Robertson (not Langlands) did for Scotland. Following the promotion of John Stewart to the position of Attorney-General for Ireland, William Cusack-Smith became Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1800.

The final letters George wrote to Henry Dundas date to 1808. In the first he enclosed a document which he thought might be of use to Mr Perceval in his investigations into the 'Traffic in Public Offices'.²⁴ In the second dated 18 July 1808 from Drumsheugh, Walker made another plea (unpunctuated) for an appointment.

A Mr. Raine holds the situation of Solicitor to the Hawkers and Peddlars Office in Somerset House with a salary of £50 per Ann for some reason he has been suspended these six months and I believe would resign if I could obtain the appointment which is at the disposal of the Treasury. The emolument is of little consequence compared with the assistance it would render me in my business as a Clerk of Court in the Exchequer.²⁵

A note written on the bottom of the letter recorded the Treasury Minute of 23 January as 'dismissed Mr Raine and does not think it expedient to appoint an office in his room'; with the addition of a note of a letter sent to Mr Walker informing him that his application to the Commissioners for Hawkers and Pedlars 'cannot be completed the office being abolished'.²⁶ From the evidence cited above George Walker must have secured a position of sworn clerk at some point earlier, possibly in 1791 as Charles Cummins, said to have witnessed a signature in 1791 in the affair of the Deputy Usher of the Exchequer, was described as Walker's clerk. There were eight sworn clerks, officers of the court, who held their offices for life and worked under the Remembrancer; and they were assisted by 24 side clerks, three for each sworn clerk. A clerk acted as an attorney for the parties in court, and every party was required to employ one. On 14 February 1793, for example, George Walker of the Exchequer Office Inner Temple was ordered to enter into a Recognizance for Major George Hay who had appealed to the House of Lords against a decree of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland—George Walker would appear on Hay's behalf as the latter resided in Scotland.²⁷

²³ NAS, GD51/6/1404, 19 March 1800. Walker now resided in Craven Street London.

²⁴ NAS, GD51/6/1638, 17 February 1808. Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer became Prime Minister in 1809 but was assassinated in 1812.

²⁵ NAS, GD51/6/1638.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ History of Parliament Trust, *House of Lords Journal*, vol. 39, 14 February 1793.

The last of George Walker's begging letters was addressed to Lord Melville (second Viscount Melville and son of Henry Dundas). He wrote from a 'cottage in Llanfair Montgomeryshire' on 17 May 1816 in reference to a Parliamentary bill which if passed, would require a Registrar in every county for the recording of documents regarding property:

my long professional habits and acquaintance with conveyancing flatter me that I should be found fully adequate to such a situation, having now nothing to engage my attention—a continued state of ill health obliged me to relinquish a lucrative profession and retire to the Country with but a very moderate private income where I have now regained my health.²⁸

He supposed that the Lord Lieutenant would 'have the appointment' and requested Dundas to put in a good word for him. This would 'confer a lasting favour on my Family and friends (to whom it is too late to apply)'.²⁹ George Walker, esq 'of the King's Remembrancer's Office, eldest son of the late William Walker, esq of Drumsheugh Edinburgh' died seven years later on 14 August 1823, at Whitehill Cottage near Hanham Bristol.³⁰ He was 53 years old. The family interred him in the Walker plot in Greyfriars Churchyard where his name appears below that of his parents as 'barrister, London, who died at Hanham near Bristol'.

²⁸ NAS GD51/6/1892.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1823. A briefer notice giving the date as 15 August appeared in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* 1823, p. 471.

Appendix 3. Clary Wine

This is the recipe given by Charles Carter in *The Compleat City and Country Cook* published in 1732.¹ Clary is clary sage—*salvia sclarea*—a herbaceous plant.

Take twelve pounds of Malaga Raisins, after they have been picked small and chop'd, put them into a vessel, and a quart of water to each pound. Let them stand to steep for ten or twelve Days, being kept close covered all the while stirring them twice every Day; afterwards strain it off, and put it up in a Cask, add a quarter of a Peck of the tops of Clary, when it is in Blossom; then stop it up close for six Weeks, and afterwards you may bottle it off, and it will have a great settlement therefore it should be top'd pretty high, or drawn off by Plugs.

¹ Charles Carter, *The Compleat City and Country Cook or, accomplish'd housewife* (London, 1732), p. 212.

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