

Occupational mapping of 1635 Edinburgh: an introduction

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study in occupational mapping is on combining locational data for early modern occupations with a contemporary town plan of Edinburgh, in order to study occupational distribution in the urban environment. Much work has recently been done on the social, economic and occupational structure of burghs, but very little has been done on the physical locations of the various work-types. By combining data from a 1635 tax roll with the corresponding section of the 1647 Gordon of Rothiemay map of Edinburgh, a new tool was formed for visualizing the distribution and physical patterns of urban occupations in the south-east quarter of Scotland's capital.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades there has been much high quality study on the occupational structure of towns. Particularly in Scotland, a rough picture has been formed of what types of work were done in burghs and what percentage of burgesses were involved in the various categories of work.¹ What is not understood quite as well, is the impact of geography on work. Where in a town were the occupations located? Did physical geography have an impact on where a baker could bake, or a tailor sew? Was the town divided up into residential and commercial zones, or could work happen anywhere? Often times, there are place names which survive that hint at locational groupings of occupations, such as 'Candlemaker Row' or 'Potterrow'. Were these occupations limited to these areas and if so, why? What role did economics play in the physical location of work-types? Which occupations could be practised anywhere? Which ones depended on certain natural resources? Were certain work-types clustered together, or did they tend to be evenly dispersed? Which work-

types were marginalized from the main centres of economic activity? Unfortunately, there are more questions than answers at this point, but through distributional analysis, we can greatly enhance our understanding of burgh occupations, giving insight into the role geography played in everyday burgh life.

This study will follow the model of several German towns for which occupational mapping has been carried out for the early modern period. In Scotland, several historians have touched on physical distribution while discussing occupational structure, but their comments were not comprehensive nor did they make use of visual aids to show locations. Due to time and budget constraints, this project focuses on the south-east quarter of Edinburgh. While not a complete view of the entire burgh, it does suggest some interesting patterns while laying foundations for further analysis of the other three quarters.

Previous work on the housemails tax has shown that, from a burgh total of 903 businesses and 3901 houses, the south-east quarter contained 180 businesses and 1051 houses (Lynch 1996,

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456), equating to roughly 20% of Edinburgh's businesses and 27% of households. The average rent for the quarter was £41, the exact average of the overall burgh in 1635.² The south-east quarter is known to have housed a wide range of occupations and does not represent either the poorest or the most affluent of quarters.

First, the sources will be discussed, along with other factors which merit consideration in occupational mapping. This will be followed by a discussion of the organization and structures of commerce in early modern Edinburgh, before looking at the spatial distribution of the identifiable occupations from the housemails tax.

PREVIOUS WORK

Occupational mapping is not a new idea. Business directories of one form or another have been around for centuries and many urban historians, realizing the value of locational data, have touched on the physical distribution of occupations in wider studies of towns. Plotting locational data on a map to form a visual representation of occupational geography of a town is, however, much less common. The idea for this study came from the German city-museums in Nuremberg and Regensburg. Both *Stadtmuseen* have visual displays showing where different occupations were located within the city walls. Instantly, spatial patterns become apparent. For example, the map in the Regensburg *Stadtmuseum* shows that the goldsmiths and locksmiths were tightly grouped together, while the blacksmiths, shoemakers and builders were spread out across the city. There were concentrations of millers by the river and the bakers, though spread across the city, were somewhat concentrated by the water as well. The tailors and the building trades were spread out, giving access to their services and products across the city.

The display at the Regensburg *Stadtmuseum* is based on Christian Forneck's (2000) study,

Die Regensburger Einwohnerschaft im 15. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sozialtopographie einer deutschen Grossstadt des Spätmittelalters, one of the finest examples of occupational mapping to date. Other German historians have delved into the distribution of occupations in the urban environment. One such study compares the towns of Augsburg and Florence (Piper 1982). Another German study dealt specifically with the bakers for the city of Augsburg, including a map showing the distribution of bakehouses across the city (Roeck 1987, 190).

The Germans are not alone in their work in occupational distribution; several fine examples have come from England, eg John Langton's (1975, 1–27) excellent study focusing on residential patterns in Newcastle in 1665 and Kelly's (1983) on the occupational distribution of Norwich, circa 1300.³ Unsurprisingly, the city covered best in England, or for that matter, Great Britain, is London. Both Beier and Power touched on occupational distribution in their chapters in *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (Beier 1986, 151–6; Power 1986, 212–22). More than a decade later, Joseph Ward (1997, 28–39) discussed guild, or company, authority in relation to 'residence patterns'. In terms of actual mapping of occupational distribution, the best example from England is Craig Spence's (2000b, 128–49) *London in the 1690s: A Social Atlas*.⁴

There has been some work on the geographical distribution of occupations in Scotland, though it has been primarily consigned to small chapter sections dealing with the more extensively covered occupational structure. Walter Makey's (1987) study of 1635 Edinburgh touches on occupational distribution, but is primarily concerned with patterns of wealth as shown by rent levels. He did include a brief discussion of some clusters of certain occupational types, but this was not his main focus (*ibid*, 210–15). Helen Dingwall's study of the poll tax records for greater Edinburgh shows some interesting distributive data for the

1690s (Dingwall 1994, 139–41, 289–93). This could be used at a later date to look at patterns of change in geographic distribution from 1635 to 1690; with more case studies the scope could be significantly widened. Gilhooley's (1988) work on Edinburgh in 1752, while intended to be more of a directory based on the later 19th-century types, has potential for occupational mapping. Sadly, it is not complete. One last visual representation of occupational distribution from a historian in the UK is found in a study of Venice's guilds, which includes a map showing known locations of mercer's shops, grocer's shops and warehouses (Mackenney 1987, 86).

Attempts have been made at generalizing the geographic character of both social geography and occupational geography in urban areas. Sjöberg (1965, 101–2) placed importance on technology and family ties in relation to location, while Vance focused on guild association and the clustering of occupations into 'gild districts' (Vance 1971, 105), or 'occupation quarters' (Vance 1990, 151). Langton made use of their models in his study of Newcastle, though neither model completely predicted his own findings (Langton 1975, 21). While their generalizations do hold value for our understanding of the physical layout of urban occupations, it is clear that more case studies in occupational distribution are needed.

1635 HOUSEMAILS TAX

Luckily, such a study is possible for 17th-century Edinburgh through the use of a unique set of tax records called the housemails. This tax, which was implemented from 1633 to 1636, is often referred to as the 'annuity tax'.⁵ While it was generally described as 'annualrentis' in the 1633 council minutes (*Edin Recs* 1936, 135) and as 'the annuytie' in a private letter (*ibid*, xliii), it was officially known as the 'housemails tax'. Annuity was, of course, a part of the tax records, but in 1636 when the records from each of the four quarters were bound into a single volume, it

was entitled, *Book of the rate of all housemails and duty to be paid for each house for payment of 12,000 merks 1634–1636* (ECA HTB, Cover). 'Annuity tax' appears to be a misnomer. According to the Edinburgh City Archives, the tax book was incorrectly labelled at one point. The misnaming was possibly shortly after 1908, as in that year the tax records were discussed and correctly identified by S H Turner in his book, *The History of Local Taxation in Scotland* (Turner 1908, 176). In 1912, however, Norrie wrote a book entitled, *The Annuity Tax: A Memorable Chapter in the Ecclesiastical History of Edinburgh*. The name of the tax is largely academic, however, and does not detract from the value or calibre of the various works which discussed this important record.

The reason for this tax was to pay the stipends for Edinburgh's ministers. The Town Council was responsible for the payment of these stipends, which in the early part of Charles I's reign amounted to 1200 merks a year with a house or the equivalent in rent. Though this was an increase from previous agreements, the King was not satisfied and put pressure on the Council to increase it. This eventually, and on the Council's part reluctantly, led to a one-off tax based on rents, the housemails (*Edin Recs* 1936, xlii–xliv).

On 15 November 1633, the Council, with 62 'neighbours' in attendance, agreed to two extraordinary taxes on 'addebted' money and 'annualrents' to be composed for certain sums. The minutes of this Council meeting mentioned the fact that the taxes might cause disunity in the burgh population, 'which their predecessors has so long laboured to keep in happy unity' (*ibid*, 135). A further meeting of 11 March 1635 brought an agreement on the higher scale wanted by the King; 2000 merks and 200 merks for house rent for the four principal ministers of the burgh and 1300 merks with the same house rent allowance for the secondary ministers, save Mr Thomson and Mr Fairlie on account of their long service (*ibid*, xliii). On 1 May 1635, the Council passed an official Act to raise 12,000

merks. Again, it involved protest at the higher rate (*ibid*, 161).

Provision for the collection of the tax in each parish or quarter was made in the same Act of Council. Full power and commission was given, 'for passing through the whole city and trying of what mail every tenement, dwelling house, low tavern, cellar or chamber according as the same is jointly or distinctly inhabited' (*ibid*, 161). An inventory was to be taken of the burgh's housemails, which were to be gathered into a roll book; this record survives as the *Housemails Taxation Book*. The Act finished by naming the persons who were to take the inventory of the housemails. Four men from each parish⁶ were chosen to be 'extentors', with half being merchants and half craftsmen. The crafts were represented by one tailor, two skimmers, a cordiner, a surgeon, a baxter, a goldsmith and a 'hammerman' (*ibid*, 161). Interestingly, and probably by mistake, the tailor and skinner from the north-west quarter were listed as merchants in the *Housemails Taxation Book*, while the hammerman was simply called a smith (*ECA HTB*, 1).

The tax was to be augmented by Beltane Feast, 1635 (*Edin Recs* 1936, 161), but by 1637 the collection of the tax stalled due to the refusal of the clerks, advocates and writers to contribute to the tax. While this was eventually settled at a yearly contribution of 11 pence on the pound of house rent, the actual collection of the tax seems to have failed to materialize. On 27 December 1639, the tax was declared insufficient and the Council tried to find other ways of repaying the loans they had taken out to pay the ministers' stipends (*ibid*, xliv).

In 1649, an even higher taxation on the 'whole rents and mails of all the dwelling-houses, chambers, booths, cellars and all other houses, high and low, paying mail within the said town' was imposed (Turner 1908, 176), but it did not leave a record like the 1634–6 housemails. While the first housemails tax may have been a failure in terms of municipal fund-raising, it left an incredibly detailed and unique

record of the social and occupational structure of the Scottish capital.

The applications for this source in terms of urban history are numerous. Makey (1987, 192–218) used the housemails to great effect in terms of occupational structure and wealth, but much more data can be gleaned. In particular they are suited quite well for occupational mapping due to the precise locations given for each residence and business. The *Housemails Taxation Book* was divided into four sections, one for each of the four quarters. Each of these four quarters was further divided into three 'thirds'. The focus of this study is on the south-east quarter, with its first third being roughly from Con's Close and Horse Wynd to Peebles Wynd, its second third from Marlin's Wynd to Blackfriar's and High School Wynds and its last third from Blackfriar's Wynd to the Netherbow (*ECA HTB*, 277–462).

The entries on each page of the housemails were divided up into four categories: landlord, tenants, mails and annuity. For example, one entry listed the landlord as 'Nicoll Henrisone, flesher', who owned his own property; the entry for tenants read 'Nicoll Henrisone, foresaid: a little chope southward'. His mails amounted to £5 and the annuity was 4s 4d (*ibid*, 416). There was much variation; some businesses owned their own premises, but many paid rent to others. The businesses mentioned included fore booths, low booths, high booths, shops, workhouses, barns, smithies, stables, kills, bakehouses and yards. Of course, not all businesses would have been mentioned; it is inevitable that some individuals would have had more than one occupation, with only their primary one having been listed, while others would have worked at home with only their residence having been recorded.

The relationship of home and workplace does not lend itself to generalizations. Sometimes the two were near and sometimes they were not. Patrick Gibson, vintner, had a high house and a cellar which he operated as a tavern, all off the same turnpike stair on the south side of the High Street. Previously, he had also owned a high fore booth above the tavern,

but sold it to James Kennedy (*ibid*, 391). In the morning – probably late morning – Gibson only had to walk downstairs to go to work. This was the case for many of the individuals in the housemails tax records, but there were other scenarios as well. James Semple, wright, lived in a little close which had his dwelling house and work house off Bell’s Wynd. He also had a waste yard for keeping wood at the south end or foot of Johnstone’s Close (one close west of Bell’s Wynd) and a low fore booth on the High Street (*ibid*, 281, 284 & 287).⁷ His businesses and house were further spaced than Gibson’s.

One of the smaller obstacles which had to be overcome for this project was figuring out the jargon in the housemails. Two words in particular with varied spellings were problematic: back and bake, which were spelled ‘bake’, ‘bak’ and ‘baike’. For example, there were ‘bake vaults’ and ‘bak houses’, as well as ‘baike houses’ in the records. Upon close examination of the housemails, entries for a smith paying mail for a booth with a ‘bak’ house and stables being down a ‘bak transe’, or close, confirmed that ‘bak’ did indeed refer to the modern word ‘back’ (*ibid*, 363). Another individual owned a ‘bake and fore’ turnpike house off of a stair head, again indicating the spatially-descriptive nature of the spelling ‘bake’ (*ibid*, 344). On the contrary, references to ‘baike houses’ can confidently be put down as houses where the process of baking bread happened. Adam Stein and his ‘partners the Baxters’ paid mail for a ‘baikehouse’ in Todrick’s Wynd (*ibid*, 425). The properties relating to the baxters were the ‘baikehouses’.⁸

By reading through the 185 pages of rent valuations and noting down each shop, booth and any other occupationally-related structure, a rough list was made of the businesses in the south-east quarter. While previous work listed 180 businesses in the south-east quarter (Lynch 1996, 456), this study found slightly more, probably owing to a broader definition of the term ‘business’. For example, 96 booths, 59 shops, eight workhouses, 65 stables, three barns and eight bakehouses were found, surpassing

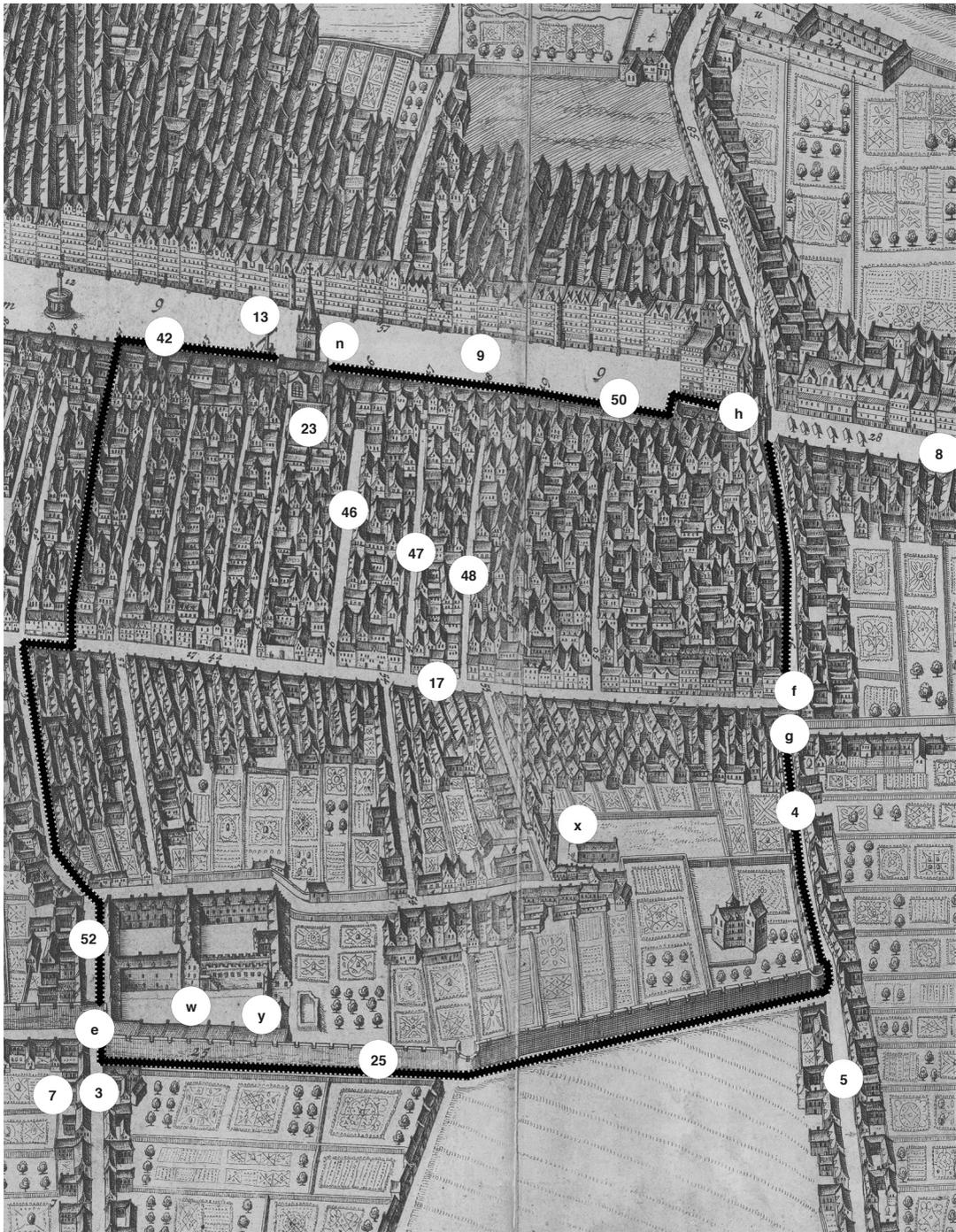
the 180 mark and falling short of the complete list of occupational locations shown on the maps for this study. While not all of the stables would have represented a business, as some were privately owned, they did indeed represent an occupation for the stabler who cared for the owner’s horses.

With the aid of the burgess rolls (Watson 1929) and minute books of the Incorporation of Hammermen (ECA ED008/1/1-8; NMS Whitelaw), as many of the businesses as possible were identified. There were 53 businesses that were impossible to identify; while it is clearly stated that John Main had a fore booth with a back house (*ECA HTB*, 282), it is not stated if this was John Main the candlemaker or John Main the merchant. Many of the entries had numerous possibilities. Others were easier to discern through context; if a smithy was listed, it was definitely the smith; if a bakehouse, the baker; and if a tavern, then most likely the taverner. Those names with only one listing for the correct date-range in the burgess rolls were assumed to be the individual listed in the housemails.

Moreover, the tax records are not comprehensive. One estimation indicates that at best, only 40% of the male working population was represented in 16th- and 17th-century tax rolls (Lynch 1988, 263). The data taken from the south-east quarter cannot be taken as a definitive picture, but only as a view of known locations. Even if incomplete, patterns can still be seen to emerge when plotted on a map of 17th-century Edinburgh. Fortunately, a fairly accurate map of the south-east quarter of Edinburgh exists.

1647 GORDON OF ROTHIMAY MAP

The visual resource chosen to demonstrate the spatial patterns for occupations was the 1647 view of Edinburgh by James Gordon of Rothimay (NLS). Gordon surveyed the town on the authority of the town council (*Edin Recs* 1938, 116) and created a map that was really a



ILLUS 1 South-east quarter

birds-eye view picture. This incredibly detailed view of Edinburgh has been described as ‘an historical document of the first importance’ (Makey 1987, 200). Gordon painstakingly recorded architectural details and street names, though not all of the map is completely accurate. The north side of Edinburgh above the High Street in particular has been flagged up as carrying artistic license (ibid, 200), though the south side seems almost precise in certain places, when compared with the information given in the housemails. In the south-east quarter (illus 1), it would seem that the larger thoroughfares were more accurately drawn. For example, the section south of Cowgate, between College Wynd and Robertson’s Wynd, is drawn as having what looks like 14 closes in between, but the housemails list only nine closes. This results in possible displacement of the occupational markers in the said area of the maps for this article. Still, the Gordon map does give a reasonable view of the physical geography described in the housemails records and therefore provides a good visual aid to occupational mapping of the south-east quarter. The south-east section has been reproduced for the rest of the maps showing the occupational distribution of Edinburgh in 1635.

There are many interesting features relating to the occupational structure of Edinburgh which Gordon decided to show on his map, though only a few were deemed important enough to label in the map’s key. Many of these are either public in nature or owned corporately, as opposed to a house or booth owned by individuals. Some have economic functions, such as the flesh market, while others have social functions, such as the churches and schools.

In the south-east quarter, the most prominent structure was the spire of the Tron Kirk, labelled ‘n’ (see illus 1). One other church is labelled, St Mary of the Fields or the Kirk of Field, labelled ‘y’. There was at least one other chapel, though only the aforementioned kirks were labelled. Two structures used for education were labelled on the south-east quarter of the Gordon map. The

high school, or ‘latin school’, ‘x’, is shown off of High School Wynd. The college, ‘w’, which was only founded 52 years before the map was made, takes up a sizeable section. Represented by ‘23’ is the one labelled market, the flesh market. It is located quite near to the High Street, indicating its importance. Not labelled, however, is the pudding market near the Cowgate. The tron, or weigh beam, ‘13’, is located right on the High Street, before the kirk which bears its name. The tron’s location points to the important economic function which the High Street played in early modern Edinburgh.

There were other types of man-made structures labelled on Gordon’s map. One of particular importance in terms of delineating what was included in the south-east quarter was the burgh wall, ‘25’. Not only did the wall act as a defensive measure – an antiquated defence by 1635 – but it also acted as a civic symbol. It represented inclusion/exclusion from the town. Included with the wall were the south-east quarter’s four ports: Potterrow Port, ‘e’; Cowgate Port, ‘f’; St Mary’s Wynd Port, ‘g’; and Netherbow Port, ‘h’. These ports were an integral part of the functions of the wall; they granted access defensively, socially and economically. Highlighting their importance is another set of labelled features of the south-east quarter, the five suburbs just outside. Gordon labelled Potterrow, ‘3’; Bristo, ‘7’ (immediately to the left of Potterrow); ‘Suburbs of Pleasance’, ‘5’; St Mary’s Wynd Suburbs, ‘4’; and Canongate Suburbs, ‘8’. Though there was legislation against it, some occupations chose to move outside of the burgh to avoid taxation in what has been termed the ‘flight to the suburbs’ (Lynch 1988, 274–6). The suburbs were an asset and a threat to Edinburgh’s economy and their significance is highlighted by the fact that they were labelled on the map while the pudding market was not.

One last set of labelled features is the road system. The most important thoroughfares of the south-east quarter were the High Street, ‘9’ and the Cowgate, ‘17’. Also important

were Horse Wynd, '52', which made up the western boundary of the south-east quarter, and Niddry's Wynd, '46', which Gordon chose to illustrate as being wider than most. There are 16 labelled roads in the south-east quarter, though there were more than 43 streets, wynds and closes listed in the housemails tax records (*ECA HTB*, 277–462; Watson 1924, 120–32). It is tempting to think that this might indicate that the roads shown were in fact larger or more important thoroughfares than the others. Johnstone's and Snaddon's closes are missing, though Bell's Wynd, '42', is shown. Skinners' Close is missing, though the two courtyards off it to the west seem to be in place to the west of Gray's Wynd, '50'. A later and more accurate 18th-century map was needed for locating and identifying these missing closes, which were mentioned in the 1635 housemails, but are lacking on the Gordon map (Edgar 1742). The data on the maps presented in this study of occupational location are therefore approximate locations.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURES OF COMMERCE

The organization of commerce in 17th-century Edinburgh was more complex than its medieval forerunner. In the medieval burgh, the primary institution of economic activity was the merchant guild (Lynch 1988, 261). While craftsmen could join the guild, the system was legislated in a way that gave merchant activity advantages over craft-production. By the 15th century, measures were taken to balance the position of craftsmen through the institution of incorporation. Groups of similar crafts banded together to form 14 incorporated trades. Corporatism, the modern name for this movement (Farr 2000, 20), brought about increased politicization and protected privileges amongst the elite sections of the urban manufacturing community. Not all crafts incorporated at the same time. Of Edinburgh's 14 craft incorporations, the first to

receive a seal of cause granting their privileged status was the hatmaker craft in 1473. The goldsmiths, however, did not receive their seal of cause until 1581, though they had been a part of the Incorporation of Hammermen in 1483 (Allen 2005, 13). The guild and 14 incorporated trades were still very strong in 1635, though not all merchants were in the guild and not all craft-production happened within the structure of incorporation. For example, the brewers formed a society, but did not incorporate, there was no incorporation for Edinburgh's porters or carters and the mint workers were not involved in any incorporation.

The 17th century has been described as part of the transition period from medieval to modern times (Kindleberger 1991, 149). This transition in Scotland included an increasingly modern form of capitalism, with joint-stock enterprises becoming more common. This occurrence in the production sector has been dubbed the 'Manufactory Movement' (Marshall 1992, 127). Instead of having single shops making items, groups of individuals would pool their money to create manufactories for larger-scale production. James VI and Charles I both created legislation to support this type of activity (Turnbull 2001, 25), though it was not until the Industrial Revolution that factory-production would overtake smaller-scale craft-production.

While it has been stated that from the Black Death to industrialization the European norm was 'decentralized small commodity production' (Farr 2000, 55), there were signs of change in Edinburgh by the 1500s. After the 1583 decret arbitral increased the equality between craftsmen and merchants, more craftsmen started joining the Edinburgh guild and became employers of groups of craftsmen (Allen 2005, 258). This increase in subcontracting, which was larger in scale and more organized, again points to a more sophisticated economic system in 17th-century Edinburgh than in medieval times.

It is clear that Edinburgh's commerce had become more complex by the 17th century, but on the whole much remained unchanged. The

market and booth were still the most important structures of commerce and craft-privilege still dominated production, though it has been shown that society was indeed leaning towards a more modern form of capitalism with new ways of funding production. The subtleties of continuity and change are important for understanding the framework in which Edinburgh's businesses existed, but are they visible in the occupational distribution of Edinburgh's south-east quarter? Before looking at the distribution of Edinburgh's occupations it would be expedient to look at the main physical structures of commerce in Edinburgh: markets, fairs, booths and shops.

MARKETS AND FAIRS

Markets and fairs were two of the most important vehicles for trade in early modern Edinburgh. In 1477, Edinburgh had 14 separate markets for iron work, animal feed, fish, salt, chapmen's work, which included that of hatmakers and skinnners, wood and timber, shoes and leather, carcasses and mutton, fowls, livestock, meal, cloth, dairy products and used goods (*Edin Recs* 1869, 34–5). The market for iron work was in St Mary's Wynd, just outside of the Netherbow Port and what would be the burgh walls a century later. The market for skins was on the south side of the High Street, from the Bellhouse down to the Tron. In 1558 it was moved to 'beneath the Salt Tron, betwixt Walter Scott's Close and Niddrie's Wynd on both sides' and in 1559 it was moved 'to the Friar Wynd head and from their further to the Nether Bow ...' (Colston 1891, 89). Markets were not static in placement. In 1477 the fish market was on the High Street, stretching from Friar Wynd to the Netherbow (*Edin Recs* 1869, 34), but in 1647 it had moved to its own wynd called Fish Market Wynd, between the High Street and the Cowgate (NLS Gordon 1647). In 1477, there were at least seven markets on the Edinburgh High Street. In the 1647 and 1742 maps, it is evident that at least three of these markets – the poultry, fish

and meal markets – had been cleared from the High Street (*ibid*; Edgar 1742).

Markets were highly regulated. For example, in the Hammermen's 1483 seal of cause it was stated that there was to be no open market or selling of metalwares, 'in no part fore nor backside within this burgh, but alanerly on the market day' (Smith 1906, 182). The freemen of the incorporation were to have privileged status in the selling of their products and, by limiting the selling of metalwares to a specific market day, it was easier to ensure that unfreemen would pay stallenger's fees for the right to sell Hammermen's work.

On the market day applicable to a specific craft, the craftsmen would bring their wares from their booths to the designated market place. Goods were allowed to be sold only from the individual's specific stand in the market, though it was a common complaint that hucksters walked up and down the town plying their wares. There were exceptions to this rule: stallengers who sold woven goods were allowed to sell only from their market stall, whereas the makers of the wool were allowed to walk up and down the market selling their goods (Marwick 1909, 194). Freemen burgesses were allowed to buy whole webs of cloth on any day of the week and unfreemen were allowed to sell whole webs to free burgesses. These inconsistencies in the burgh's market policies reflect the importance of cloth to Edinburgh's economy.

Markets would open at nine in the morning and close at one in the afternoon (*Edin Recs* 1869, 35; Marwick 1909, 189, 193–4); in 1740, it appears that the market for metalwork lasted until two (ECA ED008/1/7, 43). The market time was an important part of burgh privilege and measures were taken to ensure that the selling of goods took place only in the market place at the market time, eg fines for leaving goods on display past the close of the market. In 1740, work was seized from a stallenger named Chalmers in Potterrow 'for not razing his stall in the market when two of the clock in the afternoon struck' (*ibid*, 43). In order to prove

that one was a freeman of the burgh, it was required in 1664 that burgesses brought along their burgh tickets to the market (Marwick 1909, 182).

Another place where craftsmen could sell their wares was the burgh fair. Fairs were like markets, only far less frequent – markets were weekly, whereas burgh fairs happened only once or twice a year. During fairs, freedom seems to have been open to all. Unless someone was an outlaw ‘beyond sanctuary,’ the burgh’s freedom was suspended and all had licence. These fairs would have been golden opportunities for unfreemen, as they would have been able to sell their wares in Edinburgh, though the freemen of the burgh had first pick of selling space (*ibid*, 8).

The market was a very important institution in early modern Edinburgh. Markets required open space, such as the High Street, or the Fishmarket Close. Some would have needed a ready source of water. In a wet climate there would have been a need for covered stalls. While the burgh did relocate the less desirable markets which involved strong odours or mess away from the High Street, the inoffensive markets remained where they had been in 1477.⁹

BOOTH AND SHOPS

While the markets and fairs were common areas, open to all freemen and those unfreemen who paid stallenger’s fees, booths and shops were restricted to those who had purchased freedom of the burgh. Though booths and shops had several functions, the main activity in a craftsman’s booth was production. Craftsmen worked from five in the morning until eight o’clock at night on weekdays (ECA ED008/1/8, 1 August 1750), and until four o’clock on Saturdays (APS 1875, 382). All raw materials, tools and goods were locked up at night and apprentices were educated in these primary areas of occupational activity. They were also showrooms for the craftsman’s or merchant’s wares. The ultimate goal of producing wares was to sell them and

the display aspect of booths, as opposed to the storage aspect of warehouses, was therefore very important. A craftsman or merchant who had his booth or shop on the High Street had a definite advantage over one who had his booth tucked away down a side close.

It seems that booths and shops in general were not large spaces. As it was, with the population increase of the 16th century, space within the city walls was precious. To get a feel for the size of a booth from early modern Edinburgh, one needs only to enter one of the many shops on the High Street today. They are often small; typically long and narrow, with a shop front consisting of one or two small windows and the door. This type of frontage can be seen in various paintings and engravings of Edinburgh. Examples of surviving booths can also be seen underneath Mylne’s Court, in the Lawnmarket. When built in 1690, the ground floor section of the building was a line of shops (Pinkerton & Windram 1983, 26). One shop, a jewellery store today, was a baker’s shop in 1883 (*ibid*, 36). The inner walls were not easily changed. Some were structural, and their removal would have involved changing the entire building above them, so, like water, businesses filled the existing container. Though it is not always easy to discover what kind of occupation was originally practised between the walls, many of Edinburgh’s booths and shops survive today.

EDINBURGH’S SOUTH-EAST QUARTER, 1635

BOOTH AND SHOPS (ILLUS 2)

All 96 booths and 59 shops mentioned in the south-east quarter of the housemails tax are shown, regardless of occupation. This excludes all cellars, taverns, workhouses and residential houses unless it was specifically stated in the housemails that the premises were used as a booth or shop. The locations on this map were used for both production and retail. Included are several types of booths and shops.

Booths were described as low or high and fore or back, indicating that a booth could have been

directly on a main street or behind a building down a small close. They could be at street level, cellar level or first floor; possibly higher. There were many different kinds of occupations practised in booths: writers' booths, slaughterbooths, baxters' booths, tailors' booths, smiths' booths, merchants' booths, barbers' booths, booths used as taverns and many other types.

Shops seem to have been less substantial than booths. When description of a shop was given, it included adjectives like, little, small, wooden, stone, fore and low. They seem to have been smaller and immediately on the street-front; not behind the building like a back booth or upstairs like a high booth. Again, a range of occupations might have been practised in a shop, such as a merchant's shop, a blacksmith's shop and smithy, a cobbler's shop or a locksmith's shop.

The most apparent difference between booths and shops is their placement on the map. As can be seen, the booths tended to be placed on main thoroughfares such as the High Street and Cowgate. The shops are more often on the Cowgate than on the High Street, with many located down the subsidiary closes in between the two main streets. The booths clearly held a superior economic positioning, offering easier access to the main economic space in the burgh. The placement of booths and shops also shows that many of the secondary closes and wynds were purely residential, while most of the larger streets, closes and wynds were both residential and commercial in function.

WORKHOUSES (ILLUS 3)

The south-east quarter contained eight workhouses, which were owned or rented by five occupational groups – including one litster, four wrights, one woman, the mint and an unknown occupation (*ECA HTB*, 295, 284, 320, 368, 397, 371, 425 and 342, respectively). Little description is given about what a workhouse was or what happened there, possibly indicating a generalized usage for the term. They were sometimes described as a low workhouse or a back workhouse. Their positions in the south-east quarter tended to be down closes and wynds, but never on the High Street or Cowgate.

WOMEN'S BUSINESSES (ILLUS 4)

This category includes single women, wives and widows, or 'relits' as they were identified in the

housemails. A recent survey of Edinburgh's numerous tax records indicated that single women or widows comprised 22% of the households in Edinburgh's four quarters, equating to between 7 and 10% of taxpayers (Lynch 1988, 263). Of the female business owners in the south-east quarter of the 1635 housemails, 17 were listed independently of men, possibly indicating their single status; an example of this is Margaret Adamson's fore booth east of the entry to Stevenlaw's Close on the Cowgate (*ECA HTB*, 305). One woman was listed as being a wife: Mrs Isobell Sandilands of Torphichen had a house and cellar with a shop. The landlords listed her and her husband together (*ibid*, 369). Ten of the women in the south-east quarter were 'relits' and were either pursuing their deceased husbands' businesses or working one of their own to make ends meet.¹⁰

The types of female-run businesses listed in the housemails are not always discernable. Often times it only states that they had a booth, shop or workhouse. Occasionally there was a bakehouse, slaughterbooth, tavern or stable. Sometimes the type of business can be inferred by the trade of the deceased husband, though this is at best an educated guess. For instance, James Cairncroce was a maltman, so it is not unreasonable to assume that his widow's shop was still involved in the sale of malt (*ibid*, 326). Likewise, the widow of Thomas Baxter, who was a blacksmith, probably carried on his business, though it is not known if she did the smithing herself or instead managed a group of servants like other blacksmiths (*ibid*, 331). Others are quite clearly defined by the housemails records themselves. Alexander Balmanoch's widow had two taverns with clear occupational specialities (*ibid*, 278).

The disposition of women's businesses seems fairly evenly spread throughout the south-east quarter and follows the general trends of their male counterparts. The majority of the booths are on the High Street and the majority of the shops are on the Cowgate, following general patterns of all booths and shops. The taverns are all on the High Street, save the one near the corner of the Cowgate and Horse Wynd. The stable is on College Wynd, again demonstrative of the general disposition of the other stables. The bakehouses, workhouse and slaughterbooth are mostly between the High Street and the Cowgate. This would suggest that the locations of women's businesses follow the general patterns of all businesses, indicating that women, though far from equal and still excluded from certain types of work, were not segregated topographically, but enjoyed

equal access to the most economically advantageous sites for business premises; however, more work is needed on the other three quarters of the city before concrete conclusions can be drawn.

MERCHANTS (ILLUS 5)

Three vintners' booths are included on the map with merchants' booths and shops, even though many were also connected to the taverns. 'Merchant' was often used as a general term in Scotland and it is not always easy to tell what kind of merchant an individual was (Dingwall 1994, 129). Illus 5 shows only those merchants who had a shop or a booth, with those who could confidently be identified as vintners demarcated from the others. When John Kenedie was assessed for the housemails tax, he was listed as a vintner (*ECA HTB*, 300), but when he received burghship it was as a merchant (Watson 1929, 285). Ninian Diksone, a merchant burghess (ibid, 150), rented a high fore booth owned by vintner James Hogg and a tavern owned by merchant Alexander Heriot (*ECA HTB*, 300). Diksone was a merchant, but was definitely involved in vintner-type sales. Several merchants rented booths and taverns, but it did not make sense to combine the merchants with the taverns, so vintners' booths and shops were included on the merchants' map while taverns were put on a separate map.

The layout of the shops and booths on the merchants' map reinforces economic stereotypes about merchant standing in burghs and points to an economically-based occupational geography for 1635 Edinburgh. Aside from one shop on Gray's Wynd, all others are located on either the High Street or the Cowgate. The merchants were the elite of Edinburgh's social structure and the locations of their businesses reflect this. Their positioning also reinforces the patterns of booth and shop locations (illus 2), with all booths on the more lucrative High Street and all shops further south.

STABLES (ILLUS 6)

In the south-east quarter, the 65 stables and one coach-coach house were owned by 28 individuals, though three had no tenant. Sixteen of these individuals owned more than one stable, five owned more than four stables and three owned more than six. Often the stables had associated facilities, such as lofts. For example, there was a 'straw' loft next to five of Alister Montgomery's seven stables (*ECA HTB*, 327). Others

had a 'midding stead' nearby (ibid, 295). One case included a loft, a barn, a stable and a 'kill'.¹¹

Most stables were owned by stablers, though at least two were owned by the merchant John McKean (ibid, 401). Others were owned not as businesses, but as private stables, such as the Laird of Niddry's stable (ibid, 400). This would have required stablehands to care for the horses and therefore represents an occupational location. The south-east quarter contained four stables owned by two lairds and two knights.¹² Another property, owned by the Lord of Balmerinloch, was a 'waste land with a coach-house therein' (ibid, 369). While these were workplaces for some, they were most likely not businesses so much as part of the private households. The importance of transportation to the capital where government and court resided cannot be underestimated. Perhaps this explains the large number of stables, both privately-owned and commercial.

The stables are mainly located around the Cowgate and in the closes branching off it to the north and south. Eight are located on Horse Wynd, one near the Cowgate Port and two by the Netherbow Port; the rest were well inside the city walls. It would be fascinating to know whether or not the stables provided a delivery service, or if the customer had to make their own way to the stables. The Cowgate, as its name would suggest, seems to have been an animal-related zone well into the early modern period.

MALTMANS' SHOPS AND BARNs (ILLUS 7)

Evidence of a proclivity towards agricultural activities around the Cowgate is given in illus 7. One of the barns was owned by a stabler and probably housed animals (*ECA HTB*, 407). Because it is not stated what kind of barn it was, it has been included with the other barns, which were maltbarns for storing grain. The barns, like the stables, often included auxiliary facilities, such as a 'kill', loft, yard, midding stead, well, stepstone or slaughterbooth (ibid, 327, 406). Apparently the maltmen dabbled in animal-based occupations as well as grain.

Maltmen would have needed space for the storage of fuel, grain and finished malt. The actual process of malting, or converting barley into malt, requires large tanks of water, heated surfaces and drying kilns.¹³ The requisite heat might have influenced where a maltman could have his business.

As with the stables, the identifiable maltmen seem to have been located near the Cowgate. The one maltman's shop is on the Cowgate, while the

barns are all to the south. This reinforces the pattern of retail locations having been located on the main thoroughfares while production and storage sites were located in more out of the way areas.

TAVERNS (ILLUS 8)

Illus 8 shows the disposition of taverns only, as vintners' booths were included with the merchants (illus 3). Taverns were run by several types of individuals, both men and women. Of the 15 people who ran the 16 taverns in Edinburgh's south-east quarter, five were merchants, three were vintners, four were women¹⁴ (of which two were widows), one was a guild brother of unknown occupation,¹⁵ one was a servitor to a merchant in Jedburgh¹⁶ and one had a master's degree.¹⁷ Interestingly, the last owned two taverns. It is not clear whether taverns sold ale, beer, or wine. Perhaps a vintner's tavern specialized in wine while a widow's tavern sold ale and beer. Some taverns might have sold a range of drinks.

The structures of the taverns were not described in great detail. They were most often described as 'laiche', or low, fore taverns. There were a few high taverns, of which at least one was a high fore booth turned into a tavern.¹⁸ Some were described as being in cellars (*ECA HTB*, 391) and a few had auxiliary premises listed with the taverns, such as cellars (ibid, 278), vaults (ibid, 313), or booths (ibid, 300). These probably would have been used for storage of barrels and wholesale transactions.

The disposition of the taverns is of interest. All, save two, are located on the High Street with a small clustering between the Mercat Cross and the Tron. The others are more spaced out and two taverns are on the Cowgate between Horse Wynd and College Wynd. Business for the taverners seems to have been better on the western end of the High Street.

BAXTERS (ILLUS 9)

The baxter trade had three types of property in the housemails tax records: booths, bakehouses and the Incorporation of Baxters' convening house. The first two were definitely open to women practitioners. Although it is possible that some of the 53 unknown booths and shops belonged to baxters, the bakehouses were clearly marked in the housemails, making for a definite number of eight in the south-east quarter. There are 14 known locations for baxters' booths and shops.

The booths were mostly described with variations on 'high fore baxters' booth' in the housemails,

though there were other varieties. The widow of Peter Little, who was a baker, had two high vaults (*ECA HTB*, 432). Another entry in the housemails gave a description of 'a fore vault or booth' (ibid, 438), so Peter Little's widow's two vaults were assumed to also be booths and were entered accordingly. Other baxter's booths had auxiliary back vaults or cellars (ibid, 374, 428), which would have been used for storage. The bakehouses were either described as 'low', 'low ruinous', or simply as 'a bakehouse' (ibid, 310, 341, 426). The baxter brethren's convening house was the uppermost house off a turnpike stair in the building arching over Bell's Wynd entry on the High Street (ibid, 285).

There are five points to mention in terms of patterns on the baxters' map. The first is the central location of the Incorporation of Baxters' convening house. It is located directly on the High Street, near the Mercat Cross. This would have given quick access to the Council at the tollbooth as well as the main economic area of the burgh.

The second point is that the booths were mainly on the High Street. Because this was the most important economic area of the burgh, it suggests more of a retail role for baxters' booths. The booths were fairly equidistant across the south-east quarter's section of the High Street, with one on the Cowgate near Horse Wynd.

Thirdly, the bakehouses were primarily found in the inner sections of the quarter, down secondary closes. There were two on the High Street, though one was vacant. The others were all located away from the main economic areas of the High Street and Cowgate. This suggests a production role intended to feed the retail-oriented booths, placed at the heads of the secondary closes. The booths and bakehouses can therefore be grouped into production/retail 'units' across the south-east quarter. The westernmost booths on the High Street were probably supplied by the bakehouse on Peebles Wynd ('44' on illus 9). The next three booths to the east of the Tron Kirk could have been supplied by the two High Street bakehouses. The easternmost seven booths might then have been supplied by the four bakehouses to the south of them, while the Cowgate booth was most likely supplied by the College Wynd bakehouse. There were separate locations for production and retail; a system far more complex and sophisticated than the small-scale, single-premises craft-production of earlier times.

The fourth pattern visible ties into this earlier type of production: small groupings. The two High Street bakehouses seem to be placed in a way to feed booths

right next to them. One of these was run by Isobell Renold, who had a high fore booth with a bakehouse and an oven (*ibid*, 380). One small grouping involved production and retail in a single building.

The fifth and last pattern is the opposite of the above antiquated pattern: large groupings. This involves the three bakehouses on Todrick's Wynd, '49'. Presumably, these were larger operations than Renold's bakehouse. Two of them were rented by Adam Stein 'and his partners the baxters' (*ibid*, 425–6). The third was rented by Thomas Stenops 'and Baxters his partners' (*ibid*, 426). Adam Stein also had a high fore booth on the High Street with a cellar (*ibid*, 428). These three bakehouses were funded not by an individual, but by a group of people; they were run corporately. Just as manufactories were being encouraged by the government (Turnbull 2001, 25), groups were pooling their resources to fund what appears to be larger-scale production in bakehouses which in turn supplied retail premises on the High Street. Capitalism had indeed come to Edinburgh.

The booths and bakehouses in the south-east quarter were not the only premises required for the baking and sale of bread; there was a greater infrastructure for the baxter craft. For example, one baxter paid rent for a skinner's yard where he had a bakehouse and kept his 'heather stock' (*ibid*, 434). Was this fuel for the ovens? Where did the rest of the fuel come from? The baxters also had mills on the Water of Leith. In the 17th century there were grain warehouses set up by the mills at Dean Village, or 'The Village of the Water of Leith' as it was called then (Skinner 1984, 143). There was even an inn set up, the 'Baxters House of Call', most likely to shelter baxters who went to have their grain milled (*ibid*, 149).

FLESHERS (ILLUS 10)

Included are two fleshers' booths, a flesher's shop, a poultryman's two booths and 20 slaughterhouses and slaughterbooths. Both men and women were involved in the processes of slaughtering animals. One baxter, Andro Hunter, owned a wasteland with a slaughterbooth on it (*ECA HTB*, 387). A few fleshers were listed in the housemails as having houses with cellars, but as it is impossible to tell if this represented an occupational location or part of a dwelling, they were not included on the map. What the difference between a slaughterbooth and a flesher's booth was, is also impossible to say. They might have been the same thing, or they might represent retail and production phases of the flesher trade.

Illus 10 shows that there were two major market areas for the flesher craft in the south-east quarter: the Flesh Market ('23' on *illus* 10) and the Pudding Market (*ibid*, 366), directly south on the Cowgate. The former was the primary market for meat, while the latter specialized in sausage meat. Presumably these were publicly owned spaces, as the housemails do not list ownership or rent for them.

The poultryman's fore and back booths are on the High Street, well positioned near the entry to Bell's Wynd ('42' on *illus* 10). The fleshers' booths and shop are all located near the Cowgate, between Dickson's Wynd ('47' on *illus* 10) and Blackfriars' Wynd ('48' on *illus* 10). The slaughterhouses and slaughterbooths are fairly dispersed throughout the south-east quarter, though the High Street, Horse Wynd, north-east corner and College/High School areas are all free of what would have been a rather pungent type of business. Again, this points to the choice nature of the High Street.

SMITHS (ILLUS 11)

Four different kinds of smiths are shown: locksmiths, blacksmiths, shearsmiths and lorimers, who made the metal parts for saddles and harness. The three locksmiths' properties included a fore booth with a smithy and a house above, another fore booth with a house above and a house with a shop to the east of it (*ECA HTB*, 325, 342 and 436). The first two premises were owned by the occupant. The three blacksmiths' premises were slightly different. Included were a fore shop with a smithy, a low fore shop with a fore house and a 'loft with a smithy thereunder', east of Horse Wynd (*ibid*, 296, 331 & 344). It is interesting that the extensors chose to list 'smithy', which was the forge box where metal was heated, with some of the entries. The lorimer, Samuel Burrell, owned and operated his business in a fore and back vault with a 'little shop' nearby (*ibid*, 438). The shearsmith had a booth with a back house (*ibid*, 363).

The smiths' premises were mainly located in the Cowgate, though the lorimer's shop was on the south-east side of the High Street and the shearsmith's booth was on the south-west side of Niddry's Wynd. A smithy with a large stock of fuel could have posed a serious fire hazard. Were these trades 'zoned' to reduce the risk? Perhaps the blacksmiths wanted to be close to the animals for selling horseshoes, one of their main products. Vance's idea of guildhall-centred business locations (Vance 1990, 151–2) is given credence from this, as the convening hall for the

Incorporation of Hammermen was on the west side of the Cowgate. More study is needed before this could be confirmed.

WRIGHTS (ILLUS 12)

Illustrated are several occupations that worked in wood and were all part of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, including wrights, a cooper and a bower. Interestingly, there were no definite locations for other member crafts of Mary's Chapel, such as the masons or plumbers. Perhaps their work did not need a workhouse or booth but was done purely on the building site. The woodworking branches of the building trades did need booths, though only a few can be pinpointed with certainty in the south-east quarter. The wrights had workhouses, one booth and a woodyard, while the cooper and bower both had booths. Also shown on illus 12 in Niddry's Wynd is the wrights' convening house, Mary's Chapel (*ECA HTB*, 370).

There seem to be only limited patterns demonstrated by the occupations on illus 12. As with other booths, the one wright's booth is on the High Street, as is the bower's. The cooper's booth is on the Cowgate. The wright's booth was owned by James Semple, who also owned a workhouse and a wasteland for storing wood at the other end of a close running between the booth on the High Street and the woodyard near the Cowgate. The other three wrights' workhouses surround the convening hall at various distances, again giving some credence to Vance's ideas of guildhall-centred locations for occupations (Vance 1990, 151–2), though four workhouses in a single quarter are nowhere near a conclusive argument for this. If any patterns can be seen from this map, it is the possible separation of retail and production in a single craftsman's operations, with Semple's booth having been on the High Street (*ECA HTB*, 287), while his dwelling house, workhouse and woodyard were located on a secondary close, north of the Cowgate (*ibid*, 281, 284). Several locations were used for one occupation, indicating that craft production did not always happen on single premises. Perhaps the booth was for customer interface or design, while the workhouse was where the mainstay of production happened.¹⁹

SKINNERS (ILLUS 13)

The skinner trade was not the most pleasant for their neighbours, but whether or not this is the reason for so

few being found in the south-east quarter is difficult to say. Only one skinner's shop, located on the south-east side of the Cowgate near the port, and a 'skinners' yard' are present (*ECA HTB*, 452, 429). The yard refers to a courtyard owned by the Incorporation of Skinners and is located in at the southernmost end of what was later called 'Skinners' Close' (Edgar 1742). According to Harris, the skinners used to meet in the house of their deacon before they had a convening hall (2002, 524). One such deacon, James Barclay, lived in this close in the late 1500s. It is known that the skinners were also connected with Paul's Work in the north-east quarter through a charter of 1630 (Colston 1891, 86). They also had workhouses on the Water of Leith by 1765, which a deed of the same year referred to as having been there 'past the memory of man' (*ibid*, 87).

TAILORS AND EMBROIDERERS (ILLUS 14)

One of the most striking features of the south-east quarter is the lack of tailors, one of the more important and numerous trades in Edinburgh (Dingwall 1994, 134). Two booths and a shop can definitely be identified as tailors, and nine others could have been tailors; ie they shared a name with others of different trades and are therefore 'unknowns'. There was also a house owned by a tailor (*ECA HTB*, 423), but does this constitute a place of business? The lack of tailors is most likely due to their elite status in terms of craft incorporation standing. The south-east quarter was not the most affluent, so it is possible that they were located in wealthier areas. The one embroiderer's shop might represent a specialization in trade. Perhaps there was not a huge demand for embroidered work and therefore only one shows up in the south-east quarter (*ibid*, 301).

The identifiable tailors and embroiderers had their booths and shops on the High Street and Cowgate in the south-east quarter. More evidence of the specialization of the embroiderer is the fact that his shop was on the High Street. Two of the tailors were also placed on that main artery for economic activity and one was located on the Cowgate, between Horse Wynd and Niddry's Wynd. The elite status of these crafts is again highlighted by the fact that their known businesses seem to have been placed only on main streets.

CORDINERS (ILLUS 15)

The shoemaking trades in the south-east quarter were represented by only three definite locations,

though many of the 53 ‘unknowns’ could have been cordiners. Of the three, one was a cordiner’s booth, one was a cobbler’s shop and one was a pantonheel maker’s shop, making heels for slippers (Watson 1929, 15). It is not possible to discern any concrete patterns of location for the shoemaking trades with so few locations, but it is interesting that all three were on larger streets. The booth was on the High Street, while the two shops were on Niddry’s Wynd, one of the larger of the secondary closes running between the High Street and the Cowgate.

LITSTERS, WEBSTERS AND CANDLEMAKERS (ILLUS 16)

Illus 16 shows the known locations for three separate occupations – litsters, websters and candlemakers – with limited representation in the south-east quarter. How many of the 53 unidentifiable businesses which were found were actually in these categories is uncertain, but five locations for them are definitely known: a litster’s workhouse (for dyeing), two websters’ shops and two candlemakers’ booths.

The location of the litster’s workhouse was in a small close off Bell’s Wynd, called simply the ‘back of Bell’s Wynd’ (*ECA HTB*, 295). The other four locations were all on the Cowgate, with the two candlemakers in the centre and the two websters to the east, near the Cowgate Port (‘f’ on illus 16). It is worth noting that, in 1654, when a fire was started by someone making candles, the Town Council decreed that the candlemakers had to have their workshops in what is now called ‘Candlemaker Row’ (Harris 2002, 141). This was considered isolated enough to protect the town from another such fire. In 1728, the candlemakers built their convening hall on this street, demonstrating that sometimes guildhalls followed the craftsmen’s locations instead of the opposite, as Vance’s guildhall-centred model of occupational location describes (Vance 1990, 151–2).

MEDICAL TRADES (ILLUS 17)

A barber’s booth, an apothecary’s yards and two houses used as a hospital are shown on illus 17. The ‘eastmost barber booth on the east side of the former stair head’ was rented by James Rigg (*ECA HTB*, 289), a surgeon. He paid £150 mail for a barber’s booth on the High Street. This was because he was ‘dually qualified’ (Dingwall 1995, 56). In 1622 his

son, John, was fined £20 for attempting surgery when only qualified as a barber, though his brother qualified as a surgeon in 1626 (*ibid*, 55). Barbers were fined for doing surgeons’ work, though a dually qualified surgeon could run a barber’s booth. Barbers were confined to the suburbs of Edinburgh, while the privileged, dually-qualified surgeons held a monopoly on central Edinburgh until the mid-1640s. After this, no more barbers were admitted as master surgeons, ending the dual qualification demonstrated in James Rigg’s barber’s booth (*ibid*, 56). With this came a ‘general policy of marginalizing the barbers within the Incorporation’, though by the 1680s complaints were made that the burgh elite had to go ‘to the suburbs to be barbarized’ (*ibid*, 56).

The apothecary’s two yards give little away in the housmails (*ECA HTB*, 461). It is not stated if medicinal herbs were grown here, or perhaps just vegetables or flowers; most likely the former. It is interesting to note that, by 1742, the site occupied by the apothecary’s gardens was part of the grounds for the Royal Infirmary (Edgar 1742).

The hospital was actually listed as ‘two houses within [a] transe dedicate for ane hospital’ (*ECA HTB*, 363). There were several hospitals in Edinburgh at the time. In the mid-16th century a proposal was made to the burgh magistrates and council for a hospital to take care of ‘beidmen, beidwomen, in the decayed hospital and all other your neighbours decayed by the wars’. They estimated that it would take seven years to build and would be ‘entertained’ by a priest, a surgeon, a ‘medicinar’ and 40 beds at the price of six pence per day (*Edin Recs* 1871, 170–1). It is not certain if it ever got beyond the proposal stage, though there was definitely a hospital in St Mary’s Wynd by at least 1499. It functioned as an almshouse and was run by a chaplain with the monetary aid of ‘ilk neighbour of the town’. Sacraments and mass were given to each of the ‘pure bedrentis’ (*Edin Recs* 1869, 79). Unfortunately, the hospital in the housemails does not seem to be mentioned in the burgh records, though Heriot’s and Trinity Hospitals were.

The hospital mentioned in the south-east quarter of the housmails was not in the nicest area; it was downhill from the Flesh Market and next to the Pudding Market. Beidmen and women who were inmates of a hospital or almshouse (*DSL*, ‘Bedeman’) were often associated with poverty and charity.²⁰ This lack of wealth might explain the poor location of the hospital in the south-east quarter; sensible zoning was overruled by economic necessity.

WRITERS, CAITCHPELLS, COINHOUSES AND PORTERS (ILLUS 18)

Illus 18 shows four small categories that did not quite justify their own map: writers' booths, caitchpells (tennis courts), mint houses and the house of a porter. The writer's booths were both described as fore, meaning their frontage was right on the High Street, though one was also a high booth, making it at least first floor (*ECA HTB*, 279, 374). Writers were part of a growing class of professionals and it makes sense that their booths would enjoy easy access to the same street that housed the tollbooth and future parliament.

The two caitchpells represent recreational occupations (Watson 1929, 14), and it is interesting that they were not separate from the working environment but mixed in with residences and businesses. One was located in Dickson's Close while the other was on the south-east side of the High Street and owned by John Bartane's widow (*ECA HTB*, 389, 445). Recreation was not limited to the burgh moor or the links; it was right within the city walls.

There are two sites in the south-east quarter associated with the Scottish mint. The first site included 'Mr Bryot his work houses for the Copper munyie', the landlord of which was Lord Stirling (ibid, 425). The second was simply called the coin house and was owned by the Skinners' brethren (ibid, 434). The mint houses are interesting in that they were not located near the protection of the castle or palace as one would expect. Instead of being near governmental or Court centres they were located in the Cowgate, in properties rented from a noble and a craft guild. This had not always been the case. Prior to its final location on the north side of the Cowgate, the mint, or 'cunyhous', was located at Holyrood, under the watchful eye of the royal court. After the 1573 siege of Edinburgh and several attempts at repairs, the Holyrood mint was declared 'rwyous unneit for working'. A new and final site in the Cowgate, which belonged to Archibald Stewart, was chosen for the minting of the 1581 coinage (Holmes 1982, 18–19). Why this site was chosen is unclear.

In 1632 the Frenchman, Nicholas Briot, was sent to Scotland by Charles I. The mint buildings were enlarged to house new machinery which he introduced for making coins (ibid, 16). In early days, the process was done completely and laboriously by hand. The metal was melted, forged flat, cut into discs and then hammered using negative impressions above and below the 'blank'. By 1597, coins were 'wrocht and forged in ane mylne and cuttit in a cutter'

before being struck by hand (Holmes 1998, 55). Briot mechanized the entire process, eliminating the need for hand-hammering. The coins were 'wrought and forged in a milne, cutted by cutters, printed with presses and other ingynes thereto' (ibid, 60). This was of course opposed by the mint workers who feared for their jobs (Bateson 1987, 21).

The first coins to be made entirely by machine in Scotland were copper two penny 'turners', often called 'Stirling' turners in reference to the Earl of Stirling (Holmes 1998, 60). Stirling had lost money when Port Royal in Nova Scotia was ceded to France, so to compensate he was given the profits from the 1632–39 issue of two penny pieces (ibid, 60; Bateson 1987, 21). Henceforth the rent of Briot's work houses for copper coins went to Lord Stirling (*ECA HTB*, 425). How it came to be that the Incorporation of Skinners owned the main coin house (ibid, 434), which presumably made the silver and gold issues, is less clear.

The 1581 house owned by Archibald Stewart formed the core of what was by 1635 a series of buildings in which the coining process happened, apparently with separate buildings for different metals. The complex, centred around the coin house yard, was to be enlarged again in the reign of Charles II. In 1674, new buildings were erected while the old ones were repaired. The mint buildings survived the abolition of the mint in 1817 but were demolished in 1877 (Holmes 1982, 20). It is interesting that the centre for the production of the nation's money was not located in either the palace or the castle, and that the landlord for the main mint building in 1635 was an incorporated trade.

The last occupation shown on illus 18 is the porter, Henry Morison. Morison did not have a shop, booth or workhouse; he had the Potterrow Port ('e' on illus 18). His house is marked on the map to show its proximity to the port (*ECA HTB*, 347). It is assumed that there would also have been porters for the other ports near the south-east quarter, but Morison is the only porter found in the housemails record. It is also not known if he was the only porter for the Potterrow Port.

CONCLUSION

There were several factors which could have contributed to where a business was practised in the early modern urban environment. Association, or a desire to be near similar occupations, has

been suggested in Vance's ideas of 'occupation quarters' (1990, 151) and 'guild districts' (1971, 105). Evidence of these can be seen in surviving placenames, such as Edinburgh's 'Potterrow', Ulm's 'Fishermen's Quarter' or Prague's 'Golden Lane'. Economic factors, such as rent valuation or access to areas heavily frequented by the customer base, were clearly important. Proximity, in terms of closeness to raw materials, suppliers or customers, was also influential. Sometimes civic ordinance dictated where a type of business could be, as has been pointed out for the forced clustering of the Edinburgh candlemakers in 1654 (Harris 2002, 141). Family ties, meaning the human tendency to stay close to other members of a family unit, also played a significant role in determining where a business was practised (Sjöberg 1965, 102). In terms of the south-east quarter of Edinburgh, the economic factors seem most apparent, but this should not be taken to indicate that the others were not significant. Until the other three quarters of the city have been analysed, it is impossible to form any concrete generalizations about the distribution of occupations.

In the more limited terms of the south-east quarter alone, keeping in mind that caution is necessary due to the 53 unknowns which could not be mapped any more specifically than as a booth or a shop, some very interesting patterns emerged from the maps. For example, the booths tended to be on larger thoroughfares like the High Street, while shops were more often on the Cowgate or smaller, subsidiary closes. Some wealthier occupational groups, such as the merchants, enjoyed better positioning, while other groups were positioned according to public access, like the taverns and baxters' booths. The maps seem to indicate that retail favoured the main thoroughfares while production and storage were in secondary positions. Some areas were purely residential. Other areas, such as the Cowgate, seem to indicate a form of zoning around animal-based occupations. Several of the maps show how sophisticated Edinburgh's early modern economy was becoming. The

wrights (illus 12) show multiple sites for a single business. The baxters (illus 9), in particular, show patterns of division in the various processes involved in the baking of bread, with clearly defined production and retail sectors. Also shown is the economic complexity of the business side of bread production, with a very modern way of funding the business through multiple-contributors of capital, similar to a joint-stock company. Even the incorporations were dabbling in the 'manufactory movement'. Edinburgh, by 1635, was indeed becoming more capitalistic.

The multidisciplinary approach of combining historical records and geographical analysis could later be applied to other burghs so that a comparison of the occupational distributions could be made across Scotland. Much information on urban space and work has been gleaned from archaeological excavations in several burghs, highlighting another discipline which could be included in and benefit from future work. It has been suggested that there was an overall pattern of occupational distribution in English towns. Do Scottish towns match this? What about European towns? With a series of studies in occupational mapping, it would be possible to hypothesize whether the patterns of work-type distribution were uniform across differing geographical and cultural settings. Mapping could also be used for further study of the distribution of wealth and gender in relation to occupational structure, as well as exploring any correlation between location and marital status. For Edinburgh in 1635, the records have proven to be fruitful and await further exploration of the remaining three quarters.

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NOTES

- 1 See Lynch 1987 and Dingwall 1994.
- 2 These data come from Walter Makey's research notes based on his survey of the housemails. See, in particular, Makey 1987, 206–8.
- 3 Kelly's findings are summarized in Hindle 2002, 41.
- 4 See also his chapter on methodology, 'Computers, maps and metropolitan London in the 1690s', in Spence 2000a, 25–45.
- 5 See for example, William Norrie 1912, 2; Wood in *Edin Recs* 1936, xliii; and Makey 1987, 206, etc.
- 6 The term 'parish' was used in the council minutes, but the older term 'quarter' was used in the *Housemails Taxation Book*.
- 7 See the three westernmost locations on the wrights' map (illus 12).
- 8 Referred to herewith as bakehouses.
- 9 Such was the case with the lawnmarket, or landmarket; land referring to 'country' (*Edin Recs* 1869, 35; Marwick 1909, 193).
- 10 There is an interesting case of a widow whose husband, Thomas Short, had been one of the deacons of the Incorporation of Hammermen. In 1546 she was listed in the craft's minute books as a master after her husband was killed in the 1544 raid on Edinburgh. How common this was is difficult to determine (Smith 1906, 130).
- 11 The barn is located on the 'Maltmen's Shops and Barns' map (illus 7) (*ECA HTB*, 407).
- 12 These included the Laird of Edmonston, the Laird of Niddry, Sir Henry Wardlane and Sir Patrick Murray [*sic*] (*ECA HTB*, 345, 400, 413, 426 respectively).
- 13 I am indebted to the anonymous referee for sharing this information on the malting process with me.
- 14 By 1600, the production of beer and ale had passed into male hands, due to its increased profit and prestige, but women were still working in areas of brewing which remained 'low status, low skilled and poorly paid', such as sales (Whyte 1987, 232; Bennett 1996, 7).
- 15 'Adam Tremble' (*ibid*, 428) and 'Adam Turnbull' (Watson 1929, 499).
- 16 'Adam Islope' (*ECA HTB*, 342) and 'Adam Hislop' (Watson 1929, 253).
- 17 'Mr John Galloway' (*ECA HTB*, 278).
- 18 An example of this is one of Mr John Galloway's taverns (*ibid*, 278).
- 19 I am again indebted to the anonymous referee for pointing out that much of the structural timber work in building was prefabricated and therefore might account for a specific production area such as a wright's workhouse. Perhaps the booth was intended as a place where the customer and builder could arrange the building plans and discuss payment. Hopefully, further research into the remaining three quarters will shed some light on the relationship between the two types of property.
- 20 It has been pointed out to me that in the pre-Reformation times, beidmen were expected to pray for the souls of their benefactors, giving rise to the term beidman. In modern Swedish 'bedja' means 'to pray', while the English word 'bid', means 'ask'. Beidmen and women were expected to bid.



ILLUS 2 Booths and shops: ■, booth; ●, shop



ILLUS 3 Workhouses: ▲, workhouse



ILLUS 4 Women's businesses: ■, booth; ●, shop; ▲, tavern; ◆, slaughterhouse/booth; * , stable; □, bakehouse; * , workhouse



ILLUS 5 Merchants: ■, booth; ●, shop; ▲, vintner's booth



ILLUS 6 Stables: ■, stable; ▲, coach-house



ILLUS 7 Maltbarns: ■, maltbarn; ●, maltman's shop; ▲, other barn



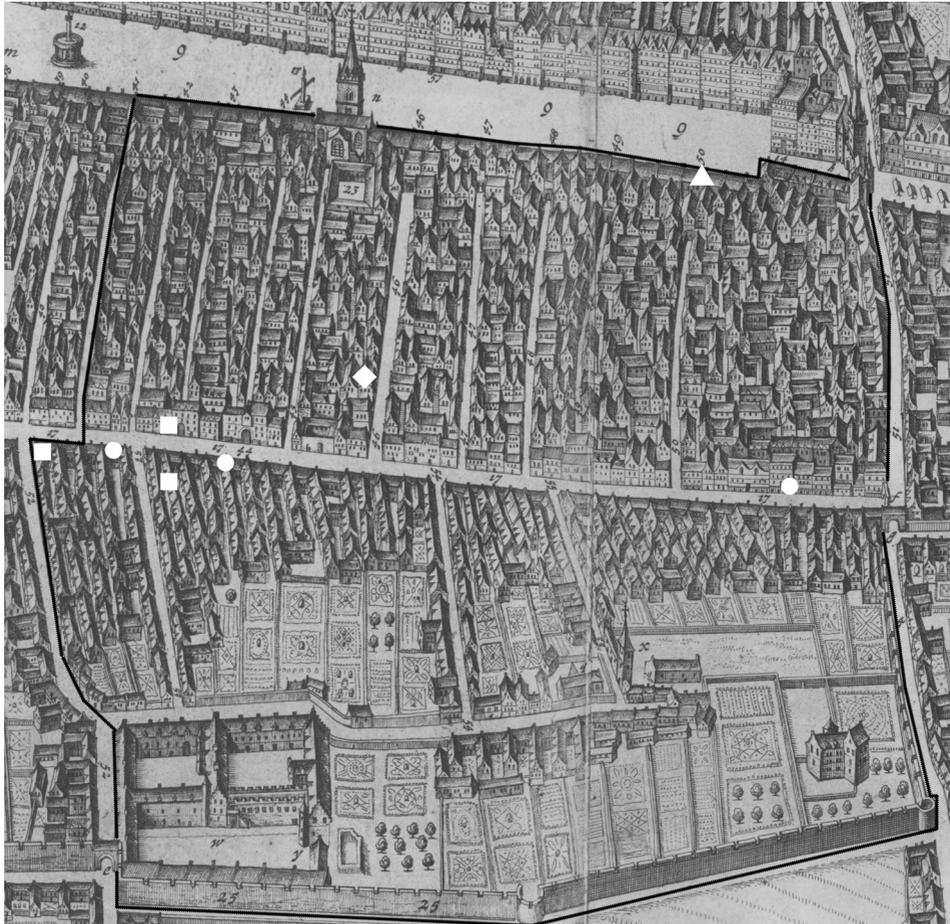
ILLUS 8 Taverns: ▲, tavern



ILLUS 9 Baxters: ■, baxter's booth; ▲, bakehouse; ☒, convening house



ILLUS 10 Fleshers: ■, slaughterhouse/booth; ●, flesher's booth or shop; ▲, poultryman's booth; white line, market areas



ILLUS 11 Smiths: ■, blacksmith; ●, locksmith; ▲, lorimer; ◆, shearsmith



ILLUS 12 Wrights: ■, wright's booth; ●, wright's workhouse; ▲, wright's woodyard; ◆, cooper's booth; ◎, bower's booth; ✕, convening house



ILLUS 13 Skinners: ■, skinner's shop; white line, Skinner's Close



ILLUS 14 Tailors and brodinsters: ■, tailor's booth or shop; ●, brodinster's shop



ILLUS 15 Cordiners: ■, cordiner's booth; ●, cobbler's shop; ▲, pantonheel maker's shop



ILLUS 16 Litsters, websters and candlemakers: ■, litster's workhouse; ●, webster's shop; ▲, candlemaker's booth



ILLUS 17 Medical trades: ■, barbour's booth; +, hospital; white line, Apothecary's Yards



ILLUS 18 Other: ■, Mint building; ●, writer's booth; ▲, porter's house; ◆, caithpell

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